

# **CALIFORNIA COMMUNITY COLLEGES: PRINCIPLES AND LEADERSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF HIGHER EDUCATION**

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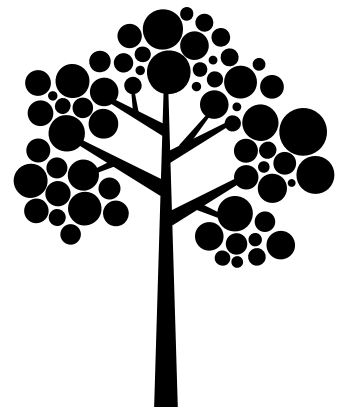
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## ABSTRACT

**RESOLUTION 13.04, “A DOCUMENT IN SUPPORT of an Academic Culture,”** adopted at the Fall 2007 plenary session, asked the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges (Academic Senate) to “create a document that sets out the basic elements of a higher education institution, particularly within California’s community college system.” Addressing this resolution prompts a wider reflection on the role of educational institutions within their historical and social contexts. Describing the elements of a higher education institution also prompts a discussion of similarities and differences between California’s community colleges and K-12 institutions on the one hand, and California’s public baccalaureate-granting entities on the other. While this paper makes no new recommendations, it makes explicit the assumptions that underlie a range of existing Academic Senate positions, resolutions, and recommendations in a broader context than has sometimes been the case. This broader context is especially relevant given the ongoing need of modern societies for an educated and highly skilled citizenry in spite of boom and bust economic cycles incapable of supporting all levels of education consistently. The issues addressed in this paper are also relevant to ongoing debates about “standards-based” and “outcomes-based” education and the fear that calls for accountability and external oversight of higher education suggest an ultimate goal of standardizing higher education curriculum and its delivery.

## INTRODUCTION

*“History is philosophy teaching by example.”<sup>1</sup> Thucydides*

**IN THE 1990S, CRITICISMS OF COMMUNITY** colleges came from both inside and outside of the academy. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*: the more things change, the more they stay the same. Resolution 1.02, “Faculty Perspective on the Future,” passed in Spring 1997, begins, “Whereas during the last decade there have been numerous documents published by non-academic entities recommending the future direction of higher education in California...”<sup>2</sup> Resolution 1.02 asked the Academic Senate to “develop a position paper articulating the faculty perspective on the future direction of the California community colleges.” In response to Resolution 1.02, the Academic Senate adopted the paper *The Future of the Community College: A Faculty Perspective* in Fall 1998. In the late 1990s, criticisms of community colleges came from external critics and from administrators on community college campuses anxious to share the benefits of “total quality management” and “continuous quality improvement,” as though faculty had been disdainful of either quality or improvement. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, Nancy Shulock and the Institute For Higher Education Leadership and Policy at California State University, Sacramento, have similarly presumed to know better than community college practitioners how to serve the needs of California’s millions of community college students *and* how to do so without advocating for the funding necessary to make increased rates of success achievable. Where *The Future of the Community College* addressed the mission, values, and means necessary to making both a reality in a *forward*-looking perspective, this paper examines aspects of the history of education, California higher education, and the role of California community colleges within California public higher education in order to underscore the ongoing need for access and support for community colleges. Access to community colleges must be maintained if California is not to forfeit its position of leadership within American and global society. The conclusions reached in *The Future of the Community College* become even more certain in light of this history.

In Fall 2007, the Academic Senate adopted Resolution 13.04, “A Document in Support of an Academic Culture”:

Whereas, Some California community college administrators are from outside our system and do not understand the importance of collegial consultation and transparency in California’s publicly funded institutions of higher education;

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<sup>1</sup> Remark attributed to Thucydides by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in *Ars Rhetorica*, ch. 11, sect. 2.

<sup>2</sup> So reads the first Whereas of S97 Resolution 1.02, “Faculty Perspectives on the Future,” which prompted the writing of “The Future of the Community College: A Faculty Perspective.”

Whereas, It is of vital importance that all community college employees are reminded that just because an institution has a budget, it doesn't mean that it is a business; that just because our students pay fees, they are not customers; and just because managers have adopted such titles as Chief Instruction Officers, Chief Executive Officers, and Chief Business Officers, they are not corporate officers but managers whose jobs are to provide the necessary resources for all faculty to serve our students and missions; and

Whereas, Academe's traditional respect for critical and deliberative consultation is supported by Title 5, the California Education Code, and faculty that are tirelessly devoted to quality courses and a healthy curriculum;

Resolved, That the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges create a document that sets out the basic elements of a higher education institution, particularly within California's Community College System.

While Resolution 13.04 did not refer to the 1998 paper (*The Future of the Community College: A Faculty Perspective*), it raises many of the same broader questions that led to the 1998 paper. On reflection, there are several questions implicit in Resolution 13.04, among them:

What is education? How is higher education distinct from primary and secondary (K-12) education? What is distinctive about academic culture?

How is academic culture distinct from commercial culture? What is the nature of the service colleges provide to students? What contribution does public higher education make to contemporary society that a for-profit model cannot or does not provide?

How did higher education in California develop? How did the 1960 Master Plan shape the already-existing elements of higher education in California?

How are California community colleges distinct from other public sectors of education in California? How did AB 1725 refocus the character of California community college education?

What contribution does collegial consultation make to effective institutional leadership in higher education?

What is distinctive about effective leadership in the California community college setting?

What *are* the basic elements of a higher education institution?

## WHAT IS EDUCATION? WHAT IS AN ACADEMIC CULTURE?

**IT IS SOBERING TO CONSIDER HOW** dramatically the economic character of American society has changed in the past century. At the dawn of the 20th century, over half of the American public still lived in agricultural communities. The twentieth century saw the United States become the world's greatest industrial power, only to export industrial manufacturing jobs and evolve even further into an economy in which information and service-sector jobs predominate. As the economy into which educated individuals seek employment evolves, educational institutions must also evolve in order to effectively prepare students for the world that awaits them. The one constant attribute which serves students is the capacity for critical thinking. A student who is trained to do a job is lost when the job disappears; the student who is trained to think can adjust as economic circumstances evolve. Given the astonishing pace of economic and social change in the past century, it is worthwhile to look briefly at education over a longer arc.

All human societies need a mechanism for passing knowledge from generation to generation and schooling is the most common formal method. Human beings are unique in their inability to function in the world without the benefit of knowledge accumulated by their predecessors. Human beings need a foundation of continuity to provide structure for daily life. Some periods in human history have been characterized by amazing stability, but that has not been the case for the last few centuries. It might easily be argued that human beings face their most significant challenges ever in the early 21st century in the emergence of global trade combined with unprecedented environmental challenges. Human beings have lived for the past century or more in a period of unprecedented historical transformation; as observed by Karl Marx, “Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions... All that is solid melts into air.”<sup>3</sup>

The advent and dominance of the written word first provides societies with the ability to separate *teaching* from *teacher* and the potential for critical thinking, and it is no accident that philosophy—in both East and West—originates only after the development of written language allows the reader to separate the teaching from the teacher. It is no accident that Plato most feared the persistent influence of poets and storytellers, for the authority of those *forms* of language undermined the critical capacity that Plato believed both individuals and societies require to find their way through a changing world. Similarly in ancient China one can see the beginnings of a multi-millennial rivalry between the didactic teachings of Confucius and the poetic teachings of Lao Tzu, with his insistence that “the Tao that can be told is not the eternal Tao.”<sup>4</sup>

The availability of written language, however, does not guarantee that language or the written word is considered critically. Advertisers and politicians have more to gain from language which is responded to emotionally than they do to an audience which considers their claims critically. That is why composition, rhetoric, and communication studies are such crucial and ubiquitous disciplines in colleges across America. Though a literate culture makes critical thinking possible, it takes education to make critical thinking a

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<sup>3</sup> Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, translated by Samuel Moore, with an introduction by A. J. P. Taylor (New York: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> *Tao Te Ching*, translated by Gia-Fu Feng and Jane English, introduction and notes by Jacob Needleman (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), p.3



natural response for human beings. The earliest European universities began as places where one could ask questions that would be frowned upon elsewhere and consider answers that challenged received traditions.

In some historical settings, it is possible to see education as *both* a means of passing along knowledge from the past relatively unscathed, *and* as a process in which one embraces and transcends received knowledge to articulate answers and approaches not present in established tradition. Every society needs a conservative tradition on which to build, and most societies benefit from the development that results when old questions are asked in new ways and new answers are formulated in response to old questions. It is perhaps the common quality of many of the great intellectual reformers in human history that they have been able to distill and transcend tradition simultaneously, as Socrates presented himself as an intellectual Achilles or as Jesus and Muhammad both honored and transformed Jewish monotheism into something recognizably continuous and clearly new. An academic culture may emphasize conservative or progressive impulses as it emphasizes the need for tradition or innovation, past or future, security or opportunity, but inevitably both impulses are present.

An academic culture asks questions. The word academy comes from the setting of Plato's philosophical school, from the Greek,

Akademeia "grove of Akademos," a legendary Athenian of the Trojan War tales (his name apparently means "of a silent district"), whose estate, six stadia from Athens, was the enclosure where Plato taught his school. Sense broadened 16c. into any school or training place. Poetic form Academe first attested 1588 in sense of "academy;" 1849 with meaning "the world of universities and scholarship," from phrase the groves of Academe, translating Horace's *silvas Academi*; in this sense, Academia is recorded from 1956.<sup>5</sup>

Plato also recognized that asking questions was dangerous; it was the insistence of his teacher, Socrates, on asking questions in public that led to his indictment on charges of impiety and his subsequent execution. Plato concluded that it is best to educate society through institutions that introduce the young into pressing questions of the age.

Both American K-12 and higher education have their roots in the Protestant Christian version of this dialectic. To the degree that they were *Christians*, the founders of Harvard College accepted as beyond question the foundation of historical Christianity; they honored tradition as they understood it. To the degree that they were good *Protestants*, they also accepted the Protestant willingness to question *Catholic* Christian interpretations of a broad range of Christian doctrines: thus both conservative and progressive attitudes underlay the foundations of American education. A more detailed history of American education would be incomplete without a discussion of the role of denominational education within American education, especially with regard to Native Americans and new immigrants. High rates of literacy in colonial New England had their roots, in part, in the Protestant expectation that every Christian be able to read the scriptures.

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<sup>5</sup> "academy." Online Etymology Dictionary. Douglas Harper, Historian. 16 Nov. 2008. <Dictionary.com <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/academy>>.

We should also observe one distinct difference between K-12 and higher education. K-12 education is seldom intended to question accepted social mores; it seeks to reinforce them. K-12 education is one of the most powerful socializing institutions in societies that have formal institutions for education. Entry into society and economy virtually always means acceptance, not questioning, of the status quo. Schools provide what every parent in principle desires for their child, the ability to provide for oneself once the parent is unable to provide for the child, and in a world in which economic activity exists outside of the household, K-12 education is intended to provide young people with both the social and intellectual skills to achieve economic success. Neither the parent nor the employer wants their own authority to be questioned and there are good reasons for elders in the home and workplace to expect young people to first learn “how things are done.” The child/student cannot improve on a tradition or practice of which they are ignorant. Students have to learn to follow before they can lead.

By the early 19th century, the American economy had come to place increased emphasis on production for market and this in turn meant that students needed greater education about the world outside of local practices. The Civil War provided an enormous boost to mass production, which further propelled the American economy after Reconstruction. The 20th century led to the advent of more technologies than can be listed here. Thus the focus of modern education has shifted away from the passing on of inherited values, especially religious ones, to skills relevant to an increasingly economically oriented social fabric. It's not an accident that 19th century America saw the widespread acceptance of *both* large-scale capitalism and universal education: *someone* had to train all those workers. The United States led the world in developing universal mandatory education and, in the course of the 20th century, overtook and surpassed European colleges and universities as centers of research and teaching in many fields. By the later 19th century, it began to be clear that educational institutions needed to prepare students for a rapidly changing world.

## HOW IS HIGHER EDUCATION DISTINCT FROM K-12 EDUCATION?

**AS DISCUSSED PREVIOUSLY, ONE OF THE** primary goals of most forms of schooling is socialization of the young. The American structure for this process of socialization differs markedly from state to state. In spite of federal interventions into education such as No Child Left Behind and the Higher Education Act, education is a responsibility primarily exercised by the states, and states vary widely in the way they administer this responsibility. Although No Child Left Behind is primarily understood as focusing on narrowing achievement gaps, it also includes non-educational provisions requiring schools to release contact information to military recruiters and to adopt an abstinence-focused approach to sex education. Some states adopt a ‘hands-off’ approach to regulation and leave oversight of schools to locally elected school boards. Despite its clear importance to American social and economic prosperity, education does not fall under the 14th amendment’s requirement for “equal protection of the laws.” In *San Antonio v. Rodriguez* (1973), the U.S. Supreme Court held that there is no fundamental right to education and held further that states are under no obligation to fund public schools equitably (see the appendix for more information on the case and its relevance to California higher education). Aspects of education as fundamental as the books that may be used also vary from state to state: both California and Texas require that textbooks be approved by state agencies before local K-12 school districts can adopt them, and the size of the California and Texas marketplace for textbooks is such that book publishers may be hesitant to include content that might jeopardize adoption of their texts in these states. Thus the textbook image of society that schoolchildren are socialized into varies from state to state and often even within states. “From the publishers’ point of view, the educational system is a market, but from the point of view of the schools it is a rough kind of democracy. If a state or a school district wants a certain kind of textbook—a certain kind of truth—should it not have it?”<sup>6</sup>

Reliance on textbooks has the additional, hopefully unintended, effect of diminishing respect for teachers, since instead of being masters of the subjects they teach, they are now conduits for the delivery of commercially created textbook content. In college “markets,” textbooks are “supplemented” with a host of ancillary products (such as slide sets, websites, and test banks) intended to make teaching easier. Perhaps the extreme case of textbook-as-teacher comes in the “e-packs” via which textbook publishers provide all the content necessary for “teaching” to take place via online delivery. K-12 teachers in California schools have little choice about the texts and supplemental materials they use. College faculty should be wary of “helps” that might eventually “help” them out of a job or to the same diminished oversight of their classroom that prevails in elementary, middle, and high schools. “In the nineteenth century, a heavy reliance on textbooks was the distinguishing mark of American education; it was called ‘the American system’ by Europeans. The texts were substitutes for well-trained teachers; in some parts of the country, they constituted the whole of a school’s library and the only books a child would read on the subject of, say, American history.”<sup>7</sup>

While every state has its own unique history, the pace of change for California has been extreme even by American standards. The discovery of gold led to the overnight intermingling of European/East Coast culture on top of the Indian/Spanish/colonial roots of California that has led to rapid social evolution. As a

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<sup>6</sup> Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Fitzgerald, p. 19.

society marked by rapid change and diversity, California lies at the “progressive” extreme with regard to the variety of social challenges for which educational institutes need to prepare Californians, whether they are descended from pre-gold rush families or are very recently arrived.

There is a very wide range of questions and answers one readily encounters in American colleges that could not easily be discussed in a high school classroom. This doesn't mean the students would not be capable of discussing the issue, but that the parents in the district would have difficulty with several of a variety of approaches that might be taken in discussing the issue in the classroom, and the parents in turn (even if only a few) would convey their displeasure to their locally elected trustees. College students routinely study American history, especially as regards to slavery or the treatment of Native Americans, from perspectives most high school teachers could not be confident of presenting without controversy. American college students study the religions of the world without the presumption that students subscribe to any particular religion, or religion at all. These generalizations clearly will vary from community to community. Some communities are no doubt more tolerant regarding the asking of certain kinds of questions, but the promise of academic freedom is generally extended to college faculty but not to teachers in K-12 settings. Some students may not have their first meaningful exposure to Darwin and the theory of natural selection until they enter a college classroom. Marx and Freud are perhaps less studied today, but the waning of attention to their works in college classrooms is not the result of fear of discussing their theories, but rather the evolution of their disciplines. Art students in high schools are unlikely to do figure studies from nude models, but that is a common occurrence in college art classrooms. Unlike higher education, public school teachers in K-12 systems do not enjoy academic freedom and their students are not exposed to the opportunities for critical thinking that academic freedom makes possible.

## EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AS INITIATION INTO ADULTHOOD

**THERE IS ANOTHER FUNCTION PLAYED BY** American (and other) colleges (and not only community colleges). Colleges and universities provide a transition into the responsibilities of adulthood. This is the result not only of the common age of initial college attendance, but the fact that the structure of college instruction presumes that students do the majority of their coursework outside of class. There are no truant officers on college campuses, and students must learn to regulate their own behavior without parental encouragement or supervision in order to achieve academic success. While parental involvement in student progress is very desirable for K-12 students, the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) makes it illegal for college teachers or counselors to discuss their students' progress without the express permission of their students. While students are hopefully learning to accept adult responsibility in high school, in college they have to actually practice it.

Developing personal independence as a function of higher education is also a result of the fact that many students traditionally “went away” to college. Living in dormitories and being free of close parental oversight meant that some college students got into mischief (e.g., experimenting with alcohol), but it also meant that college students found themselves in circumstances where they had to rely on themselves and their peers to begin developing an adult capacity for responsibility. They also had to be able to account for the answers they gave to difficult questions without relying exclusively on family traditions or values. This aspect of the college experience is most closely associated with colleges with a residential component, which is rare in California community colleges. Nevertheless, California community colleges increasingly also provide an opportunity for students to develop independence and responsibility. On average, community college students work more hours per week than their peers at four-year colleges, and community college students are more likely to be attending classes in the same community as their family; increasingly, community college students are responsible for families of their own. The result is that many students at four-year colleges develop independence in a setting remote from family and fiscal necessity, while community college students learn to be adults by mixing ongoing education with family and workplace responsibilities.

Students in residential college settings are in the best setting to complete degrees. They are generally able to enroll as full-time students and their circumstance are more likely to be organized to make educational goals their highest priority. The lack of awareness of financial aid or the unwillingness to take on debt means that community college students are much more likely to be part-time students, taking longer to meet their academic goals and more likely to be waylaid by other responsibilities along the way. Those who want to see community college students complete measureable objectives more quickly should focus their attention on making it more feasible for community college students to enroll as full-time students *and* to have the time outside of class to complete coursework.

## HOW IS EDUCATION DISTINCT FROM COMMERCE?

**WHAT IMPULSE LED TO THE INTRODUCTION** of Resolution 13.04 in the first place, with its focus on titles like “Chief Instruction Officers, Chief Executive Officers, and Chief Business Officers”? It is likely a consequence of hearing the mantra that colleges are “businesses”, that students are customers, and that colleges exist to provide the services their customers desire. While such claims might be appropriate for the University of Phoenix (a private for-profit institution), they are not only inappropriate for California’s public colleges and universities, but they undermine the most important public service colleges are capable of providing: the shaping of thoughtful and informed adult citizens.

Both universal mandatory education and corporate capitalism are products of the 19th century, but they differ in significant ways. American corporate capitalism grew out of small-scale capitalism when the need and capacity for mass production made it possible for a single supplier to produce goods for a national market. The early growth of corporate American capitalism meant that a small head start in a market could quickly lead to the vertical integration of a market, from the harvesting of raw materials to the delivery of the final product.

The goal of early small-scale American capitalism was to make a profit for a family-owned business. Available means of transportation were inadequate to allow a business to achieve more than regional dominance. With the spread of railroads and factory-based mass production, small-scale capitalism was eclipsed by corporate capitalism. The capacity to integrate vertically meant that it was easy for successful firms to quickly develop into monopolies. Despite the progressive reforms of the early 20th century, corporations continue to seek monopolistic control of the markets they serve, and the history of Microsoft™ and the telecommunication industry suggests that controlling monopolistic behavior is likely to be an ongoing function of national governments.

Corporate capitalism and higher education are fundamentally different institutions. Corporate capitalism seeks a variety of goals that are antithetical to education. Corporations seek monopolistic control over their market segment; corporations seek in general to control the consumption habits of their customers. Corporations seek to maintain the dependency of their customers. Corporations are almost always required by financial markets to prioritize short-term profit, sometimes even over the long-term well being of the corporation itself.

American higher education was already two centuries old when American corporate capitalism emerged. Institutions like Harvard, Yale, or Stanford did not aspire to become monopolies—indeed, where large corporations (U. S. Steel, Standard Oil) sought to control their markets, elite universities sought to enhance their intellectual capital by making it ever more exclusive. Where corporations could control the raw materials and distribution of their products, colleges and universities could control neither the raw material of the classroom (knowledge and inquiry) nor its distribution. While elite universities may seek to enhance their cachet by maximizing the number of published scholars and Nobel laureates, the institution exercises very little control over the intellectual life of the faculty.

Where the successful business develops a product or service that is designed to meet (or meet more effectively) an identified need, thus establishing a relationship of dependency for the customer, colleges and universities are their most successful when their graduates have developed the intellectual independence to be successful anywhere (it is a hallmark of many graduate programs that they accept few of their own undergraduate students, believing that both the student and the institution are best served when students pursue graduate studies elsewhere). The point of education is to develop intellectual *independence* in the student.

Perhaps most important, where businesses need *customers* to be dependent on their product or service, the point of education is to make learners *independent* of the authority of teacher and textbook; this is especially crucial in a democratic society that depends on the informed judgment of citizens as voters. An educated student is one who has learned to conceptualize or solve a problem in ways other than those presented by teacher or text. It is depressingly common to hear well-intentioned but misguided individuals refer to students as “our *customers*,” but education is not a product. The assumption seems to be that because students pay fees that we must be selling them something (and should do so in ways that suit their whims). In fact, students do rely on several “market” behaviors in higher education: they “shop” for classes, using Internet resources like *Rate My Professor* or *Pick a Prof* to choose faculty; they shop for the lowest textbook prices on the Internet; in extreme cases, in urban areas, they may even shop for the local community college with the most manageable placement test score thresholds. Despite these behaviors, however, faculty are not (or should not be) engaged in the process of offering students the “best deal.” Faculty rely on their professional judgment to maintain common academic standards which are *not* determined by demand or forces in the marketplace. It would be more apt to consider students as clients, since clients are served by professionals whose judgment is superior to that of the client.

Even the client metaphor is inadequate, however, since many professional relationships of counselor and client are long-lasting, and the purpose of education is to render the student independent of the teacher’s judgment. Imagination cannot be owned. Aristotle was Plato’s best student precisely because he developed his thinking in a direction other than Plato’s.

While the United States is clearly committed to a market economy, that does not mean that all aspects of American society function on a market model or are profit driven. Neither the family nor religious institutions function on the profit motive. Many teachers, throughout American education, are attracted to teaching precisely because education assumes some values are higher than making a profit. Teachers at all levels invest their passion and energy into seeing their students thrive and they do so in ways that would be irrational in a profit-based system.

While American colleges may have adopted corporate sounding titles for their executives (e.g., CEO, CFO), they are a very far cry from their distant corporate cousins. While the highest paid university presidents may make two or three times the salaries of their highest paid faculty, they do not make hundreds of times the salaries of their employees, as is common in corporate America. While it is not uncommon for an American college or university president to leave an institution in disarray on the eve of an accreditation visit, it is not possible for a college president to receive hundreds of millions of dollars in salary bonuses after bankrupting

a college. Nevertheless, expensive buyouts of ineffective chief executives are not unheard of. Thus, while faculty may decry the alleged corporate pretensions of their top administrators, the claim has rhetorical appeal but limited analytical usefulness.

While it cannot be denied that colleges can learn useful lessons from the corporate world, those lessons will only be truly useful if they are applied in awareness that colleges are not corporations and that they hope to transform their students into educated human beings and not profits. Because California community colleges are public institutions, the tools that might be borrowed from the corporate world need to be used in an environment of much greater openness and inclusivity.



## THE EARLY HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA

**WHILE THE HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA HIGHER** education began in the decade following the Gold Rush, in many ways its greatest promise to California came a century later with the adoption of the 1960 California Master Plan for Higher Education, which recognized and formalized a commitment to accessible higher education that already existed.

Hardly had excitement over gold begun to abate before early Californians began to think of the role education would play in the future prosperity of their state. Interestingly, two opposite forms of adult education arose almost simultaneously, with the gap between them having been filled in over the century and a half since those origins. The first college in California was Santa Clara College (now Santa Clara University), a private institution founded by Jesuits in 1851. What would become the oldest California State University (CSU), San Jose State, opened in 1862 as the state Normal School and began to prepare teachers for California's burgeoning population. While San Jose State is now a part of the CSU system, the concept of a CSU *system* was not codified until the 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education began to be enacted through the Donohoe Act and aggregated the several colleges then existing into a unified system. The College of California was privately founded in Oakland in 1855 (with the vision of becoming a private Christian college) and evolved into the first University of California campus in 1868, moving to Berkeley in 1873. Across the bay, the first adult school began offering classes in the basement of Old St. Mary's Church in 1856. The roots and connections of California higher education to Christian institutions—both Catholic and Protestant—is not surprising given the earlier history of European and American education. California's community (initially *junior*) colleges would not begin to appear for another half century. "California thus initially had a three part educational system, divided between K-12 public schools overseen by both local boards and the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the state Normal School, and the University of California: This three-part governance structure would remain largely intact for another forty-five years."<sup>8</sup>

Early in its development, leaders in the University of California (UC) recognized the difficulties that might confront public educational institutions which sought to pose probing and potentially unpopular questions and structured the University of California in a fashion that provided a significant buffer from political and legislative oversight by placing the University of California under the oversight of the UC Board of Regents. No other segment of public education in California enjoys this autonomy. In language proposed in 1879, a committee of the University recommended that "The University of California shall constitute a public trust, and its organization and government shall be perpetually continued in their existing form and character, subject only to such legislative control as may be necessary to insure compliance with the terms of its endowments."<sup>9</sup> Despite the general contrast between K-12 education focusing on providing accepted social *answers* and higher education asking *questions*, there have been periods in California when public officials were not willing to maintain a "hands-off" approach to public higher education, and the experience of Angela Davis at University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) is an example of a case where public officials

<sup>8</sup> John Aubrey Douglass, *The California Idea and American Higher: 1850s to the 1960 Master Plan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 57.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in John Aubrey Douglass, *The California Idea and American Higher: 1850s to the 1960 Master Plan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 64-65.

sought to dismiss faculty members who asked certain kinds of questions. The UC Regents dismissed Angela Davis from her position as a lecturer at UCLA after the FBI denounced her to the UC Regents as a member of the Communist Party. Ironically, despite then-governor Ronald Reagan's pledge that Angela Davis would never teach for the University of California again, Angela Davis not only returned to the University but also was later appointed to a UC Presidential Chair, one of the most prestigious positions in the University of California. Nevertheless, for the most part institutions of higher education are granted much greater autonomy with regard to the questions posed and the answers considered than is the case for its primary and secondary education counterparts. This is what is meant by Academic Freedom.

The earliest California community colleges were not founded until the first decade of the 20th century, beginning in Fresno (1907) and followed by Santa Barbara (1908), Bakersfield and Fullerton (1913), and San Diego (1914). These "junior" colleges were not initially conceived of as independent colleges, but as institutions created by and extensions of local high schools, and offering "postgraduate courses of study." Thus the earliest vision of community colleges linked them more closely to the conservative and highly structured role of K-12 education in passing on the accepted values, knowledge, and skills of society. Like the CSU system, the community college *system* did not come into existence until decades after its colleges had taken shape; the California State Legislature created the community college *system* in 1967, with the result that the Board of Governors and Title 5 regulations which they oversee are much more recent than most of the colleges in the state. Indeed, there are still many faculty members across the state who have served community *colleges* for longer than there has been a community college *system*. A lingering issue in the community college system is whether the combined oversight of 72 local boards and state supervision truly qualifies as a *system*, given that colleges enjoy (and strive to maintain) their autonomy.

Despite their roots in religious institutions, California's public colleges and universities have become crucial institutions in contributing to California's dynamism. California is virtually unique among the states in recognizing the crucial importance of public higher education in a rapidly evolving society. If the criterion for judgment is the number of campuses, robustness of segments, or low cost made possible by state support, few states even approach the commitment made by California. While the New England states have a very high density of colleges and universities, they are overwhelmingly private institutions. Higher education in the eastern United States is provided by a mixture of elite private and moderately accessible public institutions.

California chose a markedly different approach via the 1960 *California Master Plan for Higher Education*. As has been the case since the adoption of the Master Plan, public awareness of the role and importance of higher education has ebbed and flowed over the state's history. Interest in public education was at an all time high in the 1950s due to both the expanding postwar economy and World War II veterans in search of educational opportunities suited to a peacetime economy. Given the rapid expansion of the California economy, assembly members and senators were anxious to serve their constituents by securing new colleges for their districts. Both the general public and legislators had a keen interest in expanding higher education, but legislators also recognized the need for a plan to provide orderly and affordable growth in new college construction. A variety of studies were assembled in the 1950s to provide planning and orderly expansion of California's higher education institutions. The culmination of planning and political compromise came with the adoption of the 1960 Master Plan, which provided something for everyone.

The University of California sought to maintain and extend its elite status in California higher education and admission to the University of California was reduced to the top eighth of California high school graduates; The University was also able to preserve its sole authority over doctoral level research and instruction. The California state colleges (subsequently to become the California State University System) were also designated as selective institutions, admitting the top third of California high school graduates. In return for the more exclusive status selectivity provided to the UC and CSU, the Master Plan decreed that community colleges shall be open to “all students who have the potential to benefit,” and there were no direct fees associated with community college attendance at the time. Through the Master Plan, California recognized that its residents would need access to higher education to become full members of a rapidly evolving society and economy.

The development of critical thinking skills is vital not only for select disciplines nor only for those seeking to pursue advanced degrees, but for all individuals to thrive and prosper in the modern economy. In fact, career and technical fields as well as most lower division courses in community colleges, also require the capacity of students to think critically, to solve problems, and the development of the imagination as a source of analysis and understanding is critical to all aspects of higher education, not just the liberal arts. It's hard to teach students to imagine what has not yet been discovered, but where high school exposure to Franklin, Edison, the Wright Brothers, or Ford may be a form of hero-worship, students in college classrooms are likely to explore their technical innovations so as to understand the nature of technological progress itself. Without the freedom to ask questions and pursue answers wherever they lead, higher education institutions are unable to serve society as they should—this is why academic freedom and tenure are so important not just to professors and students, but to society at large. (For the Academic Senate's perspective on Academic Freedom, see “Academic Freedom and Tenure: A Faculty Perspective,” adopted Spring 1998). While the invention of better widgets may be an economically desirable result of higher education, technological innovation itself is the result of learning how to think imaginatively and critically.

Some members of the public might think that career and technical education in community colleges is more akin to training than to education and that students are taught how to accomplish a task, but not taught the principles that lay behind the task. While community college students may receive training, there are fewer and fewer fields in which training alone is adequate. There is more theory behind tuning an automobile engine than existed for many fields before the advent of the microprocessor. It is also the case that many community colleges organize their curriculum on a “careers ladder” model, in which students can achieve a skill level that can provide immediate employment and income, while leaving the door open for students to return for continued training and education that allows them to continue to advance within their profession. (The presence of many students who enroll in community college courses to maintain currency in their fields is one of many reasons why evaluating community colleges primarily through the number of degrees awarded or students transferring to baccalaureate institutions is a fundamental *mis*-measure of community college effectiveness.) Like the elite professions of law and medicine, where continuing education is a requirement of continuing certification, community colleges provide ongoing professional education and training for nurses, firefighters, police officers, and many other careers.

Thus the 1960 Master Plan had the effect of bringing order, a measure of economy, a structure to provide for growth and continuity, and the promise of access necessary not only for the personal interest of those students seeking higher education, but equally necessary to provide the skilled and educated workforce that California's dynamic history would require.

The follow chart gives some sense of the history, oversight and mission of the three segments of public higher education in California.

	UC	CSU	CCC
Founded	1868	First college, 1862; system, after the adoption of the 1960 Master Plan.	First college (under local high school trustee’s oversight), 1907; system established after adoption of the 1960 Master Plan.
Oversight	UC Board of Regents	CSU Board of Trustees	Both Board of Governors (for Title 5 regulatory oversight) and locally elected boards of trustees.
Degrees awarded	Baccalaureate, Master’s, Doctoral and most Professional Degrees	Baccalaureate, Master’s Degrees; Doctoral degrees only in education.	Associate degree; all course work must be equivalent to first-two years of college study or lower.

## WHAT DISTINGUISHES CALIFORNIA’S THREE SECTORS OF PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION?

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA HAS FROM** its earliest years taken its cues from America’s oldest colleges, recruiting faculty from established research universities and mindful of the development of European, and especially German, universities, where the university as a research-oriented institution began to emerge in the late 19th century. The curriculum of the University of California has always been focused on the traditional liberal arts disciplines and their offspring. UC faculty and their peers are researchers first and teachers second. A professor on a University of California campus teaches two to three courses per year, and is evaluated primarily on the breadth and depth of his or her publications. A University of California campus would not grant tenure to a Socrates today: he didn’t publish. The University of California is a single university with several campuses. The University is established in the California State Constitution as a public trust and is overseen by the Board of Regents.

While the California State University system has aspired to be viewed like the University of California, its experience has been very different. While the California State University campuses offer upper division coursework (like the University of California and unlike community colleges), they offer few and limited programs in doctoral level studies. This was by design in the 1960 Master Plan, which sought to keep expensive graduate and professional education under the oversight of the University of California. While there are nominal expectations for faculty to conduct research and publish, both the funding and time necessary are much more limited on CSU campuses; it is not uncommon for a CSU faculty member to be expected to teach eight courses a year, and where many community college faculty members might have two or three discrete classes to prepare for ten sections (because most classes are offered in multiple sections), the CSU faculty member may have twice that many courses to prepare. The University of California general undergraduate campuses (all but UC San Francisco) focus primarily on the liberal arts curriculum that is very good at developing imaginative and critical thinking; it is not uncommon for many UC graduates to need even more education (or internships or on-the-job training) before they will be able to apply the critical thinking skills they have developed, and even more education (in law, business, medicine, and the other professions) is likely to await many UC graduates. By contrast, CSU campuses offer many degree programs in specialized or technical fields that are likely to lead to immediate employability. Unlike many UC graduates, quite a few CSU graduates are likely to be able to find the field they studied in the want ads—and to be able to go to work at very respectable starting salaries. There are relatively few health science *baccalaureate* programs available on UC campuses, for example, while the CSU system offers many health-related *baccalaureate* programs.

Community colleges are teaching institutions, and their faculty teach in a wider variety of fields than either UC or CSU. While the public and some legislators seem to consider preparing students for transfer their sole objective, community colleges serve *several* statutory missions, including certificate and associate degree level career technical education, providing basic skill and adult (noncredit) instruction,<sup>10</sup> and offering

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<sup>10</sup> “Adult Education” as it is known when offered through K-12 school districts, is known as “noncredit” instruction when offered by community colleges. These programs are distributed very unevenly among community colleges, and six districts typically offer half of the noncredit instruction offered in the state. For more information on noncredit programs, see “The Role of Noncredit in the California Community Colleges,” adopted Fall 2006.

Californians a variety of opportunities for life-long learning.<sup>11</sup> Interviews for teaching positions are unlikely to address research specialization and virtually certain to evaluate skill and promise as a classroom instructor (though the “classroom” may be the auto shop, the library, the counseling office, or the local hospital).

Like their freshman and sophomore cousins at four-year colleges throughout the United States, students in California community colleges are unlikely to have a clear sense of their own intellectual trajectory. Unlike many four-year institutions, where lower division instruction is increasingly the province of lecturers and graduate student teaching assistants, fully qualified faculty members teach students in California community colleges. And that instruction must be calibrated to a student population which includes both those who are embarking on the first steps of a longer educational path within the discipline *and* those who are taking classes as part of their college general education. Faculty must effectively teach students asking many different kinds of questions in the same classroom. It is a tribute to their effectiveness that many graduates of California’s four-year colleges remember with the greatest respect the faculty they encountered in community college classrooms.

The University of California and California State University are systems of higher education that have always recognized their faculty as a college professoriate. By contrast, the roots of California’s community colleges under the oversight of local high school boards has meant that community college faculty have needed to fight for the right to be recognized as *college* teachers. Even after the Master Plan created the community college system, colleges continued to be subject to both law and regulation that reflected the high school roots of community colleges. Faculty were credentialed in a fashion similar to high school teachers and provided very modest authority over the college in which they taught. This is why Assembly Bill 1725 (AB1725) is such an important milestone for California community colleges. AB 1725 was the result of significant dialog among a variety of community college constituencies, introduced by then-Assembly member John Vasconcellos, and signed into law by then-governor Deukmejian in September 1988.

AB1725 and the multiple laws and regulations enacted to codify the bill had the intent and effect of moving community colleges away from laws and regulations rooted in the high school environment and toward a higher education model. Thus qualification to teach was moved away from a credentialing model to one based on higher degrees earned. For faculty, a central aspect of AB1725 was the recognition of academic senates as the bodies representing the faculty in “academic and professional matters.” Academic senates must be recognized by local governing boards (Education Code §70902(B)(7)), and given a formal role in hiring (Education Code §87369(B)), tenure evaluation (Education Code §87610.1(A)), and evaluation procedures (Education Code §87663(F)), among others. Title 5 regulations also include many references to

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<sup>11</sup> Education code §66010.4 articulates the missions of the community colleges, California State University and the University of California. Community colleges are given as their “primary mission, offer academic and vocational instruction at the lower division level (66010.4(a)(1), while, “(2) In addition to the primary mission of academic and vocational instruction, the community colleges shall offer instruction and courses to achieve all of the following:  
 “(A) The provision of remedial instruction for those in need of it and, in conjunction with the school districts, instruction in English as a second language, adult noncredit instruction, and support services which help students succeed at the postsecondary level are reaffirmed and supported as essential and important functions of the community colleges.  
 “(B) The provision of adult noncredit education curricula in areas defined as being in the state’s interest is an essential and important function of the community colleges.  
 “(C) The provision of community services courses and programs is an authorized function of the community colleges so long as their provision is compatible with an institution’s ability to meet its obligations in its primary missions.”

the role of faculty as represented by their academic senate, though the most important regulation is §53200, which establishes the “Academic and Professional” matters in which local governing boards must either rely primarily on the advice of their local senate, or reach mutual agreement with the senate.

A similar empowerment of community college faculty had already taken place with the passage of the Rodda Act Senate Bill (SB) 160, in 1976, which provided collective bargaining right to K-12 and community college faculty. Prior to the passage of the Rodda Act, community college faculty had the right (under the previous Winton Act, enacted in 1958) to “meet and confer” with administrators and school boards, but there was previously no provision for exclusive representation for faculty unions, leaving them relatively weak organizations. An earlier version of the Rodda Act was introduced in 1973 (SB400) which would have extended collective bargaining rights not only to K-12 institutions, but to the faculty of both the UC and CSU (that bill was opposed by the UC Regents and the CSU Trustees, passed by the legislature, and vetoed by then-governor Ronald Reagan). It is striking that in his reflections on the legislative history of the bill, Senator Albert Rodda did not consider the community college a system of higher education. Reflecting back in December 1975, Senator Rodda observed,

“I included the community college system in the original version of the bill. That was my decision. But I excluded the two segments of higher education—the University of California and the State University and Colleges system... The inclusion of the community colleges was justified because of the similarity of governmental organization and finance to the Kindergarten-12 schools.<sup>12</sup>

It is ironic that fifteen years after the adoption of the Master Plan, that senator Rodda continued to think of there being only *two* segments of higher education, and that he considered community colleges more closely related to the K-12 structure. This further underscores how important AB 1725 was to the role of community colleges within California higher education.

Thus community college faculty are represented through two distinct and legally recognized structures: academic senates (which represent faculty in “academic and professional matters” and (in virtually all districts) collective bargaining agents which represent faculty with regard to salary and working conditions. There are a number of areas (hiring, evaluation, and academic calendar among them) in which law or regulation requires that academic senates and bargaining agents confer prior to the beginning of collective bargaining.

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<sup>12</sup> Albert Rodda, “Breakthrough in California (Extemporaneous Remarks,” included in *Policy & Practice: the Rodda Act* (Institute of Industrial relations: University of California, Los Angeles, 1976), p. 16, emphasis added.

## ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP IN CALIFORNIA HIGHER EDUCATION

**IT IS PROBABLY A TRUISM THAT** faculty in higher education are least likely to embrace as institutional leaders their colleagues who seek such positions too enthusiastically. Graduate school education in all disciplines except education includes virtually no attention to the history or governance of higher educational institutions, and community college teaching job announcements say little about participatory governance or institutional leadership. One consequence both of the external (degree-based) qualifying of faculty and of tenure is to maintain a relatively flat social structure in faculty ranks at most colleges. Faculty members have a longer and often more enduring sense of identity in their academic field than they do to a particular department or institution. Ongoing (and increasing) reliance on part-time faculty is likely to further erode faculty identification with campus, college or shared governance. Faculty ambition is generally not focused on achieving peer respect by “advancing” into administration. For most faculty members in higher education, filling administrative positions is more likely to be viewed as a shared duty rather than a career opportunity, since long-term goals for most faculty remain research and teaching.

Institutional leadership on the UC and the CSU campuses has traditionally come from the faculty ranks. Because faculty think of themselves primarily as scholars and researchers, not only is teaching likely to be held in slightly lower esteem, but administration is also granted modest respect, and faculty may take on administrative duties as part of a shared institutional responsibility and not often as a distinct career path. Because administrators at California’s public four-year colleges and universities are likely to think of themselves as faculty first, they likely have a great motivation to maintain the respect of their faculty peers, and decisions with significant consequences are reviewed with faculty before being implemented. Most administrators in California’s public four-year colleges anticipate that they will return to their scholarly work following their stint in administration and wish to maintain the regard of their peers so that they will be respected when they return to research and teaching.

By contrast, while many California community college administrators have spent time in the classroom, it is rare for California community college administrators to return to full-time teaching after a period of administrative service. There are many possible reasons for this. After years of teaching (in many cases) the same three or four courses to increasingly underprepared students, it may be that California community college administrators find the challenges and rewards of administration more stimulating. Some administrators may also become dependent on the higher salaries paid to administrators and have economic difficulty moving “backwards”—though this reason seems not wholly persuasive since a senior faculty member can approach and often exceed many lower administrative salaries by teaching summer session and overload assignments, and still have more control over his or her schedule than is the case for administrators, who typically work long hours, five days a week, and on an eleven-month contract. Some community college faculty seek administrative appointments at the end of their career to boost the average salary in the final three years, which is the basis of retirement income. In any case, California community colleges offer a separate career pathway distinct from teaching and research that has little parallel in California’s public four-year colleges. Whatever the cause, the perspective of community college administrators appears to diverge from that of their erstwhile faculty colleagues more markedly than is the case for administrators in four-year



institutions. There are also many disincentives for community college faculty to consider administrative service, including the loss of tenure if they move to a different district.

It is also important to remember that the University of California and California State University are single systems. A UC faculty member can go from teaching at Davis to an administrative position at his or her own campus or at the office of the President in Oakland without changing employers, while a community college faculty member or administrator who moves across the state necessarily gives up his or her employment by one district to take a chance on a new one. This also means that a faculty member at UC or CSU who takes on an administrative assignment can return to a faculty position without having left his or her employer, a circumstance which is often not the case for community college administrators.

While selective institutions like the UC and CSU can perhaps allow their better prepared students some leeway in finding their way, community college students are statistically more likely to lose their way than to find it, in that while a majority of students in four-year institutions will eventually complete a degree, only a minority of community college “degree seekers” will in fact complete a degree. This can create the impression that community colleges need to be more strictly “managed” and that administrative rather than instructional skill will most improve student outcomes. It may be this conceit that leads organizations like the Association of California Community College Administrators (ACCCA) to argue that legislative goals like the 75:25 ratio and the 50% law should be “modified,” positions which seem to be uncritically accepted in Nancy Shulock’s “Rules of the Game” and subsequent publications. Thus community college administrators are often more tempted to view themselves as professional managers rather than *either* scholars or teachers.

The significance of the roots of California community colleges under the oversight of high school districts becomes more apparent in light of the workload and self-understanding of UC and CSU faculty. High school teachers are subject not just to the political strictures of local boards of education, but even more to the limited understanding of education as being primarily focused on socialization. An opinion piece published in the Los Angeles Times by then-high school teacher Jo Scott Coe lamented the fact that a teacher in her district who completes a Ph.D. receives a \$750 annual stipend, compared to \$1,563 for acting as badminton coach or \$3,127 (and up) for coaching football. Jo Scott Coe is now a full-time English instructor at Riverside City College. Thus while it was probably never accurate to begin with, the characterization of community colleges as “high schools with ash trays” captures the sense that community colleges were closer cousins to high school education than to college and university education. This cliché was not applied exclusively to California community colleges, and in light of the passages of AB1725 in 1988, it is *less* appropriate as applied to community colleges in California. The inappropriateness of the cliché does not prevent the occasional administrator hired from out-of-state or well-intended local trustee from assuming that community college administrators have authority similar to high school principals. Local governing boards that seek to guide their districts without improperly intruding into administrative roles compound this problem.<sup>13</sup> Community college trustee boards are responsible for setting policy, but chancellors and presidents have considerable leeway over the procedures that implement board policy, and a president determined to intrude into areas of faculty authority and expertise can probably make considerable headway before a board mindful of its delegation of authority to chancellors and presidents concludes that their agent has gone too far.

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<sup>13</sup> See Janet Fulks, “Have You Heard About the Two-Year Rule and Accreditation?” *Rostrum*, February 2008, for the observation that problems with local boards are especially likely to place colleges under accreditation sanction.

If, as the Academic Senate has long argued (based on experience and research), the most important institutional contribution to student success is a full complement of full-time faculty, what kind of leadership would best guide the faculty of a college in serving students?<sup>14</sup> If part-time faculty are so cost-effective for community college teaching, why is it that administrators don't cultivate part-time administrators? How would parents of children in K-12 schools respond if their local school board decided to economize by hiring part-time teachers who could only easily be contacted during their teaching hours? Because community colleges are teaching institutions, the ideal leader would not be a proven researcher or manager, but a proven teacher who has the respect of the faculty and the organizational skills to see to it that the components of the institution actually serve the classroom. Especially as community colleges serve increasingly underprepared students, the need for faculty to work cooperatively within their institutions is increased. If there is a single theme that pervades *Basic Skills as a Foundation of Student Success in California Community Colleges* (a literature review of effective practices in developmental education), it is that all components of a community college must knowingly work together to support student success. This means that faculty must choose to work cooperatively when some of the deepest values in American culture and especially the culture of higher education are autonomy and individualism, both of which are emphasized by the classroom-centered environment in higher education. The cliché that "organizing faculty is like herding cats" must give way to colleges where faculty recognize that students need resources from a variety of quarters: effective counseling, adequate financial resources, inspiring faculty, and experience of the ability to work cooperatively with others.

The effective leader in a California community college must recognize the need of all components of his or her college to work together for student success. All members of the faculty and staff need to be reminded, not of their individual standards of excellence, but of the capacity of the institution to achieve a collective standard of excellence. An administrator who is only a "manager" is unlikely to inspire that level of shared commitment from the faculty or the staff.

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<sup>14</sup> See Ian Walton, "Academic Excellence: Why California's Community Colleges Need the 75/25 Full-Time Faculty Standard," in *The Rostrum*, September 2008.

## HOW DOES COLLEGIAL CONSULTATION LEAD TO EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP?

“**COLLEGIAL CONSULTATION**” IS CENTRAL TO COLLEGE and university education and is practically embedded in the words themselves. The word “college” comes from,

collège, from L. collegium “community, society, guild,” lit. “association of collegae” (see colleague). First meaning any corporate group, the sense of “academic institution” became principal in 19c. through Oxford and Cambridge, where it had been used since 1379. Collegiate is 1514.<sup>15</sup>

The terms for college, colleague, and collegial all come from the same root and point to the notion that a college is a *community* of individuals with shared interests. No distinction is made between student and teacher, teacher and administrator, or administrator and trustee. The implication is that all members of a college community share a common commitment to the mission of the institution.

California community colleges serve a wide range of statutory missions, from career technical education students who seek certificates and degrees, to students who seek to transfer with or without completing a degree, to noncredit, basic skills, and lifelong learners who may still be in the process of discovering (or rediscovering) their educational goals. This fundamental fact makes community colleges very different from California’s public four-year colleges whose student populations are virtually 100% degree-centered; their student population also arrives at a higher skill level, given the reliance of both systems on completion of A-G requirements (the 15 yearlong high school courses that must be completed to establish CSU and UC system eligibility) as a requirement of eligibility and their selectivity as defined in the Master Plan. While the composition of the student population of four-year colleges may be diverse, their nominal goal is homogenous. By contrast, both the composition *and* the intended goals of California community colleges are enormously diverse.

Collegial consultation is thus especially essential to California community colleges, since it is virtually impossible that any individual administrator or faculty member could be thoroughly familiar with the entire range of students’ educational goals or instructional and student support services necessary to help students meet those goals. Because California community colleges are chronically underfunded (or at least chronically funded well below the level of support provided for K-12, CSU and UC), the need for internal collaboration as colleges seek to meet broad and sometimes competing missions becomes even more critical. Collaboration is necessary not only because of the faculty’s special expertise in curriculum and program development, but also because faculty are in the best position to guide colleges to the most effective use of limited resources capable of meeting the range of challenges community colleges face. Administrators who respect faculty are more likely in turn to be the recipients of respect from the faculty; administrators who have the respect of faculty can inspire the analysis and institutional change necessary to help institutions better serve their students. Administrators who don’t respect or collaborate with faculty will still lead institutions in which excellent teaching takes place in many classrooms, but such colleges are unlikely to reach the level of excellence that is the result of broad institutional collaboration.

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<sup>15</sup> Online Etymological Dictionary, <<http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?l=c&p=19>>

The following chart displays funding levels for California public education for the 2008-09 fiscal year (prior to mid-year reductions) and the number of students served.<sup>16</sup>

	UC	CSU	CCC	K-12
Per student funding 2008-09	\$18,508	\$12,293	\$5,891	\$12,152
Per student funding if CCC allocation is 100%	314%	208%	100%	206%
Full-time Students	224,107	364,622	1,182,558	5,915,673 (projected average daily attendance)

*Effective* teaching is a labor of love. A faculty member can be thoroughly on top of his or her field, but while subject matter mastery may make a very *capable* faculty member, it does not make an *excellent* faculty member. Effectively meeting student needs depends on faculty's ability to establish relationships with their students that go beyond being knowledgeable about subject matter. Students are more successful when faculty reach out to them individually and both acknowledge their abilities and encourage them to refine and pursue their ambitions. For faculty to be willing to engage students beyond the classroom, it helps immensely if they are part of an institution that values *their* expertise and commitment and involves them in institutional leadership. The borderline between failure and success for many students is not different in kind from the fine line that separates capable and truly inspirational teaching for faculty, and faculty are much more likely to go the extra mile when administrators value their expertise and commitment and work to maintain an environment in which mutual respect prompts the desire to meet all the needs of all students.

<sup>16</sup> Figures for higher education come from the Community College League of California's "Fast Facts." K-12 figures come from Mac Taylor (Legislative Analyst), *California Spending Plan 2008-09: The Budget Act and related Legislation*, accessed February 16, 2009 at <<http://www.lao.ca.gov/LAOApp/PubDetails.aspx?id=1892>>

## THE BASIC ELEMENTS

**HAVING BRIEFLY SURVEYED THE ORIGINS OF** American and California higher education and having considered the history of California community colleges vis-à-vis both K-12 and the other segments of California public higher education, the broad mandate and mission of the California community colleges is apparent. The extraordinary breadth of California community colleges both with regard to the student population they serve and the curriculum they offer should also be apparent. Because Resolution 13.04 asks that this document “set[s] out the basic elements of a higher education institution,” we conclude by looking at the constituency groups that comprise community college campuses, bearing in mind that each constituency is not only a discrete group of persons, but the responsibility and authority appropriate to each group. What are the basic elements of a higher education institution, particularly within California’s Community College System? They are superficially the same for all three segments of California’s system of higher education, and essentially the same elements that have existed in higher education since its founding, but their character and interaction is significantly different for community colleges.

**STUDENTS:** Without students, there are no colleges. Community college students are different from other students in higher education for a variety of reasons. While some choose community college as a more affordable pathway into higher education, many more choose a community college for a variety of reasons that need to be acknowledged and addressed before those students are likely to be successful. As described previously, California’s community college students are more diverse in class and ethnicity, more diverse in regard to educational goal (once goals have been settled upon), and more likely to be committed to employment and family responsibilities while attending school. All community college students seek the knowledge and the skills of their society in preparation for adult citizenship. They are overwhelmingly likely to need developmental courses before they are able to write and calculate at the college level. Many are first-in-family to attend college and need to learn how to function in a higher education environment. While many have the ability to succeed at a very high level, they often come with low intellectual self-esteem and are surprised to be told that they have potential which previous teachers have not seen or articulated for them. As described earlier, they are very likely to spend more hours in employment than in the classroom, and high rates of part-time study diminish and impede academic progress.

Students must bring with them the maturity and commitment to apply themselves with the measure of seriousness necessary to support their own success.

**FACULTY:** While students are the object and *raison d’être* for a college, faculty are the students’ lifeline. Faculty provide the education students receive. Collectively they establish the intellectual culture within which students learn. They establish and deliver the curriculum. They work together outside the classroom to provide institutional leadership that does all that is humanly possible to promote student success. Faculty participate in governance activities that provide long term stability for their colleges. Faculty help craft the policy and procedures that make it possible for education to remain the focus of their colleges. But most important, faculty work with students, both inside the classroom and across the campus. They work to both challenge and encourage students to persist. They often diagnose skills and aptitudes that have gone unrecognized. Because over 40% of instruction in California’s community colleges is provided by part-time faculty, with no ongoing commitment from the college and lack of access to basic necessities like office space,

community colleges struggle as institutions to provide students with the single most important ingredient for their success.

Faculty enjoy certain time-honored privileges for the service they provide, chief among which are academic freedom, and the security of tenure which supports it. Because, as discussed earlier in the paper, faculty teach in a rapidly evolving world, they must be free to develop their professional expertise in new directions. Faculty must be able to ask questions and use the tools of their disciplines to seek answers, and the intellectual vitality of the faculty is crucial to the learning experience of the student. This is a central reason why for-profit colleges (which employ faculty at will), and high reliance on part-time faculty (who often lack the time necessary to maintain professional competence in their field) are both inimical to institutional vitality. Without the academic freedom to excel in a discipline and the protection of tenure, colleges risk suffering from faculty who only do what is necessary to keep their jobs, instead of what is necessary to teach their students.

Faculty also struggle with the dual collective authorities granted to them under California law. Both academic senates and faculty bargaining agents represent the faculty, albeit in generally distinct spheres. Faculty are professionals whose judgment colleges need for their well being, but faculty members are men and women whose own economic security must be protected if they are to serve their colleges effectively.

**ADMINISTRATORS:** As post-industrial societies have become more complex, so have the skills necessary to keep institutions, especially complex public institutions, solvent and effective. Administrators require ever more specialized training and skill in regard to budget and finance, facility design and construction, the organization of student support services and the coordination of the offerings in the curriculum. Personal relationships need to be established and maintained with other local institutions, transfer institutions, their communities, the Chancellor's Office, and a host of other public and private agencies. Just as institutional effectiveness is based on appropriate respect for faculty, so the contributions administrators make to institutional effectiveness demand enormous respect. But administrators are not "the boss," at least not of faculty, in the same way that managers in other large organizations may be. Colleges function best when faculty and administrators both recognize the scope and importance of each other's role and work collaboratively to help each other meet their responsibilities.

Colleges are wise to recognize the enormous challenges effective administrators must overcome to provide the resources faculty need to teach and students need to learn. The academic freedom and tenure that is essential to faculty vitality have the potential to lull faculty members into settling for competence, and the most important challenge facing administrators is reminding faculty of the larger mission a college can fulfill in meeting the needs of their students. Faculty can often teach in isolation, but administrators can never be effective working in isolation within a college, and administrators who can work collaboratively for the good of their colleges and their students should be cherished by all members of a college community.

**PROFESSIONAL STAFF:** The earliest colleges and universities had little in the way of professional staff, but many fields of study cannot be offered in modern colleges without a wide range of support staff. Whether it's the network specialist whose work allows a class presentation to be informed by data from the Internet or the assistants or lab aides who make sure that all is in place for a chemistry lab, these men and women play

an increasingly important role in contemporary higher education and an effective institution involves them in institutional dialog about how student needs can best be met.

Staff members aren't faculty, but faculty often cannot do their job effectively without the often unseen and sometimes under-appreciated contributions of staff. For community colleges, staff members are often members of the local community pursuing their own educational goals. The respect shown for the staff members of a college can be a very telling indicator of the respect the college has for those it serves. A college that values and respects its staff is likely to be a college that respects the community it serves.

**TRUSTEES:** The role of the governing board trustee is perhaps the most difficult to spell out. Like administrators, they are responsible for maintaining good relations with a range of external bodies. Whether it's the Regents of the University of California or the trustees of a local community college district, governing boards do not exist to run their institutions on a day-to-day basis. And unlike the UC and CSU, every community colleges has *two* governing boards: the Board of Governors, appointed by the governor, with oversight responsibility for Title 5 regulations, and locally elected boards of trustees, who have responsibilities to the districts they are elected to serve.

It is the local board which has the authority to hire and dismiss employees—including faculty—at California community colleges, but this authority is almost always delegated to others in practice. Ideally they function like ongoing matchmakers, working to develop policies that bring the best out of all other members in the institution.

Like administrators, community college local trustees must play a variety of roles. Local trustees have ultimate fiscal responsibility for their college districts. Local trustees also often engage in legislative advocacy (at city hall, in Sacramento, and in Washington, D. C.) to gain additional resources to support local educational initiatives. Many governing board members are active advocates for district charitable foundations which raise and distribute money for student scholarships and support for a wide variety of extracurricular college activities.

Most important, however, local trustees are members of the community served by California community colleges. They accept the responsibility for long public meetings with minimal compensation out of a sense of duty to the community served by the districts they oversee.

## CONCLUSIONS

**CALIFORNIA, THE UNITED STATES, AND MUCH** of the world are still evolving into societies in which agricultural production is taken for granted and in which acquiring knowledge and advanced skills drives a steadily evolving economy. The 1960 California Master Plan was prophetic in its recognition that a dynamic society and economy would require educational resources for *all* citizens if the state is to maintain its leadership role in American and the global economy. Unfortunately, it can be argued that neither the economic resources nor the leadership environment that currently exists allow community colleges to fully serve the people of California. Per-student investment has remained well behind every other segment of public education. While the concern that community colleges are run like corporations that prompted Resolution 13.04 may be exaggerated, the need for genuine leadership and respect for academic culture in community colleges is more pressing than ever.

California's community colleges have the potential to offer the best of two worlds. Unlike the CSU and UC, California's community colleges continue to be accountable *both* to the Chancellor's Office in Sacramento and to locally elected boards of trustees. Ideally, this gives them the potential to experiment with effective pedagogical and institutional practices through their common statewide structures and the ability to respond quickly to local economic needs.

The 21st century society needs community colleges more than ever. Students of all ages need to learn how to think critically and imaginatively in a world that is changing rapidly. Students need to be prepared for an economy and workplace in which regular change is an assumption, not a surprise. Alexis de Tocqueville opened *Democracy in America* with the observation that "A new political science is needed for a world itself quite new,"<sup>17</sup> and the world remains new in many of the ways Tocqueville foresaw. Just as political institutions needed to be newly crafted for democratic society, so educational institutions need to keep *ahead* of the pace of social and economic changes in order to prepare citizens for the world they will inhabit. Community colleges can meet this need, but they need resources and leaders who recognize the shared collaboration on which effective education is provided.

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<sup>17</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated by George Lawrence (Harper Perennial, New York, 1988), p. 12.



## RECOMMENDATIONS

**THE ACADEMIC SENATE HAS ADOPTED A** wide range of resolutions and recommendations over its forty year history, but all of them could be seen as attempts to articulate the hopes and promises contained in the initial founding of community colleges, the 1960 Master Plan, and AB1725 as measures that would bring the blessings of higher education to all California's residents. What California needs as it encounters the crises and opportunities of the 21st century is not new recommendations, but the will to make good on the promises it has made.



# **APPENDICES**



## APPENDIX A: SEVEN SELECTED ACADEMIC SENATE PAPERS

**THE ACADEMIC SENATE HAS ADOPTED ALMOST** 200 papers over its history. This paper makes no new recommendations, but the reader who desires to become better acquainted with principles embraced by the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges might begin by reviewing these papers, whose abstracts are included here. It should be clear that the Academic Senate has had a longstanding commitment to policies which provide faculty the freedom to teach and students the open access promised by the 1960 Master Plan for higher education: this is apparent in the paper on *Academic Freedom* (1998), *Hiring Effective Faculty* (1991), and *What's Wrong with Student Fees* (2004). The Academic Senate has also long advocated a collegial approach to institutional leadership, as is evident in the papers on *Empowering Local Senates* (2002), the *Faculty Role in Planning and Budgeting* (2001), and *Participating Effectively in District and College Governance* (1998). The 1998 paper, *Future of the Community College*, provides a vision for the future of California community colleges for which this paper provides much of the historical foundation.

Adopted papers of the Academic Senate can be found at:  
<http://www.asccc.org/Res/pubSearch.aspx>

### **ACADEMIC FREEDOM (ADOPTED SPRING 1998)**

Abstract: This position paper of the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges lays out the Academic Senate's position in support of academic freedom and tenure. It includes a brief history of academic freedom in the United States, starting with the American Association of University Professors' fundamental policy statement from 1940. It demonstrates the connection between academic freedom and tenure and due process protections from the point of view of teaching institutions such as community colleges.

### **EMPOWERING LOCAL SENATES (ADOPTED SPRING 2002)**

Abstract: Contained on the pages of this handbook, you will find information about the legislation and regulations that affect academic senates (Part I); your unique responsibilities as a senate president (Part II); as well as suggestions for ensuring that your faculty can be most effective in meeting their academic and professional responsibilities (Part III). The appendices contain samples of materials you may duplicate or download and modify as needed.

### **FACULTY ROLE IN PLANNING AND BUDGETING (ADOPTED FALL 2001)**

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to articulate a set of recommendations in the form of principles that can be applied by local academic senates as they create and improve their local planning and budget processes. The paper illustrates these principles through the use of a single model, and readers should keep in mind that it is the principles, and not the model employed to illustrate them, that constitutes the heart of the paper, as the principles have the potential to be adapted to almost any campus, whatever its size and culture, whereas the specific model may have more limited utility.

### **FUTURE OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE: A FACULTY PERSPECTIVE (ADOPTED FALL 1998)**

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to define the future of the California community colleges from a faculty perspective. The sense of urgency associated with the publishing of this perspective is the product of the din of voices calling for the radical restructuring of the community college. In the name of “accountability,” faculty and administrators are confronted with the demand that they apply quantitative measures to what is essentially a qualitative enterprise: education, the actualizing of the potential of human beings.

### **HIRING EFFECTIVE FACULTY (ADOPTED SPRING 1991)**

Abstract: Community College faculty now assume significant responsibility for evaluating the qualifications of individuals who seek employment as faculty in community colleges. This paper, developed by the Educational Policies Committee of the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges identifies and discusses the following qualities of effective faculty: (1) Discipline preparation and the ability to teach or provide professional support services and to maintain discipline currency, including an understanding of contributions of ethnic minorities, women and global cultures to the discipline; (2) Communication and other interpersonal skills; (3) Sensitivity to, and knowledge of, a diverse student body and its needs; an appreciation of different student learning styles; (4) Creativity and innovation; (5) Leadership potential, including and understanding of shared governance and community college curriculum; (6) Service in the community; and (7) Sensitivity to the role teachers play in fostering a democratic society.

### **PARTICIPATING EFFECTIVELY IN DISTRICT AND COLLEGE GOVERNANCE (ADOPTED FALL 1998)**

Abstract: The following guidelines on local decision-making processes have been developed by a joint task force of representatives of the California Community College Trustees (CCCT), Chief Executive Officers of the California Community Colleges (CEOCCC) and the Academic Senate of the California Community Colleges. They have been endorsed by the boards of directors of the CCCT and CEOCCC and by resolution of the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges. The guidelines augment ones developed in 1992 by a similar joint task force.

### **WHAT’S WRONG WITH STUDENT FEES? RENEWING THE COMMITMENT TO NO-FEE, OPEN-ACCESS COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN CALIFORNIA (ADOPTED FALL 2004)**

Abstract: The Academic Senate for California Community Colleges has maintained long-standing support for the no-fee, open-access concept of California’s community colleges. This paper documents the history of the introduction of fees and the seemingly inevitable subsequent increases—all of which have been vigorously opposed by the Academic Senate. It makes the case that such fees have betrayed the educational vision of California’s 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education—a vision that has served California well. The section on Fundamental Principles provides strong philosophical and practical reasons for the original no-fee concept and argues that it benefits all segments of California by promoting the well-being of the entire state: not just individual citizens, but small and large businesses and the state as a civic and economic institution all benefit immeasurably from community college education. Specific arguments and responses to oppose many of the commonly heard myths and misconceptions in favor of fee increases are included. The paper calls on the Academic Senate to fight for the preservation of California’s visionary educational legacy and, more specifically, to press for the roll-back of existing mandatory fees, coupled with enhanced opposition to any further increases. Appendices provide a record of the Academic Senate’s resolutions regarding fees and a table that correlates fee increases with the corresponding effect on enrollment.

## APPENDIX B: SELECTED POLITICAL LANDMARKS

A MAJOR PART OF CALIFORNIA'S PROSPERITY over its history has been a direct result of its commitment to public support for higher education. The most important symbol of that commitment is the California Master Plan for Higher Education, adopted by the California State Legislature in 1960. A number of subsequent judicial and legislative acts—many of them the result of the initiative process rather than acts of the legislature or the courts—have had a significant impact on state commitment to higher education and the image of higher education Californians have committed to. The following is a summary of some landmarks along that path.

### *THE MASTER PLAN, 1960*

The 1960 Master Plan was the culmination of an extended discussion in California higher education to both plan and control competition to build new college campuses in the era following the end of the Second World War, when unprecedented prosperity and the GI Bill sent thousands of new students to college campuses. While the University of California had existed as a system for many years, neither the state colleges nor the community colleges were organized into *systems* of higher education. The 1960 Master Plan recognized the importance of accessible higher education to California's future and provided each higher education segment something it had long unsuccessfully sought. The University of California got exclusive control over doctoral and elite professional programs and was able to make its admits even more exclusive, closing those eligible from the top 15% to the top 12.5% of high school graduates. The California State Colleges were given the opportunity to grow in light of the narrowing of the University of California's audience and also became more exclusive, closing the pool of eligible students from the top 50% to the top 33% of high school graduates. Community colleges were provided with the promise that their existing practice of preparing students for transfer to four-year colleges would receive legislative blessing and recognition of their role in maintaining educational access for those students who needed a second chance after high school to pursue continued education. The success of the Master Plan led to enormous increases in the number of students pursuing higher education and an orderly expansion of all three systems of higher education. The University of California alone added three new comprehensive campuses in the decade following the passage of the Master Plan (in Irvine, San Diego and Santa Cruz). Community colleges grew enormously in the 1960s.

### *SAN ANTONIO VS. RODRIGUEZ, 1973*

This is the only federal action discussed here and it is cited because of the contrast between the decision of the United States Supreme Court and the Supreme Court of the State of California. In the federal case, parents of school children in San Antonio, Texas, argued that reliance on property taxes to fund local schools was unconstitutional. Parents argued that education is a fundamental right and that the Texas system of paying for schools through local property tax resulted in a denial of the 14th amendment's promise of equal protection under the law. This argument was based on the fact that affluent neighborhoods had a low level of property tax but, because of the high value of property, generated high levels of property taxes. Residents across town in poorer neighborhoods paid a higher rate of property tax, but because property values were low, parents generated very low levels of funding for their children's schools. The Supreme Court rendered the facts of the case moot by finding that while education might be extremely important socially and economically, there was no basis in the United States Constitution for finding it to be a fundamental right.

States could make education a right, the Supreme Court argued, but there is no federal right to educational equality.

### ***SERRANO VS. PRIEST, 1971***

The Serrano case originated in Los Angeles County as a class action suit on behalf of California school children. Like Texas, California paid for public education with local property tax and with similar results of widely varying levels of funding for students: In 1968-69, students in Baldwin Park were educated at an average per-student cost of \$577.49, while students in Pasadena (25 miles away) were funded at \$840.19, and students in Beverly Hills (40 miles away) were the beneficiaries of \$1,231.72 in per-student funding. The California Supreme Court recognized unequal funding as a significant problem, noting affluent districts can have their cake and eat it too; they can provide a high quality education for their children while paying lower taxes. Poor districts, by contrast, have no cake at all.<sup>18</sup> The result was that the California Supreme Court found that basing the funding of education on local property tax was unconstitutional (under the California Constitution), without proposing a solution to the problem. As the California Legislature began to tackle this challenge, home owners, especially in more affluent areas, began to see their property taxes rise even while anticipating that taxes paid locally would be shifted to less affluent areas to equalize per student funding. Despite unequal per-student funding, California pupils ranked among the best funded in the nation in the 1960s.

### **THE RODDA ACT, SB160, 1976**

The Rodda Act provides collective bargaining rights to community college faculty. It replaces the Winton Act of 1958, which allowed faculty and districts to “meet and confer,” but not to negotiate contracts on the basis of exclusive representation. Around 1970, the California State Senate began legislation that would recognize exclusive representation. Early work toward this goal included a bill authored by Mervyn Dymally that would have extended collective bargaining rights to faculty from kindergarten through the university. The three segments of higher education were variously included or excluded in versions of the bill prior to the one that finally became law. The author of the final bill, Albert Rodda noted shortly after passage of the bill, that “the economies imposed upon higher education by Governor Ronald Regan had the effect of intensifying union activity within the two systems of higher education, especially in the State University and College System, where the whole concept of collegiality had not developed to the extent it had on the University of California campuses. As a result, the California State University faculty moved toward an approach to the problem of employee-employer relations which was more oriented toward the union model—the collective bargaining model.”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> [http://books.google.com/books?id=SaIm3bidwwAC&pg=PA285&lpg=PA285&dq=%22affluent+districts+can+have+the+ir+cake+and+eat+it+too%3B+they+can+provide+a+high+quality+education+for+their+children+%22&source=web&ots=xJ8CeNq8Bu&sig=-beBjpiPjYI01TXi3KKET6VMiUc&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&resnum=1&ct=result#PPA285,M1](http://books.google.com/books?id=SaIm3bidwwAC&pg=PA285&lpg=PA285&dq=%22affluent+districts+can+have+the+ir+cake+and+eat+it+too%3B+they+can+provide+a+high+quality+education+for+their+children+%22&source=web&ots=xJ8CeNq8Bu&sig=-beBjpiPjYI01TXi3KKET6VMiUc&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=1&ct=result#PPA285,M1)

<sup>19</sup> Albert Rodda, “Breakthrough in California (Extemporaneous Remarks,” included in *Policy & Practice: the Rodda Act* (Institute of Industrial relations: University of California, Los Angeles, 1976), p. 12, emphasis added.



**PROPOSITION 13, 1978**

For a variety of reasons, property taxes were rising quickly in the 1970s, with the result that many Californians were uneasy with their increasing tax bill. Thus the *People's Initiative to Limit Property Taxation*, sponsored by anti-tax advocates Paul Gann and Howard Jarvis found a sympathetic audience among Californians, and was passed by almost 65% of California voters on June 6, 1978. Property tax rates fell immediately and the state was required to shift funding of public services to other forms of taxation (sales tax was 5% at the time Proposition 13 passed). Oversight of public schools which had fallen primarily to local boards spending locally-generated funds shifted to Sacramento, since the state was now responsible as a result of the *Serrano* decision for providing equitable funding to all K-12 districts. California spending on public education, which had been at the national average, began a steady decline.

While the state had already embarked on the road to equalizing the funding of K-12 school districts, an unintended consequence for community colleges is that their funding was frozen at significantly different per-student levels and those qualities remained until community college equalization was generally resolved in SB361 twenty eight (2006) years later.

**PROPOSITION 98, 1988**

Given the dramatic impact on state tax policy provided by voters through the passage of Proposition 13, education advocates began exploring means of securing funding for public education, and Proposition 98 was passed on June 3, 1988 by California voters and established that a minimum of 39% of state spending be devoted to K-14 education funding. It is ironic that at the very time when policymakers were seeking to move community colleges away from their K-12 roots that yet another voter initiative linked community colleges even more closely to their K-12 roots for funding purposes. While the California State University and the University of California have struggled to maintain funding (and have seen the percentage of their publicly-funded costs steadily decline), community college funding may not have been stable, but it has at least benefitted from ongoing public support for primary and secondary education.

**AB 1725, 1988**

Assembly Bill 1725 was signed into law by then-governor George Deukmejian on September 19, 1988, less than three months after the passage of Proposition 98. Where Proposition 98 assumed the ongoing kindred nature of community colleges to their K-12 roots, AB1725 sought to re-envision community colleges as being truly another branch of higher education. Many K-12 artifacts—credentials, administrative autonomy, and weak academic senates—were replaced along lines more similar to CSU and UC: professional competence based on degrees earned, and significantly enhanced authority for faculty working through academic senates. No political event has been as important for community college education as AB1725. AB1725 also envisioned significant increases in funding for the hiring of new full-time faculty. Unfortunately the economic downturn of the early 1990s combined with new state priorities caused that promise to wane quickly.

**PROPOSITION 184, 1994**

The early years of the 1990s were periods of fiscal belt-tightening for California government. As the economy began to recover, yet another voter initiative, Proposition 184, California's "three strikes" initiative, was placed on the ballot and passed in June of 1994 by 72% of voters. While a variety of states had adopted "three-strikes" legislation which provides long prison term for repeat offenders, California's policy was unusually draconian in that a wider range of non-violent crimes counts as "strikes." The predictable result has been a significant increase in the number of persons in state prisons and a corresponding increase in the level of state funding necessary to maintain prisons. Even the mathematically unsophisticated student of public policy cannot fail to appreciate a graph that shows the percentage of California taxes going to corrections and education since 1994: as public spending on corrections has risen, public spending on higher education has fallen at almost an exactly symmetrical rate. It appears ironic that a state that has been skeptical about the value of investment in public education (at least since Prop 13) has been willing to make a dramatically greater "per-pupil" investment in incarceration.

**PROPOSITIONS 209 & 227, 1996, 1998**

Proposition 209 was a 1996 California ballot proposition which amended the state constitution to prohibit public institutions from considering race, sex, or ethnicity in public education. It was funded by the "California Civil Rights Initiative Campaign," led by University of California Regent Ward Connerly, and opposed by affirmative action supporters. Proposition 209 was voted into law on November 5, 1996, with 54% of the vote. While not related to public funding, the initiative attracted significant public attention, much of it supported by misleading claims that affirmative action programs were based on quotas and set asides for unqualified minority applicants (both of which were explicitly prohibited by *Bakke vs. the Regents of the University of California*, decided by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1978). The relevance of Proposition 209 to this brief history comes in the fact of a University of California regent leading a campaign that suggested that the University needed to be reformed by initiative since it would otherwise behave in ways that were ethically suspect. The larger implication that California's public colleges were "too devoted" to underrepresented students is an issue beyond this brief summary.

Proposition 227, "English Only For California Children" passed in June 1998 by 61% of those voting and can be seen as an extension of Proposition 209 and the suggestion that California educational administrators were "soft" on underrepresented students and recent (legal) immigrants.

**BASIC SKILLS INITIATIVE, 2006**

With its root in both the development of the California Chancellor's Office Strategic Plan and the Title 5 regulation change that increased minimum graduate requirements in English and mathematics, the Basic Skills Initiative in its early incarnations indicated that faculty and administrative leaders can work together on new initiatives focused on increasing institutional effectiveness, especially for the less prepared and disproportionately underrepresented students enrolled in developmental courses in English, English as a second language, mathematics, and reading. The literature review that guided early systemwide and campus-based discussions—*Basic Skills as a Foundation of Student Success in California Community Colleges*—recognized the crucial role to be played by collaborative leadership on campuses.

**SENATE BILL 361, 2006**

Beginning in 2001, the Academic Senate began discussing and passing resolutions on equalization, a process that would substantially (not completely) undo the disproportionate level of per-student funding unintentionally created by Proposition 13. The election of Arnold Schwarzenegger following the recall of Gray Davis in October 2003 brought to the Governor's chair a state chief executive with special interest in both community colleges and especially expansion of occupational (redubbed "Career and Technical") education. This meant that there would be sympathy for a measure that would redress funding inequities resolved for K-12 districts twenty-five years earlier. Governor Schwarzenegger signed SB 361, the California Community College funding formula reform, on Friday, September 29, 2006.

**PROPOSITION 92, 2008**

As indicated above California both moved to join and separate K-12 and community colleges in the same summer of 1988 with the passage of Proposition 98 and the signing into law of AB1725. While community colleges have been acting more like a system of higher education, they have continued to be funded as an appendix to K-12 education in California. The arcane formulas established in Proposition 98 promise a fixed percentage of K14 funding to community colleges, but demographic changes suggest that the total funding available for K14 will decline even as community college enrollments continue to expand in the second decade of the century. California community colleges have also continued under the dual masters of locally elected boards and the statewide authority of the Chancellor's Office and the Board of Governors. Unlike the CSU and UC systems, where the system Chancellor/President has considerable control over the top administrators in the system, the top executives in the California Community College Chancellor's Office are civil servants over whom the Chancellor has little authority. Thus Proposition 92 was designed to address several different problems. Despite broad support from the community college community, including the Community College Association (the community college division of the California Teacher's Association), CTA opposed the passage of Proposition 92. Timing also appeared to undermine Proposition 92, as a declining state economy accompanied Proposition 92 to the March 2008 ballot when California voters rejected it.

As this summary suggests, California has supported both K-12 and higher education, but that support has ebbed and flowed over the past half century. With regard to the evolution of state funding, the past fifteen years have seen a decline in hope in education and an increase in fear to be ameliorated by prisons. There have been moments of great foresight and commitment, as with the adoption of the 1960 Master Plan or, perhaps, Proposition 98. There have also been moments when the cost of maintaining a world-class system of public education has been too high (Proposition 13) and moments of reaction to the perceived misbehaviors of public education (Propositions 209 and 227).

What is not in doubt is that California is the wealthiest and most diverse state in the nation; it would be among the wealthiest nations in a global economy if it were an independent country. While California's great agricultural wealth is a significant part of the state's wealth, it provides only a small percentage of the jobs available to Californians, and despite its overall wealth, the good life is very unevenly distributed among California's residents. Education continues to be the pathway to opportunity for Californians. It remains to be seen how readily California will make that path available to all who seek it.



