A CASE STUDY USING SCOTT'S THREE PILLARS OF INSTITUTIONS FRAMEWORK TO EXPLORE AND DEFINE THE LEGITIMACY OF ONE UNIVERSITY'S INTENSIVE ENGLISH PROGRAM

by

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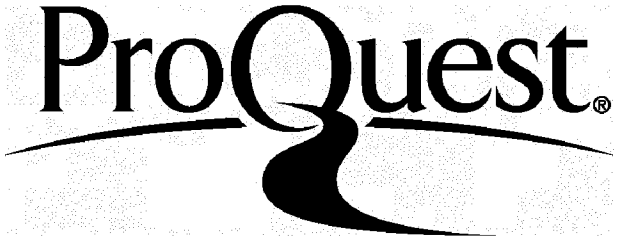

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my husband, Jonas, my daughter, Jasmin, and my son, Jordan, whose lives and whose love are the greatest evidence of the legitimacy of God's grace that this researcher will ever find.

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ABSTRACT

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Under the direction of ELAINE M. ARTMAN, Ed. D.

This exploratory qualitative single embedded case study examines the legitimacy of an Intensive English Program (IEP) at Large Public University (LPU) through the lens of Scott's (2014) Three Pillars of Institutions framework. This study answers one overarching question: How has the IEP at LPU gained and maintained its legitimacy through its regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive systems? Employing Scott's (2014) framework, the researcher developed six sub questions that guided data collection. Data consisted of interviews, document analysis, and observations. The findings of this study are consistent with legitimacy-building claims made in intensive English program literature. The researcher concludes that changes in the environment and structure of the IEP at LPU led to a deeper embedding of the program in the host institution, resulting in the program's cultural-cognitive system bearing the weight of the program's legitimacy. These findings, while not directly transferable to all forms of IEPs, are valuable to leaders of intensive English programs seeking guidance for strategic planning for survival and growth in a rapidly changing environment.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Institutions of higher education are struggling to redefine themselves and remain true to their missions amid fierce environmental pressures from an increasingly market-based operational approach to growth and development in higher education (Pitcher, 2013). U.S. college enrollment is projected to continuously decline through 2018 (Carnevale, Smith, & Strohl, 2010). In an attempt to fill the gap between the rising cost of higher education and dropping enrollments from domestic students in the U.S., colleges have been recruiting more and more students from abroad (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Currie & Vidovich, 2009; Marginson, 2006). In the last three decades alone, the proportion of all enrolled post-graduate students in the U.S. has grown by nearly one percent per each ten-year period (IIE, 2016). In the 2014-2015 academic year, more than 850,000 international post-secondary or professional students were enrolled in U.S. institutions of higher education. Not only does their presence contribute to the diversity and richness of culture on U.S. campuses, but it also adds tens of billions of dollars to the U.S. economy each year (IIE, 2016). Most international students enroll directly into the degree program of their choice, but some international students come to the U.S. linguistically underprepared and must first concentrate their time and resources on strengthening their English language skills before taking courses required for degree attainment (Ling, Wolf, Cho, & Wang, 2014). Historically, students have been able to study intensive English on college or university campuses in programs specifically

designed to enhance students' language skills in a limited amount of time. These programs have come to be known as intensive English programs, or IEPs (Kaplan, 1997). As the practice of fast-tracking students' language skills has grown in popularity, so has the number and variety of IEPs available for students (Thompson, 2013). Today, there are almost 95,000 international students studying in a variety of types of intensive English programs in the U.S. Some variables used to describe IEPs include: large, small, non-profit, for-profit, located on college campuses located in communities. Students enrolled in IEPs make up approximately 10% of the total international student population in the U.S. and their presence contributes over $1 billion each year to the U.S. economy (IIE, 2016).

IEP leaders face many challenges in achieving success for the language programs they manage. They must not only be mindful of international economies and educational markets around the world for recruitment purposes, but they must also manage internal stakeholder pressure for increased revenue, student satisfaction, student success, government mandates for accountability and social responsibility in recruiting international students, and planning for increased competition (Pennington & Hoekje, 2010), especially from the for-profit sector (Klahr, 2015; Redden, 2013b; Winkle, 2014). Compounding these diverse draws on IEP leader attention is the fact that many IEPs are misunderstood both within their campus environments and among college or university administrators whose decisions often stand to limit or inhibit the achievement of an IEP's mission (Eaton, 2013). This misunderstanding of the nature and virtues of IEPs has contributed to a persistent struggle for legitimacy for intensive English programs (Eskey, 1997; Jenks & Kennell, 2012; Pankowski & Maurice, 1986; Staczek & Carkin, 1984).

Understanding this struggle is an important part of developing a strategy (Bok, 2006; Scott 2014) for ensuring that the mission to which intensive English program professionals remain committed is validated and supported (Jenks & Kennell, 2012) as these programs continue forward into a more globalized and complicated future (Knight, 2012b).

Statement of the Problem

Jenks and Kennell (2012) illuminate the historically marginalized position of intensive English Programs (IEPs) on college or university campuses with this statement on the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, DC: "The disaster prompted awareness among higher education senior-level administrators about the role and, in many cases, the existence of IEPs on their campuses" (p. 178). In the 15 years since this newfound awareness of the simple existence of intensive English programs, the environment for these programs has changed significantly (Fischer, 2012; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010; Redden, 2010, 2014; Reeves, 2013). How an institution navigates environmental changes such as those experienced by IEPs can affect that institution's legitimacy (Kondakci & Van den Broeck, 2009). New public policy ("Accreditation Act," 2010; West & Addington, 2014) and increased competition for English language learners (Redden, 2013a) add to the obstacles IEPs must conquer to gain or maintain legitimacy (Jenks & Kennell, 2012; Winkle, 2014), which is arguably vital to the IEP's survival (Suchman, 1995).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the systemic legitimacy of one university-governed intensive English program in order to establish an empirical platform from

which researchers and educational leaders can engage in academic dialogue about the nature, purpose, and legitimacy of intensive English programs. Suchman (1995) defines legitimacy as "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (p. 524). The findings in this study provide a deeper understanding of how one IEP is able to achieve and maintain legitimacy, what that legitimacy looks like, and whose perceptions define it. IEP leaders and their supervisors, as well as administrators considering the addition or elimination of intensive English programs at their institutions, will benefit from the knowledge drawn from the findings in this study, especially with regard to strategic planning for program growth and success.

Theoretical Perspective

Scott's (2014) "Three Pillars" framework for institutional analysis guided the data collection and analysis for this qualitative exploratory single-site case study. Scott's framework engages three differing social theory perspectives on open systems: a regulative systems perspective, a normative systems perspective, and a cultural-cognitive systems perspective. Scott posits that each of these three systems co-exists with the others within any institution and that each one is individually a "vital ingredient" (p. 59) to the functioning and success of a whole institution. Scott (2014) explains that the three systems should be viewed as independent of one another yet functioning simultaneously, rather than blended together, because there is truth in the vitality of each system's contribution to the institutional operation. Each component element carries with it "different underlying assumptions, mechanisms and indicators (p. 59)," which must be understood in isolation in order to understand the effects of these elements on the whole

system. Scott emphasizes the importance of agency, or the role of the individual within the system and the effect of the perceptions and decisions of "the individual" in all three systemic elements of his framework.

The Regulative System

According to Scott (2014), in a regulative system, the behavior of organizational members is controlled and empowered through processes for establishing rules, including role assignments, monitoring adherence to the rules, and rewarding compliance or sanctioning deviance. Scott explains that the logic undergirding a regulative system is one of rational choice, at times guided by the emotions of the agent. Those in power set rules that benefit their needs and followers choose to follow these rules for reasons such as attainment of beneficial incentives offered by the powerful (rational choice), or out of fear of negative consequences or guilty conscience associated with not following the rule. Scott's characterization of the role of agency in the three pillars system is reminiscent of Blumer's (1969) discussion of symbolic interactionism. Blumer posits that "the rule" in any social institution, or organization, is a social artifact. The rule cannot exist without being interpreted by the individual— the meaning given to the rule depends on how the agent considering the rule makes sense of the rule, hence the various instances of "rational choice" offered by Scott.

The Normative System

The normative perspective of systems thinking, according to Scott (2014), moves deeper into the soul of an organization as its rules, conformity, and rewards are founded on the principles of norms and values. In a normative system, goals and objectives are set for the institution based on a socially shared belief system and decisions regarding

which rules to set and to follow rely on the agent's moral beliefs of right and wrong more so than the regulative agent's rational choices motivated by fear or satisfaction. Professional associations often operate as a normative system through the practice of standard-setting and the push for accountability from their members. In addition, accreditations and certifications serve as the reward in such a system for those agents who have chosen to operate through a "logic of 'appropriateness'" (Scott, p. 65). The emotional drive associated with normative systems is related to the feelings one has as a result of the self-evaluation that goes along with the decision to conform to or violate norms.

The Cultural-cognitive System

The cultural-cognitive perspective from within Scott's (2014) framework takes into account the neoinstitutionalist assertion that "the individual organism is a collection of internalized symbolic representations of the world" (p. 67). In other words, Scott asserts that a schema, or cognitive frame, for behavior and thought is created externally by the culture and internalized by the individual acting within that culture. In Scott's framework, agent decisions rely on previously learned and internalized options that are simply taken for granted, actors conform to roles and scripts rather than making decisions based on value judgments or motivated by personal gain and emotions guiding operation within a cultural-cognitive frame of thought range from feelings of great confidence to disoriented confusion.

Scott (2014) posits that all three of these systems are in play within an organization at any given time, sometimes working in conjunction with one other, sometimes weighing more heavily on one systemic element than on the others. He

explains that at times the balance of these three systems is threatened due to disagreements related to who should make the rules, which values are appropriate, or whether the way things have always been done are the way they should be done. According to Scott (2014), it is precisely at the point of imbalance that an organization becomes ripe for organizational change. In order for an organization to survive change, and thrive beyond the change, explains Scott, the organization may ultimately be dependent upon the foundational legitimacy in which each of the three systems is rooted. Because Kaplan (1997) and Jenks and Kennell (2012) determined that IEPs have historically struggled with establishing and maintaining legitimacy, and because Scott (2014) provides a framework which includes a unique foundation of legitimacy for each of the organizational system types present within an institution, Scott's framework is an appropriate lens through which to examine an IEP.

Research Question

This qualitative case study investigates the state and development of the institutional legitimacy of one intensive English program located on the campus of a large public university. The study is guided by one overarching research question: How has the intensive English program (IEP) at Large Public University (LPU) gained and maintained its legitimacy in terms of Scott's (2014) systems framework for organizations. Six sub questions were developed to ensure that each aspect of Scott's (2014) three systems theory—regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive is addressed. The six sub questions used to guide the researcher's interview protocol and data analysis are:

SQ_1: How has the IEP responded to and leveraged governmental regulations?

SQ_2: How has the IEP responded to and leveraged host institution policies?

SQ_3: How has the IEP worked to meet external stakeholders' expectations?

SQ_4: How has the IEP worked to meet internal stakeholders' expectations?

SQ_5: How does the IEP fit into the higher education environment?

SQ_6: How does the IEP fit into the campus environment of the host institution?

Sub questions 1 and 2 investigate how one IEP has responded to and leveraged resources (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002), regulations, and policies (Giesecke, 2006). Questions 3 and 4 examine how the IEP interacts with external and internal stakeholders (Jongbloed, Enders, & Salerno, 2008). Questions 5 and 6 explore how the IEP fits into the environment of the host institution (Jenks & Kennell, 2012) and the environment of higher education in general.

Significance of the Study

The findings in this study support Jenks and Kennell's (2012) assertion that strategies such as building on-campus awareness, developing cooperative linkages with other academic departments on campus, seeking accreditation, and acquiring conditional admission, enhanced facilities and equal access for IEP students to campus facilities and services will contribute to an IEP's legitimacy. In addition the findings also support Winkle's (2014) claims that institutions would do well to embed language programs in academic departments and ensure that faculty in intensive English programs have opportunities for career advancement. Findings of this study reveal the importance of aligned variables (i.e., the right people in the right positions with the power to influence decisions) during times of change and the role of trust in relationship building in the process of gaining and maintaining legitimacy. However, the findings in this study may

not be transferable to all IEPs because IEPs vary widely in their size, structure, governance, stakeholders, and mission.

The conclusions drawn from the findings of this study can provide a deeper understanding of the nature and challenges of an IEP to leaders in higher education who have a stake in intensive language training. In addition, the results of this study provide fertile ground for more and different research about intensive English programs that can not only help leaders in the world of teaching English as a second language, but also higher education leaders interested in developing programs on their own campuses or considering partnering with the for-profit sector that delivers similar programs or services to international students either independently or on college campuses.

Procedures

This study follows an exploratory, embedded, single-case qualitative design. Exploring the legitimacy of an IEP owned and operated by a large, public, Research I, regionally accredited university through case study methodology provides rich data that allows the researcher to map the IEP's regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive legitimacy and discover the events that led to the current balance of the IEP's legitimacy across the three pillars.

In order to establish trustworthiness for this study, the researcher used four tests to ensure external and internal validity, construct validity, and reliability in the design of the study (Yin, 2014). The external validity of this study was maintained through the use of six sub questions created through the researcher's identification of key concepts from Scott's (2014) institutional framework. These questions a) explored the IEP's obligations to the federal government and to the host institution in order to determine whether the

IEP rests on or engages in a "legally sanctioned" (Scott, 2014, p. 60) legitimacy, b) focused on the organization's efforts to meet stakeholder expectations in order to illuminate the IEP's development of normative legitimacy, and c) focused on the IEP's "fit" into its local and global environments in order to establish the IEP's cultural-cognitive legitimacy (Scott, 2014).

Internal validity was monitored through a clear strategy for analyzing the data. This study employed cyclical coding methodology that included in vivo coding, structural coding, and pattern coding (Saldaña, 2013). In vivo coding employs the use of the participant's own language in order to prioritize the participant's voice. Structural coding applies a comment, either content-based or conceptual, to a segment of data according to that segment's relationship to a specific research question. Pattern coding allows the researcher to assign data that has been similarly coded into thematic units in order for the data corpus to be organized. This allows the researcher to develop major themes and allows for the examination of relationships. According to Saldaña, in vivo coding and structural coding are appropriate for first cycle coding and pattern coding is appropriate for second cycle coding. The researcher compiled all eight interview transcripts into one document in Microsoft Word. The researcher then used the review function of the program to code the corpus using in vivo coding by attaching comments to identified chunks of text. In vivo codes were automatically numbered by the Microsoft Word program, which allowed for easy input into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet later. Once all data was initially coded, the researcher entered the codes into a spreadsheet. Codes were revised and edited for accuracy during data entry and throughout the coding process. Once all initial codes were entered, the researcher assigned structural codes to the data.

Finally, pattern coding was used to determine larger categories for organizing the finding into themes. All codes were entered into new fields on the spreadsheet. Throughout the process, the researcher reflected carefully on the relationships detected between codes and made decisions about which codes were repetitive and which contained unique information for the specified respondent. Some codes were eliminated because they were redundant and too similar to adjacent codes.

Construct validity has been ensured through the researcher's decision to collect data from multiple sources. These sources included direct observation of the physical space in which the program operates, document review, and interviews. The researcher interviewed eight employees of Large Public University (LPU). Four groups of stakeholders among these employees were identified prior to participant recruitment: a) faculty within the IEP, b) faculty of degree programs, c) administrative staff within the IEP, and d) administrative staff from a unit outside the IEP. The researcher ultimately interviewed two members of each stakeholder group, which provided a balance of viewpoints. The researcher used snowball sampling in order to identify potential participants, beginning with asking the director of the program to identify potential participants. The researcher also reviewed public documents such as websites, advertisements, publications, and reports related to Large Public University and its IEP. The researcher was additionally granted limited access to internal documents and emails. These documents were used to validate statements made by some of the participants. In addition, the researcher observed the physical surroundings of LPU's IEP. Finally, the researcher enlisted key informants in the field of intensive English teaching, two program directors of programs somewhat similar to LPU's program, to review draft analyses and

interpretations for valuable feedback. According to Yin (2014), key informants include academic colleagues, practitioners, dissertation committee members, and other community leaders who do not specialize in case study research.

The researcher identified the institutional population for this study by establishing criteria that potentially serve as proxies for legitimacy, according to Jenks and Kennell's (2012) discussion. A detailed discussion of each of these criteria in terms of the literature and its significance to the development and security of an intensive English program's legitimacy can be found in Chapter Three. The criteria are as follows:

1. The Intensive English Program (IEP) is owned and operated by a college or university.
2. The IEP is located on the host institution's campus.
3. Students enrolled in the IEP are eligible to matriculate into degree programs at the college or university.
4. The IEP maintains membership in University and College Intensive English Programs (UCIEP), a selective professional organization of college and university intensive English programs.
5. The IEP has attained programmatic accreditation from the Commission for English Language Program Accreditation (CEA).

Thirty-eight programs belonging to the UCIEP consortium fit the six criteria outlined above (IIE, 2013). For this reason, an initial invitation was sent out through the UCIEP listserv asking directors for their willingness to be interviewed and serve as a gatekeeper for this case study on his or her campus. Four program directors responded with interest. Three directors expressed willingness to participate. Of those three, one was especially

open to participation and requested specifically to be the site of the study in hopes of benefiting from the experience. The institution selected for this case-study was chosen based on the level of interest in participation expressed by Large Public University's IEP director. The reliability of this case rests on the use of the theoretical framework in the careful construction of the research questions and the interview protocol and the electronic database used to store the data collected through the protocol (Yin, 2014).

Delimitations

The rationale for choosing a single-case design methodology for this study is to provide a detailed examination of a phenomenon not previously analyzed through social science (Eaton, 2013; Thompson, 2013; Yin, 2014). Therefore, the findings of this study are delimited to the single case of Large Public University, its unique operations, and its unique processes for achieving and maintaining legitimacy. This study is also delimited to interview data reflecting the perceptions of persons identified through snowball sampling. Because snowball sampling was used, faculty and administrators external to the intensive English program interviewed for this study have or have had direct relationships with intensive English program employees and in some cases, their specific units have benefited from interaction with the intensive English program. It is possible that there are perspectives from institutional stakeholders that are not represented in the sample collected. The researcher chose snowball sampling, as opposed to other sampling methods, to ensure an adequate participation rate. According to Atkinson and Flint (2001), snowball sampling is appropriate for exploratory studies.

Limitations

The study is limited by the number of perspectives provided through interviews. While the study was designed to collect data from at least eight interview participants, more were contacted. The eight interviews collected for this study were the only willing participants out of the total number of persons contacted for the purpose of setting up interviews. While all pre-identified stakeholder groups are represented in the data, there are no perspectives from upper-administration represented in this study. In addition, the reporting of the exact words of some of the participants is limited by an inability to do so without identifying the participant. This is because, in the case of administrative members, the person being interviewed holds a unique position at the University or within the IEP, so identifying participants by their exact job title or a description of their responsibilities would allow for others at the institution, especially those who have participated in this study, to discern the identity of the participant. In addition, the study is limited to additional data gathered through documents. Few public documents exist which are related to the IEP and its function at LPU. The researcher was able to gain access to very few private documents that would shed light on the legitimacy of the IEP. In addition, direct observation of the IEP was limited to only an examination of physical space of the University and the IEP's situation within the University.

Researcher Bias

A potential limitation to this study is researcher bias. The researcher has been a committed and passionate member of the international education profession for nearly 20 years, 10 of which have been served in various university intensive English programs. However, in order to mitigate any potential bias, the researcher has followed

methodology for bracketing (Tufford & Newman, 2010) any preconceived beliefs and values associated with international education in general and the management of an intensive English program specifically. The researcher takes her role as a researcher very seriously. She has been very careful to question and monitor choices made in analyzing and reporting the data collected in this study through writing memos and reflective journaling. Through this monitoring, the researcher believes her choices and interpretations represent an open-minded perspective on the IEP program legitimacy at LPU and the implications of this legitimacy for the field of teaching English as a second language.

Definitions of Terms

For the purpose of this study, the term Intensive English Program (IEP) will refer to those departments located on and owned and operated by a college or university with the purpose of teaching the English language to non-immigrant international students present in the U.S. on an F-1 student visa. These IEPs may or may not be seated within an academic school or college and will report to a variety of administrator types. This definition specifically excludes IEPs that are proprietary in nature, whether located on a college or university campus, unless specifically noted. This study's definition of IEP is limited in this way because this single case study is focusing on university or college-owned types of programs. In addition, much of the literature reviewed, though not all, for this study is also focused on this type of program.

CEA is the Commission on English Language Program Accreditation. This body was formed out of the professional organizations TESOL and NAFSA in the late 1999s and granted legitimate accrediting body status by the U.S. Department of Education in

2003. English language schools or programs in the U.S. or abroad meeting specified eligibility requirements may apply to pursue CEA accreditation (O'Donnell, 2001; Crawford, 2003).

ACCET is the Accrediting Council for Continuing Education & Training and has historically provided legitimacy through accreditation to independent, or non-university owned, language schools and language programs located in schools of continuing education or technical schools (Rowe & Bergman-Lanier, 2012).

TESOL refers to both the practice of teaching English to speakers of other languages and a professional organization of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL).

NAFSA is an international association of professionals working for educational institutions, governmental organizations, and private organizations associated with cross-border education and the promotion of global awareness and leadership through education.

UCIEP, University and College Intensive English Programs, is a membership organization of intensive English programs located on college and university campuses. According to the UCIEP website, the mission of the organization is to "promote excellence in IEP administration, curriculum and instruction" (UCIEP, 2015). Membership to UCIEP is secured by adjudicated application. Member schools must meet and maintain standards set by the UCIEP board in order to be members.

EnglishUSA, formerly called the American Association of Intensive English Programs, is a membership organization for intensive English programs. The mission of EnglishUSA is "to provide support, standards and advocacy for intensive English

programs in the USA" (EnglishUSA, 2013). Schools wishing to obtain membership must meet specific criteria outlined on the EnglishUSA website.

Conditional admission refers to the practice of accepting a low proficiency non-native English speaker with appropriate credentials to a degree program on the "condition" that once the student has completed a proscribed English language preparation program, then the student may be admitted fully into the designated degree program.

Internationalization refers to "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (Knight, 2004, p. 11).

EMI refers to English-medium instruction, especially as it pertains to the use of English as the language of instruction in an environment where English is not the native language or an official political and/or social language.

DSO stands for Designated School Official and refers to an employee of an educational organization who is authorized by the Student and Exchange Visitor Program (SEVP) of the United States Department of Homeland Security to issue an official governmental petition to students who have been accepted to study at the employee's institution so that the student can apply for a student visa to study in the United States.

PDSO stands for Primary Designated School Official. The holder of this position serves as a manager of all DSOs at an educational institution and maintains the school's relationship with the federal government.

I-20 refers to the document issued by a Designated School Official of a school to be presented to a U.S. government official as evidence that a student has been granted access to study at that school and is maintaining proper immigration status.

I-17 refers to the certificate of approval held by a school and issued by the Department of Homeland Security. The I-17 outlines the approved programs, campuses, and officials involved in the hosting of non-immigrant foreign students on student visas at the institution.

Institutions, as defined by Scott (2014), are comprised of "regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life" (p. 56). This study views colleges and universities as institutions as defined by Scott (2014). In addition this study views the intensive English program that is owned and operated by the university as an institution within an institution.

Summary

This qualitative case study examines one intensive English program's processes in gaining and maintaining legitimacy through the lens of a multi-system framework rooted in concepts of following rules, seeking "social acceptability and credibility," and following the culturally established patterns of decision-making (Scott, 2014). One institution was selected through a process of narrowing the population sample and reaching out to directors of programs included in that population sample. Data was collected through interviews, direct observation, and document review and was cyclically coded. The researcher found that the intensive English program examined has achieved a legitimacy heavily weighted in its cultural-cognitive system. This position of legitimacy

was reached through institutional changes, including a change in governance in the IEP, leadership changes, manipulation of resources, and the acquisition of programmatic accreditation. The researcher also found that many of the changes leading to the IEP's embeddedness in the wider institution resulted from relationships rooted in trust. The implications of these findings suggest that trust-building is an important strategy in the development and maintenance of institutional legitimacy for an intensive English program.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH LITERATURE

In order to survive, institutions must gain and maintain legitimacy (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008; Scott, 2014; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002), or at least the appearance of legitimacy (Kondakci & Van den Broeck, 2009; Suchman, 1995). Legitimacy has been defined in institutional organization literature as a socially constructed perception of appropriate action or behavior of an organization according to the norming systems of that institution's social environment (Suchman, 1995). In essence, legitimacy is a state of approval bestowed by stakeholders who have the power to affect the survival of an institution should the approval be revoked. The treatment of legitimacy within the literature of organizations is more conceptual than empirical (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008), partially due to the difficulty researchers face in measuring legitimacy (Díez-Martin, Prado-Roman, & Blanco-González, 2013; Suchman, 1995; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). More empirical study focused on the achievement and maintenance of legitimacy is necessary for the formal, strategic incorporation of building legitimacy into organizational processes (Bastedo, 2012; Mele & Schepers, 2013), a practice considered to be important for institutional survival (Archibald, 2004; Jongbloed et al., 2008; Pitcher, 2013).

Intensive English Programs (IEPs) on college and university campuses have historically struggled with legitimacy (Jenks & Kennell, 2012). Programs that have managed to establish a legitimate place on a college or university campus now face new

challenges to their legitimacy as they experience continuous environmental change. Pennington and Hoekje (2010) predict an uncertain future for language programs such as IEPs, stating,

> some of these language programs will survive, thrive, and become known for offering quality language education that raises the standard of professional practice generally. Other programs will fail, offering claims for fluency or other services or revenue generation that could not be delivered.

This caution comes from an environment in which higher education stakeholders continue to rely more on quality assurance and national and international rankings (Hazelkorn, 2008; Marginson, 2007; Stensaker, Langfeldt, Harvey, Huisman, & Westerheijden, 2011; Winkle, 2014). IEPs have not escaped this type of environmental pressure. The federal government now regulates IEP operations by requiring that all IEPs be accredited by a body approved by the U.S. Department of Education in order to host international students on F-1 non-immigrant student visas ("Accreditation Act," 2010). In addition, competition for international students in general has increased as colleges and universities look to fill gaps in enrollment and revenue created by a decline in the population of college-age students in the U.S. and an increasingly expensive educational market (Carnevale et al., 2010; Hu, 2011). As the competition for international students has increased, colleges and universities have begun to recruit more students with limited English proficiency to their campuses through offering conditional admission to degree programs upon completion of language training (Fischer, 2010; Redden, 2013a). Recruiting and enrolling international students can be challenging, however, especially for an institution unequipped to deal with the special cultural, social and academic challenges faced by some international students (Andrade, 2006; Constantine, Anderson, Caldwell, Berkel, & Utsey, 2005; Yan & Berliner, 2009). In the face of these challenges,

some U.S. institutions have begun outsourcing the education of their international students to for-profit corporations (Redden, 2014; Winkle, 2014). In the case of traditional intensive English programs on college and university campuses, an institutional partnership with a corporate language program could create competition on campus for the same pool of students (Klahr, 2015). In a situation such as this, an IEP's programmatic legitimacy—either the traditional, in-house program, or the program of the corporate partner —is indeed vital to the program's survival.

Organizational Legitimacy

The study of organizational legitimacy began with Weber's (1947) theory on the relationship between power and authority (Dart, 2004; Deephouse & Suchman, 2008). Weber asserted that social relationships play a role in the establishment of legitimate authority through the recognition and granting of power by various actors within the social unit (Scott, 2014). In 1948, Selznick observed an "indivisibility of control and consent" (p. 130) between actors in the social unit. Selznick (1948) asserted that all institutional leadership must pay attention to "the legitimacy of authority and the dynamics of persuasion" (p. 130) if that leadership hopes to successfully steer an organization toward its purpose. Selznick established that the frame of an organization includes outside stakeholders because those actors have influence over the resources of the organization, thus influencing the success, power, and legitimacy of the organization. Through comparisons between biological organisms and social systems, Katz and Kahn (1966) argue that there is an inherent organizational dependence on inputs from the environment for survival. Meyer and Rowan (1977) built on Katz and Khan's (1966) theory of open systems by demonstrating how external pressures affect institutional

transformations in a way that pushes outputs from one organization to be similar to the outputs of parallel organizations. According to Meyer and Rowan (1977) the transformation process is motivated by an internal institutional pressure to survive. External pressure often comes in the form of policies, products, and/or services within a field, discipline or market, that become institutionalized. Studies in the 1980s and early 90s focused on this external isomorphic pressure from external stakeholders to collectively define organizational legitimacy thorough individual institutional internalization of accepted cultural practices (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008). In higher education, the exploration of the institutional isomorphic response to environmental pressure includes a more recent focus on accreditation (Casile & Davis-Blake, 2002; McKee, Mills, & Weatherbee, 2005; McQuarrie, Kondra, & Lamertz, 2013; Murray, 2009; Rusch & Wilbur, 2007).

Definition of Legitimacy

Suchman (1995) found legitimacy to be "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (p. 524). This definition has been the most cited in modern institutional organization literature (Johnson, 2004). In higher education research, Suchman's definition is often cited in studies examining accreditation (McKee et al., 2005; McQuarrie et al., 2013; Rusch & Wilbur, 2007).

Through his examination of legitimacy within the literature of institutionalism, Suchman (1995) developed a typology for legitimacy, summarizing it into three basic types 1) pragmatic, b) moral, and c) cognitive. Suchman defines each of the three types of legitimacy based on its dispositional essence and then assigns the types of stakeholder

actions in relation to the disposition of the essence. Each action may be categorized as an episodic action, or one of a more continuous nature, as illustrated in Table 1. According to Suchman (1995), each legitimacy type rests on a "different behavioral dynamic" (p. 577). According to Scott, legitimacy is "a condition reflecting perceived consonance with relevant rules and laws or normative values, or alignment with cultural-cognitive frameworks;" it is an invisible property that is a "fundamental condition of social existence" (p. 72).

Table 1

Simplification of Suchman's Typology of Legitimacy

	Essence	Action	Temporality
Pragmatic Legitimacy	Interest Character	Exchange Influence	Episodic Continual
Moral Legitimacy	Personal Structural	Consequential Procedural	Episodic Continual
Cognitive Legitimacy	Plausible Permanent	Predictable Inevitable	Episodic Continual

Adapted "Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches," by M.C. Suchman, 1995, *Academy of Management Review, 20*(3), p. 584.

Pragmatic Legitimacy

In pragmatic legitimacy, organizations and their actors make decisions based on self-interest (Suchman, 1995). If these actions occur continuously, the self-interested behavior is assigned to the character of the organization rather than to an isolated incident. Chacar and Celo (2012) found through Suchman's framework that the National League of Major League Baseball in the U.S. sought to secure its survival through the development and promotion of policies that required teams seeking legitimacy to adopt, thereby conforming to the standards set by the National League. Scholars studying the

accreditation of institutions have observed similar phenomena (Casile & Davis-Blake, 2002; McKee et al., 2005; Serrano-Velarde, 2014).

Moral Legitimacy

Moral legitimacy involves more complexity in decision-making actions as those actions are seen as resting on a logic that is attentive to personal and social norms and values (Suchman, 1995). Henisz and Zelner (2005) find that emergent institutions face an uphill battle to attaining legitimacy because established organizations may launch a negative campaign challenging the moral legitimacy of the emergent organization in order to stifle its ability to establish itself in the minds of the public. Mele and Schepers (2013) report that corporations that fail to "meet social expectations...risk losing their legitimacy, and impairing their ability to do business" (p. 564).

Cognitive Legitimacy

Cognitive legitimacy rests in the comprehensibility of those internal and external stakeholders with the power to legitimize the purpose, meaning, and processes of the organization (Suchman, 1995). An organization with continual cognitive legitimacy enjoys an elevated taken-for-grantedness state so much so that its legitimacy survives beyond the organization's ability to be productive because it is simply understood to be legitimate (Black, 2008; Suchman, 1995). Using Suchman's framework, Boxenbaum (2008) found that cognitive legitimacy development can be framed in three ways, through: a) individual preference, b) strategic reframing, and c) local grounding. According to Boxenbaum, these three dimensions align to reflect "dominant institutions and significant events in the field, making legitimation the act of fitting a novel idea into an existing mold" (p. 255).

Table 2

Strategies for Gaining and Maintaining Legitimacy

	Purpose of Action to Gain	Purpose of Action to Maintain
General Legitimacy	Conform to environment Select environment Manipulate environment	Perceive change Protect accomplishment Police operations Communicate subtly Stockpile legitimacy
Pragmatic Legitimacy	Conform to demands Respond to needs Build reputation Select markets Locate audience Recruit stakeholders Advertise	Monitor tastes Consult opinion leaders Protect exchanges Police reliability Communicate honestly Stockpile trust
Moral Legitimacy	Conform to ideals Produce proper outcomes Embed in institutions Offer symbolic displays Select domain Define goals Persuade Demonstrate success Proselytize	Monitor ethics Consult professions Protect propriety Police responsibility Communicate authoritatively Stockpile esteem
Cultural-cognitive Legitimacy	Conform to models Mimic standards Formalize operations Professionalize operations Select labels Seek certification Institutionalize Persist Popularize new models Standardize new models	Monitor outlooks Consult doubters Protect assumptions Police simplicity Speak matter-of-factly Stockpile interconnections

Adapted "Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches," by M.C. Suchman, 1995, *Academy of Management Review, 20*(3), p. 600.

Suchman (1995) theorizes organizational strategies to gain and maintain legitimacy, and he posits that different strategies lead to different types of legitimacy. As shown in Table 2, each legitimacy type is defined by the purpose of the actions taken by the organization.

Three Pillars Framework

Scott (2014) builds on Suchman's (1995) typology in his Three Pillars framework for institutional analysis. In parallel fashion, Scott asserts that organizations are made up of three independent open systems: a) a regulative system, b) a normative system, and c) a cultural-cognitive system. However, while Suchman treats legitimacy as a resource, the nature of Scott's view is conditional (Mele & Schepers, 2013). Pragmatic legitimacy (Suchman, 1995) and a regulative system (Scott, 2014) both theoretically rely on rules and conformity, but Suchman posits that rule-development and rule-following involve institutional choice, while Scott argues that the rules are a condition which affect choice. The same strategy versus condition (Mele & Schepers, 2013) exists between Suchman's moral legitimacy and Scott's normative system and between Suchman's cognitive legitimacy and Scott's cultural-cognitive system. Suchman's (1995) framework defines legitimacy type by actions taken; Scott's (2014) framework, in contrast, separates an organization's systems according to the state from which institutional actors make decisions, as illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3
Institutions' Systematic States

	Regulative System	Normative System	Cultural-Cognitive System
Reason for Action	Expedience Obey stated rules	Social obligation Fulfill expectations	Taken-for-grantedness Constitutive schema
Logic	Instrumentality	Appropriateness	Orthodoxy
Affect	Guilt/Innocence	Shame/Honor	Certainty/Confusion
Legitimacy	Legally sanctioned	Morally governed	Comprehensible Recognizable Culturally supported

Adapted from *Institutions and Organizations.* By W.R. Scott, 2014, p. 60. Copyright 2014 by Sage Publications.

Each of Scott's (2014) institutional systems works independently of the other two, yet simultaneously within an organization, though the balance of the three is ever shifting. Within each of Scott's systems, actors attend to varied stakeholder frameworks of decision-making rationale—similar to those used in Suchman's typology. According to McQuarrie, Kondra, and Lamertz's (2013) findings "different types of legitimacy in the eyes of different audiences have different implications" (p. 152). According to Scott, the institution's legitimacy is directly related to how an organization reacts to changes in its environment. In other words, the state of the institution and its ability to react to those changes has implications for the institution's legitimacy (Scott, 2014).

Scott (2014) states that a regulative system is based on regulative rules, operates through a logic of instrumentality and affects its members into action through a coercive mechanism that taps into members' needs to avoid guilt or preserve innocence. According to Scott, a normative system is based on binding expectations with a social order, operates through a logic of appropriateness and calls its members to action through a normative mechanism that bestows a state of honor to those who comply. In a normative system, the organization achieves legitimacy through "morally governed" actions (p. 60). Scott defines a cultural-cognitive system as one that requires a logic of orthodoxy, through which actors mime established actions governed by a powerful taken-for-granted schema of appropriate behaviors. The legitimacy of a cultural-cognitive system stems from compliance to "comprehensible," "recognizable," and "culturally supported" actions governed by the "constitutive schema" (p. 60).

Managing Legitimacy

Oliver (1991) establishes the need for legitimacy when he posits that without legitimacy, organizations would be hard pressed to acquire the resources necessary for development and operation. Much work has been done through the framework of institutional theory related to legitimacy in various economic sectors, especially regarding gaining and maintaining legitimacy (Boxenbaum, 2008; Chacar & Celo, 2012; Díez-Martin et al., 2013; O'Brien, 2010; Patriotta, Gond, & Schultz, 2011; Pitcher, 2013). In higher education, much of the research focuses on various aspects of institutional change stemming from isomorphic pressure, or the external pressure to conform to standards of best practice governed by accrediting bodies (Casile & Davis-Blake, 2002; Mele & Schepers, 2013; Stensaker et al., 2011). However, conforming to industry standards is not the only means of acquiring legitimacy, or the appearance thereof (Scott, 2014; Suchman 1995). Some scholars (Díez-Martin et al., 2013; Giesecke, 2006; Hoque, 2005; Rusch & Wilbur, 2007) argue that legitimacy is an ongoing process that needs constant evaluation. Others (Dunworth, 2008; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002) maintain that it is a resource that requires cultivation and that can lead to new organizations, which benefit from the legitimacy of the parent organization. Finally, Díez-Martin et al. (2013) argue that legitimacy, being a resource and the product of process, is a goal for strategic planning. Suchman (1995) pointed out that all the various research traditions focusing on different aspects of legitimacy needed to take a closer look at the underlying assumption of legitimacy and the inherent challenges of managing legitimacy. According to Suchman, "managerial initiatives can make a substantial difference in the extent to which organizational activities are perceived as desirable, proper, and appropriate within

any given cultural context" (pp. 15-16). Suchman posits that through strategies of discourse, action, and non-verbal displays, the challenges of gaining and maintaining legitimacy could be managed.

Legitimacy is not only necessary for the survival of an institution, but it also creates opportunities for better performance, higher levels of success, and growth (Díez-Martin et al., 2013; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). Developing relationships with external stakeholders (Jongbloed et al., 2008), understanding the impact of external quality assurance regulation agencies (Stensaker et al., 2011), balancing the pressure of market forces against institutional mission (Pitcher, 2013), and recognizing the process involved in gaining and maintaining legitimacy (Drori & Honig, 2013; Giesecke, 2006; Johnson, 2004) all help institutions respond to and plan for a changing environment, persist, and succeed. According to Suchman (1995), the greatest challenges to an organization's ability to maintain legitimacy manifest through external environmental shocks and stem from the organization's inability to be flexible. In addition, a multitude of various stakeholder interests acting on the organization at any given time also creates a challenge to an institution's ability to manage its legitimacy. One such shock in the environment of higher education is a change in accreditation standards (Casile & Davis-Blake, 2002). While some scholars question the validity of accreditation standards (Helmig, Bürgisser, Lichtsteiner, & Spraul, 2010; McKee et al., 2005), others have approached research on accreditation standards from Scott's (2014) taken-for-grantedness perspective (Casile & Davis-Blake, 2002; Rusch & Wilbur, 2007). IEPs have recently undergone such a shock to their environment ("Accreditation Act," 2010; Fischer, 2012; Reeves, 2013).

Intensive English Programs

According to Dantas-Whitney and Dimmitt (2002), Intensive English Programs (IEPs) provide an intensive language learning experience to postsecondary students through 18-30 hours of weekly instruction of the English language through the English language. In the United States, IEPs are a part of the structure and governance of public or private universities, privately owned and operated, or some combination of privately owned and operated but directly affiliated and partnered with a college or university (Winkle, 2014). According to IIE (2013), IEPs range in size from as many as 600 students to as few as 20. Some of the IEP programs residing on college or university campuses are part of an academic department; others are free-standing (Hamrick, 2012; Kaplan, 1997). Some offer credit-bearing courses, others are strictly non-credit language programs (Case, 1998; Hamrick, 2012; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). Warschauer (2000) argues that the proliferation of English language use and English language teaching (ELT) is a direct result of globalization, global competitiveness, a global education market. The economic impact of hosting international students in general, and in a language program in particular is becoming more noticeable and universities are scrambling to find more ways to include educating international students in their mission (Connell, 2004; Pérez-Peña, 2014; Redden, 2013a).

Early History of Intensive English Programs

Immediately following World War II, colleges and universities began developing IEPs as a response to increased enrollment of international students who struggled to keep up with their English-speaking classmates (Kaplan, 1997), but questions of who should teach these students, how they should be taught, and the nature of the problems

they faced were not systematically addressed. In fact, many of the ESL (English as a Second Language) efforts of universities and colleges focused on remediation of non-native speakers' English, according to Kaplan (1997). Often the remedial lessons were carried out by volunteers or teaching assistants. As institutions approached these common problems in unique ways, the placement and governance of and support for IEPs varied widely (Kaplan, 1997). As these programs began to proliferate through the 50s and 60s, they could typically be found in schools of continuing education, in English or foreign language departments, or as a unit within a student services unit such as international programs (Stazek & Carkin, 1983; Eskey, 1997). Some program directors answered to deans, others to departmental directors or chairs, and still others to vice presidents for academic affairs or student affairs (Stazek & Carkin, 1983).

Professionalization of the Field

Research in Applied Linguistics (Quinn, 2012) aids in the teaching of the ever-growing population of non-native English-speaking students in the U.S. and lends itself to the professionalization of teaching English to non-native speakers (Chamberlin-Quinlisk, 2012). Professional associations such as the American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL) and TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) encourage research and peer-reviewed publications. Membership organizations such as UCIEP and AAIEP (now EnglishUSA) formed in order to set and uphold standards and offer competitive differentiation for academically bound students versus those seeking only English instruction (Thompson, 2012; Winkle, 2014).

In 1993, TESOL formed a task force, at the suggestion of UCIEP and AAIEP members, to explore the development of standards as a first step in forming an

accrediting body (O'Donnell, 2001), similar to programmatic accreditation in fields such as medicine, law, and teacher education, in order to "identify institutions that meet standards of excellence" and to help students "make wise school choices" (p. 118). As a result, in 1999, The Commission on English Language Program Accreditation (CEA) was founded and in 2003 (Crawford, 2003), CEA was approved and recognized by the U.S. Department of Education as having the authority to accredit ESL programs.

Intensive English Program Legitimacy

Jenks and Kennell (2012) offer a plan for developing an IEP's path to academic legitimacy based on experience culled from IEP directors, yet no empirical evidence has been examined to support this plan. Elements of Jenks and Kennell's (2012) plan include securing conditional admission, enhancing IEP facilities, and seeking programmatic accreditation. Winkle (2014) suggests that in order to "make forward strides toward an academy-recognized professionalization of English language teaching and towards becoming an accepted discipline," (p. 247) IEP faculty should be afforded an opportunity to rise through ranks in a promotion process not unlike tenure. Winkle also suggests that in bringing English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers in from the margins, institutions should consider "locating their programs in academic divisions or units such as English, Foreign or World Languages, Linguistics, or Education" (p. 239).

Several authors have claimed that IEPs face challenges in establishing legitimacy within the typical community of scholars found on a college or university campus (Dantas-Whitney & Dimmitt, 2002; Staczek & Carkin, 1984). Faculty members of IEPs are often considered second-class citizens within the larger institution of higher education (Case, 1998; Dantas-Whitney & Dimmitt, 2002; Staczek & Carkin, 1984; Thompson,

2013). Jenks (1997) defined marginalization of IEP faculty as not being eligible for tenure-track positions, not participating on school-wide committees, not being involved in the development of curriculum, and not being given opportunities for professional development. Some of these defining issues persist among IEP faculty today (Winkle, 2014).

Students of IEPs are another factor contributing to the marginalization of IEPs, according to Eskey (1997). In a climate where education has become a commodity to be traded in an open market (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), international students are being recruited specifically for the profits they bring to an institution (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Yet, research shows that the needs unique to international students are often unmet by the institutions hosting them (Andrade, 2006; Goodwin & Nacht, 1983; Yan & Berliner, 2009). Oftentimes, students enrolled in non-credit programs in IEPs receive less attention from the college or university hosting them than international students enrolled in degree-seeking programs because these students have not yet been actually admitted to the University (Eskey, 1997), leaving the IEP solely responsible for the care and support of the IEP students.

The curriculum in IEPs is considered non-traditional for higher education (Eskey, 1997) mostly because language is an acquired skill rather than a theoretical concept to be grappled with and tested. For this reason, the teaching and learning of ESL has historically been perceived as remedial work (Kaplan, 1997), or skills simply teachable by any educated native speaker of the English language. While professional academic organizations such as the American Association of Applied Linguistics (AAAL) and Teachers of English as a Second Language (TESOL) provide outlets for publication of

empirical studies related to the acquisition, learning, and teaching methodology of English as a second or foreign language, this avenue of scientific inquiry is typically reserved for those teaching ESL and not for those learning ESL. This is in contrast to disciplines such as history or biology, where students of the subject may be as engaged in the scientific inquiry of the discipline as the professors.

Intensive English Program Stakeholders

Ginsberg and Bernstein (2011) observe that "Universities, like other large institutions, do not exist in a vacuum, but are situated in a context of peer institutions, community constituents, and internal members" (p. 10). Díez-Martin et al. (2013) argue that legitimacy is achieved through careful interactions with stakeholders. If this is true, it is important to identify IEP stakeholders (Klinghammer, 2012). At the local level, IEP stakeholders include students, faculty, and IEP administrators. These internal stakeholders are vital to the organization's survival because without the work of the faculty or the approval of the students, the institution certainly would not exist. Within the broader university, IEP stakeholders include faculty who teach students exiting IEPs, staff who work with the students, and administrators (Jenks & Kennell, 2012). Domestic students sharing a classroom with linguistically unprepared students may also be considered stakeholders (Andrade, 2006; Harrison & Peacock, 2010), as their educational experience is directly related to the presence of non-native speakers in the classroom (Harrison & Peacock, 2010). These stakeholders can directly affect IEP students' experiences with marginalization on campuses (Klinghammer, 2012).

External stakeholders include host families—families who provide room and board for students studying in IEPs—, foreign governments, private financial sponsors

and scholarship granting organizations, branches of the U.S. government—including the Department of State and the Department of Homeland Security—, textbook publishers, and competitors (Klinghammer, 2012). Accrediting bodies and professional organizations are also important external stakeholders whose influence is strong enough to force change upon an institution, if the institution chooses to pursue membership with or certification by these organizations (Casile & Davis-Blake, 2002).

Intensive English Program Outsourcing

Some services on college and university campuses, such as healthcare, food service, and financial planning (Quigley & Pereira, 2011) are provided by for-profit, publicly traded corporations that can offer more streamlined services and a lower cost, which allows institutions of higher education the freedom to focus resources on more "core activities." Schibik and Harrington (2004) define the core activities of an institution as activities that are critical to the performance of the institution and a "source of current or future competitive advantage" (p. 398). Russell (2010) reports that some form of outsourcing occurs on over 90% of all higher education institutions' campuses. However, not all outsourced activities of higher education are simply non-core activities. Many colleges and universities have arguably contracted out instruction, clearly a core activity, for many years through the use of adjunct instructors (Russell, 2010; Schibik & Harrington, 2004). In addition, the use of technology in education continues to bloom and the framing of instruction and academic decision-making through online platforms developed by private industry (Baines & Chiarelott, 2010) creates a blurry divide between a college or university's commitment to institutional mission and capital gains (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; UNISON, 2013). Blumenstyk (2016) refers to this

growing practice as the " 'Embedded for-profit' sector," and adds interactive courseware, coding boot camps, and academic-advising engines to the list of services offered by for-profit organizations, noting that these activities continue to cut closer to the core of the institutional mission of non-profit colleges and universities.

Just as the environment of higher education is constantly and quickly changing (Coleman, 2006), so too is the environment for IEPs (Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). In the wake of the 2009-2010 global recession, the revenue stream created by international students has not gone unnoticed. International students studying in the United States contributed $24 billion to the U.S. economy in the academic year 2012-2013 (IIE, 2014). Colleges and universities seek to enroll international students to boost revenue (Marginson & Sawir, 2006) and policy makers encourage international student enrollment and migration in order to meet the needs of the knowledge economy and help the U.S. remain globally competitive (Knight, 2012a). Perhaps not coincidentally, the number of students studying in the U.S. has consistently grown since 2004 (IIE, 2014). Increasing numbers of international students on U.S. campuses means increasing demands on university faculty and staff, especially with students who struggle with English proficiency. (Constantine et al., 2005; Leki, 2006; Schweisfurth & Gu, 2009; Yan & Berliner, 2009).

One way that colleges and universities are looking to solve the problem of how to increase international student enrollments without having to increase the number of professional staff to deal with adjustment issues and recruitment, or without investing more in the linguistic preparation of these students, is by contracting with for-profit companies who can offer these services at no cost to the degree-granting institution

(Redden, 2010, 2014). In the field of English language training, outsourcing most often comes in the form of pathway programs, which "are set up to make it possible for advanced-level English language learners who have not met language requirements to be provisionally admitted into credit-bearing, disciplinary content courses and programs" (Winkle, 2014, p. 4). According to Winkle (2014), these pathway programs present a threat to traditional intensive English program housed on college or university campuses in that the service-providers owning these pathway programs target the IEPs in order "to set up corporate sector partnerships that will incorporate the functions of the IEPs" (p. 4). Though there is a lack of empirical research on the "embedded for-profit sector," journalistic pieces highlight the current debate among higher education professionals. Klahr (2016) shares the perspective that pathway programs "greatly impact teaching and learning as well as the resources in offices providing student support" (p. 44) and cautions readers to carefully consider whether outsourcing or investing "the same amount of resources to establish the infrastructure in-house" (p. 46) would ultimately produce the best outcomes for the institution.

Baines and Chiarelott (2010) argue that corporations that form partnerships with accredited, nationally-known institutions of higher education are able to capitalize more quickly on their investment because they do not need to wait the "decades" it took the institutions of higher education to build their brand in the world of education. Legitimacy through a normative system such as accreditation is seemingly instantaneous in light of Baines and Chiarelott's (2010) findings. However, this is not always the case. Twice since 2009, after corporate takeovers, two separate IEP programs lost their programmatic accreditation through the Commission on English Language Program

Accreditation (CEA) due to a lack of evidence that programs continued to meet the commission's standards. (Epstein, 2010; Redden, 2009). Both these programs have regained their accreditation and newer established programs by the same corporation continue to achieve CEA accreditation (CEA, 2014; Redden, 2013c).

Most empirical research targeted at for-profit English programs partnering with public or non-profit universities focuses on student success. Dooey (2010) reports that an academic pathway program established at a university in Australia for the purpose of boosting international enrollments and providing linguistically underprepared students with "an alternative to meeting English language proficiency requirements on a standardized test" (p. 185), did support these students academically as they entered the University. Students interviewed by Dooey (2010) reported that they were academically successful, even though they faced many challenges during their experience with the program, including difficulty participating in group discussion and class discussion led by an instructor, personal feelings of unworthiness, and struggles with understanding cultural references. Oliver, Vanderford, and Grote (2013) report that students who enter the University through a pathway program in lieu of submitting international standardized language proficiency test scores tend to struggle in comparison with students who meet standardized test score requirements at matriculation. However, this study focuses on a mix of private, corporate-owned pathways and university-owned pathways. While the authors state, "it is apparent that some pathways are more conducive to success than others" (p. 553), it is unclear which type of program is considered better.

Summary

While many IEPs have achieved programmatic accreditation (CEA, 2014; IIE, 2013), employ scholars who publish research (Winkle, 2014), educate students who go on to complete degrees at U.S. institutions (Fischer, 2010) are sometimes considered an important stakeholder in a college or university internationalization plan (Connell, 2004), they may continue to struggle with legitimacy (Jenks & Kennell, 2012). In addition, some IEP programs may have achieved some form of legitimacy without pursuing any of the endeavors outlined above. Because there is a lack of empirical investigation into the legitimacy of IEPs, proposals for how IEPs can gain and maintain legitimacy remain theoretical. Suchman (1995) theorizes that through the anticipation of future environmental changes, protecting the accomplishments of the past, and developing relationships for the purpose of garnering good will and support, legitimacy may be maintained. Jenks and Kennell (2012) proposed a typology for acquiring legitimacy, particularly academic legitimacy, for an Intensive English Program (IEP). This typology includes the following elements: a) acquiring governmental support, b) gaining nongovernmental support, c) assisting the parent institution, and d) building cooperative linkages with other units of the host institution. Similarities are found between the two typologies, but Jenks and Kennell's proposal does not rest on an empirical foundation; in fact, no empirical research has examined how an IEP gains or maintains its legitimacy.

Forbes (2012) notes that very little empirical research has focused on the organization, management, and leadership of programs developed for the purpose of fast-tracking a student's linguistic ability in preparation for degree study in a foreign country. IEPs have struggled with issues of marginalization, being misunderstood, and receiving

insufficient support (Eaton, 2013). As more and more institutions add IEPs to their program offerings (Redden, 2013a), as external mandates continue to pressure programs to make internal changes ("Accreditation Act," 2010), and as program governance and management enter a phase of massive turnover (Forbes, 2012), leaving vacancies in IEP leadership, and perhaps gaps in professional and institutional knowledge, institutional leaders must be able to make informed decisions regarding who will navigate their IEPs through these turbulent times in higher education. In order to make these decisions, leaders must understand the challenges that their organizations face, both in their day-to-day management of the organization's legitimacy and in their strategic planning for legitimacy (Díez-Martin et al., 2013).

Not only do intensive English programs need to be mindful of the federal regulations that now contribute to the legitimacy of an intensive English training program for non-immigrant students, they must also be mindful of the assessments of the governing accrediting agencies whose approval they must seek for their survival, just as post-secondary institution in the United States must be accredited by organizations approved by the Department of Education if they are to enroll students receiving federal financial aid. Balancing the maintenance of this regulatory influence on legitimacy with the internal institutional legitimacy that marginalized IEPs on college and university campuses have historically faced is a true challenge for IEP leaders (Murray, 2009). Developing an understanding of the balance of the organization's legitimacy as it is distributed across Scott's (2014) Three Pillars framework provides foundational knowledge for leaders preparing strategic plans for institutional survival and success.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

As institutions of higher education in the U.S struggle to meet enrollment projections (Carnevale et al., 2010) and redefine themselves in a corporatized world (Pitcher, 2013), many institutions look to educating more international students and/or partnering with the for-profit sector as possible solutions to filling an enrollment gap, saving on administrative costs, and bolstering revenue (Blumenstyk, 2016; Knight, 2012b; Redden, 2013b). In the academic year 2013-2014, more than 850,000 international students were studying in the U.S. These students and their families contributed almost $27 billion to the U.S. economy in the form of tuition and living expenses (IIE, 2016). Not only do international students help boost the U.S. economy through their financial investment in their education, but they also "bring multiple international and cultural perspectives to American classrooms and provide critical international exposure for American students who might never have the opportunity to study abroad" (IIE, 2014, p. 7).

Ten percent of all international students studying in the U.S. begin their journey in intensive English programs (IEPs), many of which are university-governed. While many of these programs generate revenue for the host institution, they also provide critical support for international students' language development and cultural learning (Eaton, 2013; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). Yet, courses in a university-governed IEP are typically non-credit courses, faculty typically hold a master's degree, as opposed to a

doctorate, and the programs themselves do not typically fit neatly into one specific department (Hamrick, 2012). For these reasons, IEP faculty members have been reported to suffer from feelings of marginalization (Jenks & Kennell, 2012; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010; Winkle, 2014). This marginalization frequently challenges the legitimacy of the IEP (Jenks & Kennell, 2012), which in turn, could threaten the IEP's very survival (Scott, 2014).

Little to no empirical evidence has been published that examines the legitimacy of an intensive English program, leaving program directors at a loss for guidance as to how to persist in an increasingly competitive and ever-changing environment (Pennington & Hoekje, 2010; Redden, 2013a). Through the lens of institutional theory, this study examines the landscape of one intensive English program's legitimacy and explores how that legitimacy was gained and how it is maintained.

Research Question

This study was guided by one overarching research question: How did Large Public University's Intensive English Program (IEP) acquire and maintain its internal and external legitimacy through its regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive systems? In order to consider how legitimacy is gained and maintained within each of the three institutional systems identified in Scott's (2014) Three Pillars framework, six sub questions further guided this study. The first two questions address a regulative system, each from an internal or external perspective. Questions three and four have been developed from Scott's (2014) description of a normative system, again one from an internal and the next from an external perspective. The remaining two questions, also taking an internal or an external perspective, address characteristics of a cultural-

cognitive system. Table 4 illustrates the relationship between each of the six sub questions, and the pillars they address and indicates whether or not the question is focused on an internal or an external environment.

Table 4
Sub Questions' Relationships to Pillars

System	Question Number	Question
Regulative		
Internal	SQ_1	How has the IEP responded to and leveraged governmental regulations?
External	SQ_2	How has the IEP responded to and leveraged host institution policies?
Normative		
Internal	SQ_3	How has the IEP worked to meet external stakeholders' expectations?
External	SQ_4	How has the IEP worked to meet internal stakeholders' expectations?
Cultural-cognitive		
Internal	SQ_5	How does the IEP fit into the higher education environment?
External	SQ_6	How does the IEP fit into the campus environment of the host institution?

Procedures

The research question for this study was developed through a literature review of institutional and organizational theories of legitimacy and an examination of literature on intensive English language programs, especially in terms of the legitimacy of these programs. Jenks and Kennell (2012) discuss a historical struggle that intensive English programs on college and university campuses have faced in establishing academic legitimacy. The researcher found media discussions of a changing environment for these types of programs (Ling et al., 2014; Redden, 2013a; Reeves, 2013) and empirical evidence on faculty experiences with these changes (Winkle, 2014), but a gap exists in the literature in terms of empirical exploration related to an intensive English program's

experience with gaining or maintaining legitimacy. Also missing from the IEP literature is a detailed accounting of the variance in program types as explained in the IEP literature (Dantas-Whitney & Dimmitt, 2002; Hamrick, 2012). In an attempt to better understand the significance of this sector of post-secondary education in the U.S., the researcher gained permission from the Institute of International Education to enter data published in IIE's annual catalog of intensive English programs (IIE, 2013) into a spreadsheet for analysis. From this analysis, the researcher developed a clearer picture of intensive English study in the United States, including the number of programs, the nature of programs, the number of students enrolled in each program per term, the structure of the programs, and the number of faculty and staff employed by each program. This database is limited to the programs that self-report to IIE each year for the purpose of publication in the catalog, as well as each reporting institution's efforts to accurately update the information before publication.

The second phase of the development of the research question in this study involved a review of legitimacy literature, especially in the theories of organizational institutionalism. Ultimately, Scott's (2014) Three Pillars framework for institutions and organizations was chosen as the theoretical framework that would provide for the researcher's development of an understanding of the type of legitimacy on which LPU's IEP depends for survival and the acquisition and maintenance of that legitimacy. The researcher used each of the three systems included in Scott's framework as the basis for development of six sub questions that serve to provide structure to the answer to the one overarching question in this study. Sub questions one and two address a regulative

system, questions three and four address a normative system, and questions five and six address a cultural-cognitive system.

The researcher identified case study methodology as appropriate methodology for answering the research question. Next, the researcher developed a site selection process. Once site selection and confirmation was complete, the researcher collected qualitative data in the form of interviews, documents, and physical observations. Data was then analyzed using cyclical coding methodology (Saldaña, 2013).

Research Design

Pennington and Hoekje (2010), assert that language programs are "distinctive communities of practice," that "consist of a complex, interrelated set of components and areas of performance and decision-making involving tangible and intangible assets...which interact in multiple ways with each other and with the larger context in which the program is situated" (p. 11). They suggest that a language program such as an intensive English program located on a college or university campus is embedded in the organization's context. Extricating such an organization from its environment for the purpose of examination would surely upset the ecology of the program (Pennington & Hoekje, 2010) and result in a less than complete picture of the organization's processes. Yin (2014) states that case study methodology is most appropriate in situations in which "the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident" (p. 16). In a discussion on the role of legitimacy in the acquisition of resources and the development of new ventures, Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002) advocate for the usefulness of case study methodology in the exploration of various types of legitimacy, in documenting the legitimation process, or in developing "an awareness of the use of a legitimation strategy"

(p. 429). Taking into account the complicated nature of an intensive English program (Pennington & Hoekje, 2010), the appropriateness of case study methodology in examining an embedded phenomenon (Yin, 2014), and the recommendation of in depth, qualitative examination of organizational legitimation (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002), the researcher chose to investigate the research question in this study using qualitative case study methodology.

According to Hamrick (2012), the structure, location, mission, and operation of an intensive English program varies widely across the field. In fact, IEPs are often defined by their structure, location, mission, students, and stakeholders (Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). For example, programs "may or may not be authorized to issue the documents that allow students to enter the country," they "can be distinguished by their funding structure," or by whether they are "proprietary in nature" or "part of larger educational or non-profit entities" (p. 9). Thompson (2013) suggests that this variance in IEP programmatic design has contributed to the absence of empirical examination of the leadership and management of an IEP. In determining the unit of analysis for this study, the researcher considered Yin's (2014) discussion on single-case and multiple-case methodology. Yin identifies five rationales for employing a single-case design in qualitative case study methodology. Of these five rationales, the revelatory case stands out. According to Yin (2014), the revelatory case "exists when a researcher has an opportunity to observe and analyze a phenomenon previously inaccessible to social science inquiry (p. 52)." Based on the variance in IEP definition and design as described by Pennington & Hoekje (2010), and Thompson's (2013) observation of the lack of existing empirical study related to intensive English programs, the researcher concluded

that the revelatory case rationale was an appropriate basis for choosing a single-case study design.

The researcher followed an embedded single-case study design (Yin, 2014), which allows the researcher to simultaneously consider external stakeholders as well as various subunits within the organization, ultimately providing multiple institutional perspectives as in *Figure 1*.

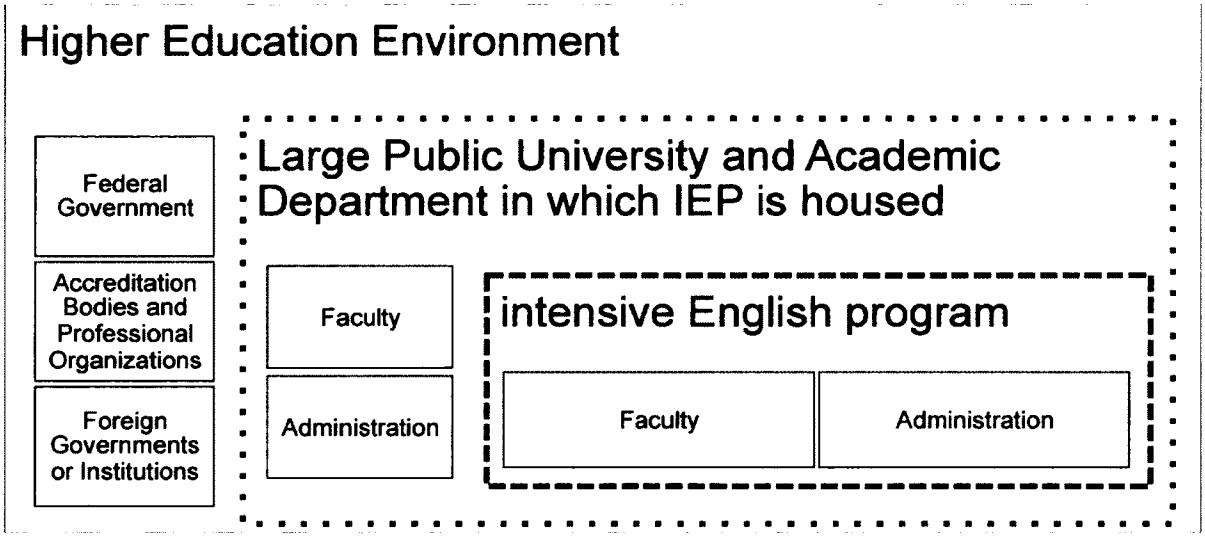

Figure 1. Embedded Case Study Design. Units of analysis within the embedded single-case of the intensive English program at Large Public University.

Site Selection

The researcher began the site selection for this study by closely examining a comprehensive listing of more than 664 intensive English programs in the United States (IIE, 2013). Based on the cataloged program data at the time the researcher was developing the study, there were 345 programs owned or operated by colleges or universities and 173 independent or proprietary programs in the U.S. (IIE, 2013). Only 22 of the 528 programs providing detailed programmatic information reported having no accreditation or failed to report an accreditation status. There were over 100 varieties of reported structures, ranging from programs that enrolled new students every Monday 52

times a year to traditional university-calendar based programs operating two 16-week terms and one summer term. The researcher decided to delimit the scope of this study by establishing criteria for defining an intensive English program for the purposes of this study. The purpose of this delimitation was to ensure some generalizability of the findings to the defined population (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). The criteria used to narrow the population for this study are that the program should a) be located on the campus of the host institution, b) be owned and operated by a college or university, c) maintain membership in an organization that specifically serves language programs, and d) hold accreditation through an accrediting body approved by the U.S. Department of Education. The rationale for limiting the population to only programs that meet all five criteria are explained below.

Location. In their discussion on forging a path toward legitimacy, Jenks and Kennell (2012) included building on-campus awareness of the program, maintaining and building direct contacts with administrators of academic programs, and building cooperative linkages with academic units as important strategic moves for IEP leaders. Arguably, programs not located on a college or university campus would have difficulties pursuing these goals. While other paths to legitimacy might be discovered by examining programs not located on college or university campuses, the researcher has decided to delimit the population of this study to only those programs located on college or university campuses in order to test the assertions of Jenks and Kennell (2012) against a program that would have the opportunity to follow such paths. After this criterion was applied, 419 programs remained in consideration for possible site selection for this study.

Ownership. Jenks and Kennell's (2012) discussion of legitimizing factors of IEPs and their suggestions for strategic action aimed at gaining legitimacy focuses on IEPs that are owned and operated by a host institution that provides post-secondary educational opportunities to a broader population of degree-seeking students. Because this discussion was integral to the development of the research question in this study, it is appropriate to focus on this part of the IEP population. The majority of programs cataloged in the IIE (2013) database, 65 percent, were owned or operated by colleges or universities. At the time this study was designed, there were 345 IEPs reported to be owned and operated by college or universities in the U.S. (IIE, 2013) and therefore 345 programs remained in consideration for possible site selection for this study.

Accreditation. Because institutions typically seek accreditation for the purpose of boosting their effectiveness, or perceived effectiveness (Head & Johnson, 2011), and because Scott (2014) lists accreditation as one method of achieving normative legitimacy, the researcher further narrowed the population to include only those institutions that report being both accredited through a regional accrediting body, such as the Middle States Accreditation (MSA), and also holding programmatic accreditation through the Commission on English Language Program Accreditation (CEA), the only accrediting body that specifically accredits English language programs and is recognized by the U.S. Department of Education. Initially, the researcher intended to narrow the sample population to all institutions with any type of accreditation, but since the implementation of the Accreditation of English Language Training Programs Act in 2013, all programs must have at least accreditation through the host institution with the regional accrediting body in order to host international students on F-1 visas ("Accreditation Act," 2010).

Therefore, the rationale of narrowing the population to include programs that seek additional accreditation from CEA has been employed. This narrowed the sample population to 77 potential institutions (IIE, 2013).

Professional Association. There are two specific English language program membership organizations that exist for the purposes of providing advocacy, professional support, professional standards, and guidance for best practices in the delivery of English language training. Because subscribing to organizations that promote best practices is an indicator of normative legitimacy (Scott, 2014), the researcher chose to limit the population for this study to institutions that belong to such organizations. At the time this study was being designed, there were 268 institutions reporting membership to the American Association of Intensive English Programs (AAIEP) and 71 programs belonging to the University and College Intensive English Programs (UCIEP) organization (IIE, 2013). Considering the criteria outlined above and filtering out institutions without programmatic accreditation, for-profit programs, and programs not located on college or university campuses, 59 institutions remained as potential sites for this study. Because programs belonging to UCIEP also meet the criteria of ownership and location used in this study, the researcher decided to limit potential sites to UCIEP member institutions. Applying these criteria narrowed the population to 38 institutions as potential sites for this study.

This study in no way assumes that a program not meeting the criteria for site selection for this study outlined above should be considered as struggling with legitimacy. These criteria are guidelines used by the researcher to ensure, as best as possible, that the chosen site does in fact have a certain level of legitimacy. By choosing

a program that has achieved membership to and certification through as many potential certifying, normative bodies as possible, the researcher assumes the program has achieved normative legitimacy (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). This logic does not assume that an acquisition of normative legitimacy through acceptance by these organizations is the only path to legitimacy, nor does it assume that organizations outside the sphere of the population identified in this study are without legitimacy. The population of intensive English programs identified for this study is delimited to programmatically accredited intensive English programs located on a college or university campus, owned and operated by the college or university, with the mission of preparing non-native English speakers for academic study either at the host institution or at a similar type of higher education institution, and belonging to an IEP membership organization.

In order to choose a site and gain permission to conduct research at one of the 38 sites identified as the population for this study, the researcher sent an email to a UCIEP listserv. The email briefly explained this study and asked for participants to provide access to their program for examination. Four program directors expressed interest in the study and initially, three of those four expressed a willingness to participate. All three of those programs met all general criteria for participation; however, after more conversation about the focus of the study and the nature of the individual programs, only two of the directors expressed confidence that their programs would able to provide data that would be helpful in answering the research question. Both remaining programs had a similar structure. The researcher briefly considered a multiple case study design, but then it was announced that the host institution of one of the programs would undergo a

massive institutional reorganization and the leadership of the intensive English program would change. This left the researcher with one potential site for examination. The researcher has assigned the pseudonym "Large Public University" (LPU) to this site for the purpose of reporting this study in order to ensure privacy of the University and anonymity of participants. In addition, specific colleges or departments of LPU will be assigned pseudonyms in the reporting of the findings in this study in order to protect the privacy of the University and its employees.

According to LPU's website, Large Public University has been engaged in intensive English training for over 50 years. The intensive English program at LPU, a Research I institution according to the Carnegie classification system, is owned and operated by the University, located on the main campus of the University, and housed within an academic department (DEPT). The director of the IEP reports directly to the chair of DEPT. The IEP program operates on the same semester calendar as the University's degree programs. The mission of the IEP is to prepare students for success in U.S. post-secondary educational institutions. LPU's IEP enrolls approximately 400 intensive English students per term from 30-40 different countries, employs nearly 40 full-time and part-time instructors, nine administrators, and up to 50 degree-seeking students to assist with student learning. LPU's IEP is accredited by the Commission on English Language Program Accreditation (CEA), falls under the umbrella of LPU's regional accreditation, is a member of EnglishUSA, and is a member of a regional consortium of IEPs.

Institutional Review Board Approval

The researcher followed guidelines approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Mercer University in participant recruitment for this study. Once potential participants agreed to be interviewed for this study, each participant was emailed an agreement letter of informed consent in the form of a PDF attachment. Before the onset of each interview, participants signed the informed consent agreement letter, and emailed it back to the researcher as a PDF document. Additionally, the researcher submitted Mercer's IRB approval to the director of the IEP at Large Public University and was assured that Mercer University's IRB approval would suffice for the collection of data necessary for meeting the objectives of this study on LPU's campus.

Data Collection

Following Bogdan and Biklen's (2007) assertion that in conducting qualitative research information should be gathered from multiple sources in order to present findings as established fact, this study employed three types of collection methods: interviewing, document analysis, and observations. Employing this triangulation of evidence (Yin, 2014) strengthens construct validity of the case study. Triangulation involves using evidence from secondary data collection methods to support the findings from a primary data collection method. Participant interviews were the primary method of data collection in this study. Document analysis and observations were employed in order to triangulate the data collected through interviews. Initial interview data was reviewed prior to the researcher's visit to Large Public University's campus for observations, but no data analysis was conducted until all data collection was complete.

Interviews

The researcher identified a gatekeeper (Creswell, 2005) at the institution, an administrator in the intensive English program, to help the researcher gain access to employees. The gatekeeper identified potential interviewees and the researcher reached out to each of those employees to request an interview. From the initial list, two interviews were scheduled. Snowball sampling (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) was used from that point forward to recruit participants. At the end of each interview, the researcher asked for recommendations regarding potential participants. Ultimately, five phases of snowballing occurred.

1) The gatekeeper initially recommended five potential participants; all were emailed, three responded, and three were interviewed.

2) Of the three initial interviews, 11 recommendations were received for potential participants. All 11 were emailed, five declined to participate, four did not respond, two agreed to participate, and one was actually interviewed.

3) Of the one interview from the second phase of sampling, three recommendations were received. One of the recommended participants had been previously recommended during the first phase. The other two potential candidates were emailed, but neither responded.

4) At this point, the researcher returned to the gatekeeper for additional recommendations. The gatekeeper provided another 13 recommendations, of which four had previously been recommended and contacted by the researcher. Of those four, three had not responded and one had been interviewed. The remaining nine new potential participants were emailed. From this group,

two declined to participate, four did not respond, and three agreed to participate and were interviewed.

5) From the three interviews in the fourth phase of sampling, four recommendations were made for potential participants. All four potential candidates had been previously recommended by participants: one had not responded, one had declined to participate, and two had been previously interviewed.

Ultimately, interviews were requested of twenty-eight individual employees of the University. Twelve requests remain unanswered, seven requests were denied, and nine requests were granted; however, only eight participants were interviewed because all attempts to schedule the ninth interview failed due to scheduling conflicts between the researcher and the potential participant. Employees who denied the researcher's request for an interview cited the following reasons: a) not having a useful perspective b) not being available or able to participate c) not having any or enough knowledge of the program to be able to contribute. All eight initial interviews took place over the phone; in addition, two follow-up interviews occurred in person during the researcher's visit to the institution.

At the conclusion of the fifth phase of snowball sampling, the researcher had interviewed exactly the sample population hoped for: at least eight participants in total—two faculty and two administrators from within the IEP and two faculty and two administrators from outside the IEP. Because the researcher had gone to the gatekeeper twice and because by the end of the fifth phase the researcher received only duplicate recommendations, she determined the snowball sample process was exhausted.

In order to safeguard anonymity for the participants in this study (Berg, 2004), descriptors which could be used to identify Large Public University have been changed or left out of the reporting. In addition, the researcher has taken steps to further protect the anonymity of interview participants through the assignment of gender-neutral pseudonyms ("BabyHold," 2003). Participants' names are not saved on any documents associated with the interview corpus. A key of participants' names, positions at the institution, and their pseudonyms is stored on a password protected external hard drive. The initial eight phone interviews were recorded using an online conference calling service. Follow-up interviews were recorded using the voice memo app on an iPhone 6. Electronic files have been saved in MP4 format on a password protected external hard drive. Participants' names are not associated with the files. Interview transcription was done using a web-based transcription service. Original transcription files are stored on the same external hard drive and the files are labeled according to the order in which the interviews were collected, in conjunction with the original audio files. The researcher reviewed all audio files against the transcripts and corrected mistakes or edited parts marked "inaudible" by the transcriber. Interviews were then compiled into one Microsoft Word document consisting of 192 pages of transcription. Participants were assigned codes according to their employment status at the institution and a number according to the chronology of the interview: EA 1 and 2 for external administrators, IA 1 and 2 for internal administrators, EF 1 and 2 for external faculty and IF 1and 2 for internal faculty. Internal and external refer to the relationship to the intensive English program. These codes were later assigned gender-neutral pseudonyms for ease in discussion.

Document Collection

According to Yin (2014) documents provide stable evidence in that they can in no way be influenced by the study itself. Yin states "the most important use of documents is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources." (p. 107). For the purpose of this study, the researcher reviewed LPU's website for information that could be used to support the findings of the data collected through participant interviews. Specifically, the IEP webpages and the webpages of the department within which the IEP is housed were reviewed. LPU's website was also searched for information about the IEP that was published on pages other that the department's pages. The researcher also reviewed a campus map, personal emails of one of the participants, and historical documents stored in the main office of the IEP, including applications for accreditation, self-study documents, and photo albums. Finally, the researcher reviewed IEP advertisements published through online marketing sources.

Observations

The researcher visited the IEP for one day in order to observe the program in its natural environment. The researcher and an administrator acting as a tour guide reviewed a campus map together and circled all the campus facilities that are frequented by IEP students, including buildings in which classrooms are housed, and then toured the facilities. The researcher took photographs of the facilities and took notes in order to ask questions of one of the participants during a scheduled follow-up interview.

Each photograph was imported into a Microsoft Word document and the researcher recorded initial thoughts on the pictures. These documents are stored on an external hard drive, along with interview data and analysis. After the data analysis of the

interview corpus was completed, the researcher reviewed the photographs and initial comments to compare them with the themes found in the interview data (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Information gathered during observations has been used to confirm information collected through interviews and documents (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

Trustworthiness

Yin (2014) outlines four tests for determining the trustworthiness of a case study's research design: a) construct validity, b) internal validity, c) external validity, and reliability. Yin asserts that implementing the use of these tests in evaluating case study research design, in planning data collection, and in data analysis provides for a reliable and valid study. Elements associated with each of these tests were considered in the design of this study.

Construct Validity

In order to determine whether interview questions made sense, provided meaning to the data collected and allowed the researcher to "draw good conclusions" from the data (Creswell, 2005), the researcher sought feedback from "key informants" (Yin, 2014, p. 45). Key informants for this study included three directors of intensive English programs located on college or university campuses and the researcher's dissertation committee. Before the researcher collected any data, she asked informants to review the questions and provide feedback on their comprehensibility to ensure that answers would lead to the type of data the researcher was seeking. The researcher carefully considered feedback she received and edited the interview questions accordingly. The researcher also categorized the interview protocol questions according to the legitimacy type(s) that each question seemed to address. This categorization provided for an a priori assessment that

could later be used in a pattern matching process, which serves as another test for trustworthiness.

Internal Validity

Yin (2014) posits that in order for a case study to possess internal validity, the researcher must develop a strategy for analyzing the data. Yin offers several models for case study data analysis. This study will rely on the theoretical propositions of Scott's (2014) Three Pillars framework as a foundation for the data analysis. Yin (2014) explains that beginning with a theoretical orientation provides the researcher with a framework for organizing the analysis. This study employed structural coding (Saldaña, 2013) within the pre-determined categories of the three types of legitimacy found in Scott's (2014) framework to further categorize and organize data. This a priori coding is part of a pattern matching process (Yin, 2014). This is appropriate for the data collected in this study because the interview protocol consisted of 22 questions specifically designed to address specific topics coming out of the legitimacy literature. Upon completion of data analysis, the researcher compared new codes assigned to the participants' comments according to legitimacy types with the a priori codes to determine whether the theoretical legitimacy of the program matched the empirical legitimacy.

External Validity

In order to develop a trustworthy protocol for collecting data, the researcher crafted six sub questions to the one overarching research question: How did Large Public University's IEP acquire and maintain its internal and external legitimacy through its regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive systems? The researcher developed these sub questions by following the each of the three pillars of Scott's (2014) framework for

institutions. Scott (2014) posits that institutions rest on three dominant but independent systems, or pillars: a) regulative, b) normative, and 3) cultural-cognitive. Each of these pillars, according to Scott (2014), can play a more or less supportive role than the other two at any giving time during the institution's lifespan. Scott (2014) posits that each of these pillars is rooted in a type of legitimacy that is directly related to the order, logic, and affect of the individual system. SQ_1 and SQ_2 explore the institutions' obligations to the federal government and to the host institution in order to determine whether the institution rests on or engages in a "legally sanctioned" (Scott, 2014, p. 60) legitimacy. SQ_3 and SQ_4 focus on the organization's efforts to meet stakeholder expectations, which will illuminate the IEP's development of normative legitimacy. SQ_5 and SQ_6 focus on the organization's "fit" into its local and global environments in order to establish the IEP's cultural-cognitive legitimacy, or the extent to which the organization's legitimacy is expected, or "taken-for-granted" (Scott, 2014).

Reliability

Yin (2014) suggests two ways to ensure reliability in a case study. Building a case study database is one. Yin defines a case study database as an orderly collection of all data examined collected for analysis. For this study, the researcher maintained an electronic database of all data examined in this study. Information was saved in electronic folders according to the type of data collected. Researcher notes were included in these files. In addition, interview transcripts were organized into one Microsoft Word document. The researcher removed all participants' names from this interview corpus document and replaced them with codes that indicate whether the participant was internal or external to the IEP, a faculty member or an administrator, and assigned a number

according to the chronology of the interview. This document was printed and stored in a three-inch, three-ring binder with tabs inserted to separate each individual interview. This collection was used during the data coding process. Additional, non-electronic documents are stored in three-hole punched folders secured in the notebook.

Yin's (2014) second suggestion for ensuring reliability is to use a case study protocol. A case study protocol should "collect the information needed to produce an adequate explanation" of the study question (p. 94). The interview questions for this study were designed specifically to produce an explanation of the legitimacy of this program according to Scott's (2014) Three Pillars framework, the persons to be interviewed were selected according to their stakeholder role in relationship to the intensive English program (Santana, 2012). In addition, the site was selected based on criteria culled from the literature and used to ensure that the site to be studied would have an established legitimacy, both within its host institution and within the field of intensive English training.

Data Analysis

The researcher chose to employ coding methodology as the primary tool for analyzing the interview data corpus collected in this study. The researcher read through the entire interview corpus document and used the "Add Comment" function of the "Review" tab in Microsoft Word to assign initial codes to the interview data. Saldaña (2013) states that coding is a cyclical process and offers that qualitative data analysis should occur in at least three cycles. The researcher chose in vivo coding for the first cycle of analysis in this study. Saldaña (2013) states that in vivo coding is particularly appropriate for studies "that prioritize and honor the participant's voice" (p. 91). The

researcher found this to be especially important in order to reduce the researcher's bias and help avoid interpreting the participant's meaning at this early stage of data analysis. There were 681 initial codes assigned to the data. Codes were transferred from the printed copy of the data corpus into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet to manage the organization of the data and to provide for easier comparison of data units.

The researcher chose structural coding as the method of coding for the second cycle. "Structural coding both codes and initially categorizes the data corpus to examine comparable segments' commonalities, differences relationships" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 84). The researcher assigned structural codes to the in vivo codes in the spreadsheet. Through this process, redundancies were detected and eliminated. Additionally, smaller chunks of adjacent in vivo codes were combined when a larger theme was detected. At the end of this process, 466 individual codes remained. These codes were ultimately categorized into 50 "broad topics," or structural codes (p. 86).

Finally, pattern coding was used to organize the data into constructs, or themes (Saldaña, 2013). This type of coding is appropriate because the theoretical framework used in this study is already organized into three main "pillars" (Scott, 2014). Therefore, the researcher searched for themes related to the themes found in Scott's framework or in other works in the literature. The third cycle of coding identified by Saldaña (2013) is a transitional phase between coding and data reporting that requires the researcher to make final decisions as to which codes are the most relevant and important to the study and to weave topics together so that relationships between the major concepts found through coding are clear. The researcher carefully considered a variety of combinations until the

information was clear and made sense to the researcher. The 50 broad topics observed in the second cycle were organized into nine individual themes.

Researcher Subjectivity

The nature of qualitative research is to describe reality from the perspectives of persons experiencing and constructing that reality (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Oftentimes, the interpretation of gathered evidence and information reported by participants in a study is subjected to the reality of the researcher as well, especially when the researcher is unaware of the influence his or her own reality construction has on the perceived experiences of others. There was potential for bias to creep into my analysis and interpretation of the data collected for this study based on my professional history. I have been working with international students in one capacity or another since 1997. I earned a master's degree in the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) in 2000 and worked as a full-time ESL instructor in various programs similar to the one studied here for a total of eight years. While I did not work directly in an IEP between 2004 and 2013, I continued to work in the field of international education. Additionally, I have seven years of experience with advising international students on immigration regulations and academic choices. In 2013 I had the opportunity to return to an IEP, first as a director and then as a higher-level administrator. For the past 18 months, I have become acquainted with several directors of IEPs and some of them have become my friends. I realize that I am emotionally attached to several of the issues involved with the development of legitimacy in intensive English programs.

In order to mitigate any potential bias creep into the interpretation of the findings of this study, I practiced bracketing. Bracketing, according to Tufford and Newman

(2010), has been defined in various ways in social science literature, but essentially refers to the researcher's practice of self-reflective examination of her own beliefs before beginning data analysis and a setting aside of those beliefs in order to approach the collected data with an open mind. During the coding, interpretation, and reporting involved in this study, I frequently reviewed my notes and codes and used the Socratic method to question my own interpretive conclusions. In fact, after the initial round of coding, upon review, I observed that some of my codes were too subjective and that I was drawing conclusions that were not supported by the words of the participant. I discarded all my initial codes and began again. I began keeping notes for the codes I was assigning in order to provide details about the rationale I used in choosing which codes to assign to the data. This way, I could easily question my own choices and retrace the steps I took in making decisions. Upon review, I found fewer instances of subjectivity. When I did, I wrote notes in a journal about my subjectivity. This practice allowed me to hold myself accountable for my bias and motivated me to be even more careful as I assigned codes to the corpus and then organized those codes. Both of these methods of reflection are considered acceptable methods of bracketing (Tufford and Newman, 2010).

Reporting Results

The researcher organized all findings in a comprehensive Excel spreadsheet. Each item in the spreadsheet contained the following elements: 1) participant code, 2) question number, 3) code number, 4) in vivo code, 5) structural code, 6) theme, 7) pillar, and 8) notes. Findings are reported in Chapter 4 according to the nine themes observed by the researcher. Chapter 5 analyzes these findings according to the six sub questions of the study and through the lens of Scott's (2014) Three Pillars Framework for institutions.

This allowed the researcher to explain the relationship between the systems governing Large Public University's intensive English Program and the experiences and opinions of the participants. The researcher was then able to construct an explanation of how those relationships contributed to the acquisition and maintenance of the IEP's legitimacy.

Summary

This qualitative case study examined the single case of Large Public University's (LPU) intensive English program (IEP) for the purpose of determining how this IEP has gained and maintained legitimacy through its regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive systems. This program is located on a large, public, Research I university campus, owned and operated by that university and prepares international students for academic work at the institution or a similar institution. The IEP at LPU is a member of University and College Intensive English Programs (UCIEP) and retains programmatic accreditation through the Commission for English Language Program Accreditation (CEA). Data in three forms—interviews, documents, and observations—were collected and analyzed in order to determine the nature of the institution's legitimacy and the ways in which that legitimacy was attained and is maintained. This determination was developed through the process of three cycles of data coding, including in vivo coding, structural coding, pattern coding, and careful reflection (Saldaña, 2013). Researcher bias was controlled through careful self-monitoring and bracketing. Results are reported according to nine major themes that emerged through the coding process, in narrative form, as they relate to the six sub questions of this study that were derived from Scott's (2014) Three Pillars framework with supplemental tables and charts for a better understanding of the concepts discussed and their inter-relationships.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The legitimacy of an organization is vital to the survival and success of the organization (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008). Environmental pressures (O'Brien, 2010), stakeholder agency (Black, 2008; Santana, 2012), governmental policy (Giesecke, 2006), resource management (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002), and change (Rusch & Wilbur, 2007) are all variables that can affect the stability of an organization's legitimacy. Several scholars have attempted to define legitimacy and while Scott (1995) has asserted that legitimacy is not a variable that is easily measured, if at all, Diez-Martin, et al (2013) have proposed a model for measuring levels of legitimacy within an organization compared to the organization's success. While several organization types have been studied with regard to legitimacy (Scott, 2014), no empirical studies have examined the legitimacy of an intensive English program (IEP), or how that legitimacy is gained or maintained.

According to Jenks and Kennell (2012), intensive English programs located on college or university campuses have been historically marginalized and have struggled to achieve academic legitimacy, or a state of "belongedness" (p. 178) at the host institution. This study aimed to examine one intensive English program located on a university campus through the lens of Scott's (2014) Three Pillars of institutional organization in order to map the type of legitimacy of the IEP and to determine ways the program has gained and maintained that legitimacy. Scott's (2014) framework stipulates that within

any given organization, three separate systems, regulative, normative, and cognitive, are at work simultaneously. Scott also explains that the weight of the organization may shift among the three systemic pillars throughout the lifetime of the organization. Each of these pillars is rooted, according to Scott (2014), in a legitimacy guided by principles of the system. Six sub questions were developed for this study based on those three systems and their associated forms of legitimacy:

SQ_1: How has the IEP responded to and leveraged governmental regulations?

SQ_2: How has the IEP responded to and leveraged host institution policies?

SQ_3: How has the IEP worked to meet external stakeholders' expectations?

SQ_4: How has the IEP worked to meet internal stakeholders' expectations?

SQ_5: How does the IEP fit into the higher education environment?

SQ_6: How does the IEP fit into the campus environment of the host institution? The data collected in this case study give the researcher insight into the configuration of legitimacy types on which the IEP at LPU rests and how that legitimacy has been gained and maintained.

The methodological design of this qualitative case study is described in Chapter 3. Data were collected mainly through means of interviews, but the researcher also employed methods of observation and document analysis to allow for triangulation of the data (Yin, 2014). Chapter 4 explains how the data collected has been organized and analyzed to explain the legitimacy of the intensive English program and provides a detailed analysis of the findings.

Setting

The intensive English program examined in this study is located on the campus of a large, public, Research I university that caters mostly to undergraduate students residing on campus, but that also serves post-graduate students in a number of academic disciplines. The intensive English program (IEP) is the largest program within a department called the English Language Institute (ELI). Many participants in this study refer to the IEP and the ELI interchangeably. The ELI is a department within a department associated with an academic discipline in a major college of Large Public University (LPU). The LPU campus is situated in an urban area with pedestrian access to student housing, restaurants, and retail shops. The administrative and faculty offices of the intensive English program are located in one building on the northeast corner of campus, near a large university library, a large student plaza, and close to a major intersection of town. Most faculty members share office space with at least one other faculty member; some offices contain four to six faculty members. Staff members and IEP program directors have private office space. A few small classrooms are located in the same building as faculty and staff offices and are specifically designated to the IEP program. Additional classrooms utilized by the program are located in several buildings scattered across the campus, including four additional classrooms designated specifically to the program in one building. The furthest classroom from the administrative offices is .3 miles away and according to Google Maps should be a five-minute walk. The students in the intensive English program make up a relatively small portion of the total international student population enrolled at the University, approximately six percent. From the perspective of the researcher, IEP students easily blend in with degree-seeking

students so that it is nearly impossible for an outsider to identify intensive English students around campus.

Participants

Eight employees of the University were interviewed for this study. Four participants work within the intensive English program—two are faculty members and two are administrators—and four employees interviewed work for the University at large—two are faculty members and two are administrators. Each participant interviewed for this study had at least some intimate knowledge of the intensive English program, though that was not a requirement for participant selection. In fact, this is seen as somewhat of a limitation. The researcher has determined that in order to protect the privacy and anonymity of the participants, it is best to avoid assigning gender to participants. The researcher chose pseudonyms from a published list of 50 popular unisex names ("BabyHold," 2003) and avoided the use of pronouns. The descriptions of the participants' roles at Large Public University are also left vague lest a participant's role is uniquely identifiable, as shown in Table 5. Each participant description also includes the researcher's subjective impression of the individual in order to provide the reader with a richer character description of the participants.

Table 5
Participants' Pseudonyms and Roles at Large Public University

	Administrator	Faculty
Internal to IEP	Kelly	Riley
	Casey	Dakota
External to IEP	Justice	Drew
	Peyton	Lane

Kelly serves the Intensive English Program (IEP) as a top administrator in the English Language Institute (ELI) in which the IEP is housed. Kelly has many years of

experience teaching and working as an administrator. Kelly was extremely helpful and forthcoming with details of the experience Kelly has had with the IEP and is clearly proud of the work done in the IEP. Kelly is also conscientious about the relationship between the IEP the host institution, Large Public University.

Casey works as an administrator with the IEP. Casey was extremely friendly, relaxed, and open. Casey seems to have an affinity for the work done in the IEP and also has strong, positive feelings about being a member of the greater LPU community. Casey has had several years of experience at LPU's IEP.

Riley is a faculty member in the IEP, but also has performed administrative duties related to the curriculum in the IEP. Riley was friendly and respectful, but to the point. Riley used the word "jaded" when asked about a reported lack of interest in performing research, which left the researcher wondering if Riley is somewhat cynical. Riley has had over 15 years of experience in the IEP.

Dakota works as a faculty member in the IEP and loves the work. Dakota expressed feelings of gratification and content when describing the work Dakota does in the IEP, but also honest even when unsure of whether or not honesty was appropriate. Dakota also has several years of experience at LPU's IEP.

Justice works in an administrative unit that serves the University-at-large, but in this role also collaborates with administrators from within the IEP. Justice seemed guarded at times by carefully choosing words when discussing opinions about the IEP. This carefulness left the researcher feeling as though Justice has friends who work in the IEP and does not want to hurt those friends.

Peyton serves Large Public University through an administrative position. Peyton has many years of experience at LPU and has had significant interaction with the IEP and its faculty and students during this tenure at LPU. Peyton spoke with gentle authority and exuded an air of wisdom.

Drew is a tenured faculty member of a degree-granting department at LPU housed in a different college from that which houses the IEP. This department serves both graduate and undergraduate students. Drew also has had experience at LPU as an administrator in a different college and in that previous role had much interaction with the IEP. Drew expressed reverence for the IEP and its leadership. Drew is a confident and straightforward person, but also kind and open.

Lane is a tenured faculty member of a degree-granting department at LPU that is housed in a different college from the one in which the IEP is housed. Lane's college serves both graduate and undergraduate students. Lane had a great deal to say about the IEP, but also tended to wander off-topic. Upon review of the transcripts, the researcher found that Lane often spoke of hypothetical situations and in idyllic terms instead of sharing facts about the IEP. The researcher disqualified some of the initial in vivo codes assigned from Lane's interview transcript based on Lane's use of the subjunctive mood in Lane's grammar, leading researcher to believe that the situation being described was more hypothetical than actual.

Organization of Data and Analysis

During the first stage of coding, the researcher used the comment function under the review tab of the Microsoft Word program to assign in vivo codes, defined as verbatim words or phrases used by participants (Saldaña, 2013), to the interview data in

order to reduce the transcriptions to more manageable chunks. The comment function allowed for automatic numbering of codes, which aided the researcher in managing the data. Initially, 681 in vivo codes were assigned. The in vivo codes were then entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. The spreadsheet was set up so that each code was assigned the number from the Microsoft Word document. Other information entered into the initial spreadsheet included the number of the question the participant was responding to, the participant code and the initial legitimacy-type assigned to the question, as exemplified in Table 6. By entering multiple codes into a spreadsheet and by coding the data in cycles, the researcher was able to easily manipulate the corpus, ask several questions from the data view results from multiple perspectives.

Table 6
Sample Organization of First Stage of Coding

Name	Question Number	Code #	In Vivo Code	Regulative	Normative	Cultural-cognitive
Kelly	1	1	Help students improve English			x
Casey	6	371	Can belong to faculty union		x	
Peyton	16	579	Can see respect they have for her	x	x	x

The researcher employed the structural coding method of qualitative data analysis to the second stage of coding. According to Saldaña (2013), investigators should assign a phrase relating to a specific research question to a segment of data in order to simultaneously "code and categorize the data corpus (p. 267)." In order to assign structural codes to the corpus, the researcher inserted a column into the spreadsheet and labeled it "Structural Code." As she worked her way through the in vivo codes in the

spreadsheet, when she found that she could not assign a structural code to the data because the in vivo code did not contain enough information, she could easily refer to the Microsoft Word document by referencing the initial in vivo code number, read over the verbatim transcript, edit the in vivo code, and assign the structural code. During this process, the researcher also eliminated redundant in vivo codes. The number of total codes at the end of the second coding process was 466. Ultimately, 50 structural codes were assigned.

The researcher decided to then use pattern coding for the third stage, or cycle, of coding. The researcher found similarly coded data that fit together into various themes (Saldaña, 2013). She wrote the 50 structural codes out on note cards and arranged them into concept groups. Nine "meta-code" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 266) themes were ultimately assigned to the corpus. A new column for these themes was added to the spreadsheet, as indicated in Table 7, for ease in analysis.

Table 7
Sample of Master Code Spreadsheet

Name	Q #	Code #	Pattern	Structural	In Vivo Code	R	N	CC
IA1	1	1	STUDENTS	Student improvement	Help students improve English			x
IA2	6	371	GOVERNANCE	belonging	Can belong to faculty union		x	
EA2	16	579	AFFECT	opinion	Can see respect they have for her	x	x	x

Prior to data collection, the 22 questions of the interview protocol were grouped according to the legitimacy-type the questions most likely addressed. These groupings assisted in determining a priori codes also used in final data analysis, a process termed

pattern matching (Yin, 2014). The researcher decided that the final step in coding should be to hide the three a priori legitimacy-type codes and review each initial comment according to Scott's (2014) Three Pillars taxonomy, illustrated in Table 8. A final code entitled "Pillar" was then assigned to each of the 466 comments. This final coding allows for a comparison between the hypothesized institutional pillar associated with each question in the protocol and the pillar identified through data analysis as being the pillar truly associated with the concepts addressed in each of the protocol questions.

Table 8
Institutions' Systematic States

	Regulative System	Normative System	Cultural-Cognitive System
Reason for Action	Expedience Obey stated rules	Social obligation Fulfill expectations	Taken-for-grantedness Constitutive schema
Logic	Instrumentality	Appropriateness	Orthodoxy
Affect	Guilt/Innocence	Shame/Honor	Certainty/Confusion
Legitimacy	Legally sanctioned	Morally governed	Comprehensible Recognizable Culturally supported

Adapted from *Institutions and Organizations.* By W.R. Scott, 2014, p. 60. Copyright 2014 by Sage Publications.

In assigning a code related to the regulative, normative, or cultural-cognitive pillar, the researcher found situations in which participants expressed concepts that seemed to challenge the legitimacy of the program. In these cases, the researcher coded the data according to the systemic logic or affect that was being challenged most. In order to highlight that the concept was somehow different from the others in that it was not contributing to a legitimacy-type but perhaps challenging legitimacy, the researcher color-coded the pillar code. Later, the researcher was able to filter the spreadsheet according to the color-coding and more accurately assign the theme of "Challenge" to this group of codes. In this way, the coding associated with the original questions as

expressed through the structural codes (Saldaña, 2013) and the glimpse of the participants' voice (Saldaña, 2013) provided by the in vivo-inspired sub codes was not lost. Initial summary analyses of the data were made using pivot tables and filters on the data stored in the Microsoft Excel sheet the researcher created. In some cases, it may seem to the reader that findings are reported under multiple themes. Upon closer examination, the reader will see that the content of reported statements varies a little and certain parts of statements made by participants are only repeated in order to provide context for the relevant theme.

Findings

According to Suchman (1995), legitimacy is "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions," (p. 574). How an organization achieves and maintains this state or assumption has been the subject of several studies, each adding to the conversation of organizational legitimacy. The findings in this study are organized according to nine major themes that emerged from the data. The researcher chose each theme according to its relationship to studies on legitimacy found in the literature.

Resources

Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002) argue that "legitimacy is a resource—one necessary for acquisition of other resources and for survival (p. 414). They assert that "Established organizations can use their performance record to acquire legitimacy and access resources" (p. 417) and that each legitimacy type has a different source stemming from a variety of resource types. The interview protocol for this study was designed to address

several potential sources of institutional legitimacy. Questions 12, 13, and 15 address internal and external regulations and policies, or a regulative system for legitimacy. Questions 6 and 11 address external stakeholder accreditations and certifications, or normative legitimacy. Question 22 addresses resources directly. Out of 80 comments coded with the theme "Resources," ten were in response to the six questions listed above. Structural codes of accreditation, space, and IEP as resource provider, account for the majority of coded comments. All participants mentioned ways in which the IEP provides services or resources to the institution. A total of 44 responses addressed this topic.

Resource Provider. In explaining what the benefits of the IEP are to the University, in response to Question 2, Kelly stated,

> ...the University knows it has a support system. If they want to be able to admit students who are stellar academic students, but come from non-English-speaking backgrounds, we have support for them, either prior to being admitted or after they're admitted, so they can succeed.

Kelly explained that in addition to serving the students enrolled in the intensive English program, the program also supports undergraduate students enrolled in degree programs by providing on-campus employment for a number of these students.

> We hire about 40 to 50 LPU undergraduate students every semester. They're called language assistants. There are two language assistants for every 12 to 15 students. They work with them in the practice part of their listening/speaking classes. They go on activities with them every afternoon and then go on a trip with them every Saturday.

Four other participants mentioned this employment opportunity for degree-seeking students. Riley said of the student employees, "Most of the time the language assistants are LPU undergraduates. A lot of them are language-seeking degree students. Others are just interested in interacting with international students." Casey added about the language assistants, "They are peer leaders for an hour a day in listening and speaking

and they help students with informal English, daily survival English and slang—fun things." Dakota added, "they sign up for what day they want to go [on an extra-curricular activity] and they're paid for the time that they're there. Some activities are a lot more popular than others." Peyton expressed awareness of this program,

> The ELI has a program where they will hire students, to be, oh what do they call it? To be conversation partners for the students who are learning English. I think it's undergrad students, and I think they're paid a stipend or something.

Regarding other types of support for degree-seeking students, various participants mentioned that the IEP employs graduate students in the linguistics department as teaching assistants and some mentioned that these students receive tuition remission in the form of scholarships or fellowships while participating in the assistantship. Lane states that the ELI hires "some of our [degree-seeking] students occasionally when they needed another teacher, an extra teacher." Kelly states of the relationship with the department of linguistics, "They need us...we run the entire ITA program." Lane stated it this way, "The University doesn't have to provide fellowships and take away scholarships from other areas, in humanities or English. It's an unrecognized source of funding for graduate students." Lane went on to say that, in terms of being an outlet for graduate students to conduct research on teaching and learning, "There's no other unit as valuable as they are to us. They're like a little lab." Lane explained that the academic support program for international graduate teaching assistants across the University community that is housed in the same department as the IEP and managed by the same director,

> ...does provide a really valuable service to the University, and much needed, because a lot of students come who have studied English and have worked very hard but their oral English, or for whatever reason—certainly their writing—most

> students need help with writing ongoing. Usually they get that only from their advisors or their instructors who grade their assignments

In addition to undergraduate and graduate student employment and research opportunities, participants discussed the volunteer opportunities available for students at the IEP through a conversation partner program. Drew stated, "Students in education are sometimes required to or asked to volunteer as language partners. Sometimes they interview students from the English Language Institute. Sometimes they do volunteer work." Lane explained, "We also have a volunteer conversation partner program, where students get paired up, generally LPU students get paired up with ELI students." Lane continued, "Obviously, the students that are going to volunteer for it are already interested in learning about other cultures."

According to participants, the IEP also provides a pipeline through which the graduate schools of the University can recruit students and it also provides leadership in the general practice of recruiting international students. Casey explained that the IEP benefits the University in that it provides a "pool of potential graduate students for the grad school." Kelly simply states of the institution, "They need us for their graduate conditional admission."

Lane continued,

> It provides a conduit, or a way to, a channel for students to come, who wouldn't necessarily seek out a particular university on their own for their own studies in business, or in engineering. To come as a sort of a preliminary place to get settled, to work on skills they need in their work and to get better prepared for the studies that they'll be engaged in.

Justice stated,

> Given that more and more institutions are looking to have a presence internationally, both in terms of marketing as well as maintaining a diversity of students from across the world, they're sort of on the front of those initiatives, and

> also, it's an entry point for students who may be qualified academically but don't have language skills that they would need to immediately begin to study at the University. In that respect, I think, they do bring a bit of, I wouldn't necessarily say, just a progressive push to the institution, but maybe a first entry point for the institution in a number of new markets.

Peyton stated, "...there are some departments that accept the students from, when they graduate from the ELI. That [graduation] constitutes enough English language ability to be accepted into a program." Dakota explained that in addition to working with admissions to move students from the English program to degree programs, there is also collaboration between departments. Dakota stated:

> We do a lot of special programs with international students that are LPU students, not necessarily ELI students. For example, last fall we had a special program for [one department]. They were here on conditional acceptance and they had to take English courses in order to fulfill a requirement as part of their conditional acceptance, so we do that kind of thing, just working closely with departments creating specialized courses for groups of students that they have.

Participants also cited the IEP as a pipeline for hiring qualified faculty and staff, or for enrolling graduate students. Riley explained,

> In the linguistics program—they have a TESOL certificate program, and the certificate program itself doesn't provide opportunities within our IEP, but, a lot of the people who have finished the TESOL program are doing applied linguistics and/or pursuing the master's in TESOL and actually are teaching assistants with us.... I have a colleague who is brand new and she was, in fact, one of our language assistants in the IEP until she got her degree and then she was a teaching assistant, and now she is full-time adjunct faculty.

Dakota, reflecting on how many of the department's employees were students at LPU says, "All of the admin got at least one of their degrees at LPU; probably half of the core faculty and some of the adjuncts." Riley explains, "my principal academic experience lies within this institution really...when I got my master's, and came [here] and, I actually started here as a TA."

Another contribution the ELI makes to the institution's resources, cited by Justice, is motivating institutional growth:

> ...it encourages the institution to regularly stretch its boundaries in a way that at least makes sure that we're being open to the quality and type of student that we really say we're looking for and that we really believe in....The IEP gives us the opportunity to think a little bit differently about that than we typically do, and I think that's helpful to figure out where the institution stands and what changes we might need to make, given that the institution is, and wants to remain, international.

Financial contributions not only to the department in which the IEP is housed, but to outside departments and colleges as well were also cited as a way in which the IEP functions as a resource provider to the University. Kelly explained,

> We actually have been asked a couple of times, and have provided a couple of times, travel funding for tenure-track faculty in [other] departments, because we have more funding opportunities than they do. The graduate teaching assistants in [our parent department] get far more support from us than they do from [that department] for travel.

In addition, Kelly explained that a portion of the revenue earned by the IEP goes directly to the college to contribute to college expenses that benefit not only the IEP, but also the college. Kelly also explained how the program was able to leverage these resources to secure different space on campus.

> ...when they realized, 'Well if you could grow, why aren't you growing?' That would be more revenue and more students and more feeds to the University. The answer was, 'There's no space to grow. We're turning away students. We're capping enrollment every single semester because there's no room to put them.' I think this convinced [the college] that this is a legitimate need, not just for our program, but for the University and for the college.

Space. Space came up several times in interviews with every participant in this study, either in terms of how the program doesn't have enough space, or how the program was able to secure new, better space. Lane, a faculty member from a degree program, explained how the issue of space is not an issue that is unique to the IEP and how space

could sometimes cause "some struggle over the territory in the building." She stated of her own courses,

> A lot of times I would be assigned a classroom for my own courses to teach in [our building], which some of the rooms are very small, twenty students is sort of a limit, and I'd always have more than twenty students in my classes. I'd just wander down to [another building] and there are always vacant rooms that we would just squat and hold our classes there because they were not being used.

A few of the participants mentioned that some classrooms at the University are managed and controlled by the registrar, while others might belong to an actual department. Riley explained that "there are only four permanent classrooms, so we depend on the University registrar to provide us rooms, pretty much after 'regular LPU classes,' the credit-bearing classes, are all established for the semester." In discussing challenges that the program faces, or presents to the University (Question 2), Casey explained about the process for reserving space,

> ...it's very difficult for us to get as many [classrooms] as we need at the times we need. I think it's the difficulty of the situation, the process that we have to go through to request classrooms. It's cumbersome, and we never know if we're going to have enough classrooms or where they're going to be. I think that is a challenge for both sides.

And later, in answer to Question 15, regarding institutional policies that might affect the IEP, Casey said,

> I mentioned before the entire procedure for trying to reserve classrooms. When it happens, it's like the day before we do placements, or the day our assistant director does placements, so it's hard to put that all in the schedule, trying to find rooms at the right times for the right teachers, that's a challenge.

Kelly explained that the University uses a Responsibility Center Management System (RCM) to decide which classrooms are assigned at LPU. The researcher verified the use of this system by locating information about it on the school's website. In addition to registrar-controlled space through RCM, some departments have classrooms or meeting

space that they "own." Kelly recounted a story of how the IEP was able to gain access to another department's "owned" space to enhance the program's need for flexibility in room assignment due to the variable nature of the program.

> We needed more space that we could control ourselves so we could make last minute decisions about it as opposed to going through the registrar, which can take several weeks for them to give us approval to use space. At the same time, the University was moving to the RCM model, responsively centered management, which amongst other things meant that all units were paying for their space on campus. Departments, colleges, whatever. With the permission of the dean of COLLEGE, we sent a call out to the departments in COLLEGE saying if you have extra space, let the ELI know because they will pay your RCM fees in exchange for being able to use the space. [Department chair] was the only person who reached out to [the ELI director] and said, 'This sounds like a plan to me. What are you talking?' There was basically a negotiation of how much we were willing to pay and how often to make it worthwhile to her to inconvenience the faculty versus us to have the space.... [The] agreement gives them enough money to use for travel, and gives us enough flexibility to use the space we need.

Multiple participants shared their perspective on the IEP's need for space. Riley cited "our increasing need for space" as a "challenge that the University presents to us." Casey explained,

> We need more space because we are growing and we intend to grow more, but we don't have the space, the physical classrooms, and it's very difficult for us to get as many as we need at the times we need.

Dakota continued,

> We're currently taking up a lot of space, justifiably so. We offer a good service, but we went from having maybe 70, when I first started working here nine years ago, we had about 70 students a semester, and now we have 300 students more than we did.... Yeah, so we used to have, I think it was six designated classrooms, which we fit in comfortably and as we've grown and grown and grown, we have to use non-ELI-designated classrooms, so LPU classrooms.

Justice mentioned, "In terms of physical space, until recently, they were space poor. They didn't have nearly the space they needed." In fact, the program recently—within the past five years—underwent relocation on campus. Several participants mentioned the

new location. Drew states of the IEP, "They [some] years ago, moved physically, moved their offices, and have some other offices and classrooms across the campus." Peyton stated,

> They have new facilities. Very much improved and expanded facilities, like up-to-date technology in the room, and furniture. Just a whole new set of offices and classrooms that really seem to be meeting the needs better than the smaller space where they were previously.

Kelly explained,

> We were able to move into better space in the heart of campus, because it belonged to the college we now belong to and they provided it to us.... Our classrooms have technology. We have more classrooms. We're back up to eight. We had gotten as far down as four. Our offices are all better organized.... We were able to completely renovate the space that we're in now, get furniture that fit and books—like, our faculty are teaching in 2015 and not 1954.

Riley continued,

> We recently, after being in a quote-unquote temporary space for the better part of our [lengthy] existence, actually got our own permanent space. Even then, it's only for—the office space is actually adequate, but there are only four permanent classrooms...

Justice's perspective on the IEP's space is evidenced in this comment:

> They've relocated offices. They've had an opportunity to find a more modern and accommodating space. They did not have lot of space when I first started at the institution, so they've been able to find physical resources on campus that at least accommodate what they're trying to do more easily now, than they had in the past. I know they were a bit crammed for space before, and the space was in need of renovation, and actually still is.

Casey quipped, "...physically we moved from an ancient haunted building to a brand new, nicely-renovated building." Riley commented, "We actually had to pay to renovate the entire space when they gave it to us. They did a super job. It was a true upgrade when we moved into our new space."

Accreditation. Though the literature does not typically discuss accreditation as a resource itself, but instead as a means for acquiring resources (Casile & Davis-Blake, 2002), it has been argued that environmental uncertainty creates "an ideal climate for institutional mimetic behavior wherein those institutions that are perceived as successful are the subject of either substantive or symbolic mimesis by other institutions" (McKee et al., 2005, p. 293). For this reason, an institutional decision to pursue accreditation is "a substantive and symbolic attempt to gain or reinforce legitimacy" (p. 293). Therefore, in this context of gaining and maintaining legitimacy, I have chosen to include comments regarding accreditation under the theme of "Resources."

In discussing how the program has been able to develop an international reputation, Kelly stated, "We'll receive an inquiry saying, 'We know that your intensive English program is well-established, is accredited...." Kelly later added, "sponsor programs and other entities are beginning more and more to look for accreditation, so it helps that we have it," and,

> I would say, for accreditation, actually holding the accreditation helps with us on campus, because it's a language that others on campus speak. So, if I say, 'We can't do X,Y, and Z because it'll jeopardize our accreditation,' everyone says, 'Oh, no, you don't want to jeopardize your accreditation.' It's useful that way.

Kelly then added,

> I would say the process of becoming accredited helps the most internally, just forcing us to look and pick through every single thing we did, every single policy we had, procedure we had, and make sure that they were all completely watertight, that we knew exactly what we were doing, why we were doing it. This has enabled us, I think, as a whole to better discuss or talk about our program to outsiders, because we can now speak in a, hopefully, coherent fashion about what we do and why we do it.

Riley discussed experience in working with CEA, an English program accrediting body recognized by the U.S. Department of Education,

> I think it's made the field more serious. I think it has, certainly for us—I can speak directly because I was part of the self-study the first time...we realized, I think, at the time, that we were a good organization, and we had the potential to become a far better organization. I think going through all of the standards, seeing our strengths and weaknesses, it rewrote our curriculum.... We actually codified a lot of things that we quote-unquote already knew but had never really written down. I think it made communication throughout the whole organization far more transparent. It made us more aware of things that we needed to improve. I think the cycle of self-examination that CEA mandates has been very, very positive for us.

Justice acknowledged, I know they've been accredited for quite a while," and Peyton stated,

> They're accredited by—in fact I believe –let's see, is it this month? I think it's this month in fact, maybe in the next week or so that some accrediting body will come and review. There's a body that reviews the ELI.

Drew remembered,

> ...they were going through accreditation. I don't think it was their first accreditation. I think it was just a renewal, and I think I was interviewed a couple times about how they were doing and all that, and they did receive accreditation.

In response to Question 10, focused on changes to the program, Lane stated,

> I know that they have become more professional in that they have gone through a program to become credentialed in their curriculum and their whole organization has been structured around criteria that have been set by professional organizations for English language institutes and so, they've stepped up to the bar and they've gone over the bar for what professional credentials have been agreed upon for their kinds of missions in their service.

Faculty

Kezar (2013) argues that non-tenure-track faculty are "often marginalized within higher education" (p. 4) and do not enjoy the same reality as tenure-track faculty, nor is their experience completely understood. In addition, Kezar (2013) asserts, "Supporting tenure-track faculty is often easier because they often have more similar socialization and

backgrounds, resulting in the opportunity for more continuity when trying to create an environment that leads to performance and productivity" (p. 6).

Seven questions directly addressed faculty: Question 4 related to faculty engagement with other faculty on campus, Questions 6, 7, and 8 focused on professional development, Question 9 addressed research, Question 17 asked participants to compare IEP faculty with non-IEP faculty, and Question 18 addressed faculty preparation for teaching English as a second language (ESL). The theme appeared in answers to 17 of the 22 questions on the protocol. There were a total of 83 responses coded with the theme "Faculty." Structural codes assigned to these comments include codes coming directly from questions targeting faculty issues: Support, Engagement, and Preparation; and those not represented by questions targeting faculty issues: Status, Experience, and Responsibility.

Engagement. Most of the comments related to engagement were geared toward research. Casey noted, "I am engaged in research right now," and stated

> Our assistant director has actually got a—I guess it's a leave, like almost a sabbatical semester for her research.... So she's going to take a whole semester off and devote that to her research, because we are eligible for that. I have one colleague who is on a Fulbright right now, and she's doing amazing work. Many of us are doing research, because a lot of us are presenting at [a regional conference].... One of our new faculty members has just published with a faculty member from [another department].

Dakota stated,

> I think as a department we're starting to do it a lot more. In terms of presenting at conferences, it's something that we're doing a lot more, and I think the same thing is going to be true of research. I know that there's a strong push, not like at the University—you know, most universities that are research-based institutions, they want all of their faculty doing research all of the time, and that's not our focus, but I think that definitely the administration and also the recently-graduated faculty or TAs, they're very excited about doing research, and I'm hoping that

> that will spread, that we will do a lot more research, but not with the same fervor that the research-based universities do.

Drew noted, "Yes, I think they are [engaged in research].... They present at conferences and all that, so, yes, they do research." Kelly stated,

> ...despite the fact that we're all overworked and super-busy teaching more than anyone else, I think that many of [the faculty] have an academic heart and an academic mind and they want to have research to inform themselves as to what they're doing in the classroom and like the opportunity to do that.

In answer to question three, regarding interaction between faculty from within the IEP with faculty outside the IEP, Dakota explained,

> I would say there's less interaction. We're kind of an island, unfortunately, but I think this is a pattern with departments—like the math department stays with the math department kind of thing. We are housed under [an academic department] which is part of the COLLEGE, so as faculty I can attend their admin meetings. I can also attend—they have [weekly] seminars where they present [academic] topics. We could attend those. There are opportunities. I just think they're not always taken up.

When asked whether or not Dakota ever engaged in these opportunities, Dakota answered, "I would like to, but they always have them when I have class," and "A lot of the topics are a little esoteric also." When asked if Dakota would feel welcome in this environment, Dakota responded,

> I think about this a lot, actually, now that you bring this up. It's kind of a sensitive question, but I'm going to answer, because I think it's important. I'm going to give you a long story and it's going to get back to the answer, I promise. When I was a [departmental] student, I remember my professors talking about how, 'Oh, those people over there at the ELI, they're not preparing the students well,' and there was always like an "us and them" distinction, and I think that still exists, even though we're part of the same department. I feel like we're not respected as a profession, like as they're all professors with PhDs.... I feel like there's this air of loftiness, where our work isn't as respected because we don't publish and we don't—It's silly, though. We're all doing hard work.

Support. Kelly explained that the professional development leave noted above under engagement and received by the assistant director, is "very competitive throughout the college,"

> ...for the entire COLLEGE they'll have a certain number of professional development leaves, which are also used by tenure-track faculty. It's just tenure-track faculty have the option of doing sabbatical also and our faculty don't. Our assistant director was competing against tenure-track faculty as well as non-tenure-track faculty and was selected to receive—I think it's one of three or one of five professional development leaves the college gives every year.

Most of the comments relating to faculty support were in response to Question 10, which addressed change in the department. Casey noted,

> Our faculty—now—became eligible for promotion, and that's changed a lot. Actually, that has really been the driving force behind a lot of our drive to present, because now it is tied to merit pay. The more presentations and the more research and engagements with the international community, the more points you get for merit.

Kelly's comment echoes this sentiment: "We do have merit criteria, so core faculty can submit packets for merit pay. Having research, or publications, or presentations gives points for merit packets."

Dakota continued,

> We are encouraged to present a lot, and actually we have, I think.... The core faculty can also put that on their merit reports and when merit is approved, that's part of the things that are looked at. I think, in terms of the merit, that one is very similar to [tenure-track faculty]. It's not exactly the same, because the expectations for our job descriptions are different, but [tenure-track faculty] merit reporting was our starting-off point when we created our own merit reporting, and then we modified it further.

Riley commented,

> Salary compression has been a problem. Mainly because we are—most of our faculty is not part of the LPU faculty union, but we are in the bargaining unit, and as such we are pretty much constricted by some of the rules of promotion and/or raises. Of course, being a state school, raises themselves can be somewhat few and far between.

Kelly also mentioned that there are "constraints for pay that we can't necessarily change because it is within state rules and union rules."

In addition to financial compensation for work performed, several participants discussed professional development opportunities that are offered to and taken advantage of by IEP faculty, especially in response to Questions 6, 7, and 8, which directly addressed this topic. At least three participants noted that the IEP has a culture of sharing what is learned externally. Kelly noted,

> We have a large number of our faculty attend conferences, present at conferences. They bring back what they learn and present them in our own in-house professional development activities. They post their notes on our shared drive.

Justice observed, "As far as I can tell, there are professional development opportunities cultivated internally in our IEP here, and that's just based on the workplace climate there." Casey continued,

> We've had some teachers to go to some different training courses, state TESOL, regional, national, and NAFSA, so we've been able to take advantage of those, and we get a lot of ideas from them.... I'm always looking at those websites of those organizations and finding good teaching ideas and webinars and everything available to our teachers.

Riley explained how the program engages in mentoring:

> I have a colleague who is brand new and she was, in fact, one of our language assistants in the IEP until she got her degree, and then she was a TA, and now she is full-time adjunct faculty. She taught with me several times as a language assistant, so we're going to present together. We try to do some mentoring like that.

Riley also explains the professional development funding structure of the department:

> We have, from TAs all the way to core faculty, the exact same support policy. Our IEP will fund any faculty member presenting at a conference for pretty much full funding. They pay conference registration. If it's—let's see—if I can remember exactly—if it's under 350 miles...it's $500 plus conference

> registration. If it's over 350...it's $800 plus conference registration. For over 350...it's $1000. That's all of our faculty.

Casey added, "We have a very good professional development budget available for teachers to take advantage of to go to conferences."

Lane noted,

> I know that they attend regularly.... They are also presenting, not everyone, but a certain population of their staff and faculty are actively presenting at conferences like the MLA or at TESOL or the NAFSA conference. They attend even if they don't present. They're attending at NAFSA, at TESOL, at MLA, at [regional] TESOL for sure. That's local and more affordable.

Finally, Kelly mentioned faculty support when discussing the responsibility of the IEP leadership: "I think our main job is to make it as easy as possible for our faculty to teach and our students to learn."

Status. Several participants explained how the faculty has gained the opportunity not only to be full-time and benefited, but also to advance through rank. Kelly explained, "When I first started with the IEP, there were no core faculty positions, no lecturer-benefited positions. We were all adjuncts or teaching assistants."

Kelly added,

> Internally, our faculty are now all eligible for the tenure and promotion process, so they can go from lecturer to senior lecturer to master lecturer. It has forced us to bring some of our internal policies and procedures into step with what other academic units on campus are doing so that we're less an anomaly in some cases.

Riley echoed,

> When I first started working in our IEP, we did not have even legitimately what could be called adjuncts. We had hourly employees.... Then we subsequently began getting allowance from the University to create core faculty positions, full benefited positions.

Casey continued,

> ...back to our promotion. That benefits us greatly. With us being able to go

> through the process, I feel like it is one other thing that is professionalizing our profession. It's making it more prominent, because we can move up in rank, and we do a lot of research and presenting and professional development for those things. I think it just feeds off of that and feeds into that, that we're becoming citizens of the University. We're like other faculty that are doing the tenure-track. They also have to do research and publishing. That's not in our job description, but we do it in order to improve our faculty scholarship, so it's cyclical.

Casey also noted an internal status differentiation,

> Again, there are two different kinds of IEP faculty. We're talking our faculty, plus adjuncts. Our faculty—the difference is that we are not required to do research or publication. If you're talking about tenure-track, there are also lecturers at the University that are not tenure-track.

Other participants noted faculty status mostly in response to Question 17, which asks participants to compare IEP faculty to non-IEP faculty. Justice stated,

> To my knowledge, there are a fair number that do not have PhDs. Whether or not that is relevant to the type of instructional training that they provide, or would prohibit them from providing effective training for effective education for what they're doing, I don't know. I do know that there is that credential difference.

Peyton echoed,

> I'm not too sure what qualifications people have. I think they have master's degrees. I think some of them have bachelor's degrees, but definitely, at least a bachelor's degree....I don't think you necessarily have to have maybe a PhD.

Drew noted,

> I think it's a hard comparison because ELI faculty may or may not have doctorates. They may be instructors and of course, all colleges have graduate students instructing and clinical faculty and tenure-line faculty and adjunct faculty. I guess I'm not sure but I don't, I think most of the instructors are probably not at the tenure-line faculty level.

Responsibility. Various participants addressed the workload of the IEP faculty and/or the absence of pressure to produce research when mentioning faculty differences or responsibilities. Riley shared,

> I think there's less pressure on us to research for example. I don't really do any. I enjoy presenting, but I present because I enjoy it, not really for any other reason.

> It works out as a merit package once in a while, but it's not something that I feel I have to do.

Kelly described the nature of the work this way:

> The constantly changing student population and that we have new students every eight weeks. All of those things make it very interesting. I think, working in an IEP, some of the things that make it the best place to work are also the things that make it the worst place to work. There are days where you're just grateful that you get to meet so many interesting and new people from so many different cultures, and they're so grateful, and there's something different to do every single day. Then the next day there could just be too many of those differences and too many of those changes, and you think, 'Oh, my God. How am I going to hold this all together?'

Preparation. The majority of faculty responding to Question 18, referring to the type of preparation necessary for teaching ESL, cited experience over theoretical training.

Kelly explained,

> I think [a master's degree] should be considered the bare minimum. We say a master's degree in TEFL or a related field. I'm not so married to the specific TEFL terminology, because I think there are some very strong applied linguistics programs and college of education programs that don't use TEFL specifically. I think that having experience in the classroom is critical, that whatever degree they're doing should involve a practicum of some sort, and that it would be better if there was more attention paid on assessment in the TEFL master's programs.

Casey continued,

> For us, to be an adjunct, at this point teachers have to have a master's degree in TESOL or something closely related, plus a certificate. We don't require a certain amount of experience. We require a methods course, then for faculty we require all of those things, plus several years of IEP experience. We prefer overseas experience, but that's not required.

Casey added,

> ...we've had some teachers here that didn't have that combination of things—one component missing—and they just were not successful.... I've seen the gamut of experiences plus education, and I think the most successful ones need the combination of both.

Drew stated,

> I think experience with teaching English as a second language certainly. Preferably, experience teaching period. Then teaching at that level, at the collegiate level, although I think if you have high school teaching, I think you can also teach at the collegiate level. That's certainly the ESL, English as a second language, training experience.

Dakota stated,

> Practice. I took classes, but nothing prepared me for being in the classroom, other than being in the classroom, really. There is only so much that you can teach, but actually having 15 students with differing ideas of what they should be learning and all that stuff, so definitely a good foundation in the classroom as a student, and then hopefully good support from your faculty. So, people that you can just ask a lot of questions to. Then, starting off slowly as a teacher, so that you can start learning.

Riley did not mention classroom experience, but instead stated,

> I think that the TESOL programs that have been established over the last 20 years or so produce the best teachers. In my experience, if somebody doesn't' have a background in TESOL; they're not likely to be up on the latest research. They're not likely to know exactly what they're doing when they go into the classroom.

Peyton added, "I think a lot of intercultural sensitivity and ability to communicate interculturally, because you're going to be dealing with students who are international."

Experience. All participants commented in one way or another on the emotional experiences of faculty working in the LPU IEP, mostly in response to Question 21, which addresses the benefits of working within the IEP. Justice noted,

> I think IEP faculty and staff get to see a wide range of students from a wide range of cultural backgrounds, and help students go through a huge transition, and launch them into a new direction in their lives, particularly for those that are going on to degree programs. I think there's a provision of opportunity generally that comes with working in an IEP, at least from this perspective that I have. It seems to me that that's something positive to look at, in terms of the encounters you have with students, because they're often forward looking and on to interesting things beyond their experience, after the IEP. It's nice to contribute to that I think.

Peyton shared,

> ...it's very exciting to be able to work with such a diverse population. I mean, you learn so much about different cultures. You learn about different peoples. To me, that's very exciting, the population that they work with. Then the satisfaction that you get from seeing people learn. From seeing the students learn as they go along in the different levels of the program.

Drew mentioned that she also experienced personal satisfaction through getting to know the program: "I enjoyed seeing the good work that they did, because I think...what they do exemplifies the way instruction should be done." And added in discussing the benefits for those working in the program:

> I think it would be really interesting. It would be lots of fun being exposed and getting to know people from other countries, learning about other countries and their cultures, taking part in some of the activities that they do beyond the classroom. I think it would be very enjoyable to be within the unit.

Lane, in discussing issues of space and her experience with the IEP shared a less positive opinion,

> I think they had the feeling, and this they didn't say, but the clear implication was that they weren't viewed as a legitimate occupant of the building, that they were kind of like interlopers. They were there, but not legitimately, and they were red-headed step-children. They were there because nobody else needed to be there. They felt like [another department was] always trying to move them out to be able to expand [their] turf.

Kelly shared the opinion that benefits of working within the IEP are,

> ...first and foremost of everything would be the gratefulness of the students, and the coolness of the students, and the ability to meet them and get to know them, and the fact that—I think this is something I've said before, that we have students who come back and tell teachers that they've changed their life forever, because they were their first teacher, or they'll come back and tell their language assistants they changed their life forever because they were nice to them the first week they were here.

Casey, when discussing why IEPs belong on a college campus stated simply, "I drank the Kool-Aid," and in discussing certain aspects of the program, Casey explained intricacies

of the department by stating, "It's complicated, like every other IEP." For Casey, the benefits of working within the IEP are:

> I get to work with faculty that are passionate about the same things, where we love working with international students and international communities, and we all love languages and linguistics. I think that a huge benefit is to work in a place where we're all speaking the same language, so to speak, so it's really nice. Also, the benefits of being at a university, or just, it's a great community academic-wise, and just our opportunities for professional development. I feel like I've grown in this department. There are so many things that I've learned to be able to do, but I never imagined presentations and research and things like that.

Riley sees the benefits of working within the IEP as offering a "relative safe position," because "The core faculty at the ELI essentially is tenured faculty already. Unless the ELI goes away, we've pretty much got a job." In addition Riley stated,

> It's very, very collegial. I think because you don't' have the pressure to research and that competition for tenure spot and that sort of thing, you don't have the kind of professional rivalries that you might see in other academic departments. I think everybody just sort of helps everybody else out. There's no—I've never really seen any professional jealousy here. I like the people I work with. I like the students. I like the administration....it's a wonderful place to work.

Dakota also expressed positive feelings about her job and employment situation. When discussing the growth of the program, Dakota stated that enrollments have risen because "We're awesome." Dakota sees the benefits of working in the LPU IEP as,

> Oh, lots of fun. I feel like I've learned a lot. I know so much more now about the English language than I ever did as a linguistics student, because students ask the greatest questions.... So I feel like I've learned a lot being a teacher, an instructor in an IEP. I've also learned a lot from the students themselves about their cultures, about patience with dealing with individual needs, individual preferences, different personalities, and working with great colleagues is also another benefit. I have colleagues that push me to be a better teacher because they're doing such fun things in their classrooms that I want to try it, but I want to do something different with it, plus there are all of the things that—a lot of personal growth.

Governance

The governance of the IEP was mentioned at least 36 times among the eight participants in this study. The highest number of instances of the mention of governance was in response to Question 10, which is about changes that have occurred with the IEP. Rusch and Wilbur (2007) argue that there is an "ebb and flow of change actions that eventually affect both the organization and the institutionalized environment to which the organization aspires to belong" (p. 317) and that this change is brought about by individual or collective human decisions. The change at LPU that all participants refer to is the move from the IEP from having a split reporting structure in which the administration reported to an auxiliary unit and the faculty belonged to an academic unit, to having a single reporting structure in which the entire department is now seated in one academic department of a college and in which the head of the IEP reports to a department chair. Some of the observations that participants made regarding the change relate to other changes that occurred as a result. Kelly stated, "All of our reporting lines are to [the department] now, so we're now one hundred percent part of [the department] within the COLLEGE. We're considered an academic unit, even though we're an auxiliary." Kelly remembered that when the change happened, the program director "tried very hard to convince them that we did indeed fit [into the auxiliary unit]" because "we needed to be able to make decisions on our own. We didn't need that much oversight. We operated completely differently from any other unit on campus. [The director] really thought it was not a good idea." In hindsight, Kelly "realized that we would have lost our, sort of protection, against other units doing stuff to us," had the department remained with the auxiliary unit.

Drew said of the department's new home,

> I think that it was a better place for them, and the reason is, it was an academic unit, and I think being at the academy, if you're in an academic unit, you're regarded a little more highly, so I think that was a good move for them.

In response to Question 2, Lane wondered if "finding where the governance of the ELI fits best" might be a challenge that the program presents to the University. Justice stated that being "housed within a department on our campus, within an academic department...brings with it the institutional structures and barriers that any academic department would have to deal with."

To be sure, Kelly shared that the IEP is "self-funded," even in its new home, which means that,

> ...we're much more nimble than the rest of the University...we have more flexibility on what we can spend our funds on. We can make decisions more quickly. It doesn't have to go through such a long chain of approval for many things.

Kelly explained that being self-funded also means "we're not state-funded like the rest of the University is." Riley explained the financial independence experienced by the IEP in this way: "We set our own budget. We are not even beholden to the vagaries of the finance climate at the time." Riley added,

> Nobody comes to us and says, 'Well you have to cut back on X,Y, and Z this semester because there's no money in the budget.' That does happen in some other academic units. Things like supply budgets even. We pretty much have what we need within the confines of the space we have. That's the one thing that we can't have [space], but that's a university-wide thing, so that's not even unique to us.

Justice explained of the IEP's resources that,

> They have the ability to focus their resources on recruitment and other areas that units that rely on state funds in particular, don't have the ability to do. I think that's certainly a benefit that they have. Many have faced budget crunches since the economic downturn and are still trying to deal with that, given that state

> resources haven't been replaced really. Being revenue-generating on their own is a great benefit to them.

And that,

> ...it depends on how many students they can recruit into their program. It's like they have to be working to get students into their program. Which, like other departments also have to get students into their program, but [other departments'] funding is not one hundred percent from their student population.... The ELI is well-resourced, but it's something that they have to continually work at to make happen.

Lane noted, "They have to function as a business..." and later noted,

> I think generally, there tends to be more variable resources for ELI, either staff or administrators to attend—if it's a lean year, fewer students than expected, then they might have to reduce the number of people attending the conference or number of conferences. If it's a flush year, they may be able to expand that to include more staff and more faculty to attend. I'm just speculating. I'm not part of that network.

Kelly summed up the situation this way: If times are rough, they're very, very rough, and people lose their jobs. That's a drawback. But, when times are good, we can do stuff, like send ten teachers to a conference, because we can afford to.

Kelly also explained how in the past, when the department was under different governance, the University supported the ELI during tough times,

> ...after the Asian economic crisis, we had no students and ran through our reserves and [the administration] had to provide us a loan for, I think, three years to keep operating, which they were happy to do because they had seen how much money we were making prior to that, so they knew it was a good investment. Then, again, right after 9/11, the same thing happened, so they provided us with a loan and we needed to have their funding supplement our tuition for, I think it was, one to two years before we were back in the black again.
>
> My hope would be that they'd be willing to do that again, but in the future it'll be the first time it happens since we've moved entirely into the COLLEGE. So, whether that will change things or not, I don't know.

Kelly explained that the change in governance was the catalyst for the ultimate change in campus location for the department,

> There were many other departments looking [for space] at the same time. However, because this was the first time we found good space we wanted while we were in the COLLEGE, instead of having the provost have a say over whether or not we got this space, we had the dean of the COLLEGE having the say over whether or not we got the space or a different program in the college got the space.... The dean of [the COLLEGE] said we were the priority for space at that time.

Institutional Fit

Black (2008) states that "Organizations may claim legitimacy, and may perform actions and enter into relationships in order to gain it. But legitimacy is rooted in the acceptance of that organization by others, and more particularly in the reasons for that acceptance" (p. 144). Several of the themes identified by the researcher in this study either point to reasons that the participants feel the IEP should be accepted, or identify evidence of acceptance of the program as one that belongs on a college or university campus.

Academics. Issues related to the academic quality or value of the program and the academic support offered by the program were identified by various participants in the study. The researcher struggled with this theme in deciding whether these comments were actually a question of governance or resources, but ultimately, the comments coded with the theme academics were different enough from questions related to governance that the researcher determined a separate theme was necessary. This is especially true in regards to comments about the nature of academic credit awarded, or not awarded, for student participation in IEP courses.

Kelly explained,

> Because the courses are non-credit...we don't quite fit into any particular category. So, no matter what we're doing, we're slightly different than everybody else, which means they're constantly having to create new policies, procedures, rules, et cetera, just for us.

Kelly also explained that while the IEP does not provide credit to its students, the program does provide opportunities for degree-seeking students to earn credit through work with the program, "A number of the conversation partners will be required to be conversation partners by classes they're enrolled in, but they're not getting credit by default by being a conversation partner." Casey continued, "We have a couple of graduate school programs that have started asking us to supplement some presentation-skill classes or writing classes." In addition, course credit is also an opportunity provided by the IEP. Kelly explained, "We occasionally will let students do independent studies with us, usually as a language assistant. People who want to be TAs will take a supervised teaching before they're allowed to be TAs, but it's a rare thing. It's not an ongoing thing."

The ELI, the department in which the IEP is seated, also provides collaborative opportunity for broader institutional departments. Peyton shared,

> They also have an academic writing course for non-English speakers. Maybe a student is already in a program of study, but they need some more advanced English writing course. The ELI provides an academic writing course that they can register for. I know that they've tailored programs for different departments.... They're very open to collaborating in various ways with different departments to help them meet their needs, as far as I know.

Dakota also provided a perspective on such programs,

> We do a lot of special programs with international students that are LPU students, not necessarily ELI students. For example, last fall we had a special program for [outside department]. They were here on conditional acceptance and they had to take English courses in order to fulfill a requirement as part of their conditional acceptance, so we do that kind of thing, just working closely with departments creating specialized courses for groups of students that they have.

Belonging. Question 5 of the interview protocol of this study asks participants directly whether or not they think an intensive English program belongs on the college or

university campus. The majority of the answers to this question were ultimately coded under the "Students" theme simply because the majority of participants focused on the need of students to prepare for academic study at the University and the fact that an IEP provides this preparation in that environment. Some responses to this question as well as to other questions, however, were not so clearly tied to student needs. Kelly explained,

> I think that it is just as valuable as Spanish instruction or French instruction, that these students are all—they've graduated from high school, they're literate and educated in their own languages, but in this case they're learning a second language. It's not remedial in any way, shape, or form. The student who completes an intensive English program speaks far more English than a student who completes a bachelor's degree in Spanish speaks Spanish. So, there is no question in my mind that it belongs. It probably should be more permanently entrenched, and I think that graduate programs should move away from the requirement of acquiring even a third language for students and not letting them use English as their second language for the language requirement in PhD programs.

When asked about whether or not IEP faculty members are included in institutional governance, Lane replied,

> I don't know if they're included in University-wide committees.... I would guess so, but I don't know for sure... Are they? They should be.... They should have a right to say, to have a voice because they're members of our University.

Dakota reflected on the belonging of the IEP in this way:

> I don't know that it's necessary for an IEP to be on a college campus, but I think it's definitely beneficial for the students, the faculty of IEP and the faculty at the University. Like I was saying before about the collaborations that we have with different departments, if a department contacts our director and says, 'I have this group of students that needs to improve their English because they're having trouble with plagiarism,' or whatever, I think it's easier to do that if the IEP is already part of the University.

Awareness. Along the lines of the theme of belonging, the topic of awareness in terms of institutional members' awareness of the IEP and its mission was mentioned a number of times during interviews, often in the context of belonging, but also in the

context of gaining resources or support for the IEP. When asked about recruitment efforts, Kelly stated,

> Recruitment for IEP students is largely our own; however, we do have graduate conditional admission, so the graduate school is well aware of the IEP. It is often asked about and often provides information about it when they're recruiting students for the graduate programs.

Casey discussed the importance of building awareness across campus in the context of an internal push to grow the program. Casey stated,

> I think some of the feeling was 'Let's try to grow and become more prominent on campus and be able to open more faculty lines,' and things like that.... If we have these numbers of students, and we need more space and our director is at many meetings with our department, I think that that would help us in the long run get more space. It also benefits us in a couple of ways, because, a couple years ago we moved into COLLEGE, and the faculty are now eligible for a promotion.... In that process, it's the same as tenure. I went up for promotion a couple years ago, and first our department...had to vote on my promotion. Then it went to our college, so like twelve random faculty had to vote on it. Some of them voted it down, because they had no idea who we are and what I do, and why my position is important at the University. I think that with more population and more faculty eligibility, eligibility for promotion, we would be better known on campus. It's definitely a benefit.

Lane provided an outside perspective of this same issue:

> I am often asked to review those faculty members' and staff members' portfolios when they come up for promotion. I am to review their cases and to write a letter evaluating their readiness for promotion to senior lecturer or whatever the decision is to be made. I look at their CVs, and I see what activities they're engaged in.

Drew also provided an insight into institutional awareness of the program,

> I was interacting with them more when I was in [the same governing department]...so I became much more aware of who they are, who they were, and what they did. They have since moved into an academic unit, so it could be—again, my interaction is dated, maybe about three, or four, or five years old. I think they do interact more with the University now, but, again, their purpose, their mission is not particularly to have students recruited to the institution, so to the extent they're fulfilling their goals, I think they're doing fine. I think that it would be wonderful if our institution, if the University, were to look at some of the students there, and try to recruit them more into our programs.

Drew also explained later,

> I knew about the English Language Institute, because, I also had an affiliate appointment in the [department] where the ELI was housed, so I used to go into the [building], and the building has a courtyard in the middle, and I saw ELI students interacting with their instructors in the courtyard. I'm a former [Language] teacher. I understand literacy. The literacy skills they were teaching these students within this milieu was absolutely outstanding, and I used to remark to myself and others, 'This is how people need to learn a language.' I know they have textbooks, and they have formal lessons, but the students and their instructors were outside in a courtyard, interacting with each other, really conversing, having interesting discussions. It was really the way I think language should be learned. I thought these students were in the College of Education. I thought these instructors were education instructors. They weren't. They were from the English Language Institute. I witnessed the interaction among students and instructors in this very, very rich environment, before I realized who they were and what they were doing.

Justice explained,

> There are occasionally training opportunities put on by organizations on campus where essentially IEP faculty and staff have a change to share what it is that they do and how they can potentially help.... We do have a venue for a number of faculty and staff, not faculty and staff, service providers, on campus to share information there. The IEP is occasionally involved there.

Kelly explained how the awareness, or lack thereof, of the IEP at a decision-making level can affect institutional processes at the IEP, and how changes in the level of awareness of the program have helped in the daily management of the program. Kelly stated,

> I think that everyone's getting better about managing [problems] before they happen. [In the past], it was more finding out after the fact, or putting out fires, or realizing that things don't work. Now, I think we're included in more conversations when people say 'Wait a second. This is going to cause problems for this unit. Let's talk to them about it first'.... We've messed up enough things often enough that some [administrators] realize that they need to think about us before they make sweeping changes sometimes.

Presence. There were several instances during the interview when it became apparent to the researcher that the presence of the IEP is a theme, both for those within the program and those interacting with it. Some comments were coded "Presence"

because the participant led the researcher to believe that the participant felt the ELI's campus presence was an issue. At other times, participants' comments defined the presence of the program on campus. The longevity of the program, changes in the visibility of the program, the physical presence of the program, and the various ways in which the IEP engages with other institutional units were all brought up in answers to various questions. When asked whether the IEP would be supported in the future if the program's enrollments wouldn't support its operating costs, Kelly remarked, "we've been here [over 50 years]. They probably don't want to shut us down." When asked about awards or accreditations that the IEP holds (Question 11), Justice included, "I can say that the IEP has been long standing, on our campus for decades." When asked about the benefits the IEP provides to the University (Question 2), Dakota replied,

> Right now LPU is going through this big internationalization kick, where they're putting a lot of effort into bring in international faculty and making the school more attractive to international students. I think that we, obviously, serve an important role in that, since our entire purpose is teaching English to international students, so we've become a lot more visible in the LPU community.

Lane also mentioned visibility, but in answer to Question 10, regarding changes in the ELI. Lane stated,

> I know that they have become more professional in that they have gone through a program to become credentialed in their curriculum and their whole organization has been structured around criteria that have been set by professional organizations for English language institutes and so, they've stepped up to the bar and they've gone over the bar for what professional credentials have been agreed upon for their kinds of missions in their field. In terms of visibility, they've always been pretty visible around campus. In my building, my place of work, they often have student groups sitting around in the courtyard and they're talking before classes, during classes, after classes.

The ELI has a broad physical presence across campus. Classes are held in at least 17 different buildings. Dakota remarked, "because our classes are all over campus, since

we have to use LPU classrooms, I might have to walk a mile, a literal mile, in 15 minutes." Casey noted, "Our classrooms are spread all over the campus, so [ELI students] integrate with undergraduate and graduate students all day long and at the union and things like that...."

Dakota explained ways in which the ELI is engaged with other departments,

> There are a bunch of clubs on campus and I know that our culture immersion program coordinator, he goes to linguistics courses and he goes to foreign language classes and asks for volunteers, just because we have so many students. A lot of our conversation partners or language assistants are in those foreign language clubs, so they also take flyers with them for volunteers.

When asked about ELI recruitment, (Question 14), Justice explained,

> I know that there are in-person recruitment efforts. Those are a collaborative effort with multiple units on campus, with the graduate school and the office of admissions. Where it makes sense for all three of those organizations to recruit together, there are collaborative recruitment efforts for undergraduate, graduate, and IEP students.

In addition, Kelly explained how ELI members engage in committee work. Kelly discussed the involvement of the ELI program director on a land use and facility planning committee.

> It's called a joint senate committee, which is partially made up of faculty senate members and partially made up of appointed members from the provost's office, or the business affairs office. I'm not actually sure who does the appointing.... [The director] thought that this committee would be a good committee to be on because [the ELI was] in the process of trying to find space on campus and [the director] didn't really understand how or why those decisions were being made.

Students

Jongbloed et al. (2008) argue that students are the core community of a university and an extremely important stakeholder. Students were mentioned 37 times and by all participants during the interviews in response to seven questions, as illustrated in Appendix A. While Question 1 of the interview protocol did not address students

specifically, but rather asked what the purpose of the intensive English program at LPU is, all participants described the purpose of the program as being related to student preparation in one way or another. Most of the comments that participants made in relation to student preparation were focused on the role of the program to prepare students for academic work at the University, as in Casey's succinct statement: "...the purpose is to prepare students academically and for the culture of the U.S. classroom." Justice stated,

> The purpose of the intensive English program here is to prepare students for a degree program, either at this institution or elsewhere. Generally speaking, the students that are prepared here are for graduate study. It does appear to be graduate student focused. That means gearing the curriculum towards the set of skills that students can use in graduate programs.

Peyton said of the English Language Institute: "I believe it's preparing them to be able to be successful in the English-speaking higher education system," and that it also "helps the students to navigate the culture within the U.S." Drew's comments echoed this dual purpose:

> I think if you look at some of the goals of the English Language Institute, their purpose is to acculturate and help students learn English, international students, so that they can come and succeed in the universities across the country.

Kelly said of students' preparation in the IEP:

> If their goal is to study at a university in the United States, I think they're better served by learning English on the campus of a university in the United States, not so much because the English instruction quality will be better, but because, along with it, a lot of the cultural and academic expectations will be more apparent.

Student needs and student support issues were also mentioned a number of times. Justice focused on the needs of students to be academically prepared:

> Where there is a question mark about [the students'] ability to participate in institutions in the United States, it doesn't come from their academic ability in many cases. It typically comes from the fact that they need to have relevant skills

> to conduct themselves well in a classroom that's predominantly...a classroom environment that's predominantly held in English.

Justice also mentioned that "for those students who are entering an IEP either later in their career or their life, where they've essentially had families," the program is challenged with "keeping [those] students engaged." Peyton focused on student needs by stating that it is the role of administration to see "that the program runs well and primarily that the students are getting what they need." Lane added the perspective,

> There's more of an infrastructure related to visa and legal kinds of resources, understanding the requirements of visas, and helping students get here, and helping students while they're here with insurance, and what the limitations on their travel while they're here are.

Casey addressed student needs in terms of students' ability to meet their goals:

> Even if their goals are not to study, if they are professional and just here to brush up on their English, the interaction opportunities, the immersion component, is so much higher in an active community like a university, just because of the volunteering opportunities. We personally, as a benefit of our program, will help students find a place in the community to volunteer...and they are forced to speak English all day long.

Other participants addressed student support in the context of Question 2, which partially focuses on challenges of the IEP. Lane sees the IEP as serving students by providing "a center of support, particularly language assistance for students who are coming to the U.S., for various purposes." This participant sees the intuition's "awareness of needs" for the non-English speaking student population resting with the IEP. Lane stated that the IEP is the unit that asks:

> Are they prepared to deal with people who are not used to seeing students in certain kinds of clothing or doing things that may not be acceptable in U.S. social situations, interacting with people in ways that are not typical for U.S. social situations?

Lane went on to explain that the IEP's role is to help students

> ...realize that they are in a place where people may not be aware of who they are. People aren't even aware of difference. They aren't aware that other students in the world don't always come with the same kinds of views, or behaviors, expectations, values, attitudes that they would associate with a university kid coming from [neighboring states].

Dakota explained some of the services that the IEP offers from within the program to its students:

> We have a student life coordinator, so she is in charge of making sure that our apartments list, that one apartment that we have out there—Are they still ok, or are they suddenly shady and we don't want to send students there? She also gets to chase down the students who don't have proof of insurance, and she also gets to carry the emergency phone number if the students have an emergency.

Stakeholders

Díez-Martin et al. (2013) conclude that organizations, in order to maintain legitimacy and ensure survival, must strategically and "actively influence and manipulate the perceptions of its surrounding environment" (p. 1964). The surrounding environment includes stakeholders, both internal and external, who have the power to bestow legitimacy upon an organization simply through positive assessment. Spangehl (2012) defines stakeholders as:

> All of the people and groups that have a critical 'stake' or investment in the institution's future, including faculty, staff, and administrators, students' families, employers, funding and oversight agencies, and those institutions and organizations with which your institution has established collaborative relationships.

Questions 6 and 11-14 were developed to determine the knowledge and/or awareness that participants have of the IEP's external stakeholders, while Questions 15-19 focus on internal stakeholder expectations. Forty-two comments were logged in relation to the participants' awareness of external stakeholders, or awareness of relationships with stakeholders. Less than half of the comments related to stakeholders

(15 of 42) were made by participants who work outside the IEP. Some knew the organizations by name, others did not. The following statements were made by LPU employees who do not work directly with the IEP.

Justice stated of professional organizations,

> I'm aware of a [geographical] consortium that IEPs participate in here. I believe, but I can't say that I know, that there's a national group as well. There's also an international, a group of international educators, NAFSA, that IEP faculty and staff could belong to and share practices, both with IEP faculty and staff, but also with others that work in international education. That's what I'm aware of, at least for IEPs.

Justice also mentioned knowledge of accrediting organizations:

> My knowledge of the accreditation is probably not as good as it should be. I do know that they are, if I recall correctly, a UCIEP institution. They do, if I recall the accreditation body purpose correctly, I believe they are a bit selective as to who belongs to their group, but I can't say I have a whole lot of information beyond that. I can say that the IEP has been longstanding on our campus for decades.... I do know that they've been accredited for quite a while.

Peyton remembered that the IEP was working

> ...to put together a cooperative agreement to provide some sort of English study abroad program for some foreign institution that was interested in sending, I think it was a group of teachers, to learn English for a summer or for a brief period of time. I think there were two or three ELI in different parts of the country that were collaborating together in that way. I believe they have meetings, annual meetings where they work together, or they have sessions that will help them to develop professionally.

And later Peyton noted,

> They're a member of that, and they're accredited by, in fact, I believe—let's see, is it this month? I think it's this month—in fact, maybe in the next week or so, that some accrediting body will come and review. There's a body that reviews the ELIs. I don't remember the name of the body.

Drew stated,

> I know they are very active. I know that the director of ELI is very active in that organization, but I can't for the life of me think of the name of it, but I know [the director's] very active, and so are a number of people in ELI.

> Like most professional organizations in academia, they have conferences. They have workshops. They interact, they present, they coordinate and collaborate with each other, in the same way that most other organizations do I think.

Lane mentioned that IEP faculty and staff are members of local and national TESOL organizations. Lane also noted,

> There's also a very specific, not very specific, but another group of administrators of intensive English programs who have their own network and I think it may be a primarily internet-based activity. I don't know that they have conferences, but they share a lot of materials and they have a website that functions to serve their—to share information and ideas.

Faculty and staff members of the IEP provided more information related to external stakeholders and almost exclusively, 19 of 23 comments, provided detailed information about relations between the IEP and some stakeholders. Kelly said of the program's relationship with the state government, "We're part of a state university, so what the state does, the University does. For example, if the state board of governors does not approve raises, even if we have the funds, we can't give raises." Kelly also explained that the two most important organizations for teaching faculty "would be TESOL and NAFSA." Kelly later explained,

> I would say the membership that benefits us the most, that's the membership in UCIEP [a consortium of university and college intensive English programs]. It provides us the opportunity to learn from, and have advocate for us, a group of like-minded IEPs, because they're all top IEPs at university or college campuses. I would say, for accreditation, actually holding the accreditation helps with us on campus, because it's a language that others on campus speak.

Riley explained that it is important for the program administrators to be advocates of the program in order to maintain a "relationship with the University" and keep the program "visible." Riley was able to convey tangential knowledge about the relationship between the IEP and the federal government:

> Federal, the only thing that I know for sure is we operate under the auspices of the University I-17. I don't know otherwise. I know our PDSO and our DSOs have mastered the training to work in the SEVP system, but I don't really know anything about it myself. That's not an aspect of the program that I've ever been involved with.

Dakota added, "We are able to issue I-20s."

Kelly continued,

> We have a PDSO and a few DSOs. I'd say that that was the extent of our relationship with the federal government unless they visit campus, which we'd rather they not.... We're on LPU's I-17, so we take direction from the [International Office]; but, having our own PDSO and issuing our own I-20s, we're able to control the turnaround time between a completed application and an I-20 going out. We're able to make sure that our internal policies and procedures don't do anything that would fall afoul of government regulations, but that's about it. I think it's more management than anything.

All four participants internal to the IEP mentioned the English program accrediting body, the Commission on English Language Program Accreditation, CEA, by name and a few offered some explanation of the nature of the relationship or its effect on the IEP's practices. Dakota explained of the accreditation process,

> We had to look at our own program and just figure out our strengths and weaknesses and find ways to improve that, so our student learning outcomes, our objectives, our assessments, there's been a big overhaul. We were already a strong program to begin with, but going through the process of CEA made us look at places where we could improve, so there definitely are areas that I think we've done a lot of stuff with, having stronger objectives and assessments in general.

Casey continued,

> Some of us...became site reviewers for CEA for other programs. That was the best way for us to really understand all of the standards and how we meet them, meet them differently. It's just a great thing to be aware of. We've had [a number] of faculty here that were site reviewers, then ...they shared their knowledge with us at our own internal professional development. I think that has benefited us greatly just to really understand all of the internal workings of an IEP through that accreditation.

Other external stakeholders mentioned include local businesses or organizations with which the IEP interacts. Dakota explained,

> We have a list of apartments that we have a good relationship with, so they work with us. A lot of our students have either just English-speaking roommates, or they have roommates from other cultures, so they're basically forced to speak English or they could request to have their own roommates.

Casey explained how the IEP contributes to the recruitment efforts of other institutions of higher education:

> LPU [IEP] students can't get into undergraduate here. If they need English, there's no way they're going to get into LPU.... It's very selective. Right. Most of our newly-graduated high school students may come here, then they would go to a community college or transfer to other undergrad somewhere else.

Questions 13 and 14 received the most response, with 10 comments focused on relationships with institutions and governments that serve as recruitment pipelines for either the IEP, the University, or both. Seven out of eight participants referred to the IEP recruitment pipeline in some way. Kelly explained about foreign government relationships, "They like our program, and there's a lot of them, and they decide earlier than a lot of students where they're going to go because they know it's going to be paid for. We can overnight receive 40 Kuwaiti applications." Kelly also explained that having alumni from LPU in high foreign government positions is also helpful in forging relationships with those governments, and advocating for the IEP on campus.

> It was actually the provost who decided we need conditional admission at the graduate level if we're going to compete for international graduate students. It was him who said, 'We need to get with the ELI and see what they can do to do this conditional admission....' The COUNTRY minister of higher education invited [the provost] and a couple of other people to that big, I can't remember what they call it, the student fair that they basically do in COUNTRY every spring. At the time, the minister of education in COUNTRY was an LPU grad. When he went to this thing and saw all these students who were fully funded....

Justice continued,

> In the past I know they have signed agreements for providing language education for a cohort of students. There may be 30 students from a government institution that they would form an agreement on, in order to provide education for, say, a summer term or something.

Riley noted, "We have some relationships with colleges in other countries, particularly COUNTRY B." Riley also explained that one particular government took action that directly affected the number of students who were provided scholarships from that country, "We've been twice...cut off by [the scholarship-granting body of the foreign government] because we reached numbers just too high."

Riley mentioned that agent relationships contribute to the IEP's recruitment effort: "We maintain relationships with agents as well." Casey also mentioned that the IEP uses "educational consultants internationally," and that those consultants are required to "be aware and follow [NAFSA's] statements of ethics or principles of ethics statement. Casey also said of the "educational consultants:" "Some people call them 'agents,' but we don't like to use that word. They are agents, but we call them 'educational consultants.'" When asked why, Casey replied:

> We use the word 'educational consultants' also, because we have alumni that can sign up with [the IEP] to help people. Even when they go to their home country, their hometown, and they want to work, to help, they don't have a legit business set up, so we just call them consultants.

Reputation

Chan and Makino (2007) found that multi-national corporations "rely on their local partners to gain the goodwill of the local legitimating actors and to establish a good reputation in the eyes of these actors" (pp. 632-633). McKee et al. (2005), in a study related to business school accreditations, note that competition for students makes universities in general "sensitive to issues of reputation, status processes, or legitimation"

(p. 292). While none of the questions in the interview protocol directly addressed the program's reputation, the topic was mentioned 13 times by six of the eight participants; therefore, the researcher felt it was a significant theme. Kelly includes a global reputation for the University as one of the benefits that the IEP provides to the institution: "I feel that intensive English program is part of an academic field, and that having a strong intensive English program, well-known throughout the world, really helps the reputation of the University." Kelly continued about the IEP's status as being well-known throughout the world:

> Maybe not throughout the whole, entire world, but in certain parts of the world I think that our intensive English program is well-known.... Oftentimes, when there are government scholarship programs, or, universities want to provide opportunities for their students to study English, they approach us. We don't necessarily approach them. We'll receive an inquiry saying, 'We know that your intensive English program is well-established, is accredited, yada, yada, yada. We had students who studied there, or we had friends who studied there, and we'd like to create a partnership.' So, the fact that people are reaching out to us who might not know anything about LPU, but know about the English language program, makes me feel like we're well-known.

Riley mentioned that the program's reputation contributes to its success in enrollment growth: "And reputation over the years. We've got grandchildren of people who have been ELI students now. We've been around [over 50 years]. Dakota also mentioned that reputation contributed to program growth:

> It's through word of mouth. Once students get home they tell their friends. So, we have a lot of students, when they apply and we ask them, 'Where did you hear about us,' 'A friend studied there, a family member studied there;' just the quality of the program itself, and also the University. The University is considered pretty prestigious, so I think that draws a lot of students also.

Lane said of the IEP:

> It gives the University a presence in other places, where they might either be advertising on the website, or at fairs, sort of international recruiting fairs, or just through the testimonies of returning students from the English Language Institute,

> they would have gone back home and spoken about their experience to others and that spreads the word informally through testimony.

Justice provided an outside perspective from within the University. Justice's opinion of the benefits provided by the IEP are reflected in the answer to Question 2:

> One is that the organization, the way it's run right now...it's a relatively progressive organization. That means that it's forward looking in providing an image of the institution internationally. Given that more and more institutions are looking to have a presence internationally, both in terms of marketing as well as maintaining a diversity of students from across the world, they're sort of on the front of those initiatives, and also it's an entry point for students who may be qualified academically but don't have language skills that they would need to immediately begin study at the University. In that respect I think, they do bring a bit of, I wouldn't necessarily say, just progressive push to the institution but maybe a first entry point for the institution in a number of new markets.

Kelly also noted the reputation of the IEP on the University campus. Kelly explained,

> The language assistant position is considered one of the best campus jobs to have, so we'll have 100 to 200 applications for 40 positions or 20 positions. So, not everyone who's in the conversation partner program necessarily would be able to be hired as a language assistant.

Kelly also explained that in some ways, the relationship with certain foreign governments and their students can affect the reputation the IEP has on campus, based on the visible presence of the students. Kelly explained, "just in who the University, the administration and tenured faculty, see moving about." Kelly further explained:

> I would say that right now I would hope that either units on campus or administrators on campus don't know about us at all period, or if they do know about us, it's in a semi-favorable or a very favorable light. I think that has changed drastically, because my predecessor very much believed in the 'lie low, stay under the radar' belief, so he didn't want the program to be noticed.

Other participants noted challenges that the IEP presents to the institution. Those comments are presented under the theme "Challenges" because they were not directly mentioned as having an effect on the program's reputation.

Challenges

While Question 2 asks participants to directly address challenges that the ELI presents to the University, and Question 20 asks specifically what the challenges are for those who work directly within the IEP, the topic of challenges was brought up 48 times by seven participants and in answer to a variety of questions; only 11 responses were directly related to Questions 2 or 20. In response to Question 2, challenges discussed were identified as mostly relating to the belonging of the ELI to the University. Kelly explained,

> Because the courses are non-credit and we're not state-funded like the rest of the University is, we don't quite fit into any particular category; so, no matter what we're doing, we're slightly different than everybody else, which means they're constantly having to create new policies, procedures, rules, et cetera, just for us.

Justice explained how the decentralized nature of the University makes working with the ELI challenging at times.

> For applicants, for any degree program at the institution, [the ELI] often get(s) interests that (are) very difficult to follow up on, for an institution of our decentralized shape. There may be students who could be well-qualified, but they need to find an appropriate contact within the institution after they've been able to either study at the IEP, or pursue their individual study at the undergraduate or graduate level. Essentially fanning those students to the appropriate contacts for additional involvement at the institution is often a challenge, because there's a difference between the qualifications the IEP looks at and our undergraduate or graduate programs look at. It's very hard to communicate what those differences are to students.

Justice continued,

> Challenges that it generates. I think for us, there is generation of excess demand. Having IEPs out there, up front, is helpful, but it turns out that it generates a lot of student volume, more than the institution as a whole or potentially certain programs, can handle. Managing that is an issue that each program needs to deal with, and figure out how to manage, and sometimes there isn't an easy way to manage that.

Casey had a different perspective on the same issue. Casey mentioned that the academic requirements for undergraduate students are often too rigorous for students attending the ELI. Casey explained, "If they need English, there's no way they're going to get into LPU.... Most of our newly-graduated high school students may come here, then they would go to a community college or transfer to other undergrad somewhere else."

Dakota brought up a similar challenge in response to Question 3 regarding opportunities for IEP students to interact with degree-seeking students. Dakota shared,

> We also do volunteer days twice a semester and a lot of those are combined with LPU students—not a lot, just because we have so many students that we tend to overwhelm whatever volunteers, or whatever—anything that we go to, and since it's volunteer, it tends to overwhelm.

Drew described benefits in a way that also identified previously mentioned challenges. Drew stated,

> I don't think they are as connected with the University as they could be, just because the University, in my view, doesn't recognize all the things that they do, that they could do for the University, but then I believe ELI's mission is really for the students who come there, and since they prepare them to go to a lot of places, not just the institution that they're in, that's okay.

Other challenges that participants mentioned fall into categories of the marginalization, or perceived marginalization, of faculty, and future uncertainty. Dakota mentioned of the relationships among faculty in the ELI and faculty members from other departments,

> I feel like we're not respected as a profession, like as they're all professors with PhDs.... I feel like there's this air of loftiness, where our work isn't as respected because we don't' publish and we don't—it's silly, though. We're all doing hard work.

Riley explained of the interaction among faculty in the IEP and others at the University, "We really don't interact a whole lot.... I don't feel that we're ignored, per se, I just don't really feel like there's a whole lot going on that necessarily we want to interact." With

regard to research, Riley later explained that "some faculty actually actively pursue publications from TESOL. I, thankfully, am not one of them anymore. I used to. I used to pursue research a lot more." When asked what changed, Riley responded, "After 20 years, I'm a little jaded." Drew noted, "I'm guessing [the ELI instructors] don't get paid in the same way regular university instructors get paid. There may be some issues there."

Justice, in responding to the question of differences in resources at the ELI (Question 22), explained that the ELI faces a different type of uncertainty than other departments. Justice said,

> ...they aren't an academic program in the standard sense, so they can't rely on a baseline of funding. There's always this need to make sure that they take care of themselves. The bottom could drop out, technically, if students stopped coming. That wouldn't necessarily happen to other academic programs on campus.

Kelly explained that in the face of an enrollment deficit, "I know that it's all dependent upon who's in charge and what the economy looks like."

Affect

Most of the participants internal to the ELI provided reflection or comment that seemed to communicate an emotional connection to the program. These comments did not appear to the researcher to fit into any particular theme, so the researcher created the code Affect to be applied to these comments. Dakota explains feelings of security in a discussion about challenges (Question 20).

> ...my administration is very supportive of the faculty. They do everything that they can to make sure that we have the resources that we need, so the only thing that we have to worry about is achieving our goals in the classroom, so we don't' have to worry about having to go find a copier in the middle of the day to make those copies I forgot about or if there is a problem with the students we know who to talk to. I feel like our administration is there for us, so from my perspective my job is really easy, because I don't have to worry about anything, really, as long as I do my job. I just worry about achieving my goals.

When Peyton was asked whether intensive English training in general belongs in the higher education setting (Question 5), Peyton responded, "I've never thought about that. I've never thought about it that way, but, I think, however, thinking about it-- I think it's beneficial for the institute to be in some way affiliated with the University." Peyton later shared a reflection on the program's leadership. Peyton said of the program director,

> She has the oversight of the whole center, and honestly, she does a fantastic job. Not because she's my friend and I know her, but I can see when I visit the ELI, I see what they're doing. I can see the respect that they have for her.

Riley also shared feelings about the program director. Riley stated, "She's fantastic. Sincerely, there is no one that I would rather work for."

Kelly provided a perspective on the status of the program in terms of the benefits of a new reporting structure. Kelly stated,

> Inside the University, but external to the program, we have more protection. We now report to a chair, who reports to a dean, the dean of the largest college at the University; so, whereas before we could get pushed around by deans of other colleges because they could go to the provost and ask for our space or tell us to do stuff, now they have to actually approach—they can approach the provost, but the provost has to approach our dean, and our dean now talks to whatever dean it is that wants, say, an extra classroom or something. I feel like they have our back, basically.

Of the quality of the program, Riley shared,

> I feel like we do have a high academic standard within the guidelines of what we do. I think in terms of what is often required of university professionals, PhD level professors, you've got the whole seven year tenure thing on a tenure-track faculty. That's got to be maddening. We just don't have to do that.

Summary

In this single qualitative case study, nine distinct themes emerged from the data collected through participant interviews in relation to the literature on organizational legitimacy. These themes include: a) resources, b) faculty, c) governance, d)

institutional fit, e) students, f) stakeholders, g) reputation, h) challenges, and i) affect. The interview protocol consisted of 22 questions addressing the six sub questions of the one overarching question in this study: How did Large State University's IEP gain and maintain its internal and external legitimacy through its regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive systems? Based on Scott's (2014) Three Pillars Framework, the researcher examined each of the 22 questions in the interview protocol and coded them according to the legitimacy type addressed by the question. In many instances, responses to a specific question might address more than one type of legitimacy. Ultimately, 12 questions seemed to point to issues of regulative legitimacy, 13 to normative legitimacy, and 15 to cultural-cognitive legitimacy, which would lead to a fairly balanced distribution of legitimacy across the institution's three organizational pillars (Scott, 2014). However, the researcher found 97 comments related to regulative legitimacy, 137 related to normative legitimacy, and 225 related to cultural-cognitive legitimacy. Table 9 illustrates the analysis used to determine the appropriate pillar and its legitimacy as related to each coded comment in the findings of this study. Table 10 contains in vivo codes that were eliminated from Table 9. The findings in this study lead the researcher to believe that the IEP at LPU is more culturally-cognitively rooted in the minds of those stakeholders who possess the agency to confirm or deny legitimacy to the IEP. This finding presents LPU's systemic governance distribution as not being equally balanced across the three pillars, but rather supported mostly by the cultural-cognitive pillar, which is rooted in a cultural-cognitive legitimacy.

Table 9
Sample of Code Database including Rationale for Pillar Assignment

Participant	Interview Question	Code	SQ	Theme	Structural Code	Pillar	Rationale
Kelly	2	18	6	Belonging	Stakeholder awareness	R	Instrumentality
Kelly	3	19	6	Resources	Campus employer	R	Instrumentality
Kelly	3	24	2	Presence	Institutional engagement	C	Common beliefs; culturally supported
Kelly	5	28	5	Belonging	Academic value	C	Orthodoxy
Kelly	5	32	5	Students	Student preparation	C	Certainty
Kelly	6	33	5	Stakeholders	Stakeholder variety	N	Appropriateness
Kelly	7	34	4	Faculty	Faculty support	N	Social Obligation

Table 10
In vivo Codes Removed from Table 9 Database Sample

Code Number	In vivo Code
18	Everyone's getting better about managing them before they happen....we're included in more conversations...we've messed enough things up
19	The majority take place because we hire about 40 to 50 undergraduate students every semester
24	We do advertise, but I think a lot of it is word-of-mouth, on Facebook, and peoples' friends....We post it [on the university website]
28	It is just as valuable as Spanish instruction or French instruction....it's not remedial in any way, shape, or form...should be more permanently entrenched
32	Understanding how to interact with faculty, interact with the students, expectations, knowing things about plagiarism, knowing the registration system
33	There's also NASPA for student affairs...if you get more into the research and academics of it, there's AAAL, ACTFL,...whatever their background
34	We have a large number of our faculty attend conferences, present at conferences... they bring back what they learn and present

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

As intensive English programs in the United States face increased competition (Redden, 2013), a stricter governmental regulatory climate ("Accreditation Act," 2010), and continued marginalization (Eaton, 2013), leaders of these programs need to include legitimacy building in their strategic planning in order to stay relevant and continue to survive. The purpose of this study is to examine the legitimacy of one intensive English program through the lens of Scott's (2014) Three Pillars Framework in order to reflect on the essence of the IEP's legitimacy and to identify successful strategies for gaining and maintaining that legitimacy. Scott (2014) explains that an organization rests on three independent organizational pillars, a regulative one, a normative one, and a cultural-cognitive one, and that each of these pillars is rooted in a legitimacy that operates through the same channels of compliance, order, logic, and affect as the attendant organizational system type. An organization's legitimacy is subject to policies and perceptions created beyond the boundaries of an organization's own control (Jongbloed et al., 2008; McQuarrie et al., 2013) and may even be tied to the legitimacy of legitimating bodies (Black, 2008; Santana, 2012), as in the case of the 2010 Accreditation Act in which the U.S. federal government dictated the accrediting bodies from which all English programs and schools, public or private, must receive approval in order to be granted permission from the United States federal government to host visiting international students on

student visas ("Accreditation Act," 2010). The findings of this study are useful to leaders of intensive English programs and their supervisors as they navigate the constant change that today's global higher education environment presents (Kezar, 2012; Vaira, 2004) and strive for survival and growth.

Summary of the Study

According to Suchman (1995), legitimacy is "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions," (p. 574). This single-case qualitative embedded case study sought to describe the "generalized perception" of certain groups of stakeholders of the intensive English program (IEP) at Large Public University (LPU) in terms of Scott's (2014) Three Pillars of an institution to determine which system among the three bears the most institutional legitimacy weight for the IEP at LPU, and also determine which systems were most useful in the development and management of that balance of institutional legitimacy. The study was guided by one overarching research question: How did Large State University's IEP acquire and maintain its internal and external legitimacy though its regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive systems? Six sub questions were developed to address the overarching question. Scott's (2014) Three Pillars framework guided the question design. Questions 1 and 2 addressed regulative systems, Questions 3 and 4 addressed normative systems, and Questions 5 and 6 addressed cultural-cognitive systems:

1) How has the IEP responded and leveraged governmental regulations?
2) How has the IEP responded to and leveraged host institution policies?
3) How has the IEP worked to meet external stakeholders' expectations?

4) How has the IEP worked to meet internal stakeholders' expectations?

5) How does the IEP fit into the higher education environment?

6) How does the IEP fit into the campus environment of the host institution?

The 22-question interview protocol used to collect data for this study was developed from concepts gleaned directly from Scott's (2014) Three Pillars framework. Questions were grouped prior to interviews based on the types of legitimacy the questions target, as illustrated in Table 11. Eight participants were interviewed using the interview protocol. Two participants agreed to participate in follow-up interviews. Data from these follow-up interviews contributed to some of the more significant findings in this study.

Table 11
Potential System Support Targeted by Interview Protocol Questions

Theoretical Pillar	Regulative				Normative				Cultural-Cognitive			
Question Number	2	3	4	10	2	3	4	6	1	2	3	4
	12	13	14	15	9	10	11	14	5	7	8	10
	16	18	19	20	16	18	19	20	14	16	17	18
					21				20	21	22	

Discussion of Major Findings

The most significant finding in this study relating to Scott's (2014) Three Pillars framework is that the cultural-cognitive pillar of the intensive English Program at Large Public University provides the primary support for the institution's legitimacy. The snapshot provided in *Figure 3* is a map of the current legitimacy of the IEP at LPU. Scott (2014) explains, "In stable social systems, we observe practices that persist and are reinforced because they are taken for granted, normatively endorsed, and backed by authorized powers. When the pillars are aligned, the strength of their combined forces can be formidable" (p. 71).

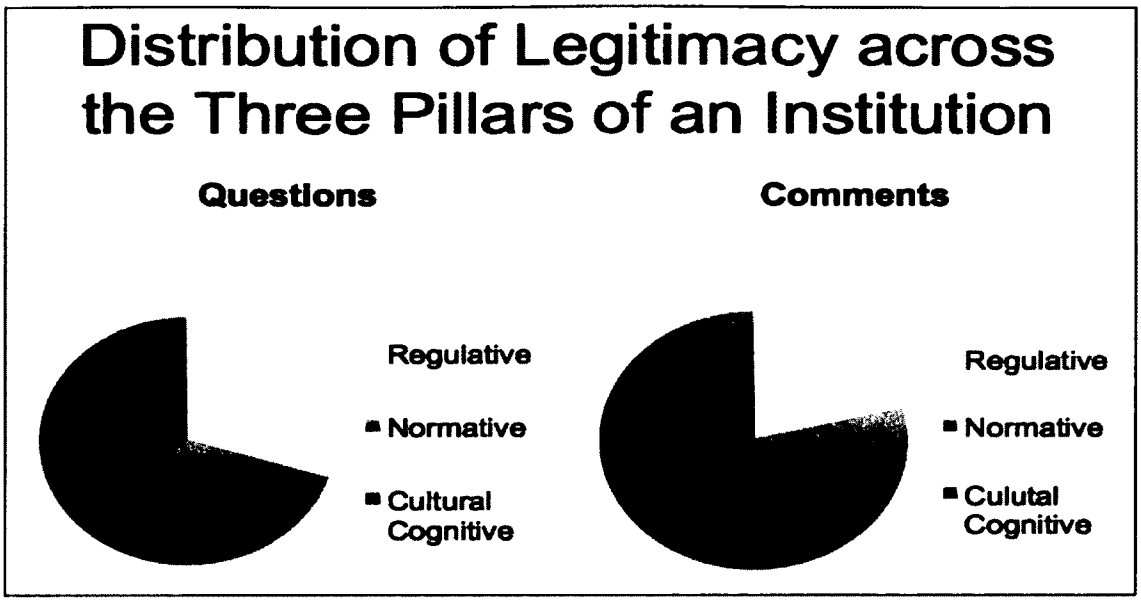

Figure 2. The Distribution of Legitimacy at LPU's IEP. Comparison of the ideal distribution of legitimacy among Scott's (2014) three institutional pillars based on interview questions with the actual distribution of the legitimacy of LPU's IEP according to participant responses to interview questions.

Indeed, the IEP at LPU exhibits elements of all three pillars at work, supporting Scott's assertions. However, the balance of legitimacy is not as equally distributed among the pillars as was predicted through the coding of the interview protocol. Still, Scott (2014) notes, "in many situations, a given pillar will assume primacy" (p. 71). In the case of the IEP at LPU, the cultural-cognitive pillar of the organization has assumed primacy. Therefore, the researcher concludes that the legitimacy of the IEP at LPU is predominately a cultural-cognitive legitimacy. The following is a discussion of findings that contributed to the researcher's ability to present this conclusion, as well as answer each of the six sub questions of this study.

The Regulative System and Legitimacy

The first two sub questions were written in an attempt to explore actions, strategic or otherwise, taken by the IEP's employees that resulted in a building or strengthening of the program's legitimacy through the utilization of rules, laws, or sanctions in order to

gain benefits. The basis of action in a regulative system is the legal sanctioning of an organization through a human motivation to comply with institutional rules, based on expedience and a mechanism of instrumentality (Scott, 2014). Legitimacy, in the case of a regulative system, is achieved simply through the existence of rules and compliance with those rules. The researcher expected to find evidence of participants' awareness of governmental or institutional "rules" that would either have a positive or negative impact on the IEP or that were employed to achieve status, gain resources, or somehow influence perceptions of the IEP held by external or internal stakeholders. Statements made by participants indicating action or beliefs rooted in the legally sanctioning of IEP interests were coded as indicating a regulative legitimacy due to the fact that the entire regulative system is rooted in the legitimacy of the system, according to Scott (2014).

Leveraging Governmental Regulations

The researcher found evidence that the IEP has leveraged federal regulations in attempts to gain or maintain control over its own processes. The fact that the IEP was able to use the regulations to leverage its position is indicative of the regulative legitimacy of the IEP. Federal rules that require compliance in order for an intensive English program to host non-immigrant foreign students on an F-1 student visa serve to sanction the legitimacy of an intensive English program in the visa program. First, the federal government must approve the program in order for the school to host these students. Section 101(a)(15)(F) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) establishes the F-1 visa category. This visa category, and the immigration status associated with it, is governed by the regulations published under 8 CFR 214.2(f), 214.3, and 214.4. The mission of the IEP at LPU, to prepare non-native speakers who would otherwise be

prepared to succeed in a degree program at the University, could not be met without the approval of the federal government because the vast majority of the programs' students are non-immigrant F-1 students. The IEP's survival hinges on compliance with all federal regulations associated with English language training. In addition, in order for a school to gain federal approval to host F-1 non-immigrant students, or retain approval through a process called recertification ("Recertification," 2016), it must be accredited by an accrediting agency that is approved by the U.S. Department of Education ("Accreditation Act," 2010).

The IEP at LPU achieved programmatic accreditation before the 2010 Accreditation Act was passed into law, so the IEP at LPU's decision to pursue accreditation was not a regulative system-grounded decision. However, Kelly's statement, in regards to the IEP's relationship with the federal government that "We have a PDSO and a few DSOs. I'd say that that was the extent of our relationship with the federal government, unless they visit campus, which we'd rather they not," alludes to a regulative system affect, or a compliance with rules motivated by fear or innocence (Scott, 2014), since they would "rather not" have the government visiting campus. This does not explain the IEPs legitimacy; rather, it reflects the type of legitimacy Kelly assigns to the federal government. Kelly's attitude supports McQuarrie's (2013) observation that "post-secondary institutions are far more responsive to symbolic legitimation, such as awarding the right to use a seal or to use the name 'university,' than to legitimation through comprehensive government policy and legal frameworks" (p. 160), considering the IEP's decision to pursue accreditation before law mandated the action.

The IEP has been able to leverage federal policy to tightly control its admissions processes. Kelly explained, "having our own PDSO and issuing our own I-20s, we're able to control the turnaround time between a completed application and an I-20 going out." The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) approves employees of schools nominated to serve as Designated School Officials (DSOs) for the school. Each school has a PDSO, or Primary Designated School Official, who has more authority than DSOs when operating in the online database called SEVIS, the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System, managed by DHS. I-20s are immigration documents generated in SEVIS that govern a student's immigration status. Processing time is important to international students because the visa application and approval process can be lengthy. A delay in the generation of initial documents could affect a student's ability to ultimately enroll ("U.S. Visas," 2016).

Leveraging Host Institution Policies

The researcher found evidence that the administration in the IEP was able to leverage host institution policies through its regulative system in order to gain resources and arguably legitimacy (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). Kelly's story of how the IEP deployed the financial reserves amassed by the IEP through compliance with institutional policy, or rules, to essentially lease space from another department by assuming the responsibility of paying the external department's classroom rental fees illustrates the IEP's ability to leverage institutional policy with existing resources (funds) in order to acquire additional resources (space). If it had not been for the University's space allocation process and policy, as well as the IEP's ability to access its revenue, the IEP would not have gained access to additional space "belonging" to another department. In

addition, several participants noted that IEP teachers are not required to conduct research. Some participants mentioned that the faculty has, in more recent years, gained a "faculty" status, versus a staff or a part-time instructor status. So, while they are still not required to conduct research, they are eligible for a promotion process that is similar to the tenure process, according to the university's policy on full-time faculty. This process includes a formula for merit pay, which is also in line with the University's policy. The University's policy on merit pay works to the IEP's advantage. Various participants acknowledged that IEP faculty are active in their professional field and a few participants believe that this activity has put the IEP in the spotlight at LPU. For example, one IEP faculty member has been granted professional leave to conduct research through a competitive process in which tenured faculty also participate. In addition, Lane mentioned having experienced sitting on a promotion committee that included IEP faculty and through that experience, becoming more aware of the activities IEP faculty are engaging in. In addition, the merit pay policy encourages faculty to engage with students outside of the classroom because faculty are recognized for their service to the department beyond the "two days a month" that Riley reported are required of teachers to volunteer with students outside of class. This benefits the students and the reputation of the program. Finally, Kelly's discussion on how the procedure for space allocation, requiring department heads to first go through deans instead of straight to the provost, now offers the program "protection" from suddenly losing space to another a department that is higher up on the academic hierarchy highlights the benefits of the program's new home in an academic department.

The Normative System and Legitimacy

The second set of sub questions, Questions 3 and 4, explore ways in which the IEP has complied with binding expectations of a social unit or obtained certification or accreditation through a legitimizing organization. These actions are indicators of a normative system at work within the institution. (Scott, 2014) The basis of normative system, normative legitimacy, is through a self-governed morality motivating institutional members to act appropriately within a specific community (Scott, 2014). The researcher expected to find evidence that members of the IEP engaged with stakeholders within the greater institution of Large Public University and with stakeholders in the greater international higher education environment in normative ways, such as meeting binding expectations or acting out of appropriateness according to a morally governed code in order to achieve honor or avoid social shame. The researcher expected to find that any actions meeting these descriptors have in some way contributed to gained or maintained normative legitimacy for the IEP.

Leveraging External Stakeholder Expectations

In this study, the researcher found evidence that the perceptions of internal stakeholders of LPU's IEP were influenced by the IEP's acquisition of programmatic accreditation. IEP faculty members discussed their positive feelings about changes brought about in the IEP as a result of going through the process of becoming accredited. Riley explained,

> We actually codified a lot of things that we 'already knew' but had never really written down. I think it made communication throughout the whole organization far more transparent. It made us more aware of things that we needed to improve. I think the cycle of self-examination that CEA mandates has very, very, very positive for us.

Casey continued,

> It has been an amazing opportunity for professional development. Some of us...became site reviewers for CEA for other programs. That was the best way for us to really understand all of the standards and how we meet them, meet them differently. It's just a great thing to be aware of....I think that has benefited us greatly just to really understand all of the internal workings of an IEP through that accreditation.

In addition to IEP faculty feeling as though the IEP benefited from the accreditation process, thereby strengthening the legitimacy of the program in the minds of the internal stakeholders, i.e., faculty, Kelly explains how the IEP has been able to leverage its status as an accredited entity in the face of potential challenge. This is illustrated best in Kelly's position that accreditation is "useful" in supporting arguments against certain decisions that would "jeopardize" the program's accreditation. Participant faculty and staff external to the IEP but internal to LPU all recognized the IEP's CEA accreditation as an accomplishment. For example, Justice mentioned their most recent accreditation process, "I don't think it was their first accreditation. I think it was just a renewal."

Kelly mentions how the IEP can leverage its external stakeholder relationships in order to gain resources, or legitimacy. Kelly stated, "sponsor programs and other entities are beginning more and more to look for accreditation, so it helps that we have it." In addition, Kelly mentions how the IEP serves its student stakeholders by helping them to understand the expectations of the institutional stakeholders, or academic departments. This service can also be used to leverage a university-based program against its competition when marketing the program. Kelly elaborates on students' goals and the access that the IEP provides those students to the greater higher education community.

> If their goal is to study at a university in the United States, I think they're better served by learning English on the campus of a university in the United States, not so much because the English instruction quality will be better, but because, along

> with it, a lot of the cultural and academic expectations will be more apparent. It's just like saying, 'Sure, you can study English or learn English in a non-English-speaking country, but you really will do much better if you're immersed in the language here.' I think that non-university-based ESL programs probably say that all the time. So, my feeling is the same with teaching academic expectations for a university. Yes, you can learn it off-campus somewhere else, but it's much better to be immersed in it so you truly understand, and see, and feel how it works.

Leveraging Internal Stakeholder Expectations

The researcher found that the most effective way the IEP has been able to leverage internal stakeholder expectations is through acknowledging those expectations and demonstrating a willingness to meet them. Kelly's recounting of changes in the IEP leadership and the upper administration's subsequent trust in the IEP leadership in decision-making illustrate this leveraging:

> [The provost] was interim dean of COLLEGE before our reporting line was moved to COLLEGE, but was, I think, somewhat instrumental in that actually happening. He, from what I understand, had no love lost with our former director. I think both of them are academics. [The former director] was a tenured faculty member and I think –it was very siloed. [Former director] felt very protective of the ELI and its resources and its money and its decisions—so—didn't actually want anybody to necessarily know what was going on. I think it took us a long time…after [former director] left…to convince the now (sic) provost that that had changed. We do understand we're a service to the University. We do understand that we're all one big group and that we're here to help as much as we can. Our resources are for our students, but it's not our personal bank account. There has to be a reason we're doing what we're doing.… I think a tipping point—for years [former director] had tried to get LPU to consider conditional admission and no one was willing to talk to him about it at all. It was actually the provost who decided we need conditional admission at the graduate level if we're going to compete for international graduate students.

Aside from internal stakeholder expectations, the researcher found that relationships among internal stakeholders at LPU, both inside the IEP and between the IEP and other departments, play an important role in the maintenance of the IEP's legitimacy. A discussion of these relationships seems most appropriate under the heading

of cultural-cognitive legitimacy, but should be mentioned here because the relationships involve internal stakeholders.

The Cultural-cognitive System and Legitimacy

The final two sub questions, Questions 5 and 6, address the IEPs position within the higher education community and the LPU campus community. According to Scott (2014), a cultural-cognitive system is rooted in a legitimacy that stems from a shared belief system in which agents experience feelings of certainty, or confusion, about the institution. Actions of compliance within the cultural-cognitive system are motivated from a psychological position of shared understanding developed from a constitutive, schematic order; in other words, the credibility of the organization goes unquestioned because things are the way they are because they've always been that way. Actors mimic the actions of those deemed legitimate in order to gain legitimacy. Actors also consider the institution legitimate because they believe in the institution, either because it's what they have always known, because it's always been there, or because it has somehow shaped the culture in which the actors feel comfortable and safe. The researcher was expecting to uncover taken-for-granted ideas or beliefs about the IEP among participants and throughout the communities targeted in order to determine the level of taken-for-grantedness the IEP at LPU experiences. Any evidence of this kind would indicate that the IEP has achieved a cultural-cognitive level of legitimacy, which is considered to be the most stable legitimacy type (Scott, 2014).

The IEP and the Environment of Higher Education

The researcher found that the IEP at LPU is engaged with the broader environment of international education, especially as it relates to intensive English

programs. Faculty and staff from LPU's IEP present research and best practices at local, regional, and national conferences, they serve organizations in leadership roles, and they enjoy a developed network of international education-focused organizations. All participants in this study mentioned organizational affiliations and IEP faculty and staff engagement in professional organizations and all seemed to assumed that through this engagement, the IEP faculty and staff were better professionals. In addition, reference to LPU's IEP are found on a variant of online marketing websites, illustrating that the IEP at LPU is actively engaged in the commercialization of LPU, which Slaughter and Rhoades (2011) argue is a characteristic trend of higher education in the 21st century, and putting the IEP in the center of current higher education trends.

International student enrollments have been on an upward trajectory for decades. The percentage of overall students enrolled in higher education in the U.S. has grown consistently since 2010 (IIE, 2016). International students studying intensive English in the U.S. make up nearly ten percent of the total international student population. According to Pérez-Peña (2014), "Recruitment from overseas is a rare and increasingly important financial bright spot at a time when state support for higher education has dropped to historic lows, research grants are declining, consumers are objecting to tuition increases, and the supply of college-age Americans is stagnant" (p. 1). Intensive English programs with a history of international recruiting and those that serve degree-granting institutions offering conditional admission to students who successfully complete such programs (Redden, 2013a) are spotlighted in today's environment. Kelly mentions this phenomenon: "our positions have become a lot more public than they used to be."

The IEP and the Campus Environment

The greatest body of evidence in this study relates to the belongedness of the IEP on the campus of LPU. From the changes in leadership, location, and faculty status, to the University's decision to offer conditional admission, the researcher has found evidence of a shared belief system between the IEP and the greater university, including issues such as the importance of accreditation, service to the greater good, and a "certainty" in the academic nature of the IEP. When asked if intensive English training, in general, belongs in higher education (question 5 in the interview protocol), all eight participants said it did. Peyton, an administrator working at the University-at-large, stated, "I've never thought about it that way.... I think it's beneficial for the institute to be in some way affiliated with the University...that has helped us to diversify our international student population." Kelly's perspective is that "It probably should be more permanently entrenched and I think that graduate programs should move away from the requirement of acquiring even a third language for students and not letting them use English as their second language...requirement." Justice explains, from a perspective outside the IEP,

> Generally the—where there is a question mark about their ability to participate in the institutions in the United States, it doesn't come from their academic ability in many cases. It typically comes from the fact that they need to have relevant skills to conduct themselves well in a classroom that's predominantly—a classroom environment that's predominantly held in English....there's also an affinity between bringing those students to an IEP on our campus, and the benefits that they get from also having a familiar environment, essentially for a degree program later.

Lane echoed,

> They would be in a network that is concerned with academic trajectories. In other words, they're connected to an institution that leads to further studies, which is

> often the goal for international students who come to the U.S. They want to continue their studies and earn graduate degrees to return home with credentials.

Drew, too, explained from a perspective outside the IEP,

> I think if you look at some of the goals of the English language institute, their purpose is to acculturate and help students learn English, international students, so that they can come and succeed in the universities across the country. Our ELI is particularly strong. I'm very impressed with some of the things they do. They don't just have classrooms, where students come and sit in a classroom. They do cultural events. They have activities on the weekends. They do all sorts of things. All of those are very valuable experiences, I think, for international students

Dakota explained how the IEP and LPU have a shared understanding of the role of international students and faculty at the institution and the IEP's fit in meeting LPU's internationalization goals. The "kick" to which Dakota refers, based on documents found on LPU's website, addresses the inclusion of international issues in the University's strategic plan. While the IEP is not directly mentioned in the plan, reference was made to programs belonging to the ELI, the IEP's parent department.

Several references were made to the academic nature of the IEP. The program's efforts to continually develop the quality of instruction and curriculum through the process of accreditation was noted by Lane, "I know that they have become more professional in that they have gone through a program to become credentialed in their curriculum." In addition, the administration's decision to reassign the full governance of the IEP to an academic program illustrates the belief that the administration has in the nature of the program and the place it should hold at the institution. Interestingly, Kelly explained that she had seen the administration go through this process twice. The first time, the outcome was that the reporting structure should remain split. Kelly recounts the first round of discussions,

> We had a future of the ELI committee that had to decide what the director position was going to be, who we were going to report to, and it was made up of someone from DEPT, someone from the ELI and someone from COLLEGE A. It was like a check and balance thing. The main change that they made was that instead of the director salary coming from DEPT and that being a tenured faculty member in DEPT, that the director would be...[ELI faculty with 100% course release], which is paid a 12-month faculty member line out of DEPT but paid out of ELI.

Kelly also explained that a few years later, when COLLEGE A was facing a restructuring, the question of where the ELI should be situated resurfaced, but this time there was no committee. The vice provost convinced the director of the IEP that a move to DEPT was most appropriate, especially because the IEP was an "academic" endeavor and deserved an "academic home," thus the two leaders had come to a shared understanding of where the IEP fit into the larger institution. Scott (2014) asserts that common beliefs, a shared logic of action, and isomorphism are all indicators of a cultural-cognitive system at work. The legitimacy in which this cultural-cognitive system is rooted relies on comprehensibility of the organization, recognizability of the organization, and cultural support of the organization among the organizations stakeholders and community.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to develop a rich description of the legitimacy of the IEP at LPU, and to determine how that legitimacy has come to its current state of existence. Jenks and Kennell (2012) assert that IEPs have historically struggled with legitimacy, so in order to ensure that the program under examination had indeed achieved some level of legitimacy, parameters were set for the site selection. Through the case study protocol developed from the literature and from Scott's (2014) framework, the researcher found evidence that the intensive English program (IEP) at Large Public

University (LPU) had indeed historically achieved some level of legitimacy. While it is not possible to know the historical distribution of that legitimacy across the three pillars, the findings of this study present evidence that there has indeed been a recent shift in that distribution to the current state of systemic legitimacy balance at LPU's IEP. Several examples of evidence of historical legitimacy emerged from the data collected in this study. It is from the perspective of these examples that the researcher measured the recent changes occurring in and around the IEP in order to develop a clear picture of how the IEP has fortified its existing legitimacy and gained a more deeply embedded position of legitimacy.

First, the IEP has been operating a conversation partner program that employs domestic students for at least ten years. This is an example of one of the cooperative linkages that Jenks and Kennell (2012) offer as a pathway to building legitimacy. In addition, the IEP provides support for the University's graduate teaching assistants from abroad (GTAs) who need stronger speaking and writing skills in order to carry out their teaching duties through credit-bearing courses aimed at enhancing these students spoken and written English skills. In addition, the IEP has a decades old cooperatively linked partnership with academic programs for graduate students in that it provides a training ground for pre-service teachers. These programs are valuable to the University in that they provide support and educational experiences for degree-seeking students enrolled at LPU. How these programs were historically viewed by LPU stakeholders was not explored in this study. However, evidence gathered in this study suggests that the legitimacy of the IEP may have been more attuned to a regulative system through which stakeholders viewed the IEP as expedient to the needs of the institution. There is no

direct evidence that supports this supposition, however the researcher did find evidence that the IEP at LPU was previously less known and faculty were less supported than in the present, thus indicating that the IEP has recently come in from the margins of the institution and bolstered its cultural-cognitive legitimacy.

Several changes to the IEP at LPU have occurred within the last ten years that have changed the feelings and perceptions of the faculty and staff interviewed for this study. These changes include an upgrade in facilities, the acquisition of programmatic accreditation, the participation of IEP leadership on university-wide committees, and the adoption of a conditional admission policy. These changes fall in line with the recommendations of Jenks and Kennell (2012) for IEP leaders to put their programs on a path to academic legitimacy. Additional changes, such as the change in IEP governance to being fully housed within an academic department, and the development of a path to professional advancement for IEP faculty, support Winkle's (2014) recommendations for bringing language program faculty out of the margins at institutions of higher education. The researcher concludes that these programmatic and policy changes surrounding the IEP at LPU, as well as the changes in the beliefs of the participants in this study regarding the status and value of the IEP, are indicative of systemic changes in the legitimacy of the IEP at LPU resulting in a more culturally-cognitive, or deeply embedded position for the IEP both at the institution and within the minds of its stakeholders. The findings in this study illuminate actions that have resulted in the current distribution of the institutional legitimacy of the IEP at LPU. Perhaps the most interesting findings in this study relate to changes in the leadership, faculty status,

governance, and facilities of the IEP at LPU, and the acquisition of programmatic accreditation.

Change in Leadership

Changes in leadership at the University and within the IEP eventually led to changes at the IEP that served to strengthen the program's cultural-cognitive legitimacy. The researcher found that the practice of issuing conditional admissions to international students who would otherwise be ready to undertake a degree-granting course of study but for a lack of English proficiency had been sought out by previous leadership in the IEP. After a change in upper administration and a concurrent change in the leadership in the IEP and after an established trust developed between the two new leadership regimes, the administration of LPU granted some graduate programs the authority to offer conditional admission to students who would be studying at the IEP first. This new trust, according to the evidence found in this study, was rooted in a shared understanding of the importance that conditional admission played in the recruitment and retention of international students, leading the researcher to conclude that this strength in trust is indicative of cultural-cognitive system at work. This situation, in which the agency of the leadership involved pushes an agenda that under different leadership had a different outcome, leads the researcher to conclude that relationships among leaders, among stakeholders, have a significant impact on an organization, and may strengthen its legitimacy.

Change in Faculty Status

Several participants in this study mentioned that the status of IEP faculty at LPU has improved since they first began working with LPU. No participant provided details

about the IEP's process in going from the situation in which all faculty worked strictly on a part-time or temporary basis, to the current situation in which several faculty have full-time status and are eligible to rise through a number of rank classifications and earn compensation along with a promotion. However, all participants who work in the IEP discussed the promotion process, including criteria for earning merit points and undergoing an external review by a promotion and tenure committee from the University-at-large. The researcher found that participants in this study who work as faculty or staff outside of the IEP at LPU expressed feelings of respect for or empathy with those IEP faculty who undergo this process. It is unclear whether these changes were the result of actions taken based on a normative logic or appropriateness and a morally governed legitimacy, or a cultural-cognitive logic of orthodoxy and legitimacy of culturally supported action, however, due to the mimetic nature of the discussion, which is indicative of a cultural-cognitive system, surrounding the IEP faculty promotion policy, in that participants likened the process to the tenure and promotion process, the researcher concluded that these changes moved the program into a more cultural-cognitive state of legitimacy.

Change in Governance

Another change in the IEP discussed by participants that the research finds to have contributed to a more cultural-cognitive form of legitimacy is the change in governance of the IEP. All participants interviewed remembered a time in which the IEP was governed by two separate entities, one academic department in a large college of the University, from which the curriculum and faculty were managed, and a second college, from where the budget of the IEP was managed. One participant was able to provide

significant detail about the decision-making process of the change, in which the entire program was moved into the academic department where it was formerly only partially governed. This move seems to have been motivated by upper administration's belief that the nature of the IEP is an academic one and therefore the program deserved an academic home. Consequently, the change seems to have deepened the beliefs of campus stakeholders that the IEP is an academic program as well as provided validation for faculty and staff working within the IEP. In addition, the move seems to have elevated the power and influence of the IEP in terms of leveraging its resources to negotiate the acquisition of new resources, such as classrooms and access to potential students.

Change in Facilities

After the IEP experienced a change in governance, it was able to finally procure facilities that better meet the needs of the program. Before the change in governance, the IEP was struggling to convince the administration that a move to better facilities was a priority for LPU. Various participants discussed ways in which the IEP lost the space race to departments that served degree-seeking students. Yet, almost immediately after the IEP became seated in an academic department, the program was able to secure space in a more central location on campus and have the space upgraded in ways that would meet the department's specific needs. The researcher found evidence that this shift in the department's priority allowed for members of the IEP's faculty and staff to experience feelings of certainty about how and where the IEP fit into the University; each of these situations contributed to the strengthening the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of the program.

Acquisition of Programmatic Accreditation

Participants in this study both witnessed and experienced the IEP's process of becoming accredited by the Commission on English Language Program Accreditation (CEA). Evidence suggests that having secured this external seal of approval has improved the IEPs status on campus, especially among tenured faculty and administrators who value accreditation. Kelly suggested that in addition to actually adding value to the quality of the program, being accredited by CEA has also helped the IEP strengthen its reputation with external stakeholders such as potential students and foreign governments which offer scholarships to their students to study English in the U.S. because these stakeholders have communicated that they put greater trust in programs that bear the seal of CEA approval. Finally, internal stakeholders of the IEP, faculty and staff, who participated in the accreditation process of the intensive English program experienced feelings of pride and accomplishment through this process. This emotional attachment to the IEP strengthens the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of the IEP from the inside.

Evidence collected in this study leads the researcher to conclude that decisions were made in and around the IEP at LPU that, strategically or not, served to position the faculty and staff in a more central role at the institution and thereby put the IEP at LPU on a path to securing a more deeply rooted type of legitimacy. Many of the changes discussed by participants in this study have served to place the IEP into a deeply embedded position within the institution, a position that affords the IEP a "taken-for-granted" status that serves as the basis for compliance in a cultural-cognitive system. The researcher concludes that these changes resulted in a strengthened cultural-cognitive legitimacy for the program.

Implications

Several implications have been gleaned from the results of this study. Not all implications will be directly transferrable to other IEPs because the structure, size, governance, and mission of IEPs vary widely within the field. However, the results of this study support Jenks and Kennell's (2012) assertion that certain actions taken by IEP leaders can put a program on the path to legitimacy. Therefore, this study provides an empirically tested platform from which IEP leaders can examine the internal and external legitimacy of the programs they manage. Implications drawn from this study relate to the following topics: a) the level of embeddedness of the program within the host institution, b) the sensitivity of the program to external environmental pressures, c) the amount of control the program has over its resources d) effects of institutional change, and e) the importance of relationships among leaders at the IEP and the host institution. Leaders of IEPs and their supervisors can take from this study and its implications elements that should be considered in strategic planning.

First, results in this study lead the researcher to believe that the more deeply embedded an IEP is within an institution, the more the organization rests on its cultural-cognitive pillar. This embedded position, not only through governance and cooperative linkages, but also in the minds of the stakeholders, seems to allow for more opportunities for the IEP to acquire resources and support its mission. As the IEP at LPU adopted host institution policies, as its leadership became more involved with host institution committee work, as external faculty and staff became more aware of the IEP and its mission, and through the reassignment of the IEP's governance, participants in this study noticed that the work conditions for employees of the IEP improved. With these changes,

the participants' perceptions of the status of the IEP on campus also improved. Therefore, the findings of this study imply that when the mission of the IEP at LPU is aligned with the mission of the University, and its processes are aligned with the processes of the host institution, there are greater benefits for the IEP in terms of garnering resources in order to grow and develop its programming. IEP leaders looking for a pathway to strengthened legitimacy should begin by considering the level of embeddedness of their program in the host institution. If IEP leaders find the acquisition of institutional support or resources difficult, then they should consider whether more cooperative linkages aimed at directly supporting the mission of the host institution as Jenks and Kennell (2012) have suggested, would strengthen the IEP's legitimacy and better position the program to achieve greater success.

The second implication observed from the findings in this study is the importance of flexibility in the management of the intensive English program. The results of this study show that the IEP at LPU is extremely sensitive to external environmental pressures such as foreign economies and foreign governmental educational initiatives. Participants in this study discussed the need for an IEP to be able to quickly and "nimbly" adapt to environmental changes in order to tap into emerging markets and survive a drought in a formerly lucrative market. Therefore, the ability for the IEP at LPU to respond creatively to crisis and develop new programming or quickly modify its recruitment strategies can be critical to the life of the IEP. Constraints placed upon an IEP by stakeholders, such as host institution policies, revenue control, governmental regulations, or accreditation standards could have detrimental, if not immediate, effects to the legitimacy of an IEP. Leaders of intensive English programs must have the freedom

to control the resources and strategic planning of the program. Leaders who find it difficult to make quick decisions due to institutional bureaucracy or external control of programmatic resources must advocate for greater flexibility in the management of the IEP's processes and resources in order to respond appropriately to environmental change.

The importance of the IEP at LPU's ability to leverage its resources in order to gain more resources illuminates the third implication of the findings of this study. Participants in this study explained how the IEP was able to finance its move from one location on campus to another and how it had control of the renovation process in order to manipulate the space it was moving into for its own purposes. In addition, the IEP has been able to leverage its resources through institutional policies in order to gain more resources, such as space and collaboration in recruitment. Because the IEP at LPU can amass reserves, it is more apt to weather a storm of low enrollments. Leaders of IEPs who struggle with host institutions in terms of controlling their resources can benefit from the stories told in this study. Access to resources and the ability to make decisions about the use of resources, for the IEP at LPU, has led to the development of more resources and arguably has bolstered the legitimacy of the program. IEPs that are expected to provide high returns to the host institution may suffer from marginalization, or weak legitimacy, because they may not have the time or energy necessary to align with the mission of the greater university and develop stronger linkages through new and innovative programming. Leaders of institutions of higher education should take note of the need for IEPs to control their revenues in order to grow their revenues.

The fourth implication of the findings of this study relates to the importance of the positioning of IEP leadership among other institutional leaders. Participants'

observations of changes surrounding the IEP illuminate the need for the IEP director to be at the table during times of institutional change, especially if the IEP has a stake in the results of the change. This study found that institutional policies concerning credit hours, student access to email accounts, and classroom assignment can result in negative outcomes for faculty, staff, students, and ultimately the legitimacy of the IEP at LPU. Kelly explained how services for international students are inhibited when IEP leaders are left out of the decision-making process. Administrators at institutions of higher education who expect their IEPs to contribute to the internalization of campus through student diversity and shared cultural learning must save a seat at the table for IEP leaders who have an intimate understanding of the needs of these students who may be marginalized due to their non-credit academic status. If IEPs are to provide a pipeline for university recruitment, their students need to be included in the university community.

Perhaps the most significant implication from this study is the importance of relationships among leaders of an IEP and leaders of a host institution in the legitimation process of an IEP. Trust seemed to be pivotal in decisions that resulted in stronger legitimacy for the IEP, including change in governance and the adoption of conditional admission to some of the host institution's colleges and schools. Building trust takes time and patience and requires the depth of cultural-cognitive engagement. In the case of the IEP at LPU, new IEP leadership focused on aligning the mission of the IEP with the mission of the University engaging with new leadership in the provost's office was the key to fortified trust. While relationship-building cannot be planned, it is important for IEP leaders to consider strategic development of programs that support the mission of the University. In addition, it is essential for IEP leaders to communicate the success of

programs aimed at contributing to the growth of the University. To this end, IEP leaders must engage in activities such as serving on institutional committees that will highlight their talent and skill-sets in order to position themselves to positively represent the IEP and to develop relationships with others who are well positioned to give voice to the successes of the IEP.

Recommendations for Further Study

This qualitative case study focused on mapping the legitimacy of one intensive English program. Because the population sample for this study was delimited to programs that are owned and operated by a college or university, located on a college campus, members of an organization dedicated to supporting intensive English programs and the practice of intensive English training, and holding programmatic accreditation, the results of this study are most likely directly transferable to only a small sample of IEP programs. More research needs to be done in order to determine whether the path to legitimacy, as suggested by Jenks and Kennell (2012) and supported here, is similar for all IEP types, or if the variations in program-type are so great that legitimacy can only be examined and understood on an individual program basis. Additional case studies examining programs that are vastly different in organization, governance, and accreditation would be helpful in determining the transferability of the findings in this study. Specifically, a study examining the markers of success for an IEP housed in an administrative unit, accredited only by the University's regional accreditation body, and employing mostly part-time faculty would provide an interesting comparison of system balance with this study's findings. In addition, a case study examining the systems governance and the legitimacy management of a pathway program operated by a private

corporation in partnership with a college or university that offers academic credit for ESL courses would provide yet another perspective from which to determine the transferability of Jenks and Kennell's (2012) assertions and the findings of this study. In addition, a national, or international, quantitative survey of the understanding of upper-administration regarding the purpose of an IEP on a college or university campus would perhaps contribute to a more generalizable of the understanding of IEP legitimacy as it exists within the environment of tertiary education worldwide, and help leaders understand the true benefits of programs more deeply embedded within in the greater institution's practices and mission.

More examination of IEPs can also contribute to the conversation surrounding the role of programmatic accreditation in higher education. Because the Commission on English Language Program Accreditation (CEA) is a relatively younger accreditation organization, less than 20 years old, a case study examination of the legitimacy development and management of this stakeholder organization could shed light on the influence such organizations wield in the changing landscape of the higher education environment and lend empirical evidence to the theory of stakeholder legitimacy. For example, it would be interesting to compare the experiences of faculty and staff who are fully engaged in the external professional network of language program accreditation in comparison with faculty who work in non-specialized accredited programs, and to know what influence those faculty members' perceptions of the accrediting body have on the legitimacy of the organization.

Finally, empirical investigation of the "embedded for profit sector" cutting closer to the core of post-secondary institutional missions is relatively scant considering that the

practice is relatively new to non-profit higher education. Yet, embedded Pathway Programs, arguably part of the embedded for-profit sector, are well established in Australia, the UK, and Canada and quickly gaining ground in the U.S. A comparison of the contributions pathway programs and in-house IEPs make to host institutions' mission in conjunction with a comparison of legitimacy-type and legitimacy management of these two kinds of programs would be beneficial to leaders who may be considering whether working with either of these types of programs would benefit the institutions for which they are responsible. Implications stemming from deeper knowledge of the institutional outcomes associated with these various language programs could inform the higher education community about the future of higher education should the "embedded for profit sector" continue to flourish.

Summary

The purpose of this exploratory qualitative embedded single case study was to answer the question of how one intensive English program was able to gain and maintain legitimacy through its regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive systems. Scott's (2014) Three Pillars framework provided the theoretical foundation for the development of six sub questions that guided the data collection for the study. Each of these questions targeted the collection of information related to one of the three systemic pillars Scott (2014) claims exists within an institution at any given time. Data was collected through participant interviews, and triangulated with information collected through observations and document analysis. The interview corpus was carefully coded according concepts found in the literature and in Scott's (2014) framework through a three-stage cyclical process (Saldaña, 2013). The researcher chose the case site for this study by first

delimiting the population sample through a reliance on IEP legitimacy literature (Jenks and Kennell, 2012). Once the population sample was determined, the researcher then contacted directors of programs that matched the variables chosen via an organizational listserv. The director of the program ultimately chosen as the site for this study served as a gatekeeper for data collection, and snowball sampling was used to identify potential participants for recruitment. This site was assigned the pseudonym of the intensive English program (IEP) of Large Public University (LPU). Because this study is delimited to one single intensive English program and program type, the researcher cautions the reader in attempting to transfer the results of this study to an intensive English program; with a very different governance structure, ownership structure, or mission. However, the results of this study may inform studies of other types of intensive English programs, and may be transferrable to programs of similar structure, governance, and mission.

The findings in this study indicate that the legitimacy of the IEP at LPU at this time is not equally distributed among the three systems of the organization, but predominantly rests on the cultural-cognitive pillar. According to the findings in this study, the embeddedness of the IEP within the institutional practices and culture of LPU is related to several changes at LPU occurring within all three of the institutions' systemic pillars. Changes in the leadership, governance, faculty status, the acquisition of programmatic accreditation for the IEP, and a change of physical location of the IEP all occurred through the compliance, order, mechanism, logic, and affect of the cultural-cognitive system of the institution, ultimately buttressing the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of the organization.

The implications drawn from the findings of this study are: a) that the embeddedness of the IEP into the host institution's mission is beneficial for the IEP at LPU especially in terms of securing additional resources and developing new programming, b) that the program needs to remain flexible in order to be responsive to shifts in external environments despite its embedded structure within an academic program, c) that institutional change provides an opportunity for a change in and strengthening of legitimacy, and d) that relationships based on trust can contribute to greater cultural-cognitive legitimacy for an organization.

The findings and conclusions of this study are important for IEP leaders because they lend empirical evidence and institutional theory to the discussion of IEP legitimacy. In addition, the implications of the findings of this study provide guidance for IEP leaders as they consider strategic planning for the growth and success of their programs through building and managing legitimacy. Finally, the findings in this study provide an informed platform from which high-level administrators seeking to tap into the international student market can make decisions regarding the benefits of developing an intensive English program on their own campuses as opposed to those of outsourcing to a corporate partner.

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APPENDICIES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Interview Protocol

1. In your opinion, what is the purpose of the IEP?
2. What are the benefits of the IEP to the University? What challenges does the IEP present? How are those challenges managed?
3. What sort of opportunities are there for interactions between IEP students and other university students?
4. What sort of opportunities are there for interactions between IEP faculty and staff and the faculty and staff of the degree programs at the University?
5. Do you believe that intensive English training in general belongs in the higher education setting? Why or why not?
6. What sort of professional organizations exist for IEP faculty and staff?
7. How do IEP faculty and/or staff utilize those organizations for support or professional development purposes?
8. How does that support for IEP faculty and staff to engage in professional organizations or professional development compare to the support for faculty and staff at the University at large for professional activities related to professional organizations or professional development?
9. What sort of research is the IEP faculty and/or staff engaged in?
10. Have you witnessed any changes in the IEP or surrounding the IEP since you've worked at this institution? What can you tell me about those changes?
11. Are you aware of any awards, accreditations, or membership that the IEP holds? Can you tell me a little about what you know?
12. Can you tell me anything about the IEPs relationship with the federal or state government?
13. Does the IEP have any relationships with foreign governments?
14. What do you know about recruitment efforts for IEP students?
15. Are you aware of any university policies that affect the IEP in a positive or negative way? Can you tell me a little bit about those policies and their effects?
16. What do you see as the job of the IEP administrators?
17. How would you compare IEP faculty to non-IEP faculty?
18. What sort of preparation is necessary for a person to teach ESL at the post-secondary level?
19. Are there any special requirements the IEP has to meet that are unique to the unit?
20. What do you think are the challenges of working within the IEP?
21. What do you think are the benefits of working within the IEP?
22. How would you compare IEP resources to those of other campus departments?

APPENDIX B

SITE AUTHORIZATION LETTER

[redacted]

English Language Institute

[redacted]

June 17, 2015

Dear Ms. Strecker,

Thank you for approaching the [redacted] English Language Institute with a request for us to serve as a site for your dissertation research.

I am pleased to inform you that, based upon your submitted Mercer University Institutional Review Board approval, your request has been approved. We agree to serve as a site for your research.

I will be your primary contact moving forward. In my absence, you may contact our Assistant Director [redacted] We request you make a final copy of your dissertation available once it is completed, presuming this is permitted within the publishing embargo parameters established by Mercer.

Please let me know if you have any questions,

[redacted]
[redacted] Ph.D.
Director

[redacted]

APPENDIX C

MERCER UNIVERSITY IRB APPROVAL

MERCER
UNIVERSITY
Institutional Review Board
For Research Involving Human Subjects

15-May-2015

Ms. Julie Stecker
Tift College of Education
Department of Educational Leadership
3001 Mercer University Drive
Macon, GA 31207

RE: Mapping the Legitimacy of an Intensive English Program (Doctoral Dissertation) (H1504139)

Dear Ms. Stecker:

I am in receipt of a modification submitted , to the above protocol (H1504139).

On 15-May-2015, I reviewed and approved the Addendum on behalf of Mercer University's Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects Research in accordance with Federal Regulations 45.110 and 45.111(a) category(ies) 7 for expedited review.

Changes Approved:

Modification to the recruitment script to eliminate possible coercion of potential interviewees

NOTE: The approval date of this modification does not change the annual renewal date of your protocol.

Please complete the survey for the IRB and the Office of Research Compliance. To access the survey, click on the following link: https://www.zoomerang.com/Survey/?p=WEB227UF9CFB6Q

It has been a pleasure to work with you and much success with your project! If you need any further assistance, please feel free to contact our office.

Mercer University IRB & Office of Research Compliance
Phone (478) 301-4101
Fax (478) 301-2329
ORC_Research@Mercer.Edu

Respectfully,

Ava Chamblee-Richardson, M.Ed., CIP, CIM

Member

Institutional Review Board

DEMiller

APPENDIX D

PERMISSION TO CREATE DATABASE FROM IIE CATALOG

Wednesday, April 30, 2014 at 10:18:23 AM Eastern Daylight Time

Subject: RE: Permission to use Intensive English USA data for dissertation
Date: Tuesday, April 29, 2014 at 8:24:39 PM Eastern Daylight Time
From: [redacted]
To: Julie Strecker

Julie,

You can consider this "written permission." We have no issue with this.

For IIE . . . thanks! Let me know if you have questions, concerns.

Best,

[redacted]

[redacted] Publication Director for Naylor, LLC
Phone: +352.333.3342 Fax: 352.331.3525
Naylor, LLC*5950 NW First Place * Gainesville, FL 32607

Connect on LinkedIn Follow on Twitter

From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, April 22, 2014 2:53 PM
To: Julie Strecker
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: RE: Permission to use Intensive English USA data for dissertation

Hi Julie,

I will copy the publisher with my reply to see how to proceed.

[redacted]
Director, English and Pre-academic Programs
Institute of International Education (IIE)
809 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017
Phone 212.984.5333 | [redacted] | iie.org

Opening Minds to the World®
Twitter @IIEGlobal | Facebook IIEGlobal | Blog Opening Minds

From: Julie Strecker [mailto:STRECKER_JL@mercer.edu]
Sent: Friday, April 18, 2014 5:52 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Permission to use Intensive English USA data for dissertation

Dear [redacted]

I hope this email finds you well. I'm writing today because I'm working on a dissertation for a PhD in Educational Leadership. My focus is on Intensive English Programs and their struggle to establish and maintain legitimacy. I'd like to input information from Intensive English USA into a spreadsheet so that I can get a better feel for the number of programs out there, how many have accreditation, how many belong to UCIEP and AAIEP, how many people work in the field, etc. I noticed in the book on page 5 that written permission must be granted before I can create such a spreadsheet. May I obtain that permission from you? If so, what sort of procedure will I need to follow?

Thank you, and warm regards,
Julie Strecker

[redacted]

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Julie Strecker, DSO, ARO
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