

An Examination of the Impact of Jesuit Tenets on
Attitudes Toward Workforce Reduction

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact Jesuit tenets have on the attitudes of survivors of workforce reduction who were employed at Jesuit institutions of higher education during the early years of the COVID-19. The researcher interviewed seven current employees from five different Jesuit institutions to ascertain their feelings toward the tenets of *magis* (to do more), *cura personalis* (care for the whole person), and *cura apostolica* (care for the institution) and understand how each influenced their beliefs about workforce reduction. The research revealed that during the workforce reduction, *cura personalis* received greater privilege over *cura apostolica* because reduction in force was viewed as the elimination of people rather than the elimination of positions; employees of Jesuit institutions felt they were exploited in the name of *cura apostolica* and *magis*; and Jesuit tenets do not create heightened employment expectations associated with a psychological contract. Understanding Jesuit employees' attitudes toward workforce reduction can shed light on the ability of buzzwords/tenets/credos within a corporate/educational/business culture to either strengthen or weaken said culture, especially during times of crisis such as one that is financial.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my son, Jason, and my daughter, Olivia,
with whom I share my last name.

May the accomplishments of Dr. Pope-Bayne inspire them to achieve their dreams,
whatever they may be.

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I wish to gratefully acknowledge the faculty of the Caulfield School of Education for their guidance and support throughout this process, especially: Dr. Jung-ah Choi, whose patience was never-ending as both my professor and dissertation mentor and whose enthusiasm for my subject matter was inspirational; Dr. Beth Castiglia, also a professor who brought out the best in me in class and whose keen eye for proofreading and citations served to strengthen my skills and my writing; Dr. Robert Andrews, who has been the voice in my head challenging me to find the relevancy in my topic—from “cocktail conversation” to a research study; and Dr. Anna Cicirelli, without whom I would not have finished the program. She is the embodiment of *cura personalis*.

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I would like to thank my friends, colleagues, and peers who, along the way, reminded me of my capacity for *magis* even when I felt I was lacking and who would not let me forget that “we don’t quit.”

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the numerous employees of Jesuit institutions who were impacted by workforce reduction during the early years of the COVID-19 pandemic, especially my cousin, who served as inspiration for this study.

C. P-B.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

People will forget what you said;
people will forget what you did;
but people will never forget how you made them feel.

- Maya Angelou

This study was inspired by the researcher's personal experience with reduction in force at a small, Jesuit institution of higher education during the year 2020. It was at this time that the world was under siege from the deadly disease coronavirus, COVID-19, which was discovered in Wuhan, China (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2021). This global pandemic resulted in the shuttering of schools and businesses and the locking-down of the normal way of life. In the United States, specifically the tristate area of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, where the researcher worked and resided, residents were forced to shelter-in-place, leaving most businesses to change the way in which they operated and resulted in an unprecedented pivot—in the case of schools, moving from in-person instruction to virtual instruction—and most also reducing staff to remain operational. Within the United States, an additional 200,000 businesses, above the recent annual 600,000, did not survive 2020 due to the impact of COVID-19 and were forced to close their doors permanently (Simon, 2021). It was a harrowing time for all, fraught with insecurity and fear of the unknown as it pertained to health, safety, and employment, with many feeling like victims contending with their overall ability to survive. The impact of this socioeconomic crisis resulted in a prevalence of psychological issues such as stress, anxiety, depression, PTSD, frustration, and uncertainty (Serafini et al., 2020).

The purpose of this study, then, was to examine how being employed at a Jesuit institution of higher education, with its emphasis on the tenets of *cura personalis*, *cura*

apostolica, and *magis*, impacts employee attitudes toward reduction in workforce; identifies the opinions of survivors of workforce reduction with respect to *cura personalis* or *cura apostolica* in support of arguments against or in defense of reduction in force; and explores the ways, if any, Jesuit inculcation creates a heightened sense of employment expectations, whether stated or implied.

General Statement

Downsizing—the systematic elimination of jobs or positions to reduce redundancy of job functions, positions, or hierarchical levels, not including voluntary resignation or removal for cause—has been prevalent since the 1980s (Cascio, 1993). Entities most likely to enact downsizing are those in financial peril and often facing current and future economic losses. The elimination of employees is viewed as an immediate means to stop financial hemorrhaging, reduce debt, and inspire creativity in an effort to create a leaner and potentially more effective organization (Cascio, 1993). Downsizing is often the last resort after months or even years of belt-tightening by an organization. When there is no more left to reduce in terms of employee benefits, vendor contracts, or salaries from open positions, reduction in workforce removes the last bit of meat on a nearly cleaned bone. One might even say reduction in workforce is cutting into bone.

Employees impacted by downsizing can be split into two categories: victims, those who are eliminated by the entity; and survivors, those who are retained by the entity. Although it may seem that victims would be solely affected, both victims and survivors experience the impact of the reduction. Those who are dismissed may experience anger and resentment toward their former employer, and those who are retained may experience pessimism and burnout due to increased workloads (Mishra et al., 1998).

Downsizing is not without drawbacks. For all that it can save toward the bottom line of the business, it will spend in human capital—the morale of survivors. Studies have been reported to show that survivors develop levels of mistrust post-reduction in workforce (Mishra et al., 1998). Survivors may fear for their own job security and proactively search for new employment, which could lead to the loss of an additional headcount of survivors who are higher-performing and sorely needed by the entity. Faulty communication, especially as it pertains to leadership’s desire for confidentiality during downsizing, can also be viewed as another reason for survivor mistrust.

In 2020, due to an unprecedented number of layoffs, furloughs, reduction of benefits, and program eliminations, 555 individual members and 43 organizations of the 27 American Jesuit institutions of higher education banded together to support the petition, Anti-Austerity Petition at Jesuit Institutions. The petition identifies the measures enacted by Jesuit institutions as disheartening, given the Jesuit tenet of *cura personalis*. “This principle implies a commitment to the nurturing and care of the spirit, intellect and body of the students and workers who make up these great institutions” (Kizuk, 2020). More about the basis for this research can be found in Chapter 2.

Statement of the Problem

Little research has been done on the impact of how being inculcated in Jesuit tenets will influence employees’ perception of their employment—how they feel about it—and their perception of the loss of employment, either their own or that of a colleague. The culture created by the Society of Jesus is one steeped in concepts that suggest a sense of service through one’s actions. *Cura personalis*, caring for the whole person; *cura apostolica*, care for the institution;

magis, to do more; *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*, for the greater glory of God (Glossary, 2020); and the idea of being men and women for others all present a culture of outward care and concern.

It is this deepened commitment to the job which potentially intensifies the feelings associated with the psychological contract employees will feel exists with their employer (Amundson et al., 2004). The employee will remain employed at his or her will, with the employer taking care of some psychological needs of the employee throughout the length of employment. Overlay the culture of service, and the contract becomes more akin to the employee remaining employed at his or her own will, for the greater good, of doing more, being a man or woman for others, and caring for the whole person and the institution, while the employer assumes some level of responsibility for the psychological needs of the employee. Because of this depth of commitment to the cause, the question remains: Does it intensify the attitudes and feelings—*anxiety, depression, loss, grief, fear*—associated with a workforce reduction experienced in a less indoctrinated organization?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative organizational culture theory study was to examine how workforce reduction was perceived by employees at mission-driven, Jesuit institutions of higher education and, from there, potentially assist future researchers in the pursuit of understanding workforce reduction in specific industries, organizations, and so on, that have similar qualities or credos.

This study included men and women of various ages who were employed by a Jesuit institution of higher education and remained employed (survivors) during a time of institution-wide workforce reduction.

Importance of the Study

This study is of import because it seeks to fill an existing gap in research for workforce reduction by contributing to existing literature and study. Much has been written on the subject of workforce reduction and the psychological impacts associated with it. Workforce reduction has also been studied from the perspective of higher education but not from the perspective of a Jesuit culture, with norms and values that espouse all for the greater good.

Through the lens of organizational culture theory, Jesuit institutions of higher education could find better ways to address reduction in force and mitigate the psychological trauma associated with reduction in force.

This research can also lend to the body of knowledge that is currently being amassed with respect to the COVID-19 pandemic. Because the pandemic was, and in many ways remains, an unprecedented global disruption, it will be years, potentially even decades, until there is enough research and study which will allow for the clearest, overall picture.

Theoretical Framework

Edgar Schein's organizational culture theory has been identified as how values are communicated (Hogan & Coote, 2014) or, more specifically, a system of shared values, assumptions, and beliefs that govern an organization (Choudhury, 2018). Schein (2004) defined the culture of a group as:

a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (p. 17)

The present researcher is using this framework theory due to the parallels that can be drawn between this definition and the formation of the Society of Jesus. Basic assumptions were created by St. Ignatius of Loyola through his spiritual exercises (Ignatius & Mottola, 2014). From there, these assumptions were considered valid by virtue of the formation of the Society of Jesus, whose members are referred to as Jesuits. The tenets of the Jesuits have been taught to new members, e.g., Jesuits, as well as lay persons who are Jesuit-educated, are employed by Jesuits, or consider themselves Jesuit-adjacent.

Like Abraham Maslow with his identified hierarchy of needs from the physiological to transcendence (Maslow, 1954), and motivation theory which stipulates that individuals must have the most basic needs met before a person can attend to higher needs (McLeod, 2018), Schein applied a hierarchy to his organizational culture theory. Schein viewed culture existing on three levels: artifacts, values, and assumptions (Hatch, 1993). At the surface level are artifacts—the visible, the tangible and the audible—which a person physically encounters and are grounded in values and assumptions. On the next level are values—goals, standards, rules. Finally, at the deepest level are assumptions, that which are taken for granted (Schein, 2004).

When applying this framework to Jesuit institutions, the artifacts are the tangible resources available to employees, such as a website that utilizes Jesuit terms or an employee handbook. The values are contained in the mission statement and the Jesuit tenets. In this case, the assumption is that the employee will digest the artifacts and the values and internalize them as a guide for behavior and productivity.

This study used organizational culture theory to explore the idea that the artifacts, values, and assumptions of Jesuit inculcation play a role in the manner in which a person responds to reduction in workforce.

Research Questions

This research seeks to fill gaps in the literature available regarding workforce reduction in Jesuit institutions of higher education, on which there is very little research. The researcher used the lens of organizational culture, defined as “a system of shared assumptions, values and beliefs which governs how people behave in organizations” (Choudhury, 2018).

With this study, the researcher sought to examine the following research questions:

RQ1: How does being employed at a Jesuit school, with its emphasis on the tenets of *cura personalis*, *cura apostolica* and *magis*, impact employee attitudes toward reduction in workforce?

RQ2: What are the opinions of survivors of workforce reduction with respect to *cura personalis* or *cura apostolica* in support of arguments against or in defense of reduction in force?

RQ3: In what ways does Jesuit inculcation create a heightened sense of employment expectations, whether stated or implied?

Overview of Research Design

The researcher conducted this qualitative study using organizational culture theory to analyze the values, assumptions, and beliefs associated with being employed at Jesuit institutions of higher education.

The study subjects were identified as having experienced a reduction in force in a Jesuit institution of higher education and were able to maintain employment. Participants were employed in a variety of departments and in a variety of positions (Cascio, 1993). The researcher anticipated a sample of 7-10 participants from more than one Jesuit institution of higher education who would participate in one-on-one interviews. The researcher utilized an

exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling method to identify the subjects, which allowed every recruited participant to suggest other recruits (Etikan et al., 2016). The researcher approached one initial participant who was employed at her same university and one participant employed at another Jesuit institution, to help mitigate the potential of a sample with participants who were too similar in their belief systems and with too similar experiences. The final number of participants was seven. Chapter 3 of this study contains more detailed information about the methodology.

Definitions of Terms

The following definitions are provided to assist the reader in understanding the context and application of each term used within this dissertation.

Cura apostolica: The counterpart to *cura personalis* and, as that refers to the personal care of individuals, this one is concerned with the care of an individual's apostolate or ministry or with that of a given corporate apostolate. Also referred to as care for the institution (Jesuit A-Z, n.d.).

Cura personalis: This fundamental value of the Society of Jesus involves three concepts, according to Brian McDermott, S.J.: Treating people as individuals and honoring their unique worth; caring for the "whole" person (including physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual health); and considering people's backgrounds, including their family life, nationality, and culture (Glossary, 2020).

Downsizing: The systematic elimination of jobs or positions to reduce redundancy of job functions, positions, or hierarchical levels not including voluntary resignation or removal for cause (Cascio, 1993).

Jesuit: A member of the Society of Jesus (Jesuit A-Z, n.d.).

The Society of Jesus: Catholic religious order of men founded in 1540 by Ignatius of Loyola and a small group of his multinational “friends in the Lord,” fellow students from the University of Paris. They saw their mission as one of being available to go anywhere and do anything to “help souls,” especially where the need was greatest (e.g., where a certain people or a certain kind of work were neglected) (Jesuit A-Z, n.d.).

Magis: The more universal good (Geger, 2014) or meaning “to do more” (Glossary, n.d.).

Mission: A specific task with which a person or a group is charged (Merriam-Webster, n.d.a).

Reduction in force (also Workforce reduction): A position is eliminated with no intention of being replaced and results in a permanent cut in headcount (Society for Human Resource Management [SHRM], n.d.).

Survivor (reduction in force): Employees who are staying (remaining employed) (Tourish et al., 2004).

Tenet: A principle, belief, or doctrine generally held to be true (Merriam-Webster, n.d.b).

Victim (reduction in force): Employees being laid off (Tourish et al., 2004).

Assumptions, Delimitations, and Limitations

An assumption of the researcher was that the attitudes of those impacted by reduction in force at a Jesuit institution of higher education would be the same, regardless of the time in history when the reduction is taking place. Another assumption was that the global pandemic, COVID-19, which intensified the socioeconomic and psychological climate of the time of the study, was not an overall factor in the feelings but rather an impetus for mass reductions in force.

A delimitation of this study was that some participants of the study were known to the researcher as current colleagues at the same institution of higher education or as current

counterparts from other Jesuit institutions in a similar geographic region. Most of the participants were referred to the researcher via exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling. It is possible that the use of participants from other regions of the United States could result in different findings. Moreover, the fact that the participants were known to the researcher could in and of itself bring about an unintended bias from the participants and from the researcher.

Being Jesuit-educated, with an undergraduate degree from a Jesuit university, a master's degree from a Jesuit university, and in the pursuit of a doctoral degree from a Jesuit university (albeit two different universities with respect to the first and last two), and having been employed at a Jesuit university for 12 years where the postgraduate education was achieved, it is possible that the researcher has developed a bias over time which is reflected in this work (Cascio, 1993).

Summary

This study was conducted to add to the body of knowledge regarding reduction in force in higher education and, more specifically, perhaps start a body of knowledge regarding reduction in force at Jesuit institutions. Previous research has been done on downsizing and the psychological impacts of downsizing, but at no point has there appeared to be information about how inculcation in the Jesuit ways would influence employees' thoughts and feelings surrounding reduction in force.

The review of the study continues in the following four chapters. Chapter 2 contains a literature review, which provides the foundational information for this study. Chapter 3 provides information about the methodology of the research, including the participants, design, and framework. Research results are presented in Chapter 4 and interpreted in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Much has been written about the practice of reduction in force and its impact on employees. Studies and papers have examined a multitude of perspectives, that of the corporation (entity), C-suite executives, the employee as manager and the employee—whether they be directly or indirectly impacted by the reduction. The practice of reduction in force, as a means to decrease costs and increase productivity, began in the 1970s and continues to be a chosen method of bolstering the bottom line or inspiring innovation in the 50 years since. Less is known about workforce reduction in higher education, as the examination of this practice has only occurred during the last 20 years. Not surprisingly, even less has been written about workforce reduction at Jesuit institutions. If so, little has been written about it from a Jesuit perspective; why would one consider the examination of workforce reduction at Jesuit institutions relevant?

The goal of this literature review was to support the examination of attitudes of employees toward workforce reduction at Jesuit institutions. The five sections of this chapter present Jesuit tenets, higher education, reduction in force, reduction in force specific to higher education, and psychological impacts.

Search Strategy

The search strategy for this dissertation began with the identification of keywords to use to search online database sources. The keywords used were: *workforce reduction*, which was then established to be identified as *reduction in force*, *victim*, *survivor*, each as they pertain to *reduction in force*, *higher education*, and *Jesuit education*.

Jesuit Tenets

When one speaks of Jesuit education, one is referring to the applications of the tenets of the Society of Jesus to the formal education process. Founded in 1540 by Ignatius of Loyola, the Society of Jesus and its membership of priests and brothers were known as educators among other things such as missionaries, political operatives, and pastors. By 1773, there were 800 schools in the Jesuit network. In 1789, the Jesuits established their first stronghold on education in the United States with Georgetown Academy, which evolved into the first Catholic university in the nation (Mahoney, 2003). The Jesuits would continue to found 28 universities and colleges over the next 197 years, ending with the most recent founding of LeMoyne College in 1946.

Cura personalis, *cura apostolica*, and *magis* are an intertwined triumvirate of Jesuit tenets. *Cura personalis* was not an original value of St. Ignatius but rather one that came about during the tenure of Rev. Wladimir Ledóchowski, Superior General of the Society of Jesus. In 1934, in a missive to the Jesuits of the United States, he sought to establish direction and clarity with respect to the educational needs of post-war Catholics. He explained that the total person should be educated, drilling down even further that there be care for the personal care of students, *personalis alumnorum cura* (Geger, 2014). Some 38 years later, Superior General Rev. Pedro Arrupe, S.J., was preparing to visit Saint Peter's University (then College) on the occasion of its centennial anniversary, and in his remarks coined the phrase *cura personalis*, as it is known to be today—care for the whole person (Geger, 2014). Perhaps coincidentally, *cura apostolica*, or care for the apostolate or the work (institution), gained popularity in the last 50 years within the Society of Jesus. Known as the counterpoint to *cura personalis*, it is this tension between the two that is the push and pull for faculty, staff, and administrators—how to care for the person and the institution simultaneously. While *cura personalis* was coined as a means to view the

education of students, it has been embraced by faculty, staff, and administrators as a means to encourage a closer relationship between the person and the institution. The third companion in this tenet triumvirate is *magis*, the more universal good or, more commonly known, to do more. It is this idea to do more that creates for the individual the expectation to give more of themselves in order to provide *cura personalis* and/or *cura apostolica*.

The tenet—a principle, belief, or doctrine generally held to be true—of *magis*, to do more, has in it an implied moral purpose—quality. The idea that the pursuit of quality is tied to a moral imperative lends itself to the idea that one must be high achieving in one's work in order to reach the pinnacle, the *magis*.

A quality culture in higher education yields an institution not only oriented toward stakeholders (students) but also toward providing support for staff (Yorke, 2000). The faculty, staff, and administration should seek to provide quality instruction, quality support, and quality infrastructure, not for the betterment of the students but because it is a strongly held conviction and compelling to the employees. Furthermore, a quality culture will not be achieved by mandate from management but rather from leadership and by example (Yorke, 2000).

The compassion inherent in care for the whole person, *cura personalis*, cannot be denied. The idea that a person is seen in their entirety—for example, in the case of students, as members of the academic community, as members of their own family, members of their own community, members of an employment community—and not just reduced to a grade in a book or headcount in a class can allow for greater outcomes. Similarly, the application of *cura personalis*—in the pursuit of a better business model, one that is no longer rooted in scientism with the suppression of human tendencies but rather rooted in creativity, ethics, compassion, and spirituality—could inspire greater outcomes from individual performance (Jackson, 2012).

In his research, Jackson identified that the heart of business is human enterprise and likened musical improvisation to good, sustainable business models which should include creativity, structure, collaboration, wisdom, comfort, and risk-taking. One can see the roots of Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs within his interpretation of a sustainable business model, for in it lies a sense of safety, a sense of fulfillment, a sense belonging, and a sense of self-actualization (McLeod, 2018).

Higher Education

The landscape of higher education is changing. The forces at play initiating the change are the transformation of socioethnic make-up, the increase in the desire for postsecondary degrees, the increase in the age demographic of students, and the retirement of a portion of the faculty workforce to make way for new talent (Morrison, 2003). The idea that higher education is for a privileged class is perhaps the last bastion of Ivy League schools steeped in the tradition of their alumni base. With loans, scholarships, and tuition discounts, colleges and universities are becoming accessible to a cross-section of students. However, the discounting of higher education does not come without a price. For many institutions, the reduction in cost to encourage enrollment can put an institution in a precarious place, financially.

Even as some seek postsecondary degrees, a growing number of prospective students, traditionally aged (18-22), are questioning the need for a degree (Conley & Massa, 2022). Can success be found without traditional 4-year college degree requirements but with certificate and nondegree programs (Schroeder, 2022) or through entrepreneurship, which may be less expensive as a start-up than the high cost of a college education (Schroeder, 2022)? Moreover, while traditionally aged students are questioning the value, nontraditionally aged students are increasing in numbers and, with that, looking not for 4 years to a degree but for alternate

credential programs (Urdu, 2020) which may allow for career growth. Add to this increased turnover due to the retirement of older faculty (McChesney & Bichsel, 2020), and clearly, the landscape is becoming rocky.

As with institutions in the United States, European higher education institutions have increasingly moved from elitist, faculty, and cleric-heavy institutions to entrepreneurial endeavors, with as many, if not more, administrators as faculty and replacing clerics with administrators. The entrepreneurial aspect of higher education institutions has arisen from a need to be more goal-oriented, such as increasing enrollment. Baltaru and Soysal (2018) suggested, generally speaking, that there would be an increase in administrators in higher education institutions where there was growth, including goods, services, increased enrollment—moving beyond academia for academic sake. The researchers found that if higher education institutions can increase the size of their administration, regardless of enrollment they will be able to do so with increased funding and connection to the external community. Traditionalists, though, might find this an affront to the traditional make-up of academia.

To combat the forces at play changing the face of higher education and challenging its financial solvency, as referenced in Morrison's (2003) work, colleges and universities are utilizing modern marketing orientation—institution size, funding, and innovation. Marketing orientation includes three key elements: marketing intelligence of customer needs, sharing of market intelligence to key stakeholders in an organization, and the entire organization responding to information. Furthermore, the organization's mission, the organization's structure, and the organization's culture are three internal variables that contribute to marketing orientation (Wasmer & Bruner, 2000).

Institution size refers to enrollment, funding to fundraising, and innovation to ability to be at the forefront. Wasmer and Bruner (2000) hypothesized that smaller institution size and the adoption of innovation would positively impact the implementation of a marketing concept, and private institutions would be more apt to implement marketing orientation than public institutions. Their findings were consistent with their hypotheses. To be competitive, small private institutions need to be nimble and willing to implement business strategies over ones steeped in academia.

As the landscape of higher education changes and its marketing bends towards modern business methods, researchers are exploring human resource management (HRM) systems satisfaction. HRMs allow for the recognition, on the part of the employee, of the purpose and aims of the organization and their participation in them (Decramer et al., 2013). Indeed, it is employee satisfaction and the knowledge of one's place in an organization that will allow for an individual to deepen his or her belief in the mission and to do more (*magis*).

Evaluating employee satisfaction is not the only way to reveal employee satisfaction. Satisfaction is found in the support given to the employees, whether they be administration, staff, or faculty. This implies knowing that one is supported and has basic needs affirmed—safety, fulfillment, belonging, and self-actualization (McLeod, 2018).

Researcher Lion (2011) studied instructional support given to faculty who were using web-based technology to teach courses. Specifically, he examined the positive relationship between institutions and support given to online instructors. The data were collected through closed-ended survey questions, and the respondents were Chief Academic Affairs Officers from schools within 12 states. Lion found that there was a positive relationship between institutions providing web-based classes and the instructors providing the courses. Further research

recommendations included the area of faculty motives and performance support that can yield behavioral changes in faculty.

Lion's (2011) research about faculty satisfaction speaks to *cura personalis* for faculty. As stated in Chapter 1, the inspiration for this dissertation was born from higher education's reaction to the near-global shutdown during 2020 due to COVID-19. The necessity for higher education institutions to immediately pivot from primarily in-person instruction to delivering instruction fully online was potentially the main contributor to keeping schools open. If classes were not able to be delivered online, schools would have had to cease operations, refund tuition, and risk permanent closure. The ability for colleges and universities to support their faculty during this tumultuous time spoke to the commitment to not only the financial solvency of the institution but also the importance of the faculty resource.

Through their research, Cameron and Smart (1998) found that there is tension between financial stress and organizational excellence. Financial stress need not mean a lack of excellence. If predictors of effectiveness are related to leadership, ineffectiveness might be a prior condition of the institution, and the way downsizing and decline occur is more important than the fact that they occurred at all.

Can workforce reduction be avoided as a means to financial solvency, even though financial stress exists at the same time as organizational excellence? Yet, how can an organization achieve excellence and still be ineffective?

Reduction in Force

According to Applebaum et al. (1998):

organizational climate is the pattern, style and feeling characteristic of interpersonal relationships among members of an organization and also characteristic of the relations

between members of the organization and people outside of the organization.

Organizational climate is a relatively enduring quality of the internal environment of an organization that is experienced by its members, influences their behavior; and can be described in terms of the values of a particular set of characteristics (or attributes) of the organization. (p. 405)

The Jesuit tenets at Jesuit institutions of higher education provide the framework for the cultural climate and help form the relationships among co-workers. The application of *cura personalis*, caring for the whole person, between fellow co-workers deepens relationships. The indoctrination of viewing another member of the Jesuit institution as more than just their place in the organization is an enduring quality, but it may also intensify an unproductive survivor culture that is seen as one that reflects a lack of motivation, a presence of mistrust, diminished loyalty and commitment to the organization, post-downsizing. Survivor feelings of deceit, fear, and frustration lead to low productivity and morale.

Redundancy in the workplace refers to positions, programs, or job responsibilities that are repeated unnecessarily. Redundancy of positions may speak to having a number of employees within the same position, and there is no longer a need for that number of people being employed. For example, in higher education, one may have a redundancy of administrative support across a given number of programs or areas of study, or there may be more than one secretary administrative assistant in a department with different units. Does a particular department need more than one administrative assistant, or can it manage with just one? Are there employees across an institution whose individual job responsibilities overlap in some way? Is someone who is not on the maintenance staff responsible for overseeing the care and

maintenance of a facility, and does that responsibility also overlap with someone within the maintenance department? These situations can be considered excess.

A way to mitigate the redundancy excess is to increase the demand or market share of a particular offering. In the case of higher education, increasing enrollment numbers would give credence to a need for redundant positions, programs, or job responsibilities (Sutherland, 1998); however, if an institution is unable to increase enrollment, it is clear that the demand could not be increased.

In the short term, the extent of the financial benefit of downsizing may not be as great as it will be in the longer term. Even though there is an immediate savings at a salary line and future savings in benefits, at the time of dissolution of the employer and employee relationship, the employer will generally pay out one week's salary for each year of service, vacation time, sick time, and any other agreed-upon benefit (Mishra et al., 1998).

Manager survivors suffer from apathy, depression, narcissism, alienation, and abrasiveness and have feelings of guilt for reducing staff. In contrast, subordinate survivors no longer trust their supervisors. In environments where there was a sense of empowerment, it disappears. The ability to move forward is diminished greatly as the fear of losing one's job lingers and the desire to pull away from the organization increases. Survivors attempt to put distance between themselves and the organizational climate of the organization.

Reductions in force that removed positions without making any changes to inefficiencies, redundancies, or culture were not as financially effective as those that created the reduction in a framework of culture and efficiency change. In this way, survivors could be more apt to embrace *cura apostolica* as a justification for the reduction, knowing that with the changes to the framework of the institution would come a stabilization of the organization.

Reduction in Force (Higher Education)

Financial constraints arise at institutions of higher education over time for a variety of reasons, including but not limited to: decrease in enrollment, increase in expenses related to deferred maintenance of dorms, academic buildings, athletic facilities, and administrative offices. While the depth of financial despair may be a closely held fact by select members of a college or university community such as a President, Chief Financial Officer, and other upper-echelon leadership, the impact of the financial strain can be felt throughout the entirety of the internal community.

In a case study to investigate faculty perceptions of the impact of financial strain on the quality of education at a public research facility in Ohio, Michael (1996) used a survey which was sent to 140 recipients, with a 50% response rate. Results indicated that faculty were knowledgeable and concerned about financial constraints on the institution. The researcher viewed that perhaps the most important aspect of the case study was faculty views on the effect financial constraints have on an institution, especially the perceived decrease in value of the diploma. The researcher also noted the difficulty administrators have in indicating publicly that financial difficulties impact the value of a graduate's diploma.

Kumar and Sharma (2003) studied the downsizing of higher education in India and of higher education globally, through the lens of a report of higher education from the year 2000 by the World Bank and UNESCO which stated, among many other things, that higher education simultaneously improves an individual's life while enriching society. This seems somewhat contrary to what Morrison (2003) stated about the transformation of higher education. It is perhaps the fact that higher education is viewed differently globally than in the United States. However, as is the case in the United States, one reason for downsizing in higher education in

India is an overinvestment in postsecondary education. For India, it is because more graduates are not experiencing outcomes they anticipated, such as poststudy employment.

When institutions are not thriving, there is a need for a reduction in force, which is referred to as downsizing. Downsizing is a strategic and not naturally occurring part of an organization which impacts workforce and policies. Three approaches to downsizing include retrenchment, downscaling, and downscoping. Retrenchment refers to a reduction of costs or spending while maintaining output. Downscaling refers to the permanent cuts to human and physical resources while reducing output to meet supply and demand. Finally, downscoping refers to the shrinking of an organization by eliminating product lines, downsizing company boundaries, and reorganizing policies and procedures, which include physical and human capital reductions (Appelbaum & Patton, 2002). In higher education, governance is shared with faculty, who value prestige, quality, and reputation above all else. High-profile programs, having faculty with prestige, are less likely to be removed or downsized than others that are of lower notoriety. It is the idea of greater and lesser prestige in higher education reduction in force that provides for a reduction in lower-level positions, ones viewed as unable to move the financial needle because of the smallness of salaries. Rarely, if ever, is there a trimming of the fat at higher levels, both on the academic side or the business side of the house.

Psychological Impacts

How reduction in force is presented to employees plays a significant role in how the employee perceives the situation—is it necessary and begrudgingly accepted, or is it dire and the beginning of the end for a company or, in the case of this research, an institution of higher education?

Planning for a reduction in force can help mitigate the impact of the change in workforce. Both victims and survivors struggle with trauma of the reduction, victims with suddenly having a loss of pay combined with the uncertainty of future employment and survivors having the fear associated with uncertainty associated with their current employment—will I be next? Survivors will look toward management to help deal with the stress of the downsizing; thus, management can prepare for the change by analyzing the climate of the organization, leading with credibility, disclosing accurate information, and anticipating the emotional state of the members of the organization (Pemberton & Davidhizar, 1998).

A lack of transparency, which may lead to an atmosphere of secrecy, does not serve the organization. When assessing the climate, managers should ask: How knowledgeable is the staff about the reasons for downsizing? What has occurred in our past that might take away from the credibility of the organization? Has the organization been truthful in the past, or has the organization shown shades of truth. Finally, does the organization know its employees well enough to anticipate how the reduction in force will be received? If employees know an organization has had years' worth of financial distress, but the organization does not take into consideration how employees feel about the financial constraints; or if they are knowledgeable about the details of the dire financial situations, the organization cannot accurately assess the climate, nor can an organization assess how employees will feel about the reduction in force. Will employees be angry at the thought of colleagues losing their jobs due to financial situations that are beyond the scope or control of those being downsized?

Certainly, reduction in force is not viewed as a positive situation for either victims or survivors; however, a study by Tourish et al. (2004) examined the communication strategies needed during downsizing in terms of the survivors (those still employed) and the victims (those

impacted by the downsizing) and explored perceptions of uncertainty and change by survivors and victims and managers/non-managers—specifically, levels of trust, levels of uncertainty, and levels of information.

Good communication strategies—such as digital correspondence from leadership, personal interactions/communication, clarity of cause, and a well explained need taking into consideration the dignity of those impacted—when implemented, could achieve an outcome that could be seen as being for the greater good. Overall, though, outcomes of the Tourish et al. study indicated that the situations were as bad for victims as survivors.

When individuals seek and obtain employment, individuals approach the duration of their employment as being under their own control, with little thought that employment is at the will and/or discretion of the employer. The length of employment is viewed as a decision that is made by the individual. For the employee, there is a psychological contract between employer and employee. The psychological contract is a concept that the employee will remain employed at his or her will, with the employer taking care of some of the psychological needs of the employee through the length of employment (Amundson et al., 2004). At some point in employment, the idea that the amount of effort extended to the job equates to the pay one receives is replaced with the idea that the employee and the organization are part of a symbiotic relationship. Each is fulfilling the need of each other but beyond a transactional nature. It would be easy to surmise that victims of reduction in force would feel that the loss of employment would be a betrayal. Even individuals losing employment due to poor work performance may have felt at one point that they had entered into a psychological contract with their employer. However, the loss of trust would extend beyond the victims to the survivors. Remaining employed after workforce

reduction could leave the survivors second-guessing their psychological contracts, perhaps even bringing to light the fact that these contracts do not really exist.

Survivors experience a range of emotions when co-worker relationships are severed due to workforce reduction. These emotions emanate from the most basic level and can impact an individual's morale, leaving one with questions regarding their own value, the potential for their own job loss, and questions about how to move on in the grief process for those lost to downsizing. Emotions such as resentment may also be felt toward the organization and emanate from a lack of perceived organizational support for themselves and for their colleagues, the uncertainty of work-life after the loss of co-workers (how will things get done), and managing feelings when welcoming new co-workers after the dismissal of cherished employees (Amundson, et al., 2004).

When a reduction in force occurs, the perception of employees can be that an organization does not care about its employees. However, what may not be readily taken into consideration is that the dismissal of employees is the last resort of an organization in mitigating a financial crisis. Often less severe strategies are put into place in order to slow the financial hemorrhage. The less severe measures may start with a hiring freeze, resulting in a movement of funds from a salary line and accompanying cost of benefits to an outstanding debt line. There may be a furlough, or temporary removal, of employees without pay but with the employee eligible for unemployment. Again, this allows for the movement of funds from a salary line to a debt line (Greenhalgh et al., 1988).

Some have espoused the idea that across-the-board reduction in headcount does not solve the financial problems of the entity over time. When an organization is in financial crisis, a change in the manner in which business is conducted is necessary for company solvency. While

forced retirements, hiring freezes, attrition, and position elimination result in the loss of various levels of employee competencies—underachieving, mid-achieving, and overachieving—when better-performing employees are forced to leave the organization, less productive employees are left in the wake (Corbett & Lee, 2006). Additionally, when better employees are lost, institutional knowledge, which is priceless, is also lost.

Cost savings do not always materialize, especially in areas where the loss of institutional knowledge causes an organization to spend more to retrieve the information for other sources. For many businesses, full-time headcount is reduced; however, often to make up the difference, consultants and part-time employees are hired (Cascio, 1993). For those full-time survivors, according to Cascio (1993), “following a downsizing, surviving employees become narrow-minded, self-absorbed, and risk averse.”

In addition to what Cascio (1993) identified, downsizing results in overworked, underpaid employees with morale issues (Corbett & Lee, 2006). When a workforce is reduced, the survivors are left to do the same with less—less financial resources and less human capital. In a workforce such as one with moral imperatives such as *cura personalis*, *cura apostolica*, and *magis*, survivors will use their personal resources, time off the clock, and sheer will to move a battered and beaten organization forward. Over time, morale issues such as resentment and burnout will arise. Worth noting is that, sometimes, downsized employees have a sense of freedom having been let go, a feeling of coming back to life (Corbett & Lee, 2006).

Summary

This researcher sought to expand the body of research on workforce reduction, especially as it relates to the impact on employees of Jesuit institutions of higher education. Jesuit tenets such as *cura personalis*, *cura apostolica*, and *magis* were born from the teachings of St. Ignatius

of Loyola and the Society of Jesus. The teachings are rooted morally and ethically, espousing virtues of caring for others and doing more than what would be expected.

Workforce reduction, on its own, has psychological ramifications not only for those who are the victims but perhaps more so for those who are able to survive it. Survivors are left to navigate the uncertain, morale-ravaged waters following a reduction in workforce, wondering if they are next while grieving for the loss of colleagues and certainty. In viewing the grief and uncertainty through the lens of Jesuit tenets, one is left to wonder how the Jesuit teachings impact employee attitudes, to what extent certain tenets in particular are viewed as problematic or conducive to the workforce reduction grieving process, and to what degree Jesuits tenets create a heightened sense of employment expectations, whether stated or implied.

An overview of the qualitative approach, using organizational culture theory (Schein, 2010) to discover insights from the data and add to the body of knowledge of reduction in workforce, is provided in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research methodology for this organizational culture theory study about the impact Jesuit tenets have on the attitudes of survivors of workforce reduction. By doing so, it is the hope of the researcher to shed light on a little studied and documented area of employment theory.

Organizational culture theory was utilized as the groundwork for this study and is explored further in this chapter. The primary components of this chapter—methodology, procedures, participants, ethical concerns, and analysis methods—are part of the research plan and outlined below.

Research Questions

With this study the researcher sought to examine the following research questions:

RQ1: How does being employed at a Jesuit school, with its emphasis on the tenets of *cura personalis*, *cura apostolica* and *magis*, impact employee attitudes toward reduction in workforce?

RQ2: What are the opinions of survivors of workforce reduction with respect to *cura personalis* or *cura apostolica* in support of arguments against or in defense of reduction in force?

RQ3: In what ways does Jesuit inculcation create a heightened sense of employment expectations, whether stated or implied?

Methodology Selected

Organizational Culture Theory

The researcher selected a qualitative study approach because the data were obtained through first-hand observations and interviews. The data analyzed were non-numerical and used to understand the experiences, concepts, or opinions of the participants.

The researcher utilized organizational culture theory as the framework for this study. Edward H. Schein (2010), often referred to as the father of organizational culture theory, viewed culture as “the accumulated shared learning of a given group, covering behavioral, emotional, and cognitive elements of the group members’ total psychological functioning” (p. 17). Within culture theory are the levels of culture—artifacts, espoused beliefs and values, and underlying assumptions. According to Schein, the artifacts are the structures and processes; the espoused beliefs are an organization’s strategic goals; and the values and underlying assumptions are beliefs, perceptions, thoughts, and feelings (p. 26). Organizational culture theory was appropriate for this research because it provided a lens through which to view how values are communicated (Hogan & Coote, 2014) through the levels of culture (Schein, 2010) in the given environment or, more specifically, how the system of shared values, assumptions, and beliefs govern an organization (Choudhury, 2018). In the case of this study, the researcher sought to reveal how the culture within Jesuit institutions of higher education impacts the emotional, behavioral, and cognitive points of view of the members of the organizations. By using organizational culture theory, the researcher was able to explore how Jesuit tenets influence the perceptions of survivors, both pre- and post-reduction in force throughout the levels of culture.

The Researcher

The researcher is Jesuit-educated, having obtained an undergraduate degree in Psychology from a Jesuit university and a master's degree in Strategic Communication, and she is in the pursuit of a doctoral degree in Higher Education Leadership from a different Jesuit university from that of her undergraduate. The researcher has been employed in the field of higher education for a total of 17 years, with 12 of the most recent years employed at a Jesuit university where the postgraduate education was obtained. It is possible that the researcher has developed a bias over time, given her work experience, which may be reflected in this work (Cascio, 1993). As part of the researcher's past and current job functions, she has conducted interviews for employment and created surveys to gauge engagement of college and university alumni. In this case, the researcher is capable of conducting the study.

Study Participants

The researcher desired a participant pool of subjects currently employed at a Jesuit institution of higher education and who were also employed during a time of workforce reduction at a Jesuit institution. The researcher utilized snowball sampling to identify such participants. By doing so, the researcher relied on a sample that applies the “dynamics of natural and organic social networks” (Noy, 2008). With only 27 Jesuit colleges and universities in the United States, the need for a natural and organic network was more necessary than if the researcher were exploring a topic in which the potential for a more robust research subject pool was more readily available. The researcher selected this method, knowing that the sampling would be biased. However, the ability to leverage the professional networks of the subjects—therefore revealing additional recruits who may have been beyond the researcher's reach—was considered a benefit to the researcher. The researcher specifically employed exponential

nondiscriminative snowball sampling which allowed every recruited participant to suggest other recruits (Etikan et al., 2016). To help mitigate the potential of a sample with participants who were too similar in their belief systems and had too similar experiences, the researcher approached one initial participant who was employed at her same university and one participant employed at another Jesuit institution.

The researcher individually approached these two initial subjects via email, inviting each to participate in the study. The email invitation included the topic of the study, the communication method of the interview, and the anticipated time needed for the interview.

The invitation included a request to have the initially invited participants identify colleagues who would be interested in this study. The researcher asked for the names and email addresses of the referred participants. The researcher emailed the identified participants to seek consent for their participation, making sure not to identify the names of those who suggested/recruited them. The participants were anticipated to be employed in a variety of departments. The researcher did not employ an age limit for the participants. The participants who agreed to participate represented male and female genders; no participants appeared to identify as another gender. The participants were representative of an age range from 25-65 and were currently employed at a Jesuit institution. The researcher was mindful of the gender breakdown of the participants and was sensitive to having a participant pool that was not too gender-homogeneous. To mitigate this possibility, the researcher was prepared to seek additional recruits by selecting and approach other recruits, if necessary.

Because some participants would be employed at the same institution as the researcher, and in order to protect this vulnerable population, the researcher enlisted participants from a broad base of individuals who met the simple criterion of employment and had the desire to

participate in the study. The researcher did not enlist employees who were in a subordinate role to the researcher nor could be considered too subordinate in a hierarchy. Initial participants were identified by the researcher through her own network. Participants of the study were survivors of recent downsizing due to the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020. Future employment status of the participants was unknown, but considered generally favorable having not been impacted by the pandemic downsizing.

Warwick (1982, as cited in Clark, 2010) postulated that there are four beliefs held by participants in qualitative research. It is the belief of the present researcher that one or more of the following beliefs motivated the subjects to participate in the research. Belief number one is that participation gives people the opportunity to express themselves, from which they can derive satisfaction. Belief number two is that participants may find satisfaction in sharing events of import with a sympathetic ear. Belief number three is that subjects will participate out of curiosity. Belief number four is that participants believe that insights revealed might be helpful to themselves. Given the nature of the subject matter, the researcher felt the participants would be compelled to participate based on the beliefs enumerated by Warwick.

Data Collection

The researcher conducted the interviews via the Zoom networking platform. The Zoom interviews were on average 45 minutes in length; they were recorded and audio transcribed for the purpose of analysis and then deleted at the end of the research. The researcher applied a unique identifier to the data to maintain the participants' anonymity when reviewing the data and to prevent any opportunity for bias, given that the researcher was familiar with the subjects.

The questions used in the interviews were open-ended questions to allow for depth of response. The interviews began with an introductory section of questions, including name and

title; place of employment; if the participant was Jesuit-educated; if so, at what level(s): high school, college/university, master's, doctoral; whether the place of employment was a Jesuit institution; how long the participants been employed at the Jesuit institution; if the participants have worked in higher education previously; names of prior institutions; if they were private or public; if this is the participants' first employment in higher education; if so, what industry(ies) were the participants employed in previously; and if this is the first time in higher education, what industry(ies) were the participants employed in previously?

The next section spoke to the understanding of Jesuit tenets. Participants were asked to define, to the best of their ability, *cura personalis*, *cura apostolica*, and *magis*. The researcher also asked in what ways were these terms being used by the participants' current institution; which groups were these tenets applied to at the current institution; in what ways did participants personally use these terms in the course of their work; to which groups were these tenets applied by the participants in the course of their work; and how have the participants applied these terms to their personal work ethic.

The following section asked participants about workforce reduction. How did the participants define workforce reduction; did the participants' institutions utilize workforce reduction during 2020 or 2021 (the early years of the COVID-19 pandemic); how would participants describe their experience during that workforce reduction; how would participants describe their feelings in response to the workforce reduction; have the participants experienced workforce reduction previously, and if so, was this at a Jesuit institution or elsewhere?

The final section asked about how the subjects felt about workforce reduction in light of the Jesuit tenets. To the best of the participants' ability, did they recall their institution invoking any of these Jesuit tenets—*cura personalis*, *cura apostolica*, or *magis*—during the reduction;

how did it make the participants feel; and what were participants' feelings about the workforce reduction of 2020/2021 using the lenses of *cura personalis*, *cura apostolica*, and *magis*? Finally, the participants were asked if there is anything else they wanted to share on this topic. At no time did interview questions contain the term *survivor*. The researcher felt that to use such a term might influence the way the subject viewed themselves.

The researcher manually coded the transcription of the interviews to identify emerging themes.

Procedures Followed

Once the researcher received approval from the IRB, she set forth contacting potential initial participants for her research. The contact was made via email. The researcher explained the need for the outreach and the doctoral dissertation study as well as asked if the potential participant would be willing to be a subject in the study. The researcher reviewed the consent form so the potential participant could understand what was expected of him or her. Once there was agreement to move forward, the researcher emailed the participant the consent form. Once the consent forms were received back signed for consent, the researcher made appointments for the interviews and conducted them, assigning a unique identifier previously assigned for each.

Once the interviews were completed, the researcher compiled the data for review and dissemination for the dissertation.

Data Analysis

The data were collected over a period of 6 weeks, with personal interviews conducted via Zoom. The researcher conducted one to two interviews a week, which allowed for time between each for transcription and reflection. The interviews were conducted after normal business hours so as not to infringe on the employment time of the participants. The researcher also hoped that

by conducting the interviews on personal time, the participants would have been more comfortable responding to the interviews.

Coding is a necessary, universal process in qualitative research, when responses can appear incongruent and inconsistent; it is the manner in which data are converted from their original state into something new and easily understood (Elliot, 2018). The researcher utilized the Zoom platform to provide transcripts of the interviews and reviewed each transcript for accuracy. Then, the researcher identified commonalities in the data, which then led to the development of patterns surrounding the attitudes of workforce reduction.

Trustworthiness

When examining the trustworthiness of this study, one must take into consideration that the researcher, who comes with her own set of inherent biases, will evaluate the data. It was the intention of this researcher not to allow any personal feelings or experiences to cloud the research or the interpretation of the data. There were potential limitations to the research in that interviews were conducted via Zoom and not in person; however, given the current climate regarding the use of virtual communication, this method did not pose too great of a problem. Another possible limitation was that the participants may not have felt comfortable with responding to certain questions but that, in and of itself, is worthy of review, now and in future studies. The researcher utilized IRB protocols, especially informed consent, to gain the participation of the subjects. Validity was ensured by allowing participants to review the transcripts of their interviews, if they chose to do so.

Ethical Concerns

The ethical administering of the data collection was top of mind for the researcher, not only for the traditional reasons associated with research but because of the way the participants

were selected, through personal networks, and because all of the participants are employed at Jesuit institutions. Abiding by IRB protocols, the researcher utilized informed consent sent via email, which was signed and returned via email as well. Although the researcher used her university work email address, which is the same as her student email address, and contacted participants through their work email addresses, she felt that the content of the email outreach would not compromise those employed at the same institution as she. Further correspondence with participants at the same university was executed via work email if the participant gave consent to do so.

All research materials will be destroyed following approval of the researcher's doctoral dissertation by the researcher's dissertation committee.

Summary

The goal of this chapter was to outline the theories and methods used to conduct the research. The researcher used the organizational culture theory framework to conduct a qualitative study using a survey and personal interviews. The participants, who were selected because of their employment at Jesuit institutions during a time of reduction in force, added to the body of knowledge that existed regarding reduction in workforce at Jesuit institutions. The goal of Chapter 4 is to provide the study results and demonstrate that the methodology described in Chapter 3 was followed.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to examine the attitudes survivors of workforce reduction at Jesuit institutions of higher education have regarding reduction in force at their respective institutions, especially during the early years of the COVID-19 pandemic.

This chapter contains the results of the organizational culture theory methodology study conducted to answer the research questions:

RQ1: How does being employed at a Jesuit school, with its emphasis on the tenets of *cura personalis*, *cura apostolica* and *magis*, impact employee attitudes toward reduction in workforce?

RQ2: What are the opinions of survivors of workforce reduction with respect to *cura personalis* or *cura apostolica* in support of arguments against or in defense of reduction in force?

RQ3: In what ways does Jesuit inculcation create a heightened sense of employment expectations, whether stated or implied?

For this study on the examination of the impact of Jesuit tenets on attitudes toward workforce reduction, seven individuals employed at Jesuit institutions of higher education across the country were recruited and interviewed. The researcher conducted each interview for 30-45 minutes via Zoom. All participants were asked the same set of questions as referenced in Chapter 3, with additional follow-up questions for clarification as needed. The interviews were recorded with transcription, and the transcripts were subsequently reviewed for accuracy and analyzed for prevailing themes. Each participant is referred to as “Participant” with a corresponding unique number to insure anonymity. To further protect the anonymity of the participants, the researcher

replaced names of institutions and references to either university or college with the term *institution*, shown in bracketed text.

Sample

Seven individuals employed at Jesuit institutions of higher education were interviewed for this study. The sample consisted of three men and four women.

Five different Jesuit institutions of higher education from the northeastern, midwestern, and southern regions of the United States were represented. Positions held by the participants were that of professor, director (two), associate vice president, associate director (two), and senior director in the areas of Advancement, Alumni Engagement, Campus Ministry, and Academics (faculty). Years of employment at their current institutions ranged from 3.5 years to 27 years, with average years of employment being 14. One participant, or 14% of the sample size, was employed for less than 5 years; five participants, or 71% of the sample size, were employed from 10 to 20 years; and one participant, or 14% of the sample size, was employed for 20 or more years.

Of the seven participants, four (57%) were previously employed in higher education prior to their current employment at a Jesuit institution. Of those who were previously employed, one was employed at a private institution (25%), two (50%) at public institutions, and one (25%) at both public and private institutions.

Data Collection

The seven interviews conducted with individuals currently employed at Jesuit institutions and who experienced workforce reduction at their institution were the primary source of data. Each participant was asked 27 questions, with follow-up questions as needed per participant. The questions were broken down into four sections covering personal/biographical information,

Jesuit tenets, workforce reduction, and the intersection of Jesuit tenets and workforce reduction. Interview questions can be found in Appendix B. Because of the inherent inaccuracy of transcription from the Zoom platform, the researcher reviewed and corrected each interview upon completion to ensure the accuracy of information. Once the transcripts were considered to reflect the actual responses of the participants, the interviews were manually coded for emerging themes. After identifying themes and subthemes, the researcher reviewed each question and corresponding answer and allocated the responses to the appropriate theme and/or subtheme.

Data Sources

All interviews were manually coded by the researcher. After each interview, the researcher reviewed the transcription to ensure the accuracy of responses. Interview questions can be found in Appendix B. Once satisfied with the transcription, the researcher reviewed each interview thoroughly to begin identifying themes. Ultimately, the researcher identified three themes, with each theme having three to four subthemes. From there, the researcher identified quotes to substantiate each theme and subtheme. It should be noted that due to the nature of speech, quotes were either condensed to remove repetitive words or words were added in an attempt to create completeness of thought. Both of these actions can be noted through the use of ellipses or brackets. Complete results from the manual coding can be found in Appendix C.

Participant 1 has been employed at their current institution for 13 years. The school is located in the northeastern region of the United States. This participant holds a position in the area of Campus Ministry and is currently at the associate director level. Participant 1 was not previously employed in higher education prior to current employment but is Jesuit-educated. Overall, Participant 1 did not believe *cura apostolica* was a sufficient reason for workforce reduction at their institution.

Participant 2 has been employed at their current institution for 12 years. This institution is located in the northeastern region of the United States. This participant currently holds a position in the area of Alumni Engagement at the director level but also served in Athletics at the same institution. Participant 2 was previously employed at both private and public institutions of higher education and is not Jesuit-educated. Participant 2 believed that *cura personalis* is suffering at their institution at the hands of *cura apostolica*.

Participant 3 has been employed at their current institution for 3.5 years. This school is located in the midwestern region of the United States. This participant currently holds a position in the area of Advancement but was previously employed in their school's Alumni Engagement organization. Participant 3 has been employed at public institutions of higher education previously and is Jesuit-educated. Participant 3 believed that *cura apostolica* is necessary to preserve the life of their institution.

Participant 4 has been employed at their current institution for 19 years. This school is located in the northeastern region of the United States. This participant has been employed in the area of Campus Ministry for the entirety of their employment and is currently at the director level. This is the first employment in higher education for Participant 4. Participant 4 is not Jesuit-educated. This participant believed that *cura personalis* at their institution has been lost in favor of the demands of the institution.

Participant 5 has been employed at their current institution for 9.5 years. This school is located in the midwestern region of the United States. Participant 5 is employed in the area of Advancement and is currently at the associate director level. This participant previously held a position in Athletics. This is the only employment in higher education for Participant 5. This

participant is Jesuit-educated. It is the belief of Participant 5 that *cura apostolica* is necessary for the life of the institution.

Participant 6 has been employed at their current institution for 11 years. This school is located in the southern region of the United States. This participant is employed in the area of Alumni Engagement and is currently at the associate vice president level. Participant 6 has had previous employment in state schools of higher education and is Jesuit-educated. Overall, this participant believes in the necessity of *cura apostolica* for the life of the institution.

Participant 7 has been employed at their current institution for 27 years. This school is located in the northeast/ern region of the United States. This participant is employed in the area of Academics as an associate professor. Participant 7 has had previous employment at a private institution of higher education and is not Jesuit-educated. Overall, this participant does not believe in the necessity of *cura apostolica* and feels that *cura personalis* has deteriorated at their institution over time.

Baseline

In order for the researcher to establish a baseline of understanding of the participants' knowledge of the Jesuit tenets in question, each was asked to define *magis*, *cura personalis*, and *cura apostolica*. The researcher assumed that all of these tenets would be known and was surprised to find that all of the tenets were not easily or accurately defined by all participants.

Magis

Four of the participants were able to define *magis* accurately as "to do more." It is the researcher's opinion that Participant 5 articulated it best by identifying *magis* as a state of mind whereby one strives for personal excellence.

That is Latin for more.... And in my mind, to me that just means whether I'm in the classroom as a graduate student, or it's during my full-time work that I'm always striving to do the best that I can to do more than what's required of me to go the extra mile and so on.

The idea of personal excellence was also a belief held by two other participants, but each was deliberate in adding the caveat that *magis* does not mean to do more work.

The way I see it, it means more, but not in the capacity of adding additional items to your plate, but more in striving for excellence, striving for better. (Participant 2)

So, *magis* just means 'the more,' but it is not doing more for the sake of doing more. (Participant 4)

Three of the participants defined *magis* in the following ways that are not consistent with the definition espoused by the Society of Jesus.

Magis, from my perspective, is when presented with two relatively equal choices, you would choose the option that has the greater benefit for the greater good for the glory of God. (Participant 6)

I guess, like, finding God and everything. That, in my opinion, is what we're supposed to be trying to do great. (Participant 3)

Explore one's, how do I say,...I think it's a change. I always think discernment, so I'm assuming I mean it's related to understanding. It has to do with taking pride in the institution and the achievements of the various areas of the [institution]. (Participant 7)

Cura personalis

Six of the seven participants were able to define *cura personalis* accurately as "care for the whole person." Some participants further articulated the greater breadth and depth of *cura*

personalis that is applied to ensure a living and learning experience that exceeds that of basic student interaction.

Cura personalis is really taking care of the whole person while we're educating our students. We can't just be thinking about their academics, we have to think about all of the other things that are making them into well-rounded individuals and able to kind of send them off into the world in a better place than they were when they started, and to be able to make a difference in the world.... (Participant 3)

The other way of saying it has always been treating each student, you know, one of the times... understanding each student. And I would say as a result, being flexible in our understanding of them and our treating them as that individual[s]. (Participant 7)

Participant 5 extended the concept of *cura personalis* beyond the student experience to those employees who report to them.

Care for the whole person. So that's a big one for me, especially as over the past several years. But for my team, you know it, there are times during the year when we're busy and you know we're working long hours that I want to be sure that they're taking time for themselves and trying their best to maintain a healthy work life balance.

Cura apostolica

Cura apostolica, "care for the institution," was similarly defined by five of the seven participants. Participant 5 conveyed a holistic approach between the institution and the individual with regard to the tenet.

I believe it's care for the institution so that one we hear a lot of [at institution] in terms of, you know, what we need to do, and proceed in a way that's best for [institution], both

from the standpoint or it's finding the balance so between, you know, what's the best thing financially.

Participant 4 expressed skepticism regarding the timing of the use of the tenet:

Oh, this is a new one for me that I only started hearing during the pandemic—care of the institution. And I thought, “Boy, I’ve been here for 17 years, and I’ve never heard this word.”

Participant 3 had never heard of the tenet, stating, “I’ve never heard of it.” Participant 1 defined *cura apostolica* as follows:

...I only know this because it's popped up recently. I assume it just means the care for the apostle. The followers of Jesus, I'm assuming again. Actually, I really don't know much about it.

Worth noting is that three of the seven participants had participated in a voluntary Ignatian Colleagues Program at their respective institutions. The Ignatian Colleagues Program is “designed to educate and form administrators and faculty more deeply in the Jesuit & Catholic tradition of higher education” (Ignatian Colleagues Program, 2019)

Themes

Despite the interconnectedness of *cura apostolica* and *cura personalis*, most of the participants interviewed felt that *cura apostolica* received greater privilege over *cura personalis* during workforce reduction imposed by their institutions during the COVID-19 pandemic or during similar workforce reduction at an earlier time. It is worth noting that one participant indicated that their institution did not face any workforce reduction at the time of the pandemic due to an extensive, multiyear, institution-wide financial review, which resulted in a major

workforce reduction equal to, if not exceeding, the magnitude of what other institutions implemented due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

The attitude that *cura apostolica* received greater privilege over *cura personalis* during workforce reduction was articulated by the participants in three ways: (a) Participants felt that workforce reduction was personal; (b) They felt they were exploited in the name of *cura apostolica* and *magis*; and (c) Jesuit tenets such as *cura personalis* and *magis* fail to create a heightened sense of employment security. Instead, employment security was attributed to the length of employment.

Theme 1: Eliminating People Rather Than Job Positions

Participants were asked to describe their experiences and feelings during the workforce reductions taking place at their respective institutions. The research revealed a belief that workforce reduction is the elimination of people rather than job positions. Whereas an institution may view workforce reduction as the systematic elimination of positions with a desired outcome of financial stability, Jesuit survivors of workforce reduction felt that it was as much, if not more so, an elimination of their coworkers, who may be cherished or respected, as much as it was the elimination of job positions themselves. In particular, Participant held this belief:

In my experience, [it's] the elimination of positions and people. For monetary reasons, that has been my experience.

Participant 4 substantiated this theme when they expressed the perceived villainous nature of their institution—an institution which, at its core, is supposed to be one that cares for its students and employees.

How do we care for the institution? I think when I hear that, sometimes, I think we forget that the institution is people. It sounds like [my institution] is this, like, corporate monster that is just using people to feed itself.

The researcher identified a similar train of thought from Participant 2, who felt their institution was apathetic towards its employees, especially in terms of reduction in force.

But I thought they [my institution] were very person-centered, and I feel like we've fallen away from that since then. This is what we have to do, and everybody kind of suck it up and figure it out. I think asking for input and having some shared decision making [would have been good]. I feel like those decisions were made without a lot of input.

When asked to define workforce reduction, almost all referred to the process as a reduction of people rather than articulating it as the elimination of positions. Participant 3 shared, "So in my mind, workforce reduction is, I guess, laying people off due to budgetary cuts."

However, Participant 3 further articulated negligence on behalf of their institution:

Again, I feel like the [institution] was really paying more attention to what the [institution] had to do to survive instead of taking care of the people that they let go.

Participant 1 identified a persistent pattern of financial mismanagement at their institution which lower-level staff and administrators, not faculty, would be forced to shoulder through the reduction of their positions.

So, in my 13 years at [school], it seems like we have constantly been running deficits. At the end of each year, and I have heard many different explanations for why, we run budget deficits each year. I will say that since we keep running these budget deficits, I knew that some support staff and administrators would be the group that would be targeted to try to eliminate.

However, Participant 7 expressed the strongest emotional response to the question of what workforce reduction is, exposing the pain experienced by those who remain employed.

[I would define workforce reduction] as “unnecessary.” That was the first word [that came to mind], you know, how it is when you’re at a certain level in the institution. In the past couple of years...very rarely do people leave voluntarily. And when they have to leave, it’s sort of heartbreaking, especially for people that you know.

Bolstering Financial Relief Through Survivor Employee Perseverance.

Compounding the belief that workforce reduction is a reduction of coworkers more than a reduction of positions is the attitude that institutional financial relief is augmented by the perseverance and dedication of survivor employees. The institution achieves a sense of financial respite through the reduction of positions and salary reabsorption as the survivor workforce progresses towards burnout because they are forced to assume the workloads of the eliminated positions. Participants 3, 4, and 5 pointed toward the concept of fewer people doing the same amount of work. Participant 4 shared:

It's less people doing the same amount of work. Or less people, and the expectations haven't changed. But that's sometimes the mentality, as we get smaller, the demands don't change—that's a tough one, and I have heard that from different colleagues.

Sometimes I feel like, yeah, we're right in the middle of performance review season, “here set goals for next year,” and I'm looking at people that are already burned out.

Participant 3 felt the impact the workforce reduction from having to do the work of four positions, noting it was “kind of a blur” struggling to remember the time specifically, but verbalizing clearly that it was the “hardest time of my life” having to maintain the output of four

job functions while working from home and meeting her children's needs as "a kindergarten teacher."

Although workforce reduction is the elimination of positions to create homeostasis for a failing budget, there are times when the output of a position outweighs the expense of salary. Such is the case of a gift officer in an Advancement office. Gift officers are responsible for fundraising to myriad priorities, all of which benefit an organization's bottom line. Participant 2 described a situation when their institution hired a gift officer during the workforce reduction.

We hired somebody in January—our whole staff wasn't back. We're really lacking in physical space, so this person was put—he was a gift officer and was put at our administrative assistant's desk, and each day he'd get bumped around like, "Oh, go sit there," "No, you can't sit there," and I was like, here's this guy brand new to the [institution]. So, he's not ingrained at all, and we're bumping [him] around like he's a piece of meat.

One could hear the frustration in this participant's voice as they described the lack of care displayed toward the new employee—one who has not had the time to strengthen their belief in the mission as being important above all else.

Psychological Impact of Being a Mission-Driven Employee. The final factor for this theme was the psychological impact that being mission-driven can have on a survivor employee of workforce reduction. According to the Society for Human Resource Management (SHRM, 2022):

A mission statement is a concise explanation of the organization's reason for existence. It describes the organization's purpose and its overall intention. The mission statement

supports the vision and serves to communicate purpose and direction to employees, customers, vendors and other stakeholders.

An employee who lives their professional life willingly in support of their institution's mission would then be considered mission-driven. However, the participants of this study expressed feelings of being subjugated to their schools' respective missions. Nearly 50% of participants articulated the negative impact being mission-driven has on a person in the aftermath of workforce reduction.

[You] take on [a lot] of responsibilities because you're living out the mission, which is dangerous, because *magis* isn't taking on more responsibility, it's doing what you're doing well, and above and beyond, and so if you just keep getting things added on without compensation, that's not healthy. (Participant 1)

There are so many of us that are so committed to the mission [and] into these things like *magis* and *cura personalis*, and you know, [with] all these different things that we kind of joke that we're kind of suckers. (Participant 2)

We have the bad habit of sometimes keeping piling things onto our plate. And we always say it's because we want to keep doing more and try to, and trying to live out that mission and value. (Participant 5)

More work [is] your reward for being so great. We want you to keep doing A and B, but we have this opportunity for you to be in another position, and think of how you could grow and be really right. Oh, you need me to do two jobs for the price of one, that's what you need. (Participant 4)

Through the course of the interviews, the theme of workforce reduction as the elimination of people more than of job positions was revealed to be three-pronged; the perception was that

coworkers are eliminated; survivors are expected to take on the responsibilities of the eliminated positions; and survivors will do so because they are mission-driven to a fault and know that “sometimes we’re not treated all that well. In the sense of, you know, [of] getting a proper title or getting the proper pay raise” (Participant 2).

Theme 2: Exploited in the Name of Cura apostolica and Magis

The data suggested that participants felt a sense of exploitation under the guise of *cura apostolica* and *magis*. During their interview, Participant 1 casually voiced that the tenet of *magis* was being “paraded out” and “discussed frequently” at their institution. The researcher found the casual use of words “paraded out” to be a telling sign of an undercurrent of pessimistic feelings toward the institution.

Suspicious Newness of *Cura apostolica*. Some participants articulated their suspicion regarding the tenet *cura apostolica*, having only recently heard it invoked as part of the financial peril that was facing their institutions in the years surrounding COVID-19:

Why have we never heard this term before? (Participant 4)

I feel like it’s a little bit of a newer term, and some of the vocabulary that we’ve been using at [my institution]. (Participant 2)

I have only seen it once and heard it once in an email... (Participant 1)

Participant 3 voiced feelings of neglect from their institution, which was an attitude felt by many participants:

I feel like [my institution] was really paying more attention to what [my institution] had to do to survive instead of taking care of the people that they let go.

Participant 7 identified the blatant disregard for *cura personalis* during the time of workforce reduction:

[During the workforce reduction], I would say not *cura personalis*, because if that was the case, certain people would never have been let go....

It was only Participant 6 who seemed to articulate an impartial response to the use of *cura apostolica* at their institution:

Cura apostolica and our past President really coming in and tying some of that language to messaging and including those terms in her messaging to the [institution] community, certainly to alumni, donors, and to parents.

The Misuse of *Magis* to Manipulate a Workforce. A common subtheme of the feelings of exploitation among participants was the idea that although *magis* means to do more, it is not intended to be defined as to do more work.

And you know, we remind ourselves, “Oh, it’s not just more in the sense of putting more things on the list and checking them off, it’s doing it better,” but we’re so sucked in. We are doing more. They keep asking us to do more. (Participant 2)

I feel more and more because of workforce reduction that every little department is just trying to survive, and we’re not as integrated as we used to be, and that’s hard, I mean when I have to tell a colleague, no, not just a department, but someone that I know I don’t think we have the bandwidth to do this. That wasn’t the case 10 years ago. (Participant 4)

Participant 4 also shared the importance of balancing the use of the tenet *magis* with respect to their direct reports, especially during a time in history when a person’s self-worth “is based on what they do rather than who they are.” It is this sensitivity to their staff which is a conscious effort not to manipulate the workforce.

Additionally, one participant voiced concerns about their institution’s misuse of the term *magis* for an institution-wide, financial overhaul which included a reduction in workforce.

[They] used the term *magis* for the financial equilibrium [efforts], which [was] the Magis Project. In retrospect, I don't think that that was very well liked or well received on campus because I don't think that it's really accurate in terms of the definition of what the project was...and...what was really happening. It was almost kind of like we were presented with terrible choices, and it's really unfortunate. I think that was not appreciated by the larger [institutional] community.

Corporate Stockholm Syndrome. As much as participants may have felt aggrieved by their respective institutions with respect to the workload, however, some also articulated a sense of feeling lucky to still have a job. One could view this as Corporate Stockholm Syndrome, whereby the employee feels loyal to an increasingly hostile employer (Adorjan et al., 2012). Participant 2 shared that their supervisor gave them the impression over time that “‘You’re really lucky to have a job,’ which left the participant thinking, ‘I feel like that right now.’” Participant 3 shared “relief and feeling blessed” in response to how it feels now for them having weathered the downsizing. Even through all of the turmoil, Participant 7 felt, “I’m dedicated to the institution as a whole and don’t wanna see it fail,” even though in their interview, they also stated that “[the downsizing] was one of disappointment. And again, how much money are they saving?” Ultimately, though, Participant 7 expressed an understanding of the situation:

So, I wasn't happy, but it didn't change my loyalty to [my school], because...I understand that this is what happens, but nobody likes it, it's always the same.

Participant 6 expressed remorse over the loss of colleagues while they remained employed:

We were first of all grateful to still have the job. Second of all, there was guilt involved because I did still have a job and had to lay off some of my colleagues.

In conclusion, participants articulated a mindset of being exploited by their institution through the newness of the tenet *cura apostolica*; the misuse of the tenet *magis* as to do more work instead of to do more; and the concept of Corporate Stockholm Syndrome because participants felt lucky to still be employed in an environment where the data suggested they were being taken advantage of by their respective institutions.

Theme 3: Employment Expectations Associated with a Psychological Contract

As stated in Chapter 1, the question of whether Jesuit tenets could heighten employment expectations associated with a psychological contract was of particular interest to the researcher. The psychological contract is a concept that the employee will remain employed at his or her will, with the employer taking care of some of the psychological needs of the employee through the length of employment (Amundson et al., 2004). At some point in employment, the idea that the amount of effort extended to the job equates to the pay one receives is replaced with the idea that the employee and the organization are part of a symbiotic relationship. Each is fulfilling the need of each other but beyond the transactional nature of a paycheck.

Therefore, does the Jesuit culture of service with its care for the whole person, care for the institution, and ethos of doing more create a heightened sense of employment expectations associated with a psychological contract? It was the researcher's expectation that the tenets would create a heightened sense of expectations. The researcher incorrectly surmised that participants would point to the lack of *cura personalis* for the victims of workforce reduction, perhaps through the idea of "Where is the *cura personalis* for those who were laid off?" However, the research indicated that the amount of time served by a person is a greater contributing factor to greater employment expectations than Jesuit tenets.

Participant 6 shared, “I think for some long-time employees of [my institution]. Maybe that is the case for people that have been here for decades.” Participant 6 also expressed concern for the fact that their institution had temporarily limited retirement payments to only those made by the employee. This reduction in benefit was an indicator for this participant that the idea of job security was not a valid one. Participant 7, who has been employed at their institution for 27 years, indicated, “I can easily tell you that I did until I saw what had occurred during the period of layoffs, so I don’t now have a heightened sense of job security, but I certainly did.” Other participants pointed to a slight sense of job security:

I guess maybe a little confidence, I guess, like it. It was never like I never felt like it was always guaranteed that there would never be workforce reduction. (Participant 5)

Was it *magis*? Sure...I think that used to be the case? I don’t think it is anymore.

(Participant 4)

The data suggested Jesuits tenets of *magis*, *cura personalis*, and *cura apostolica* do not lend to a greater sense of employment expectations; rather, the length of time employed is an indicator of the heightened belief in job security. The longer the employee is employed at the institution, the greater the expectation of employment will be for the employee. However, in the face of workforce reductions, the data suggested that the belief that there is an inherent guarantee of employment is diminished.

Conclusions

This chapter contains the results of the data analysis of seven interviews with individuals employed at Jesuit institutions during the time of workforce reduction as a result of COVID-19 or similar dire financial constraints. The analysis connected back to the research questions presented initially in Chapter 1 and provided at the beginning of this chapter. Based on the

analysis, three themes with corresponding subthemes emerged. The overarching conclusion of the research was that *cura apostolica* receives greater privilege over *cura personalis* during workforce reduction. This was articulated by the participants in three ways.

The first manner in which this privilege was articulated was that participants felt workforce reduction was personal. This theme was revealed to be three-pronged: the perception was that people are eliminated rather than the positions they are employed in; survivors are expected to take on the responsibilities of the eliminated positions; and survivors will do so even though they are not being treated fairly due to the resulting constraints on their personal workloads.

The second way the privilege was identified was through the attitude that employees of Jesuit institutions are exploited in the name of *cura apostolica* and *magis*. Participants cited the suspicious newness of the tenet *cura apostolica*, a term that none had heard about until it was invoked to justify workforce reduction. Participants also identified the misuse of the tenet *magis*—which is Latin for “to do more” and is customarily meant to strive for personal excellence—as being espoused by institutions to mean “to do more work”—to take on the workloads of eliminated positions. Finally, participants identified the attitude of feeling lucky or being made to feel lucky to be still employed in an environment where the data suggested participants felt they were being taken advantage of by their respective institutions.

The final perception that was articulated as *cura apostolica* receiving greater privilege over *cura personalis* during workforce reduction was that Jesuit tenets such as *cura personalis* and *magis* do not create heightened employment expectations associated with a psychological contract. Instead, participants expressed the attitude that employment security is attributed to the length of employment.

Chapter 5 next includes a summary of the critical analysis and discussion of the three themes and corresponding subthemes.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this qualitative organizational culture theory study was to examine how workforce reduction was perceived by employees at mission-driven Jesuit institutions of higher education, and from there potentially assist future researchers in the pursuit of understanding workforce reduction in specific industries or organizations that have similar qualities or credos. This chapter contains discussion and future research potentials as related to the research questions:

RQ1: How does being employed at a Jesuit school, with its emphasis on the tenets of *cura personalis*, *cura apostolica* and *magis*, impact employee attitudes toward reduction in workforce?

RQ2: What are the opinions of survivors of workforce reduction with respect to *cura personalis* or *cura apostolica* in support of arguments against or in defense of reduction in force?

RQ3: In what ways does Jesuit inculcation create a heightened sense of employment expectations, whether stated or implied?

Summary of Findings

This qualitative study revealed the attitude that *cura apostolica* receives greater privilege over *cura personalis* during workforce reduction, as articulated by the participants in three ways: (a) participants felt that workforce reduction was personal; (b) participants felt they were exploited in the name of *cura apostolica* and *magis*; and (c) Jesuit tenets such as *cura personalis* and *magis* fail to create a heightened sense of employment security.

Instead, employment security is attributed to length of employment.

Relevance to Theory

Organizational culture theory, as defined by Edward H. Schein (2010), is “the accumulated shared learning of a given group, covering behavioral, emotional and cognitive elements of the group members’ total psychological functioning.” He defined the culture of a group as

a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (p. 17)

Organizational culture theory was selected as the framework because of the ease with which it could be applied to the research. This research study explored the behavioral, emotional, and cognitive perspectives of employees of Jesuit institutions and their attitudes towards Jesuit tenets and reduction in force. At the core of the research and the research questions were the tenets *magis*, *cura personalis*, and *cura apostolica*. These tenets, along with the others promoted by the Society of Jesus but not part of this research, help to create a common culture among Jesuit institutions of higher education. *Magis*, *cura personalis*, and *cura apostolica* provide a road map for employees, so they know how to think and feel about themselves and others in relation to themselves.

This study revealed the individual psychological toll and impact of the psychological functioning of the group that these tenets can have on a Jesuit workforce during times of reduction in force. For example, participants revealed the extent to which they and members of their groups were jaded by the bastardized version of *magis*, to do more work, instead of *magis*, to do more, a pursuit of excellence, a fulfillment of individual potential. The data supported the

accumulated shared learning of a given group—in this instance, Jesuit employee survivors of reduction in force.

Limitations and Delimitations

There were limitations and delimitations for this study, as there is with most research. The subject group was composed of seven employees who are currently employed at a Jesuit institution of higher education and had been employed during workforce reduction enacted as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. An exponential nondiscriminative snowball sampling method was utilized to identify the subjects and allowed recruited participants to suggest other recruits (Etikan et al., 2016). This method may have resulted in a bias with respect to the participants in the research—that is, the bias that participants suggested other participants.

Further limitations in the research may exist as two institutions were represented by two and three participants, respectively. It was the researcher's intention to recruit participants from as many differing institutions as possible; however, given the nature of the snowball method, there was repetition of institutions in two instances. This repetition could manifest as a bias in attitude as the participants were employed at the same institution within the same business culture.

Implications for Practice

There are several implications for practice as a result of this study. The greatest implication is that workforce reduction is personal. Institutions, especially those that are Jesuit and espouse the tenets of *cura personalis* and *magis*, should bear in mind that survivors of workforce reduction view the loss of positions as a loss of colleagues. While, technically, workforce reduction occurs when position(s) are eliminated with no intention of

replacing them and results in a permanent cut in headcount (SHRM, n.d.), it would serve institutions in these times of financial crisis to focus on the emotional needs of the survivors. Another implication for practice could be better communication between the institution and the employees in times of financial crisis resulting in workforce reduction. Participant 2 expressed a need for some shared decision making, indicating that decisions were made without much input of those within the organization.

Another important implication for practice is a review of how workloads are redistributed during the aftermath of restructuring due to workforce reduction. Participant 4 articulated the need for better workload redistribution and communication: “It’s less people doing the same amount of work. Or less people, and the expectations haven’t changed.” Participant 3 expressed how the nearly 2 years of the COVID-19 pandemic were a blur; they had to do the work of four people because three positions were eliminated.

An additional implication is one of appropriate communication. Institutions should be mindful of how they are communicating their values or, in the case of Jesuit institutions, their tenets. Upon the establishment of a baseline of understanding *magis*, *cura personalis*, and *cura apostolica*, the research revealed that *magis* (Latin for “to do more” in a way that speaks to striving for personal excellence) has been bastardized to mean “to do to more work.” Participant 2 articulated that “*magis* means more, but not in the capacity of adding additional items to your plate, but more in striving for excellence, striving for better.” Furthermore, the interviews brought to light a sense of suspicion with respect to new terminology. Three participants articulated that they had never heard of *cura apostolica* before the workforce reduction, with one citing additionally that the tenet had only been

shared in an email, even though the term is 50 years old. Communication in times of reduction in force is crucial to providing the survivor workforce with a sense of calm.

Suggestions for Future Research

Reduction in force is a necessary element for businesses, great and small, public and private, for-profit and nonprofit. No entity is immune from the need for workforce reduction. Researchers may be interested in doing comparative studies on reduction in force in non-Jesuit Catholic institutions of higher education to explore the likelihood that the themes and subthemes expressed in this study would be present as well. While Jesuit tenets are specific to the Society of Jesus, researchers could likely point to similarities in thought processes and outcomes. Furthermore, additional studies could be done from the perspective of secular private or public schools to identify any similarities in outcomes and conclusions.

Future research could also be conducted on the weight of words, specifically how buzzwords/tenets/credos within a corporate/educational/business culture either strengthen or weaken said culture, especially during times of crisis such as one that is financial. While the terms *magis*, *cura personalis*, and *cura apostolica* are specific to the Society of Jesus, what they describe—striving for excellence, caring for others, and caring for the organization—are not unique to them.

Finally, research could be conducted on the impact of the emerging concept of quiet quitting on an organization that espouses a tenet like *magis*, to do more, and the bastardized version, to do more work. Quiet quitting is the concept of doing the bare minimum of one's job and actively avoiding taking on more work in an effort to maintain a desired work/life balance (Rosalsky & Selyukh, 2022). Does quiet quitting put the pursuit of excellence in jeopardy, or does it create boundaries around certain tasks such as leaving work on time or

not checking emails on personal time (Strahilevitz, 2022)? Either way, more research could be done on the topic to examine how future workforces will view their employment needs.

Concluding Thoughts

The researcher sought to answer three research questions:

RQ1: How does being employed at a Jesuit school, with its emphasis on the tenets of *cura personalis*, *cura apostolica* and *magis*, impact employee attitudes toward reduction in workforce?

RQ2: What are the opinions of survivors of workforce reduction with respect to *cura personalis* or *cura apostolica* in support of arguments against or in defense of reduction in force?

RQ3: In what ways does Jesuit inculcation create a heightened sense of employment expectations, whether stated or implied?

Based on the research, the following themes and subthemes emerged. Revealed was the attitude that *cura apostolica* receives greater privilege over *cura personalis* during workforce reduction and was articulated by the participants in three ways: (a) participants felt that workforce reduction was personal; (b) participants felt that they were exploited in the name of *cura apostolica* and *magis*; and (c) Jesuit tenets such as *cura personalis* and *magis* fail to create a heightened sense of employment security. Instead, employment security was attributed to length of employment.

Because reduction in force will always be a necessary evil to mitigate financial strains to an organization, more research can be done on the subject of how employees react to workforce reduction and what impact, if any, does the prevailing corporate culture have on the attitudes of the surviving employees.

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Appendix A

Informed Consent Form



Saint Peter's
UNIVERSITY

Department of Education

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

FOR PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

PROJECT TITLE: An examination of the impact of Jesuit tenets on attitudes toward workforce reduction

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Claudia Pope-Bayne

MENTOR: Dr. Jung-ah Choi

SPU SPONSOR:

INTRODUCTION

You are invited to consider participating in this research project. Please take as much time as you need to make your decision. Feel free to discuss your decision with whomever you wish, but remember that the decision to participate, or not to participate, is yours. If you decide to participate, please sign and date where indicated at the end of this form.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this qualitative research study is to understand how being employed at a Jesuit school of higher education, with its emphasis on the tenets of *cura personalis*, *cura apostolica* and *magis*, impacts employee attitudes toward workforce reduction. Furthermore, the researcher is interested in the opinions of participants, those who did not lose their employment status because of workforce reduction, with respect to *cura personalis* or *cura apostolica* in support of

arguments against or in defense of workforce reduction. The researcher is also interested in the ways Jesuit inculcation may create a heightened sense of employment expectations, whether stated or implied. The researcher hopes to add to the limited body of knowledge that exists regarding the intersection of Jesuit tenets and workforce reduction.

PROJECT PLAN

You are being asked to take part in this research because you are currently employed at a Jesuit institution of higher education. It is the intent of the researcher to understand the impact the Jesuit tenets of *cura apostolica*, *cura personalis* and *magis* have on employee attitudes toward workforce reduction at Jesuit institutions of higher education. The research will be looking at attitudes toward workforce reduction by individuals employed at a Jesuit institution of higher education during a time of workforce reduction.

If you decide to participate in this research, you will be asked employment questions as well as questions about Jesuit tenets and workforce reduction. You will not be asked any questions that are considered controversial or sensitive in nature.

You can expect to participate in one virtual interview session for 45 minutes. The virtual interview will be audio and video recorded for transcription purposes and to ensure the accuracy and authenticity of the data provided by participants. At all times the information provided to the researcher will be protected on a password protected laptop. Participant privacy and confidentiality is of the utmost concern of the researcher. At no point will personal information be included in the research. Participants will be assigned a unique identifier for the duration of the research and beyond.

RISKS

There are minimal risks associated with participating in this research. It is possible, but highly unlikely, that this research could cause emotional distress if participants become upset when revealing thoughts or attitudes they have regarding how reduction in workforce may have impacted colleagues, family or friends. If this is the case, the researcher will pause the interview and allow the participant sufficient time to compose him/herself before continuing with the interview. Because participants may be colleagues of the researcher, there may be feelings of vulnerability or risk related to the work relationship. The researcher will try to reduce this risk by conducting one on one interviews and the strictest levels of confidentiality will be maintained including not disclosing participants' names or employment information such as department, title, employment longevity or tenure status and assigning unique identifiers. Furthermore, all recorded interviews will be stored on a personal, password protected laptop and deleted upon formal submission of the researcher's dissertation.

BENEFITS

If you agree to take part in this research, there will be no direct benefit to you; however, the information gathered in this research may be considered useful by future researchers who wish to better understand the impact the Jesuit tenets of *cura apostolica*, *cura personalis* and *magis* have on employee attitudes toward workforce reduction at Jesuit institutions of higher education. Future implications of this research may include research into the improvements in the rollout methods of workforce reduction, communication with employees regarding Jesuit tenets and communication with employees regarding workforce reduction as well as overall impressions of both Jesuit tenets and workforce reduction.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Every effort will be made to keep any information collected about you confidential. However, it is impossible to guarantee absolute confidentiality. In order to keep information about you safe, the researcher will be taking the utmost precautions to ensure that all personal information provided is kept safe. Unique identifiers will be used for each participant. All data will be contained on a password protected laptop with which only the researcher will have access. No data or identifiable information will be shared beyond the researcher. Physical copies of any information such as consent forms will be shredded upon completion of the research. At the conclusion of this study and once the researcher's dissertation has been formally accepted and published onto ProQuest, by June 2023 at the latest, all digital records such as recordings of interviews will be permanently deleted.

POLICIES AND PROCEDURES FOR RESEARCH-RELATED INJURIES

Researchers will make every effort to prevent research-related injuries and illnesses. If you are injured or become ill while you are in the study, you will receive emergency medical care. The costs of this care will be charged to you or to your health insurer. No funds have been made available by Saint Peter's University or its affiliates, or any government agency, to compensate you for a research-related injury or illness.

YOUR RIGHTS AS A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You can choose not to participate at all, or to withdraw at any point. If you decide not to participate, or to withdraw, there will be no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled, or any effect on your relationship with the researcher, or any other negative consequences.

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

I understand all of the information in this Consent Form. I have gotten complete answers for all of my questions. I freely and voluntarily agree to participate in this research project. I understand that I can withdraw at any time. My signature also indicates that I am 18 years of age or older and that I have received a copy of this consent form.

Participant Signature

Date

Printed Name of Participant

Once you sign this form, you will receive a copy of it to keep and the researcher will keep another copy.

I understand that I will be video recorded as a part of this research.

Please indicate whether you agree to be video recorded as a part of this research.

YES *(If you change your mind about this at any point, please let the researcher know)*

NO

Participant Signature

Date

Printed Name of Participant

Appendix B

Interview Research Questions

Doctoral Dissertation Interview Research Questions:

- Personal/biographical
 - Name?
 - Title?
 - Place of employment?
 - Is this a Jesuit institution?
 - How long have you been employed at said Jesuit institution?
 - Did you work in Higher Ed prior? If so, names of institutions. Were they private or public?
 - If first time in higher ed, what industry(ies) were you employed in previously?
 - Are you Jesuit educated? High school? College, masters, doctoral?
- Jesuit tenets
 - Please define the following to the best of your ability:
 - *Magis*
 - *Cura personalis*
 - *Cura apostolica*
 - In what ways are these terms being used by your current institution?
 - Which groups are these tenets applied to by your current institution?
 - In what ways do you personally use these terms in the course of your work?
 - Which groups are these tenets applied to by you in the course of your work?
 - How have you applied these terms to your personal work ethic?

- Workforce reduction
 - How would you define workforce reduction?
 - Did your institution utilize workforce reduction during 2020 or 2021 (the early years of the COVID-19 pandemic)?
 - Please describe your experience during that workforce reduction.
 - Describe your feelings in response to the workforce reduction
 - Have you experienced workforce reduction previously? At a Jesuit institution or elsewhere?

- Workforce reduction and Jesuit tenets
 - To the best of your ability, do you recall your institution invoking any of these Jesuit tenets- *magis*, *cura personalis* or *cura apostolica* during the reduction?
 - How did it make you feel?
 - Describe your feelings about the workforce reduction of 2020/2021 using the lenses of *cura personalis*, *cura apostolica* and *magis*
 - Is there anything else you'd like to share on this topic?

Appendix C

Themes from Findings

An examination of the impact of Jesuit tenets on attitudes toward workforce reduction

Dissertation Themes

1. Tension between *cura personalis* and *cura apostolica*

This theme speaks to the idea that *cura personalis* and *cura apostolica* are two sides of the same coin and co-exist in a manner that appears to allow for only one side to be dominant at a given time, moreover, with one side almost negating the existence of the other side of the coin.

- **Care for the institution forgetting the institution is made of individuals**
 - “How we care for the institution. I think when I hear that sometimes I think we forget that the institution is people.” - Participant #4
 - “It sounds like [institution] is this like [a] corporate monster that is just using people to feed itself.” - Participant #4
 - “But that’s sometimes the mentality, as we get smaller the demands don’t change - that’s a tough one, and I have heard that from different colleagues.” - Participant #4
 - “I just knew [what] *cura personalis* is. I felt that [it] was total hypocrisy if they are talking about that.” - Participant #7
 - “ This is what we have to do, and everybody kind of suck it up and figure it out where I’m like, whatever the *cura personalis* in, and in a sense of *cura personalis*, I think, asking for input and having some shared decision making, and I feel like those decisions were made without a lot of input.” Participant #2

- **Suspicious newness of *cura apostolica* - introduced during financial crisis**
 - “Why have we never heard this term before?” - Participant #4
 - “This is a term that was kind of brought out and dusted off in 2020” - participant #4
 - “I have only seen once and heard once in an email sent from the administrator at the [school Church] and it was in reference to trying to understand how we take care of where we care for the people, the parishioners of [the Church].”
Participant #1
 - “I feel like it’s a little bit. of a newer term, and some of the vocabulary that we’ve been using at [my institution] - Participant #2
 - “...*Cura apostolica* and our past President really coming in and tying some of that language to messaging and including those terms in her messaging to the university community, certainly to alumni and donors to parents”. Participant #6 in response to the financial stability project at their institution
- ***Cura personalis* suffering at the hands of *cura apostolica***
 - “I feel more and more because of workforce reduction. that every little department is just trying to survive, and we’re not as integrated as we used to be, and that’s hard I mean when I have to tell a colleague no not just a department, but someone that I know I don’t think we have the bandwidth to do this that wasn’t the case 10 years ago.” - Participant #4
 - “But you know what the sad thing that I’m noticing is that departments are now isolating right when [the institution] starts working against itself because of workforce reduction. You know we’re already siloed.” - Participant #4

- “We have fallen away from that and we’ve gotten a little bit kind of into this is what we have to do, and everybody kind of suck it up and figure it out where I’m like whatever the *cura personalis* in I think, asking for input and having some shared decision making, and I feel like those decisions were made without a lot of input.” - Participant #2
- “[During the workforce reduction], I would say not *cura personalis*, because if that was the case, certain people would never have been let go...” - Participant #7

2. The weight of words

This theme speaks to the idea that the tenets of *magis*, *cura apostolica* and *cura personalis* carry weight and when used inaccurately by the institution can be weaponized against the workforce

○ The importance of knowing the terminology

■ *Cura apostolica*

- “I believe it’s care for the institution so that one we hear a lot of [at institution] in terms of you know what we need to do, and proceed in a way that’s best for [institution] both from the standpoint or it’s finding the balance so between you know what’s the best thing financially.” Participant # 5
- “*Cura apostolica* - care for the institution.” Participant #6
- “...I think it means care for the organization.” Participant #2
- “So, I only know this because it’s been its popped up recently. I assume it just means the care for the apostle. The followers of Jesus I’m assuming again. Actually, I really don’t know much about it.” Participant #1
- “Oh, this is a new one for me that I only started hearing during the pandemic- care

of the institution. And I thought, “Boy, I’ve been here for 17 years, and I’ve never heard this word.” Participant #4

- “I’ve never heard of it.” Participant #3
- “I’m not familiar with that. But it sounds like it has to do more with the institution of the Church rather than the everyday goings on of the institution.” - Participant #7
- ***Cura Personalis***
- “So, as I understand it, it is to care for the whole person. So not just physically, but emotionally, spiritually. All different aspects of the person.” - Participant #2
- “Care for the whole person, body, mind, and spirit.” - Participant #6
- “Care for the whole person. It means that when, as a Jesuit educated person, when you interact with people, you should not simply interact with them on one level.” - Participant #1
- “The other way of saying it has always been treating each student, you know one of the times...understanding each student.” “And I I would say as a result, being flexible in our understanding of them and our and treating them as that individual[s].” - Participant #7
- “Care for the whole person.” “So that’s a big one for me especially as over the past several years.” “But for my team, you know it, there are times during the year when we’re busy and you know we’re working long hours that I want to be sure that they’re taking time for themselves and trying their best to maintain a healthy work life balance.” - Participant #5
- “Caring for the whole person - body, mind, spirit, soul!” - Participant #4

- “*Cura personalis* is really taking care of the whole person while we’re educating our students. We can’t just be thinking about their academics, we have to think about all of the other things that are making them into well rounded individuals, and able to kind of send them off into the world in a better place than they were when they started, and to be able to make a difference in the world...” -

Participant #3

- ***Magis***

- “*Magis* from my perspective, is when presented with two relatively equal choices you would choose the option that has the greater benefit for the greater good for the glory of God.” - Participant 6

- “I guess like finding God and everything. That’s, in my opinion, is what we’re supposed to be trying to do great.” - Participant 3

- “That is Latin for more...And in my mind to me that just means whether I’m in the classroom as a graduate student, or it’s during my full-time work that I’m always striving to do the best that I can to do more than what’s required of me to go the extra mile and so on.” - Participant #5

- “The way I see it, it means more, but not in the capacity of adding additional items to your plate, but more in striving for excellence, striving for better.” - Participant #2

- “So *magis* just means the more but it is not doing more for the sake of doing more.” - Participant #4

- “*Magis* is the more - going deeper, going above and beyond.” - Participant #1

sucked in. We are doing more. They keep asking us to do more.” - Participant #2

- “[They] used the term *magis* for the financial equilibrium [efforts], which is the *Magis* Project.” “In retrospect. I don’t think that that was very well liked or well received on campus, because I don’t think that it’s really accurate in terms of the definition of what the project was that we’re all and then what was really happening. It was almost kind of like we were presented with terrible choices, and it’s really unfortunate.” “I think that was not that was not appreciated by the larger university community.” - Participant #6
- **Heightened sense of employment expectations because of *magis* and/or *cura personalis*?**
 - “I can easily tell you that I did until I saw what had occurred during the period of layoffs so I don’t now have a heightened sense of job security, but I certainly didn’t.” - Participant #7
 - “But we’re all sucked in and so committed to the mission that sometimes it’s lost.” -Participant #2
 - “I think for some long-time employees of [my institution]. Maybe that is the case for people that have been here for decades.” - Participant #6
 - “I guess maybe a little confidence, I guess, like it. It was never like I never felt like it was always guaranteed that there would never be workforce reduction.” - Participant #5

- “Again, I feel like the [institution] was really paying more attention to what the [institution] had to do to survive instead of taking care of the people that they let go.” - Participant #3
- “Was it *magis*, sure? I think that used to be the case? I don’t think it is anymore.” - Participant #4
- “So we’re constantly told to do more, to go deeper and do more. And do the *magis* which, if not done properly, can be dangerous. So, I think employees, and my experience has been well, you just take this on, or you take that on. You take on added extended responsibilities under the guise of your living?” - Participant #1

3. The psychological impact of workforce reduction in a Jesuit environment

This theme speaks to the ways in which workforce reduction is experienced and regarded in a Jesuit environment

- **Workforce reduction - It’s personal. Eliminating people rather than positions.**
 - “[I would define it] as unnecessary. That was the first word, you know, how it is when you’re at a certain level in the institution.” “In the past couple of years...very rarely do people leave voluntarily.” “And when they have to leave it’s sort of heartbreaking, especially for people that you know.” “It was one of disappointment. And again, how much money are they saving...?” - Participant #7
 - “And we need to cut expenses so you’re either furloughing people or laying them off. But I also look at it, too, in when they’re opportunities to reorganize, and there may be reduction, and maybe not even in people, but within departments,

because someone might be moved to a different department so as much as maybe someone's not losing their job a department might be losing a person redundancy." - Participant #2

- "I would say that, reduction and the size of your workforce, and perhaps also the scope of programming that you provide." - Participant #6
- "I think that's it. I mean it's when you have less people to carry out the job that needs to be done." -Participant #5
- "So in my mind workforce reduction is, I guess, laying people off due to budgetary cuts. - Participant #3
- "It's less people doing the same amount of work. Or less people, and the expectations haven't changed." - Participant #4
- "In my experience the elimination of positions and people. For monetary reasons that has been my experience." - Participant #1

○ **Running on empty**

- "So, in my 13 years at [school] it seems like we have constantly been running deficits. At the end of each year, and I have heard many different explanations for why, we run budget deficits each year." "I will say that since we keep running these budget deficits, I knew that some support staff and administrators would be the group that would be targeted to try to eliminate..." Participant #1
- "I think for nearly 2 years I was by myself. I can't remember it's like kind of a blur, and it was one of the hardest times of my life, and not just because of being all about myself, but just being at home and trying to be a kindergarten teacher, and trying to work and, like, maintain the office." Participant #3

- “Sometimes I feel like, yeah we’re right in the middle of performance review season ‘here set goals for next year,’ and I’m looking at people that are already burned out...” Participant #4
- “Oh, you need me to do 2 jobs for the price of one that’s what you need.”
Participant #4
- “We hired somebody in January - our whole staff wasn’t back. We’re really lacking in physical space so this person was put. He was a gift officer, and was put at our administrative assistance desk, and each day he’d get bumped around like, Oh, go sit there, No, you can’t sit there and I was what I’m like here’s this guy brand new to the college. So, he’s not ingrained at all, and we’re bumping around like he’s a piece of meat.” - Participant #2
- **At the mercy of the mission**
 - “We have the bad habit of sometimes keeping piling things onto our plate. And we always say it’s because we want to keep doing more and try to, and trying to live out that mission and value.” Participant #5
 - “There’s so many of us that are so committed to the mission into these things like *magis* and *cura personalis*, and you know all these different things that we kind of joke that we’re kind of suckers...” “Sometimes we’re not treated all that well. In the sense of, you know, [of] getting a proper title or getting the proper pay raise. -
“Participant #2
 - “Take on it of responsibilities, because you’re living out the mission, which is dangerous, because that because the *magis* isn’t taking on more responsibility, it’s doing what you’re doing well, and above and beyond and so if you just keep

getting things added on without compensation, or without that's not healthy." -

Participant #1

○ **Leaning in to *cura apostolica* - I'm just grateful to have a job**

- "...my boss would basically say you're really lucky to have a job. And I'm thinking, 'I feel that like right now.'" - Participant #2
- "I feel like the college was really paying more attention to what the college had to do to survive instead of taking care of the people that they let go. But they just, again, we're doing what they needed to don't" - Participant #3
- "In response to the work...I guess I would just add that, you know, in addition to the, like, relief and feeling blessed, and then the sadness." -Participant #3
- "I'm dedicated to the institution as a whole, and don't wanna see it fail." "So, I wasn't happy but it didn't change my loyalty to [my school], because...I understand that this is what happens, but nobody likes it, it's always the same." "And so, even if it's not the right decision I mean it could be in the long run [it's] the right decision."- Participant #7