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A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF
SHIFTING MISSIONS ON SENIOR
FACULTY MEMBERS AT A SELECT
MASSACHUSETTS COMMUNITY COLLEGE

A Dissertation Presented

by

ARTHUR J. LAVIGNE, JR.

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February, 1989

EDUCATION

Arthur J. Lavigne, Jr.

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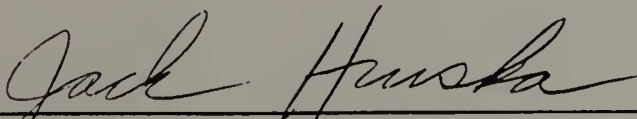
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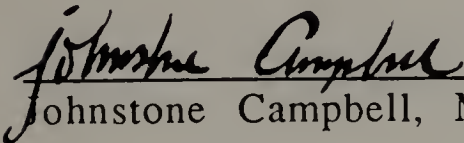
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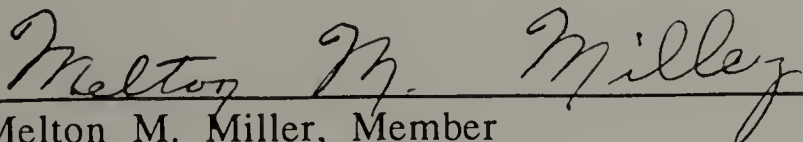
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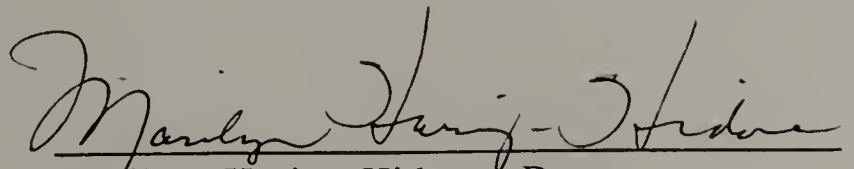
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To
Anne and Jeremy
and for
Mom and Dad.

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF
SHIFTING MISSIONS ON SENIOR
FACULTY MEMBERS AT A SELECT
MASSACHUSETTS COMMUNITY COLLEGE

FEBRUARY, 1989

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This dissertation was a descriptive, exploratory study of experienced community college teachers who witnessed a period of educational and institutional change. The population involved in this study consisted of 22 faculty members who taught at one Massachusetts community college from the years 1970-1975, the founding years of the college, to the present. The purpose of the study was to examine the effect that the change in mission, that is the move from transfer to career and developmental education, had upon the morale of this faculty. The research method involved was qualitative by way of in-depth interviews that were recorded and transcribed, and phenomenological by way of having the participants express their own perceptions of what had taken place.

The reasons that this faculty gave for coming to the community college were to a) teach, b) be part of a new educational undertaking, and c) to be of service to those students who were less-well-to-do or

less well-prepared for college work. The morale of this faculty was high during the early years of the college. Factors that contributed to this high morale were a) a common sense of purpose as professionals in higher education, b) a sense of collegiality and, c) an identification with the institution. At the time of the interviews the original premises and aspirations of the group had been seriously challenged by the changes in the mission of the college that had taken place. Four factors were seen as being involved in the change, all of which contributed to a decline in the morale of this faculty. These changes were: a) a movement to open-access whereby any student, regardless of preparation, was able to enter the college, b) the development of an attitude that career courses were the only worthwhile pursuit, c) institutional changes that led to loss of collegiality, and d) a loss of identification with and a subsequent disengagement from the institution. As a result of these changes the morale of this faculty was seen to be in decline. The morale of the career faculty was not seen as being significantly different from that of the non-career faculty in that both expressed much the same concerns: badly prepared and poorly motivated students. While the literature on faculty shows that morale is on the wane, it also points out that most faculty say that they are generally satisfied with their work. While this study is supportive of this literature, it does suggest that the intrinsic factors that are commonly associated with teaching have eroded.

Many of this faculty also felt that they had been excluded from the decision-making processes and that the changes that had taken

place were beyond their control. They felt that there was very little left for them outside the classroom and even that had been endangered by decisions that they were no longer part of.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The process of education has come to be a major influence in the socialization of the members of a modern society. As a consequence, certain functions have come to be associated with the institutionalization of this process, thus generating, either in a real or in a mythical sense, certain expectations on the part of those who are involved.

Historically, it might be argued that the function of education is to incorporate into a curricular form that which seeks to make individuals reflective, capable and responsible. It is a proposition that has its roots in the Greek tradition of a liberal education. The formalization of this philosophy came to be centered in the liberal arts, this being the main, if not the only curriculum in the early American college. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, the university came to assume the responsibility for defining the educated person. As knowledge became more institutionalized the liberal arts took on a more disciplinary form. Scholar-directed activities came to reflect a major shift away from the individual to the organization as the mediator of learning, a reflection of "the growing power of external authority over the individual and the peculiarly American belief that individuals cannot be legitimately educated,

employed, religiously observant, ill or healthy unless some institution sanctions that aspect of their being."¹

Educational rhetoric in the United States has come to consistently proclaim that the goal of the educational process is the maximization of each individual's potential. Pervasive in this rhetoric is the meritocratic ideal that sees the "best and the brightest rising to the top with the school acting to facilitate and objectify the process."² Probably no other idea has come to be so typically American than the belief that schooling is the way to the good life. In this spirit the American community college has come to be advertised as "one of America's most noteworthy expressions of egalitarian ideals. Demands for equal educational opportunities, social reforms and individual self-esteem are being met through these institutions."³ The community college, it has been written, "is full of promise for the opportunities it offers to young people and to adults to increase their occupational skills, to get started on an academic career, to enrich the quality of their lives, and generally to multiply their educational options and their chances to choose wisely among them. It offers these

¹Arthur M. Cohen and Florence B. Brawer, The American Community College, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Publishers, 1981), p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 2.

³David J. Buschnall, "Community Colleges: What is Our Job?," Change Magazine, April, 1974, Volume 6, Number 3, pp. 52-53.

opportunities to more Americans in more areas and of more ages than any other segment of higher education."¹

The community college has become an established segment of higher education in this century. For most of its history, what the community college did was most obvious and quite traditional, offering the first two years of the baccalaureate degree. The uniqueness of the system was in its localized availability and low cost. Following World War II, however, the community college began to take on a new direction that was described as being comprehensive while proclaiming a philosophy of open-access that was to bring higher education from a spirit of elitism to a spirit of egalitarianism. The community college went on to experience a period of very extensive growth so that by the mid 1980's the number of these institutions numbered well over one thousand and over-all enrollment coming to somewhere around eleven million.

This growth by way of accessibility began to change the nature of the traditional student population attending college. More older persons, women, minorities and part-time commuters began attending the community college. The changes that accompanied this growth soon influenced the work of the faculty, impacting upon their motivations and satisfactions. The fundamental premise of the community college had always proclaimed the primacy of teaching. Indeed, most of its faculty had been traditionally drawn from a bac-

¹Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, The Open-Door Colleges: Policies for Community Colleges, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970, p. 51.

calaureate and master's degree program for a given discipline. The community college faculty had long brought much of the traditional collegiality to their place of work and considered themselves to be an important part of higher education.

The period previous to the early 1970's saw higher education at what might be considered its high point as far as public esteem is concerned. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman have described this period as one where faculty had come to have great influence in academic matters.¹ Teaching in the community college in those days would appear to have been a truly professional and positive experience, attractive to "great numbers of gifted young people (who) were choosing the academic profession."² But by the middle to the early '70s the literature began to show a deterioration in the profession, particularly in terms of faculty relationships to the institution. It is difficult to assign any single cause to this change, but "rather it was the larger social forces, coupled with more than a little benign neglect, that contributed to the deteriorating condition of the American faculty."³ Predictions of serious declines in college age students in conjunction with the devalued economic outcome of a four-year de-

¹Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968).

²John W. Minter and Howard R. Bowen, "The Minter-Bowen Report," Chronicle of Higher Education, Part II, May 19, 1982, pp. 7-8.

³Howard R. Bowen and Jack H. Schuster, American Professors: A National Resource Imperiled, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 5.

gree finalized a long-term movement to vocationalize the community college. Large numbers of physical plants that had been established in the 1960's were now being threatened by circumstances which they had not foreseen all of which resulted in very aggressive recruiting tactics along with the generation of programs of studies that would be attractive to the more non-traditional student. If numbers are meaningful, the community college adapted well. This adaptation has not been without its toll, however. The move to vocationalization was accompanied by what many of the faculty felt to be an abandonment of the traditional arts and sciences, the remnants of this tradition to be loosely, if not begrudgingly, incorporated into the shifting priorities assigned to new programs. The "new student" to higher education now came with a different agenda and many from a background that Charles Silberman had described as failing in almost every respect.¹ Many of the new students lacked skills and knowledge in the traditional sense. Silberman saw these individuals as victims of "mindlessness - the failure or refusal to think seriously about educational purpose," and described the educational system as a place where "an increasing amount of energy has to be devoted to keeping the existing machinery going."² In the community college, such attention to survival was further complicated by a policy of funding that tied into numbers and can be implicated in the need for

¹Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education, (New York: Random House, 1970).

²Ibid. p. 11.

these institutions to search for new missions to sustain themselves. In many ways the resulting problems were to be common to both the traditional faculty and the newly ascendant career faculty.

During this critical period of change, faculty were accused of benign neglect and unwillingness to provide leadership. Astin described faculty influence as "a conservative force directed toward maintaining the status quo," while administrators had "become increasingly mission-oriented." Astin goes on to note, most importantly from a faculty point of view, that as a consequence of faculty conservatism administrative focus shifted "from the effect decisions will have on particular individuals to the effect that will be felt by entire constituencies over the long run."¹ In effect it appears that the faculty had been written off as a viable source of decision making and, as a point of contention, relegated to the domain of human capital, subject to the principles of the marketplace and value to the organization. Gail Parker, former president of Bennington College, struck out at faculty and accused them of being "a group of people (very) conscious of the way they are wronged by insensitive administrators and an indifferent public. Those who choose to stay in academe run the danger of becoming like the patients in Thomas Mann's "Sanatorium Berghoff" - quite willing to let someone else make all the important decisions. Few, in any era, are sufficiently

¹Alexander W. Astin, Maximizing Leadership Effectiveness, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass Publishers, 1980), p. 141. Quoted in Paul M. Bevilacqua, "Increasing the Effectiveness of Middle Managers in Higher Education." (EdD Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1987), p. 5.

sanguine or sufficiently disgusted to think that change, any change, would be for the better."¹ A resultant increase in administrators, it was argued, "was justified by the need for higher levels of quality control and accountability."²

For a faculty member these educational and institutional changes might have been a sufficient challenge in themselves, but these problems were further compounded by a decrease in the real earnings of faculty. The summation of these events greatly disturbed the professional work environment and moved faculty to unionization and collective bargaining thus formalizing the antagonism that had arisen between faculty and administration over mission. As a consequence of this formalization and the lack of consensus as to what the purpose of education was to be a serious decline in faculty morale ensued. Such patterns are observed within the community colleges in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In Massachusetts, the first community college was founded in 1960 and, in the writings of its president, can be seen as incorporating much of the tradition that characterized community college education at the time:

At Berkshire (community college) we don't have an "open-door", but we do admit any high school graduate who looks to us like a reasonably good bet to

¹Gail Parker, The Writing on the Wall, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), p. 26.

²Bevilacqua, p. 7.

do the job in one program or another at our college. Each year I say to our freshmen, "This is a relatively easy college to get into, but it is not an easy institution to stay in." We have been washing them out pretty quickly when it turns out we guessed wrong at admission. About one-third flunk out - but at least they've had the chance, and that's important.¹

A later Master Plan for Massachusetts Community Colleges emphasized that "even if the student were not to continue into the upper division, their time in the community college would have been beneficial in the way college education is supposed to be beneficial: broadening of background and freeing of the mind for a richer personal life and for improved effectiveness as citizens, family members, and social beings."² State legislation had earlier proclaimed the belief that "community colleges are in the field of higher education, not just an extension of high school programs. The curricula should be substantially equivalent to the first two years of college education."³ In addition it was felt that "community colleges should fill the

¹Thomas E. O'Connell, Community Colleges: A President's View, (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1968), p. 5.

²Doanld E. Deyo, Access to Quality Community College Education: A Master Plan for Massachusetts Community Colleges Through 1975, (The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1967), p. 17.

³The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Preliminary Report of the Special Commission Relative to the Operation and Structure of Junior Colleges in the Commonwealth, (House No. 2850, December 31, 1956), p. 22.

very vital need for training. Massachusetts would benefit in many ways, because industry goes where manpower goes."¹

By the middle to late 1970's, as the supply of educated people evidently began to exceed the demand, a major shift in the traditional mission of the Massachusetts community college can be seen as having taken place. Educational inflation described the declining value of a college degree as witnessed by "reverse transfer" students coming to the community college for a career education. Education, particularly liberal education, was becoming a liability. Even more significant was that jobs that at one time required only a secondary diploma were now requiring a two or even a four year degree, without any basic change in the nature of the work involved. The Massachusetts community college now began to experience the new student to higher education while more national leadership was suggesting that "while other segments of public and private higher education may rightly tailor their programs to more traditional academic definitions of mission (where) students are expected to fit themselves to these programs, rather than the other way round, neither history nor contemporary social policy would suggest this as appropriate for community colleges."² R. H. McCabe, president of Miami-

¹The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Final Report of the Special Commission Relative to the Operation and Structure of Junior Colleges in the Commonwealth, (House No. 2719, January 22, 1958), p. 9.

²William L. Deegan and Dale Tillery, "The Evolution of Two-Year Colleges Through Four Generations," in William L. Deegan, Dale Tillery and Associates, Renewing the American Community College, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1985), p. 23.

Dade Community College, expressed the dilemma in mission that had arisen when he said that "while some of my colleagues maintain that our mission is not under question, I believe that evidence throughout the country of questioning the community college mission is overwhelming."¹ McCabe felt that it was "time to reform the American Community College" and argued to "keep the door open, but don't over invest in failures."² The Miami-Dade faculty went on to reorganize its academic format while renewing its commitment to provide programs and resources "for all students who are willing to do the work necessary to be successful."³ Such a commitment is not without its difficulties in a period of financial constraint and such economic factors came to have direct implications for instructional programs:

Advisement, counseling and other student services are funded indirectly, and any additional costs for these services increase the share of the costs for student support services for each FTE produced. Yet the colleges are receiving proportionately less income with which to provide these additional needed services. Although the higher educational institutions should quite properly be accountable for their operation and for the effectiveness of their programs, they are finding that they cannot con-

¹Robert H. McCabe, "Shaping the Future: New Requirements for Community College Leaders," in John E. Rouche and George A. Baker, III, Editors, Community College Leadership for the '80s, (Washington, DC: American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1984), p. 12.

²Robert H. McCabe, "Now is the Time to Reform the American Community College," Community and Junior College Journal, May, 1981, pp. 6-10.

³Miami-Dade Community College, General Education in a Changing Society. 1978, p. 11.

tinue to provide increased service with reduced resources.¹

The positive view of the new student that Patricia Cross presents, assumed that unlimited time and resource could be invested in their development. Richardson found neither of these conditions met at Oakwood Community College, and in the mid 1980s they evidently were not being met by any institution of higher education.² The result was a pessimism that sprung not from any negative view of the students, but rather from an "inability to persuade legislators and tax payers that they should support our vision of learning without limitations. It is now clear that higher education does not have the priority it was accorded during the 1960s and early 1970s."³

Although the Massachusetts community college system was state mandated in terms of its origin the state higher education system tended to be loosely organized. By the latter part of the 70's, however, state level influences were becoming more and more pronounced. The creation of the Massachusetts Board of Regents by legislative act in June of 1980 "marked a major departure" from the original format. Reorganization gave "strong budgetary and programmatic authority to individual boards of trustees." Reorganiza-

¹Ibid. p. 8.

²Darrel Clowes, "Literacy in the Open-Access College: An Interview with Dr. R. C. Richardson, Jr.," Journal of Developmental Education, Volume 10, Number 1.

³Ibid., p. 18.

tion generated a very high degree of centralization where the Chancellor is responsible and accountable to the Board of Regents, the Presidents are accountable to the Trustees who in turn are accountable to the Board of Regents through the Chancellor. As a consequence the collegial concept of governance came to be defined as "authoritative direction or control," and where policy-making was to be the function of "citizen(s) chosen because their diverse background provides rich experiences upon which they can draw in shaping policies responsible to the needs of their academic institutions."¹ The outcome is an ever increasing dependence on finances administered by the state. Cohen views this as a "movement toward coordination of all higher education through super boards (and) a general politicization of higher education with faculty groups, administrators, and trustees maintaining their own lobbyists in the legislature and representatives on various decision making bodies."² In terms of the effect on individuals, Cohen feels that:

The change in people's roles is subtle, insidious. Gradually but steadily, as the institutions with which they are affiliated become warped into a state system, trustees and administrators forget how to be educational leaders. The problems they consider are not what programs to offer - what is most relevant, timely and useful - but how to ma-

¹Massachusetts Board of Regents, "A Long Range Plan for Public Higher Education in Massachusetts: Phase I," Publication #12885-130-200-7-82-CR, June 1982, pp. 1-5.

²Arthur M. Cohen, "Community Colleges: The Growing Influence of the State" Change Magazine, Volume 6, Number 5, June 1974, p. 52.

nipulate the funding formulas to maximize the flow of dollars into the college. Another unfortunate consequence is that the students are denied the vision of intelligent people making decisions independently. Such state-level forces affect instructors as well. Faculty generally respond to centralized planning by militantly demanding more and more control over matters of less and less importance. More and more, state-level influences are forcing them into a new role. Their boundaries - the limits of freedom - are more clearly demarcated. To be free to act, they must now become consciously independent practitioners in a bureaucracy, acting vigorously within the rule. Failing this they become factotums performing on behalf of absentee curriculum makers.¹

Seidman, in his study of community college faculty, notes that "the increasing size and resulting bureaucratization of the community college expanded and deepened the sense of hierarchy in the colleges," and that "one response to the increasing hierarchy is a reluctance on the part of many faculty to be active outside their own work with their students."² Seidman went on to conclude that "most of all the sense of non-involvement seemed to stem from a feeling of fruitlessness, of being tired of fighting for faculty power and losing the fight."³ Cowen, in a study of community college faculty in Massachusetts, gave evidence of faculty dissatisfaction with top-level

¹Ibid., pp. 52-53.

²Earl Seidman, In The Words of the Faculty: Perspectives on Improving Teaching and Educational Quality in Community Colleges, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Publishers, 1985), p. 42.

³Ibid., p. 43.

administration providing for effective educational leadership and pointed out that "clearly, Massachusetts community college faculty have serious concerns with morale and the quality of educational leadership."¹

Not only did the community colleges in Massachusetts undergo a change in faculty relationships to the institution but, and perhaps more significant in terms of its impact on mission and morale, "the philosophic commitment of the sixties to provide opportunity through open doors had been transformed into the legal and economic imperatives of the eighties to provide open-access through adjusting admission requirements to meet affirmative action guidelines and to ensure institutional survival."² The new philosophy of open-access came to gear its "educational programs to the demands of the market-place rather than to the traditional views of what ought to comprise a college education."³ The result of this, as previously indicated, was the demise of the liberal arts and sciences with attention being given primarily to career education as the principle mission of the Massachusetts community college. Massachusetts community colleges, as was Richardson's Oakwood Community College, were following "national trends in the nature of its curriculum,

¹Carole Cowen, "A Study of Faculty Perceptions of Selected Morale Variables," (EdD Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1982), p. 139.

²Richard C. Richardson, Jr., Elizabeth C. Fisk and Morris A. Okun, Literacy in the Open Access College, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Publishers, 1983), p. xi.

³Ibid., p. xi.

which was increasing in comprehensiveness but decreasing in coherence and structure."¹ Most recently the Massachusetts community colleges have responded to the new or non-traditional student, as described by Cross, by placing an emphasis on "developmental education." In 1982 the Massachusetts Board of Regents stated that:

By the end of this decade the Regents will expect students entering from high school to be prepared with pre-collegiate skills before acceptance to baccalaureate degree-granting institutions. However, at the present time to fulfill its statutory mandate to provide access to public higher education for the citizens of Massachusetts, the Board of Regents must continue to provide within the system programs designed to meet the special needs of differentially prepared students. Consistent with their comprehensive mission, the community colleges should provide the basic skills programs which develop pre-collegiate skills and which require one or more years to complete. They should develop further expertise to assist these differentially prepared students.²

In keeping with the advocacy of the AACJC, the Regents further recommend that "the community colleges link the academic community with the professions, business, industry and human service agencies by identifying their needs and developing programs to respond to them."³ For Cross "the Massachusetts Long-Range Plan as-

¹Ibid., p. 23.

²Massachusetts Board of Regents, "A Long Range Plan for Public Higher Education in Massachusetts: Phase 1," (Publication #12885-130-200-7-82-CR, June, 1982), p. 30.

³Ibid., pp. 19-20.

sumes the continuation of the comprehensive mission for Massachusetts community colleges (but) the comprehensive mission is going to take money and so far there is little indication that the Commonwealth is prepared to ante up."¹

In the latest major mission statement to come out of the AACJC Dale Parnell, president of the association, proposes to "increase high-school/community college program cooperation and coordination" and is strongly advocating for continued close relationships to business and industry. Parnell has proposed a "2 + 2 Tech-Prep/Associate-Degree program," a program that:

seeks a middle ground that blends the liberal arts with the practical arts without diluting the time-honored baccalaureate degree/college-prep track.²

Representing what seems to now have become a minority view, Cohen and Brawer argue that "the American community college was founded to serve as a link between the lower schools and establishments of higher learning," and that:

despite the many additional roles adopted by the colleges, that original function remains an essential component of their mission. It may be ignored by college leaders who would rather speak of their institutions role in assisting regional economic development or in providing lifelong learning opportunities for adults, but to the students seeking entry to

¹K. Patricia Cross, "Consider the Possibilities," (A paper prepared for the Massachusetts Community College Association), September 30, 1982, pp. 15-16.

²Dale Parnell, The Neglected Majority, (Washington, DC: American Association of Community and Junior Colleges: The Community College Press, 1985), p. 140.

institutions of higher education, it remains a cornerstone of community college.¹

What is being witnessed in the evolution of the community college is a dialectic in mission which appears to be having a divisive and undermining effect on the faculty and students. Parnell, however, does not see it this way. "Folk wisdom," Parnell writes, "has it that teachers are a generally dissatisfied lot and that many community college faculty members..are the most dissatisfied of all." Citing a singular study Parnell concludes that "teaching is a satisfying and fulfilling profession regardless of teaching level and that community college faculty ranked the highest on the faculty-satisfaction scale."² If one is describing only teaching there may be a good deal of agreement. Bowen and Schuster state that "most faculty members express favorable attitudes toward their careers," but yet continue on to say that "widespread concern about faculty morale suggests that an additional half-decade of financial stringency likely has reduced the proportion of faculty who would claim to be "very satisfied" with their careers.³ In Massachusetts over 85% of faculty involved in a morale study indicated that their "community college teaching provided them with satisfaction,"⁴ yet almost 74% disagreed

¹Arthur M. Cohen and Florence B. Brawer, The Collegiate Function of Community Colleges, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Publishers, 1987), p. xi.

²Parnell, p. 94.

³Bowen and Schuster, p. 47.

⁴Cowen, p. 95.

or strongly disagreed that "morale at their institution was generally high."¹ Brookes' study of a smaller sample of senior faculty members at several Massachusetts community colleges suggest that a "leveling-off" or "insulation" on the part of this group to have taken place, and that many of these faculty had "succeeded in modifying the institution to suit their personal preferences, particularly in such matters as what they teach and when."² In writing of City Community College, an urban community college in Massachusetts, London describes the conditions of teaching challenged by change:

The liberal arts and human service teachers brought with them experiences and occupational identities from other academic settings, the assumptions being made that the educational levels of students and the status, values, and understanding associated with intellectual activity would not be radically different. In the daily life of City Community College, the chief problem for these teachers was to resolve the strains posed by students who challenged the accuracy of those assumptions. More precisely, teachers had to preserve or acceptably modify their identities as intellectual beings in the face of an unreceptive, skeptical audience. The vocational teachers (on the other hand) were not as distressed by the students as were the liberal arts and human service teachers. The vocational instructors' previous occupational identities partly immunized them from the chagrin of their co-workers by allowing them to view students from

¹Ibid., p. 101.

²Michael C. T. Brookes, "Generativity, Stuckness, and Insulation: Community College Faculty in Massachusetts," (EdD Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1980), p. 72.

two different roles, that of teacher and that of "practitioner." As teachers, they had difficulty coping with the problems posed by students, (but) as former "practitioners" they empathized with their charges."¹

That the conditions of teaching have changed is evident and as a consequence "college faculty today are deeply troubled." In a survey of almost 2,000 faculty members at 17 colleges Melendez and de Guzman found 62% of faculty acknowledging severe or moderate job stress² while Gmelch's survey of more than 1,900 professors at 80 public and private universities reported that 60% of the total daily stress in their lives came from their work as faculty members.³ By contrast, Sorcinellis' in-depth study of faculty attitudes at Indiana University found no wide-spread depression about the profession and uncovered generally good morale among the faculty.⁴ Eble and McKeachie likewise found that 90% of the faculty responding to their survey were moderately or well-satisfied with their roles as faculty

¹Howard B. London, The Culture of a Community College, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978), pp. 115 and 145-146.

²Winifred A. Melendez and Rafael M. de Guzman, Burnout: The New Academic Disease," (Washington, DC: Clearinghouse on Higher Education, ASHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 9, 1983).

³Walter H. Gmelch, "Pressures in the Professoriate: Individual and Institutional Coping Strategies," Chronicle of Higher Education, Jan. 9, 1985, p. 27.

⁴Mary Deane Sorcinelli, "Faculty Careers: Personal, Instructional, and Societal Dimensions," Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Conference, Chicago, IL, March, 1985.

members.¹ These latter two studies are indications that college teaching offers strong intrinsic satisfactions and that overall extrinsic factors appear to be responsible for the decline in morale that now characterizes the profession. As such, this work has been designed to shed light on the effect that changes in the intrinsic factors have had on the morale of senior faculty members at a specific institution in higher education.

Purpose

It is the contention of this study that the educational mission of MCC has moved from a primary focus on liberal education to an emphasis on career and developmental education and that this shift in mission is a major factor contributing to a decline in the morale of senior faculty at MCC. The research in this study is designed to investigate and report on how senior faculty members at MCC have been influenced by this mission change and to examine the responses and adaptations to this change.

¹.Kenneth E. Eble and Wilbert J. McKeachie, Improving Undergraduate Education Through Faculty Development, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Publishers, 1986), pp. 164-165.

Significance

Who is more anonymous outside his own institution, and maybe within it, than a community college teacher?¹

I just think that, in many ways, the human side of teaching is not looked at enough.²

This study attempts to represent the "human side" of teaching in a community college in the hope that it may be of significance to those faculty, administrators and board members who are influential in policy decisions in a time when institutional decisions perhaps supercede the effect such decisions have on those who then have to attempt to understand and carry these decisions out. The literature, as will be seen, deals extensively with job satisfaction and its impact on morale, but much less has been said by the faculty concerning the effect that institutional change has had upon their morale. Educators have become especially vulnerable as funds for higher education have become subject to political and economic considerations. In times of such educational conservatism it would seem quite necessary that there be an understanding of the role the faculty are expected to play in contrast to the role they believe they ought to be involved in. Faculty are no longer able to change jobs and institutions with the ease that characterized earlier times and as such

¹Myron M. Marty, "Editor's Notes," Responding to New Missions, New Directions for Community Colleges, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, Number 24, 1978), p. vii.

²Interview with MCC Faculty member, March, 1987.

are no longer able to rely on change in personnel to generate new ideas and enthusiasm. Mission and morale are issues that need to be dealt with if there is to be any resurgence of institutional vitality.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This study attempts to examine the relationship between the change in community college mission and the effect that this change has had on the morale of the original faculty at MCC, a typical community college in the state of Massachusetts. From a literature point of view the vast majority of the writings about the community college emphasize administrative concerns or reflect administrative points of view. Community college faculty are not required nor are they encouraged to write as part of their work. Few forums are open to this and there are no rewards for so doing. As Myron Marty previously expressed it, "who is more anonymous outside his own institution, and maybe within it, than a community college teacher?" As a consequence the literature "has probably been somewhat stronger on advocacy than on analysis."¹ The result of this is "literature that does not offer very subjective guidance to those outside the movement who have the responsibility for planning and financing a states' educational system. Little progress can be expected..until broad agreement exists about the purpose and function of the two-year college."² There is more involved in the educational debate, one would hope, than shrinking budgets and

¹ David W. Breneman and Susan B. Nelson, Financing Community Colleges: An Economic Perspective, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1981), p. 5.

²Ibid., p. 5.

troubling demographic projections. This review of the literature, while not excluding the preceding by any means, examines the genuine issues of purpose as they are perceived by those who have influenced the mission of the community college and then reports on the impact that such advocacy has had on the community college and the faculty that has been selected to further these missions. As such the review of the literature is divided into two parts, the first part examining the nature of mission as it evolved in the history of the community college, while the second part of the literature review examines the literature on community college morale. Both of these sections attempt to utilize the available research that has been done within the community college system in Massachusetts. The format of the review is based on the contention that in order to understand the current morale problems that the literature presents, it is quite necessary to understand what the original premises and the resulting changes in the mission of the community college have been and what the present advocacy proposes as educational purpose.

A Review of the Literature on Mission

A challenge to the classical concept of education can be seen as asserting itself by the middle of the nineteenth century. Education had become more accessible, more public. In 1861 Senator Stephen A. Douglas proclaimed that Jonathan Turner's land-grant plan would be "the most democratic scheme of education proposed to the mind

of man."¹ President Lincoln, in 1862, signed the Morrill Act creating the land-grant colleges and universities. This act was an important step in the promotion of liberal and practical education for legitimizing of courses and programs previously excluded from the higher learning. Land-grant colleges were to become a low-cost alternative to the more exclusive private institutions. As programs to teach an ever-increasing number of subjects and occupations were introduced, access to further education for a wider range of the population became a reality. By 1880 American education had become universal, tax-supported, free, compulsory, bureaucratically arranged, class-based, and racist.²

It does seem reasonable to argue that the development of the junior college paralleled the development of public education in the United States. Views as to the reasons why the common or public schools did arise are quite diverse, ranging from philanthropic and democratic to economic and utilitarian. From a revisionist point of view:

the cultivation and the transmission of cognitive skills and intellectual abilities as ends in themselves had far less importance for early school promoters (as the) public school system existed to shape behavior and attitudes, alleviate social and family problems, and reinforce a social structure

¹Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Democratic Experience, (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 487.

²Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971).

under stress. The character of pupils was a much greater concern than their minds. In both their strength and their limits, schooling systems, with their emphasis on equal access and unequal rewards, their fictive meritocracy, and their bureaucratic organization of experience, became miniature versions of America's social and political order.¹

If education was to meet the demands of an evolving social order two mechanisms are seen as representative of the process:

1. A structural reinforcement mechanism or the demand for schooling based on the desire for social order.²
2. A human-capital mechanism derived from new social relations to production.³

Specific to the point at hand, however, was the impact of the German model of education upon influential educators in the middle to the latter part of the nineteenth century. A number of young Americans who had studied in German universities began to advocate for a system of education that would be orderly, efficient,

¹Michael B. Katz, Reconstructing American Education, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 22-23.

²Katz (Ibid., pp. 18-19) writes that "widespread anxiety about cultural diversity had clear implications for the role of schooling...fears about cultural heterogeneity propelled the establishment of systems of public education; from the beginning public schools were agents of cultural standardization."

³The "human capital" school initiated by Schultz and Becker found that "treated as an investment in work skills similar to investments in income-producing machines, education had a substantial pay-off. Production function studies...showed that education substantially raised productivity in the economy. A rising share of the nation's capital stock - goods that produced other goods and services - came to be held in the form of human skills, produced by education rather than by machines." Richard B. Freeman, The Over-Educated American, (New York: Academic Press, 1976), p. 2.

and productive and which would, at the same time, distribute the majority of individuals within an educational framework. The distribution within the educational system would be according to "potential."

Judging from what has been written about the educational advocates of this time it can be noted that they were much concerned with both social and educational efficiency.¹ This concern may have not been far removed from the social Darwinism of Herbert Spencer as it was being applied to the economics of the emerging industrial system. It may be that these individuals, while writing of opening the gates of educational opportunity, in essence believed in a society in which men were not necessarily created equal.² Order and efficiency were quite necessary to those who felt that they had a role in insuring the evolutionary progress of the nation. The planning and guidance of this social evolution was to be in the hands of those whose potential determines their place in the social frame. Social inequality "is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons."³

¹This advocacy would include Henry P. Tappan, president of the University of Michigan; William W. Folwell, president of the University of Minnesota; William R. Harper, president of the University of Chicago; David F. Jordan, president of Stanford University, and Alexis F. Lange, head of the Department of Education at the University of California.

²Gregory Goodwin, A Social Panacea: A History of the Community College Ideology, (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, Ed 093 427, 1973).

³Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1976), p. 105.

It is also possible that those considered to be the "founding fathers" of the junior college movement did not visualize the educational process as being truly open-ended. Discussions on the reorganization of education were being dominated by university spokesmen, with debate focusing on what might be done concerning the first two years of university work. The most serious considerations to be put forth were:

1. A decapitation of the first two years of university work so that the university might attend to more meaningful pursuits.
2. A two-year extension of high school to take over the first two years of university work.
3. The establishment of "terminal" education dedicated to the development of the "semi-professions," that is, a class of workers to be clearly above the trades, but just as clearly below the professional elite.

Origins and Original Mission

The number of studies (in our colleges) was far more limited than at the present, and the scholarship was consequently more thorough and more exact. There was less attempted, but what was attempted was more perfectly mastered, and hence afforded a better intellectual discipline. With the vast expansion of science, it came to pass that the course of study was vastly enlarged. The effect has been disastrous. We have destroyed the charm of study by hurry and unnatural pressure, and we

have rendered our scholarship vague and superficial.¹

Henry Tappan, 1851.

Henry P. Tappan was the first university president to attempt to reform the American university along German lines and to seek to relegate the first two years of college to intermediate institutions or to the high school. In 1842, while living in Prussia, Tappan was elected president of the University of Michigan.² Tappan favored the German gymnasia approach, training "good students" for advanced work while turning away the less capable and less disciplined. As such the university was to relegate the burden of teaching "elementary courses" to the four year college or to the high school. The high school, in Tappan's opinion, should offer a thirteenth and fourteenth year as the first two years of college work.

The University of Georgia, in 1859, gave careful consideration to combining secondary education with the first two years of collegiate study. A certificate of successful completion of studies enabled the student to enter the junior year without examination.³

¹Thomas Diener, Growth of an American Invention: A Documentary History of the Junior and Community College Movement, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), p. 27.

²Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, ed., American Higher Education: A Documentary History, 2 vols., (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), vol. 2, pp. 478-487 and pp. 515-544.

³Diener, pp. 30-33.

William W. Folwell, as president of the University of Minnesota from 1869 to 1884, argued that small colleges should abolish their junior and senior years, these being within the realm of the university. He proposed to give to the smaller colleges, as well as to the high school, the primary responsibility of providing the first two years of traditional college work. In 1870 his "Minnesota Plan" attempted to merge the freshman and sophomore years with a preparatory school, a union he called a "people's college."¹ Interestingly enough the plan was adopted by the Board of Regents but faculty opposition eventually led to its being rescinded.

Further support for the two year format came from Richard Jesse, president of the University of Missouri, Edmund James, president of Northwestern University and Henry Barnard, first United States Commissioner of Education (1867 - 1870). Barnard recommended "superior and special schools" which might embrace the first two years of collegiate education and vocational or professional training.² John Burgess, faculty member at Columbia College in New York City also wanted to add two or three years of education to the high school or academy to adequately prepare students for university work. The 19th century college, Burgess felt, tried to pack too

¹Jesse R. Oakley, The Origins and Development of the Public Junior College Movement, 1850-1921, (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, No. 79-22417, 1979), p. 42.

²Diener, p. 27.

much into too small a time frame. A clear distinction should be made between collegiate and university study.

It seems to me that when the American public comes to a clear consciousness of its educational needs...the direction it will take (would involve) the addition of two or three years to the courses of Academies and High Schools, making in these a continuous curriculum of seven to nine years, during which the public shall be taught a thorough knowledge of at least the Greek, Latin, German, and French, the pure mathematics to the Calculus, the elements of the natural sciences, and elements of universal history and general literature.¹

Such views did materialize in the 1890s with the establishment of the Lewis Institute in Chicago and the "junior" college at the University of Chicago. William Rainey Harper, as president of the University of Chicago, proposed the formation of a "junior" college. In 1896 the first two years of the university were labeled as junior, while the upper levels were called senior colleges, names retained by the university until its reorganization in 1931. In 1899 Harper began awarding the Associate in Arts degree to students completing the junior college program. The following reasons were given for awarding such a degree.² The degree meant:

1. The end of preparatory work and the beginning of real university work.
2. That those who did not want to continue could terminate.

¹Diener, pp. 39-42.

²Oakley, p. 67.

3. That those who did not have the financial resources or ability could terminate.

The junior college curriculum at Chicago was similar to that at other American colleges of this period: language, literature, mathematics, science, philosophy, and political science. Philosophically, these two years were to be years of general education, a mode of study designed to complete citizenship training. In some democratic sense the awarding of the associate degree would be in recognition of the message that all could advance to the limits of their potential.

After Harper's death in 1906 expression of the movement shifted to California where it would blossom and experience its most rapid evolution. Here the cause was taken up by David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University. Jordan "feared the threat of the masses to an orderly society and urged public education as a control."¹ Jordan was a sincere and vocal advocate of Spencerian "fitness" and felt that the bottom of the evolutionary ladder should not be allowed to hold back the more talented. "It is not the strength of the strong but the weakness of the weak which engenders exploitation and tyranny," wrote Jordan.²

In devising his system Jordan felt that allowing the "multitudes" into the university would be intrinsically incompatible with a quality of education and that there ought to be an aristocracy

¹Goodwin, p. 65.

²Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), p. 164.

of talent whereby education would develop intelligent leaders and enlightened workers. Toward this end he felt that it would be a good thing for the nation to have post high school education. He thus attempted to reorganize Stanford in the junior college fashion of Harper, designating the university as the place for professional training and research. Jordan's position was that the four traditional years of college broke in the wrong place, too early for completing an education, and too late for approaching professional life. The junior college thus offered a more meaningful division.

Perhaps the most influential figure to be associated with the development of the junior college was Alexis F. Lange. Like Harper, Lange felt that American education should adopt many of the German ideas and practices, particularly with respect to secondary and higher education. He promulgated a "junior certificate" concept which was to be necessary for admittance to the junior year or entrance to the university's professional school. Lange further envisioned a public school system of education that would be organized and integrated and which would serve the many different needs of a diverse student population.

Unlike other junior college pioneers, Lange began to advocate for vocational training for those who did not have the desire or the ability to succeed in the pursuit of a university education. In 1917 he wrote that "accordingly, the junior college, in order to promote the

general welfare, which is the sole reason for its being, cannot make preparation for the university its excuse for existence."¹

In these first decades of the twentieth century the relationship between work and schooling was being radically altered. This transformation "inextricably linked education to employment"² and thus changed the traditional purposes of education for many. Schooling now began to be viewed as a primary route to employment. Lange saw this as a nationwide movement to "equalize educational opportunities by the creation of lower and middle systems of vocational training."³

In his push to establish a junior system, Lange strongly advocated for citizenship training so as to bring about a better understanding of democracy and for the development of a sense of responsibility for the "good of all." The junior college was to "promote the general welfare." Further, the junior college could justify its existence only "if it enables thousands and tens of thousands to round out their general education" and "turn an increasing number into vo-

¹Charles R. Monroe, Profile of the Community College, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1972), p. 11.

²Harvey Kantor, "Vocationalism in American Education: The Economic and Political Context, 1880 - 1930," in Work, Youth, and Schooling: Historical Perspectives on Vocationalism in American Education, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1982), pp. 12-44.

³Oakley, p. 139.

cations for which training has not hitherto been afforded by our school system."¹

For Lange the "junior college is by descent and nature a secondary school. Its legal existence, as far as California is concerned (is as) an extension of the high school..an institution devoted to secondary education."² Probably the greatest and certainly the most original contribution to be made by the junior college "is the creation of means of training for the vocations occupying the middle ground between those of the artesian type and the professions. The prospect is that before long..arrangements will exist that will assist the great mass of those with an elementary education in becoming efficient workers, as much for the sake of a better human and civic life as for a better living."³

In a 1918 review of junior college characteristics McDowell⁴ outlined the role of university support for the movement, a rapid increase in enrollment, and the need for redistribution of work between the university and the high school. He made note that the traditional freshman and sophomore courses occupied the bulk of the curriculum but that the public junior colleges were offering more of,

¹Ibid., pp. 178-179.

²Alexis Frederick Lange, "The Junior College: What Manner of Child Shall This Be?", in Diener, p. 68.

³Ibid., p. 71.

⁴Floyd Marion McDowell, "The Junior College: A Study of Its Origin, Development, and Status in the United States," in Diener, pp. 75-81.

and a greater variety of, vocational courses. He further indicated that the "training of the instructors of the junior colleges studies is greatly inferior to the standard maintained by certain colleges and universities." For McDowell "the character of instruction must, in all cases, be strictly of college grade" and junior colleges "should offer more and a greater variety of vocational or finishing courses."

The Influence of the AAJC on Mission

In an attempt to bring recognition and respectability to the junior college the American Association of Junior Colleges was established with its first meeting being held in 1921. This meeting defined the junior college as an institution offering two years of strictly collegiate grade. Here a new generation of spokesmen began to emerge and a new ideological concept promulgated. Brick noted that the AAJC at this time "was aware that it had to take a leadership role in directing the movement for terminal education,"¹ and its intent was to address the majority of junior college students who would go no further in their formal education. The emphasis of junior college education was to be on vocational and general education.

The mission herein was to develop values, attitudes, and behavior, a process Koos came to refer to as "mental democratization." In 1924 Leonard Koos published the first major study on the junior

¹Michael Brick, Format and Focus for the Junior College Movement, (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, No. 6507438, 1963), p. 120.

college movement.¹ His study indicated that the junior college could fulfill a variety of needs in our society. Not only would it provide college-level general or liberal education, a role he called the "isthmian function," but it could be the beginning of semi-professional educational as well. Koos came to use the word semi-professional to apply to a vocational level higher than the trades but below the professions. Herein Koos participated in unsuccessful efforts during the 1920's and 1930's to integrate the last two years of high school with the junior college. This plan (in essence a 6-4-4 plan) was another attempt to better organize the educational system. Koos' influence is to be seen in the ideology of his students, notably B. Lamar Johnson, S. V. Martorana, and L. Medsker.

Koos' influence can also be seen in the call for the training of a semi-professional class of people in "keeping with their abilities to meet the needs of society." Words such as "natural capacity for endurance, loyalty, and vocational efficiency" began to appear.²

Reviewing the period 1920 to 1936 Doak Campbell describes this as being a period of extensive growth in which accrediting agencies judged those institutions as colleges, not as high schools. The junior colleges of the 1920's:

confined their work to the traditional freshman and sophomore courses found in the four-year colleges. Their work was almost wholly preparatory. Despite

¹Leonard Koos, The Junior College Movement, (New York: AMS Press, 1925).

²Goodwin, pp. 104-110.

the fact that other important functions had been clearly stated for the junior college, these functions were not reflected in the curriculum. Vocational curricula and general curricula were rarely offered. During recent years there has been some trend toward a broader curriculum.¹

In 1933 a report by the Carnegie Commission on State Higher Education in California criticized the junior colleges for permitting the majority of their students to take courses which "should be reserved for the higher ranges of intelligence,"² and recommended that general education be the main emphasis instead. The report further recommended that a variety of curricula be pursued, including one for "social intelligence," a vocational curriculum, and, perhaps looking to the future, a curriculum that would involve adults. The AAJC then began to advocate that greater attention be paid to the non-transfer student. In 1939 the AAJC created a Commission on Junior College Terminal Education which proceeded to study terminal (primarily occupational) education and suggested that the junior college offer "curriculum designed to develop economic, social, civic and personal competence."³

As the mission of terminal education began to root it became necessary to define the terminal student in a more straightforward manner. Then, as until recently, there was a strong desire on the

¹Doak S. Campbell, "Editorial," Junior College Journal, Vol. VII, December, 1936, pp. 109-127.

²Brick, p. 158.

³Cohen and Brawer, The American Community College, p. 193.

part of the students to continue their education. Koos and Eells were confident that through the "scientific" testing of intelligence as being advanced by Hall, Thorndike, and Terman, there would be a means for selection and distribution. The existing problem was to, in some way, enlighten those who failed to realize they were terminal. It was suggested that this be accomplished through professional guidance.

As the high school continued to expand, a sorting began to take place through a mechanism of tracking and subsequently came to organize higher education into a multitiered system "dominated at the top by Ivy League institutions and the great state universities, followed by the less prestigious state colleges, and ending with the community (junior) colleges."¹

In summary, the mission of the junior college during the period previous to the Truman administration was fairly clear..two years of formal education in a traditional manner leading to the opportunity to transfer to a four year institution or to the university. Junior college advocates, on the other hand, felt this to be inconsistent with the potential of a large part of the population as well as with the needs of an evolving social frame. Advocacy became quite strong for a terminal-occupational curriculum with a subsequent dialectic with varying degrees of resolution ensuing.

¹Bowles and Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, p. 209.

The Emergence of the Community College and Its Mission

And these are the touchstones of the liberated man: first is he free; that is to say, is he able to judge and plan for himself? In order to do this, he must be a mind capable of self-criticism; he must lead that self-examined life which according to Socrates is alone worthy of a free man. Second, is he universal in his motives and sympathies? For the civilized man is a citizen of the entire universe; he has overcome provincialism, he is objective, and is a "spectator of all time and all existence." Surely these two are the very aims of a democracy itself.¹

The Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education reflects the educational system with which it deals. It is big and booming. It is confused, confusing and contradictory. It has something for everybody. It is generous, ignoble, bold, timid, naive and optimistic. It is filled with the spirit of universal brotherhood and the sense of American superiority. It has great faith in money. It has great faith in courses. It is anti-humanist and anti-intellectual. It is confident that vices can be turned into virtue by making them larger. Its heart is in the right place; its head does not work very well.²

The post-war years were a time for discussion on the ideals of democracy, equality, and the American version of the good life. Democracy became a view where "not only the few but that all are free, in that everyone governs his own life and shares in the respon-

¹General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1945), p. 53.

²Robert M. Hutchins, Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education, Education Record, XXIX, April, 1948, pp. 107-122.

sibility for the management of the community." The task of modern democracy "is to preserve the ancient ideal of liberal education and to extend it as far as possible to all members of the community. To believe in the equality of human beings is to believe that the good life, and the education which trains the citizen for the good life, are equally the privilege of all."¹ With an increased concern for providing economic justice through equal opportunity came the appeal for the furthering of educational opportunity. Educational opportunity was to be the means by which equal opportunity was to be achieved.

As large numbers of post-war individuals returned to college it became obvious that higher education facilities could not accommodate the increase. As such, President Truman appointed a Presidential Commission on Higher Education in the summer of 1946. The reports of the Commission were issued in 1947 and 1948 and from this point forward the link between income and educational opportunity was to be broken. The doors to higher education were to be opened to all. This was now to be a right and not a privilege. All Americans were to have unlimited access to some form of higher education. With respect to the community college President Truman wrote:

I request that you make a comprehensive study of the community college and report to me your findings and recommendations as to whether the Federal Government can contribute to the objective of

¹General Education in a Free Society, pp. 52-53.

equalizing educational opportunity by assisting in the development of these colleges.¹

The reports issued by the Commission indicated that the social role of education in a democracy was to "insure equal liberty and equal opportunity (and) to have an equal chance with all others to make the most of their native abilities."² The Commission felt "that it would not long endure."³ The reports further proposed that recent advances in science and technology would bring about a significant increase in student numbers. To handle this increase:

it will be necessary to develop much more extensively than at present such opportunities as are now provided in local communities by the two-year junior college, community institute, community college or institute of arts and sciences. The name used does not matter, though community colleges seems to describe these schools best. Indeed..such community colleges probably will have to carry a large part of the responsibility for expanding opportunities in higher education.⁴

The expansion proposed was to be community-based and was to have outcomes far more "comprehensive" than previously experienced. Democratically, students who might not benefit from a full

¹Letter written by President Harry Truman, Accession No. 63-A-23, Office of Education, Federal Records Center, Alexandria, VA. Reprinted in Deiner, pp. 129-130.

²Hofstadter and Smith, pp. 972-983.

³Ibid., p. 975.

⁴Ibid., p. 1981.

four-year course of studies could attain an education enabling them to take their place in the American work force:

To make sure of its own health and strength a democratic society must provide free and equal access for its youth and at the same time it must recognize their differences in capacity and purpose..so that at whatever point any student leaves school he will be fitted, within the limits of his mental capacity and educational level, for an abundant and productive life as a person, as a worker, and as a citizen.¹

The Commission then went on to recommend the expansion of terminal programs for civic and social responsibility as well as occupational programs that would prepare skilled, semi-professional and technical workers:

In the past the junior college has most commonly sought to provide within the local community the freshman and sophomore courses of the traditional college curriculum (but these) usually do not serve well the purpose of those who must terminate their schooling at the end of the fourteenth grade. For this reason the commission recommends that the community college emphasize programs of terminal education.²

The report goes on to qualify terminal education by saying that "semiprofessional education should mix a goodly amount of general education for personal and social development with technical educa-

¹U.S., President's Commission on Higher Education, Vol. 1, "Establishing the Goals," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), Diener.

²Diener, pp. 132-133.

tion to give the student command of marketable abilities."¹ The vocational aspect of one's education "must not (however) tend to segregate "workers" from "citizens."² The Commission's report came to be interpreted as "an important step in the democratization of higher education via access."³

In retrospect this piece of work gave great impetus and renewed purpose to the junior college movement by emphasizing and supporting this form of education that was to be characterized by:

1. Open-door policy.
2. Low-cost.
3. Comprehensiveness.
4. Vocational and terminal curriculum.
5. Community orientation.

Eventually these propositions came to be supported by numerous other committees and foundations and in conjunction with supportive legislation would begin to move the community college away from the mainstream of traditional education, into a period of major growth, and ultimately create a crisis of identity, that is, a real difficulty in clearly defining the mission and direction of the community college.

¹Ibid., p. 133.

²Ibid., p. 139.

³George B. Vaughn, "Historical Perspectives: President Truman Endorsed Community Manifesto," Community College Journal, April, 1983, p. 24.

The last of the traditional community college philosophy now might be seen in the major work of the 1950's, that being Jesse Bogue's "The Community College."¹ In this work Bogue advocated for as much general education as was possible to be included in technical programs. As Executive Secretary of the AAJC Bogue urged the colleges "to strike out boldly (and) to demonstrate that they (the junior colleges) are not bound by tradition or the desire to ape senior colleges for the sake of a totally false notion of academic responsibility."²

In general, the previous period had seen an advocacy on the part of leadership for a "philosophy of semi-professional education," and for programs "that would combine vocational and general studies in a capstone curriculum for the vast majority of students destined never to attain the baccalaureate degree."³ Such contentions were based on the premises that:

1. Too many students aspired to four year schools.
2. Too few students enrolled in vocational programs.

If the community college was to be a successful movement the key to passage was to be through guidance and counseling. Two year

¹Jesse P. Bogue, The Community College, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950).

²Jesse P. Bogue, in Cohen and Brawer, The American Community College, p. 199.

³Walter C. Eells, in Arthur M. Cohen, James C. Palmer and K. Diane Zwemer, Key Resources on Community Colleges, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1986), p. 323.

college students, it was being written, were "on the average less academically able than the students of four year colleges and universities, (hence the need for) counseling to modify unrealistic aspirations and aid in adjusting to the emotional consequences of failing to achieve a desired goal."¹ Further, "the low and middle socioeconomic groups are even more likely to complete occupational programs than those of high status."² Community college teachers and counselors, therefore, were to have the task of convincing students, either consciously or unconsciously, to be realistic about their aspirations and to consider enrollment in a terminal vocational program, an odd role indeed. In many ways this philosophy comes to be supportive of the business sector, of elite institutions who would not have to worry about the dilution of talent, of saturating the job market with degree-holding college graduates, but would still uphold the principle of equality by way of opportunity.

For more than fifty years, then, writers about the community college had advocated the establishment of courses to prepare students for immediate employment. The Junior College Journal as far back as 1930 carried articles and editorials about occupational studies. In the postwar and Sputnik era of the late 1950's the nation "became aware of the importance of the technical and other special-

¹Clyde E. Blocker, Robert H. Plummer, and Richard C. Richardson, Jr., The Two Year College: A Social Synthesis, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 240.

²Robert Palinchak, The Evolution of the Community College, (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1973), p. 175.

ized occupational programs for national defense and economic progress."¹ Monroe writes that "during the 1950's business and industry leaders became increasingly disturbed about the failure of the community colleges to produce the technologically trained workers they needed in their offices and plants."² By the early 1960's:

the idea of college education for occupational life (had) not yet achieved full acceptance by high school graduates and their parents..the idea that occupational education is a function of the community college is readily accepted. The issue itself may be simply stated: either the community college will accept in practice the responsibility for middle-level technical education or some other institution will be established to carry out this essential educational task.³

The above author continues his pursuit of the theme of mental fitness by saying that:

one of the most pressing issues in occupational education continues to be that of helping students to choose the course for which they are best fitted. A good deal of the disproportion between ambition and achievement is a failure to provide a suitable diversity of non-transfer courses. Lack of effective guidance is another contributor to failure and dropout.⁴

¹Monroe, p. 80.

²Ibid., p. 82.

³James W. Thornton, J, The Community Junior College, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1972), pp. 176 and 189.

⁴Ibid., p. 197.

Palinchak offers much the same advice:

The community college should be prepared to bring students to a better understanding of their aptitudes and potential in a manner that makes them cognizant of their own responsibilities for the degree to which they commit themselves.¹

On the national level the government was exercising more fiscal control over the direction of growth. The Federal government was now supplying "one-fourth of all funds spent by institutions of higher education."² The year 1963 saw the Federal Vocational Act broadening the criteria for occupational programs, in contrast to the original Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. "On this surge of monies occupational education swept into the colleges in a fashion dreamed of and pleaded for but never before realized by its advocates."³ This legislation "gave impetus to the community college by requiring that training under the Act be focussed upon gainful employment as the goal of vocational education."⁴ Shortly thereafter a National Committee on the Junior College concluded that "the two-year college offers unparalleled promise for expanding educational opportunity through the provision of comprehensive programs embracing job training as well as traditional liberal arts and general education."⁵

¹Palinchak, p. 175.

²Clark Kerr, "Governance and Function," Dadalus, 99 (1-2), p. 111.

³Cohen and Brawer, The American Community College, p. 192.

⁴Palinchak, p. 167.

⁵Cohen and Brawer, The American Community College, p. 191.

This Committee then recommended that immediate steps be taken to reinforce occupational education efforts.

Blocker, et.al., saw the United States as being on the "verge of entering what will be termed the age of the technician (where) an opportunity exists for the two-year college to make a sizeable contribution..if it can successfully combat the low-status assigned to non-transfer offerings."¹ They subsequently described the characteristics of an occupational program to be:

1. The curriculum should be primarily occupation-centered. Transfer value should be of secondary importance.
2. The depth and scope of the math and science must be tailored to occupational needs.
3. Achievement levels and content should be based on job requirements.
4. The administration and the faculty of the college must fully accept, as the major task of the institution, the goal of preparing students for employment.²

Medsker and Tillery offered similar advice by saying that "in spite of warning some colleges may have set too high standards for some of their occupational curricula, and the faculties need to be

¹Blocker, et.al., p. 215.

²Ibid, pp. 217-219.

convinced that human talents are far more varied than those traditionally valued."¹

Monroe, in the context of a community college education, defines occupational education as that kind of education that would:

prepare students for immediate entry into middle-level vocations or to upgrade the skills of persons already employed. Occupational education has as its goals the education of persons for the greatly increasing white collar occupations.²

target area for most community college occupational programs.	pro- fessions white collar semi- professional tech- nical work skilled craftsmen semi-skilled workers unskilled labor ³
--	--

In most community colleges the range of occupational programs extends downward and "may be more appropriately called vocational jobs demanding vocational training."⁴

The educational philosophy thus being promulgated was premised on the apparent lack of capacity or desire for a university

¹Leland L. Medsker, and Dale Tillery, Breaking the Access Barrier: A Profile of Two-Year Colleges (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), p. 60.

²Monroe, pp. 82-83.

³Ibid., p. 83.

⁴Ibid., p. 83.

education on the part of the many who had been granted access, along with an apparent need for middle-level workers as opposed to the need for university-educated professionals.

Concern for the "two-thirds of community college students who would not transfer" came to be the cause of Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., executive director of the AACJC during the sixties and seventies. Gleazer felt that a large proportion of community college students were inclined toward the "practical and applied rather than toward the theoretical and abstract."¹ Cross expressed similar thoughts:

New students are positively attracted to careers and prefer to learn things that are tangible and useful. They tend not to value the academic model of higher education that is prized by faculty, preferring instead a vocational model.²

For Gleazer, "community college programs and procedures are based upon the assumption that most students will transfer. Since the assumption is not supported by the facts, neither are the educational structures that are built upon it."³ This argument is reiterated by Cross when she says that "our practices in higher education are no

¹Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., This is the Community College, (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968), p. 70.

²K. Patricia Cross, Beyond the Open Door: New Students to Higher Education, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Pub., 1971), p. 159.

³Gleazer, This is the Community College, p. 66.

longer consistent with our purposes (and) the new purpose of higher education is..to make successful those who do come."¹

For Gleazer, as for the other advocates of the community college mission, "occupational education..may become the foremost curricular function," but:

the problem begins with an enthusiasm for the "upper" (white collar) occupations, emphasizing the professional and managerial categories and consequently giving lower status to other occupational categories. In a nation which encourages aspiration and puts its faith in economic and social mobility, there is nothing wrong with this. Realistically..one must face the fact of an almost infinite variety of human talent.²

Misunderstanding of the mission not only applied to the general public, but the faculty came under criticism as well:

A tragic intellectual gulf exists between administration and faculty. Administration are seen as trying to perpetuate a "junior college level," while the faculty perform at the "lower university level." Where faculty emphasize abstract and intellectual college aims..the administration tend to value all college aims while placing emphasis on those that are practical.³

By the late 1960's vocational programs were "well entrenched in community and junior colleges (and the) number of students re-

¹K. Patricia Cross, Toward the Future in Community College Education, (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 168 626, 1978), pp. 2-3.

²Gleazer, This is the Community College, p. 71.

³Palinchak, p. 211.

ceiving training for manual trades in a junior college is often pointed out with a pride almost as great as that attaching to the number of students who transfer to four-year institutions."¹ At the same time the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education recommended "coordinated efforts at the federal level to stimulate the expansion of occupational education in community colleges and to make it responsible to changing manpower requirements."²

Interestingly, the literature indicates that in the early 1970's "very few faculty members perceived technical and vocational education as inappropriate."³ One study of some fourteen hundred community college faculty at Washington's twenty-six community colleges found "close and consistent agreement in placing highest emphasis on vocational programming while deemphasizing academic transfer programs and open-door policies."⁴ In this study academic training, new ideas, and faculty involvement were among the least preferred goals. There was an expressed desire on the part of the system to move towards a somewhat specialized institution with vocational education being of primary importance at the expense of

¹Arthur M. Cohen, Dateline '79: Heretical Concepts for the Community College, (Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press, 1969), p. 139.

²The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, The Open-Door Colleges, (Hightstown, NJ: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970), pp. 20-21.

³Medsker and Tillery, p. 61.

⁴Martin W. Gillo, Merle Landerholm, and Davind N. Goldsmith, "Goals and Educational Trends in Community Colleges," Journal of Higher Education, 1974, 45 (7), pp. 491-503.

other higher types of education. When the administration and board were included the "ideal community college," for all three groups,

is one which stresses quality vocational education for a limited number of students and places an emphasis on the provision of guidance counseling to the student.¹

In general this study sees the community college moving toward an identity quite different from that prescribed by the universities and where "vocational training is the clear champion over all other output goals."

In the early 1970's the prevailing educational attitude in the community college was still largely meritocratic but there was continued pressure to further democratize higher education by continuing to bring it further within the reach of a broader segment of the population. What began to become noticeable, however, was a growing concern about the inability of traditional institutions of higher education to serve the growing numbers of non-traditional students now attending college under the open-door policies. Patricia Cross was arguing that increased access did not ensure academic success and that alternative educational programs needed to be established to meet the interests of these new students:

In moving from the meritocratic era in education to one of egalitarianism we have not faced up to the fact that equality of educational opportunity requires more than guarantees of equal access..New

¹Ibid., p. 502.

students..will be the losers if we concentrate on access programs that merely assure the entrance of new students into traditional programs of education.¹

For Cross, the "new student" to higher education is one who:

might be characterized as scoring in the lowest one-third among national samples of young people on traditional tests of academic ability..who prefer watching television programs to reading. They prefer working with tools to working with numbers; they feel more competent in using a sewing machine than in reciting long passages from memory; they prefer to learn what others have said rather than to engage in intellectual questioning; they possess a more pragmatic, less questioning, more authoritarian system of values than traditional students.²

Cross continues on to say that:

As the community college was moving, albeit awkwardly, to implement egalitarian premises, the main discussions now came to concern the questions of what we shall teach and how we shall teach it. The question of whom we shall teach in postsecondary programs has been answered.³

The period following World War II to the mid-1970's thus saw a successful advocacy for the comprehensive community college, with career education on the verge of becoming the primary func-

¹Cross, Beyond the Open Door, p. 156.

²Ibid., p. 159.

³Ibid., p. 163.

tion. Advocacy for such a mission was based upon perceived student abilities and the need for technologically trained workers. A major reason for the success of such advocacy was strong federal support for vocational education. Problematically there appears to be a dichotomy between what leadership wanted and, generally speaking, what faculty were actually doing. Advocates perceived the community college mission to be essentially egalitarian and community oriented. At the same time they seemed to feel an elitist resistance, to some extent from the students who still had strong feeling for the baccalaureate degree, and to a great extent from the faculty who they thought were university oriented. On the one hand the community college sought to remain within the realm of higher education while at the same time attempted to limit the academic mission that traditionally characterized higher education. A new era of philosophy was evolving in support of a new clientele.

The Decline of Transfer Education

One of the most significant changes in the community college is the decline of transfer education, studies designed to lead toward the baccalaureate degree. The decline is most pronounced in enrollment but there is considerable evidence that transfer education is also losing its preeminence as the principle function of the college.¹

¹John A. Lombardi, "The Decline of Transfer Education: Topical Paper Number 70" (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 179 273, 1979), p. 1.

Ideologically, the post war period, at least through the middle 1970's was most notably a period of rapid expansion both in numbers of physical facilities and student enrollment. The mission during this period of time can be seen as very egalitarian in that a philosophy of open-access prevailed. This period was the high point for transfer education and in community college-university relations. Community colleges were being viewed as a way to solve social and economic problems. This was the era of the "new student" and state funding formulae had become enrollment driven. Robert McCabe described these times:

When I first became a community college administrator it was during a period of celebration of the miracle of the American community college. Few who worked in the college spoke of the "community college field;" rather we talked about the "community college movement." To quote my predecessor, Pete Masiko, "these institutions were there at the right time with at least some of the right answers." They were the ideal institutions to expand opportunity in higher education during a time of increased job complexity and new opportunities in the professions and paraprofessional fields. Those of us in community colleges were buoyed up by optimism and considered ourselves crusaders...there was consensus on mission - that is, to do all you can, and to do it now.¹

In the early 1970's all the news concerning the community college seemed to be good news. "It receives more and more attention. Much of what is written is uncritical and panegyric!"

¹MCCabe, Shaping the Future, p. 9.

the community college is currently being touted as the college of the disadvantaged ethnic minorities..preparing for careers as technicians, middle-level managers, etc..having established in the public mind that their objectives are not those of their colleagues in the university.¹

What was being witnessed was a phenomenal growth in enrollments in occupational courses signaling a new direction for the community college movement:

Whereas before the 1970's occupational advocates bemoaned the emphasis of the transfer function, today it is the educators in the transfer section who are watching helplessly while their courses and programs are being scuttled to make way for career education courses and programs.²

The turning point came sometime during the middle sixties where career numbers increased at a higher rate than either the total enrollment or the transfer enrollment. From 1907 until 1940 transfer education comprised 60% to 70% of enrollment. By 1973 this figure was reduced to around 43%.³ In 1982 Barron felt that it was reasonable to assume that career enrollments totaled 60% of all community college credit students. He cites further research that estimates that 10%, or even as low as 4% to 5% of community college

¹James J. Zigarelli, "The Community College in Search of an Identity," Journal of Higher Education, 1970, 41 (9), pp. 701-702.

²John A. Lombardi, "Resurgence of Occupational Education: Topical Paper Number 65" (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 148 418, 1978), p. 1.

³Lombardi, Decline in Transfer Education, p. 6.

students eventually transfer.¹ At last, "the first-time, full-time freshman began to act as Eells and his fellow critics felt they should."² For Baron it was to be a compounding of economic factors that was to tilt the balance away from the transfer and towards the careers:

For most of the Twentieth Century the United States economy had only needed about 10% to 20% of its labor force in the professional, managerial and paraprofessional occupations. In the 1960's and 1970's enrollment increased precipitously so that a major difference now existed between the number of students who sought high level employment, and the number of actual jobs available at this level.³

In Freeman's view there came to be a depression in the college labor market "after years in which a college education was trumpeted as the sure route to a good job and high income. Reports suddenly appeared in the early 1970's that graduates were experiencing serious employment problems. For the first time in recent history questions began to be raised about the economic value of a degree."

For the graduates of the mid-1970's falling salaries, scarce job opportunities, (and) dwindling career prospects are the new reality.⁴

¹Robert F. Barron, "Why the Big Change in Student Program Selection at Two-Year Colleges?," Educational Record, Winter, 1984, pp. 34-35.

²Eells, quoted in Lombardi, Decline of Transfer Education, p. 3.

³Robert F. Baron, The Change from Transfer to Career Education: A Case Study of Genesee Community College, (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, No. 82-23947, 1982), p. 42.

⁴Freeman, The Overeducated American, pp. 9 and 31.

The subsequent adaptations were seen as career decisions as students moved into business-oriented vocational fields, many reversing the transfer situation, and a new study ethic began to replace the social activist ethos as students came to compete for the favor of employers or professional schools.¹ Bellico viewed this as a crisis of expectations and asked "whether or not a college education is any longer a passport to the good life" and suggested that those interested in economic rewards may be better off seeking vocational training.² Two very influential career advocates, Harris and Grede, then concluded that, from an economic perspective, "if associate degree graduates from career-oriented programs could be studied as a disaggregated group, the rate of return from the 1970 to 1975 period would be at least as high, and perhaps higher, than that for the four-year college graduates."³ Such developments were not lost on community college students:

Whereas 18 percent of the entire two-year students in 1970 stated that they wanted to major in the humanities or the social sciences, only 9 percent indicated this intention in 1979. To then transfer meant a delay of two more years before entering an

¹Ibid., p. 31.

²Robert Bellico, "Higher Education: Crisis of Expectations," Educational Record, 1979, Volume 60, Number 1, pp. 93-98.

³Norman C. Harris, and Jon F. Grede, Career Education in Colleges, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Publishers), 1977, p. 345.

already uncertain job market in an economic climate seemingly indifferent to a B.A. degree.¹

As the community college moved into the latter part of the 70's the period of rapid expansion had stabilized. Funding policies, depending on full-time equivalencies, saw competition for students becoming a necessity. Comprehensiveness was being re-formulated in terms of career education and community service, with a subsequent breakdown in comprehensiveness at the transfer level. By the early 1980's eighty percent of the first-time, full-time students in the community college cited the ability to get a better job as their primary reason for attending college.² In 1983 Newsweek Magazine wrote that "nine million people are now enrolled in community, technical, or junior colleges..two-thirds of them are there specifically for vocational training, compared with one-third ten years ago."³ In the period from 1975 to 1985 associate degrees and post secondary certificates in "less-than-four year programs" increased more rapidly than all other awards granted by institutions of higher education.⁴ Breneman and Nelson described the community college population of this time as "less wealthy, members of minority groups, older, part-time, working, and less well-prepared." For them the community

¹Baron, "Why the Big Change?," p. 22.

²Ibid., p. 48.

³"Vocational Schools Get Respect," Newsweek, March 7, 1983, p. 79.

⁴Center for Education Statistics, Department of Education, "The Study, Less Than-4 Year Institutions of Higher Education: 1983-85," Washington, D.C.: Department of Education.

college student "was now more like non-college students in terms of academic ability and more like four-year college students in terms of socio-economic status."¹ By contrast, Templin saw the community college rapidly becoming a "predominantly middle-class institution accepted among white, educated middle-income Americans as a higher education system for themselves and their children."² Enrollment patterns now showed that the traditional opportunity function of the community college as being increasingly assumed by four-year institutions:

Perhaps the most significant (factor) is the narrowing gap between enrollment rates at four-year and two-year colleges at all socio-economic levels. A cause for concern among two-year colleges..must be the loss of high-aptitude students from 1972 to 1982. Four-year institutions in 1982 have higher enrollment rates at the lower socio-economic levels and at all but the lowest ability level. (Four-year colleges) are still the main access point to post-secondary education for lower socio-economic and aptitude students in their first year after high school graduation. On balance the four-year colleges and universities are the principal factors providing the egalitarian function for recent high school graduates.³

¹Breneman and Nelson, p. 22.

²Robert G. Templin, Jr., "Keeping the Door Open for Disadvantaged Students." In Vaughn, Issues for Community College Leaders in a New Era, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Publishers, 1983), p. 39.

³Darrel A. Clowes, Dennis E. Hinkle, and John C. Smart, "Enrollment Patterns in Postsecondary Education," Journal of Higher Education, March/April, 1982, Number 2, pp. 127-133.

As transfer education declined and career education prevailed, a significant change in student abilities accompanied by modification in expectation on the part of both the student and the faculty began to be noted. As Baron chronicled the move to career education at Genessee Community College, Richardson's study of "Oakwood" Community College describes this institution's attempt to adapt its educational program and services "in the face of declining numbers of full-time students interested in the transfer program and greater student diversity among those recruited to offset the loss in traditional enrollments."¹ As a typical community college Oakwood "followed national trends in the nature of its curriculum, which was increasing in comprehensiveness but decreasing in coherence and structure." Of great importance, and perhaps indicative of a mission now in transition, is that:

Oakwood, a college firmly rooted in the academic tradition and committed to baccalaureate-oriented courses as its first priority, was faced with a growing number of poorly prepared students. Students were perceived as poor readers and writers, and their lack of motivation and seriousness made it harder for faculty members to derive satisfaction from teaching.²

What is being witnessed is another dimension of mission, remediation. In Massachusetts, educational policy makers wrote that:

¹Richardson, et al., p. 21.

²Ibid., p. 21.

Consistent with their comprehensive mission, the community colleges should provide most of the remedial programs and should develop further expertise to assist differentially-prepared students successfully. The baccalaureate degree-granting institutions, consistent with their missions, should make available only those services required by qualified students to refresh or to upgrade specific skills.¹

For most of its history then, the transfer function prevailed as the educational mission of the community college. Many, if not a majority, of the faculty were themselves educated in a traditional manner and brought a sense of collegiality with them to the community college. The 1960's was a period of very rapid physical growth for the community college, but a movement away from the transfer function can be seen as beginning to happen. By the late 1970s career education prevailed. At the same time, the nation had begun to experience a decline in literacy. The number of students now less concerned with acquiring and developing the reading, writing, and thinking skills associated with the traditional degree programs had a powerful impact, especially upon faculty. With a singularly large number of institutions now in place came a decline in student demographics. Competition for full-time equivalencies became a necessity. A good market for the community college was to be found in the large number of new students who needed remediation

¹Massachusetts Board of Regional Community Colleges, A Long-Range Plan for Higher Education in Massachusetts: Phase 1, (Publication No. 12885-130-2007-82-CR, 1982), p. 30.

and developmental education. Enter a new dimension of mission for the community college.

A Mission in Transition

As has been emphasized the pluralism of the American social system has come to generate many varied educational opportunities, from the very selective colleges and universities to the open-access community colleges. The attempt, thus far, has been to sketch the nature and dimensions of the two-year college movement so as to understand the conflict in ideology that has accompanied its evolution. As Tillery and Deegan point out, "the comprehensive community colleges of today are very different from the junior colleges that preceded them."¹

In general, the American system of education as we know it today is essentially meritocratic in structure and function and "impulsive responses to modify it to accommodate egalitarian pressures are necessarily producing confusion and conflict."² Under a growing pressure of institutions to become all things to all people many institutions have come to be "on a collision course (as) the demands of meritocracy and egalitarianism become irreconcilable."³

¹Tillery and Deegan, "The Evolution of Two-Year Colleges," p. 25.

²Logan Wilson, "Merit and Equality in Higher Education," Educational Record, 51, Winter, 1970, p. 5.

³Ibid., p. 9.

It might now be postulated that the community college mission in the 1980's has come to be involved in a "dialectic between the traditional values of elitism and the emergent values of egalitarianism."¹ While being called upon - and responding to the call - to perform many functions for which they were not originally conceived "those who came to teach in them were faced with unexpected problems concerning their work, roles, and self-conceptions."² Much of the literature claimed that many community college teachers simply did not understand the new student.

In the early 1980's the egalitarian perspective viewed the community college as a locally centered institution with community interest determining the curriculum.³ There was a strong emphasis on "putting America back to work." The egalitarian philosophy argued for:

attempts to increase the utility of every man and woman through an emphasis on vocational and citizenship education. According to its leaders, the utility of the community college is judged by the eventual utility of its students in society. This utility is measured by the capacity of the students to

¹Robert B. Young, "The Identity Crisis of the Community College: A Dilemma in Dialectic," Journal of Higher Education, 1977, 48 (3), p. 335.

²Howard B. London, "In Between: The Community College Teacher," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Volume 448, March, 1980, pp. 62-73.

³Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., Values, Vision and Vitality, (Washington, D.C.: AAJC, 1980), pp. 1-39.

earn a living and to live a full life..by their vocational and citizenship participation in society.¹

As the mission began to define the profession, individuals began to be removed from the mainstream of their academic disciplines. They were less likely to publish, to read scholarly journals or to attend meetings of discipline-related associations, and in London's words to, "feel uncomfortably alone and in-between."²

In an extensive study on faculty carried out in 1967 Garrison described the emerging dilemma:

In the course of hundreds of interviews and discussions..the impression deepens that the junior college teacher is - or may be becoming - a new breed of instructor in higher education. He is, in his own desire and view, a colleague in a new kind of collegiate effort, as yet ill-defined and in furious flux. He is unsure of his status; he is being asked to implement a policy he had no part in formulating; he is the servant of several demanding masters.³

Blocker, as has been noted with respect to a number of career advocates, was quite disturbed about the course of events involving faculty:

There is a clear cut distinction between the liberal and the conservative approaches in respect to the faculty of the two-year college. Probably no other problem is causing more delay in the rapid devel-

¹Young, p. 336.

²London, "In Between," p. 73.

³Roger H. Garrison, "Junior College Faculty: Issues and Problems, A Preliminary National Appraisal," (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Junior Colleges: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 012 177, 1967), p. 15.

opment of the two-year college than the confusion as to the type of faculty member that is needed, the best methods for training and selecting these faculty members, and a clear delineation of faculty roles in regard to the functions of the two-year college.¹

Blocker felt that the traditional faculty were "interested only in students in the upper quartile in ability: those who can successfully pursue a baccalaureate degree," while the career faculty were "challenged by the median or below median student whose thinking is not restricted to a curriculum handed down by a four-year college."²

Zigerell, in reflection of the mission ambiguity, then asks:

Is it any wonder then, that community college faculties, other than professors of automotive technology, are not certain of what they are - high school teachers, university instructors, custodians of children of a larger growth? Their fondness for the trappings and titles of academe indicate what they would like to be considered.³

With respect to community college administration, Zigarell makes this observation:

Their administrators, a somewhat new managerial breed, share the faculty fondness for the prestigious title. Caught between two-worlds they dub themselves "president," "dean" and the like, while talking knowingly about an educational institution's

¹Blocker, et.al., p. 134.

²Ibid, p. 134.

³Zigarell, p. 702.

"cost-accountability" and the necessity for recruiting "para-professionals" and non-academic types for teaching. Unabashedly, without scholarly background or interest, as a rule, these administrators are hired upon the recommendations of consultants who..man the junior college training programs from which the very administrators they recommended are graduated, usually wearing the garland of the EdD. degree.¹

Whether or not career education is a useful or proper mission, it captured the community college's attention. Its advocates have increased, and more of them are appointed to administrative positions.² For Cohen and Brawer:

Community college leaders who subscribe to the marketplace as the prime determinant of the curriculum accept career education just as they accepted the transfer function of an earlier day. For them, the enrollments are the measure of all value.³

Just as a declining economic market helped foster career education in the '70's, so did the decline of literacy in the eighties help foster the rise of developmental education as a major mission of the community college. For Richardson, the "open-door" college had now given way to the "open-access" college, that is "any institution which admitted students without requiring minimal literacy skills."⁴ Richardson describes the outcome:

¹Ibid., p. 702.

²Cohen and Brawer, The American Community College, p. 215.

³Ibid., p. 216.

⁴Clowes, p. 16.

By 1978 Oakwood had to adapt its educational program and services in the face of declining numbers of full-time students interested in the transfer programs and greater student diversity among those recruited to offset the loss in traditional enrollments. Although enrollments continued to increase, significantly larger proportions of the new students were part-time. More attended in the evening; and increasingly, those in attendance lacked the writing, reading, and math skills regarded by the faculty as minimal for success in the transfer programs.¹

In its own right, Oakwood was "following national trends in the nature of its curriculum, which was increasing in comprehensiveness but decreasing in coherence and structure."² Most recently, Oakwood "had indicated its intention to address the needs of new and non-traditional students as defined by Cross by allocating funds for developmental education."³ Richardson then goes on to comment on the effect this has had on the faculty:

Of greater import, Oakwood, a college firmly rooted in the academic tradition and committed to baccalaureate-oriented courses as its first priority, was faced with a growing number of poorly prepared students. Students were perceived (by faculty) as poor readers and writers, and their lack of motivation and seriousness made it harder for faculty members to derive satisfaction from teaching. Instructors noted changes over the years in the classroom behavior of students: They appeared to be

¹Richardson, et. al., p. 21.

²Ibid., p. 21.

³Ibid., p. 23.

less mature, with the concomitant problems of short attention spans and poor quality work.¹

The decline in transfer education has been accompanied by a shift in educational relationships. Dale Parnell, president of the AACJC, feels that clearly more and more secondary schools and community colleges are waking up to the reality of shifting the curriculum to match a technological world. The prediction that community colleges of the future will work closely with employers has already come true. But, in what seems to be a never-ending search for mission, Parnell asks, "has the time arrived to take the next step in establishing formal community college program partnerships with high schools? How about establishing a new four-year tech-prep/associate degree program of cooperation between high schools and community, technical, and junior colleges?"² Philosophically, this program seeks "a middle ground that blends the liberal arts with the practical arts without diluting the time-honored baccalaureate-degree/college-prep track,"³ while the targets for the program would be "the middle quartiles of the typical high-school student body in terms of academic talent and interest and the mid-range of occupations requiring some beyond-high-school education and training but not necessarily a baccalaureate degree." Parnell's contention, like that of his predecessors, is "that additional program structure and

¹Ibid., p. 36.

²Parnell, The Neglected Majority, pp. 138-139.

³Ibid., p. 140.

substance are required for most high-school students; that professional and technical workers are expected to replace clerical workers as the largest occupational group; that the junior and senior years of high school can be better utilized and that the drop-out rate can be reduced; that the associate degree is becoming an increasingly preferred degree by employers for entry into many mid-level occupations."¹ For Parnell:

Neither the current college-prep/baccalaureate-degree track nor the traditional vocational-education job-specific track will adequately serve the needs of a majority of the students in the future, while a general education track serves the needs of none. Placing all the students in a theory-based baccalaureate-degree program, as recommended in so many of the reform reports, fails to recognize the tremendous individual differences in student abilities, aptitudes, learning speeds and styles, and backgrounds.²

In the attempt to respond to new missions to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse student population, "community colleges are in danger of losing sight of their original collegiate function." In their most recent work, Cohen and Brawer argue that community colleges must reassess priorities and concentrate on their original goals.³ They feel that the "liberal arts are stronger than they have been at any time since the 1960's, but the result will not be a return to the

¹Ibid., pp. 140-141.

²Ibid., p. 142.

³Cohen and Brawer, The Collegiate Function, pp. 1-23.

community college of the 1950's."¹ Developmentally, then, the community college has come to benefit from the peculiarly American belief that individuals cannot be legitimately educated unless some institution sanctions this aspect of their being. As a group we have come to place more emphasis on the issuing of credentials than on the learning that ought to occur within these institutions. From an initial and critical point of view accessibility, the major democratic proposition of the community college, may be seen as very egalitarian in that the principle of equal opportunity has been extended, and meritocratically it is now up to the individual to succeed or to fail. However, accessibility has not fostered equality. The new student to higher education has accessibility but lacks the tools to be successful in the traditional sense. Is the answer to be found with a new insurgence of remediation? Gleazer, in this book Values, Vision, and Vitality (1980)², asked whether it might not be time for the community college to deemphasize its association with higher education and to reconsider the use of the term "college." On the other hand Robert McCabe of Miami-Dade Community College felt that "it is time for community colleges to make basic changes,"³ and Cross adds that it is essential "to undertake systematic reformation of the educational

¹Ibid., p. 191.

²Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., Values, Vision, and Vitality, (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1980).

³Robert H. McCabe, "Now is the Time to Reform the American Community College," Community and Junior College Journal, May, 1981, p. 9.

program that will permit the continuation of the open door together with the strengthening of standards."¹ For Cross

"the coming years will see a struggle between those who would keep the community college within the educational system and those who would take their institutions even closer to the periphery. What happens in the next ten years will have profound implications for the community college movement. It is going to be difficult if not impossible to lead a national community college movement with the energy and sense of mission that characterized the 1950's and 1960's."²

The 1980's have come to be a period of mission ambiguity for the community college. Remediation seems to be challenging careerism for the energy of the faculty, at least for the time being. Financial constraints, whether real or contrived, have taken the wind out of the movement's sail. Although demographic projections have been dire, the decrease in student numbers has not been seen. Part-time faculty subsequently have come to have an important place in the system. Faculty, in general, have been challenged by the new students, a role they were not trained for nor had a say in. The educational process itself, in light of administrative priorities concerned with growth and community demands, has become quite mechanical

¹K. Patricia Cross, "The New Frontier in Higher Education: Pioneers for Survival," (Educational Testing Services, Berkley, CA: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 179 140, 1979).

²K. Patricia Cross, "Consider the Possibilities." A paper prepared for the Massachusetts College Association, Worcester, MA, September 30, 1982, p. 28.

as the curriculum has become fragmented. Cohen and Brawer summarize the "recapitulation:"¹

1. Remedial English and Math now account for one-third of all offerings in these disciplines.
2. All the disciplines have moved in the direction of service to students in occupational programs.
3. Courses in science have tended toward teaching terminology and "useful" information.
4. Spanish and English as a second language (ESL) account for nearly three-fourths of all language study, with ESL showing a phenomenal increase in recent years.
5. Courses without prerequisites dominate in all areas, although courses in sequence are often seen in chemistry, the engineering technologies, and the fine arts.
6. Courses introductory to a discipline and courses in service to occupational studies dominate the collegiate curriculum.

From a faculty perspective, teaching in a community college has now come to mean dealing with students with "developmental" problems, who are involved in, or wish to be involved in, some career program, along with students who have had sufficient previous experience and academic success so as to be comfortable in the more traditional rigors of the higher educational process. For the more traditional faculty there is the need to cope with the dialectic that

¹Cohen and Brawer, The Collegiate Function, pp. 43-44.

they perceive as being meaningful as opposed to what the students in the career programs have come to perceive as being meaningful.

The Community College in Massachusetts

The idea of a community college system itself did not take root in the Commonwealth until the mid-1950's. At this time a "Special Commission Relative to the Operation and Structure of Junior College in the Commonwealth" was formed.¹ At this time arguments for establishing a community college system related to the "needs of students who were unable to pay for the cost of higher education," as well as the "need for semi-professional training (which) is now more necessary because of the higher technical types of industry which demand a higher degree of skill and education."² It was the thinking of this Commission that "junior or community colleges can prepare the many thousands of students who leave high school and do not now go on to a higher education to be better qualified to work in this new economy."³

The University of Massachusetts then recommended that a three function community college system be established. The community college would be (1) a two-year terminal vocational school, (2) a two-year feeder to the university system, and (3) a source of

¹House 2850, December 31, 1956.

²Ibid, p. 7.

³Ibid., p. 7.

adult programs. It was further felt that the "cost of maintaining a high standard community college is comparable per student..to the average cost now prevailing at the University of Massachusetts, and that the community college is in the field of higher education."¹ The final report of the Commission was in 1958 and it suggested that the "faculty..should establish the curricula and that this curricula should substantially be equivalent to the first two years of college education."²

An increasing population in the Commonwealth, with its potential demand for further education, was of concern so that the "establishment of junior and community colleges is, therefore, for this reason alone, both necessary and imperative."³ Foster Furcolo, then Governor of the state, was pressing for educational changes:

We cannot even begin to meet our ultimate responsibility in educational leadership unless we now rise to the imminent crisis in higher education. The pressing international challenge so recently dramatized by Sputnik contributes to this necessity. The realization of individual hopes, the seemingly never-ending drive for self-improvement among the American people is a most powerful factor contributing to the popular demand for the expansion of educational opportunities. An equally compelling factor is the American hope for a better life for our children and the vital importance of equality of op-

¹Ibid., p. 22.

²House 2719, p. 9.

³Ibid., p. 11.

portunity. If we are to realize the American dream of a more abundant future, we must expand our educational institutions without delay.¹

In March of 1958 a special report entitled "Needs in Massachusetts Higher Education with Special Reference to Community Colleges" recommended the development of a community college system. This recommendation was adopted by the General Court on August 11, 1958. The new Board of Regional Community Colleges then established nine community colleges between the years 1960 and 1965. By 1973 the number of community colleges in Massachusetts reached a high of fifteen.

Philosophically it was being argued that:

Sine qua non to the concept of democracy is the idea that the success of this form of government depends on an educated, informed, articulate electorate. To the extent that citizens are not educated to their full potential, democratic society suffers social, economic and civic waste.²

The community college in Massachusetts can thus be viewed as an institution for the democratization of higher education. The community college system in Massachusetts was to be comprehensive, that is, it was to offer transfer and occupational curriculums, general education and community services.³ Two years of liberal arts would

¹The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "The Responsibility of the Commonwealth in Higher Education," Senate No. 760, Message from His Excellency Foster Furcolo, July 1, 1958, pp. 6-7.

²Deyo, p. 2.

³Ibid., p. 2.

be the "most useful of community college offerings since it is elected as necessary for the academic objectives of a very large proportion of community college students whose career choices or professional ambitions require a minimum of a baccalaureate degree."¹ Even if the students were not to continue into the "upper division," their time in the community college "would have been beneficial in the way college education is supposed to be beneficial: broadening of background and freeing of the mind for a richer personal life and for improved effectiveness as citizens, family members, and social beings."² In contrast to this very egalitarian mission, however, "is arrayed the greatest problem the community has which is the low prestige of occupational education. Thus far, in its brief history, the community college..has failed to pursue this objective as aggressively as it has others."³

In the early years of the system, education and educators were experiencing a relatively high level of public esteem. Nationally the academic environment was very favorable and faculty prestige of consequence. The profession of teaching itself had achieved substantial influence.⁴ In these years teaching was an "attractive mag-

¹Ibid., p. 17.

²Ibid., p. 17.

³Ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁴Jack H. Schuster and Howard R. Bowen, "The Faculty at Risk," Change Magazine, Sept./Oct., 1985, p. 13.

net for capable and ambitious young men and women."¹ In Massachusetts, "in spite of the less-than-ideal working conditions and a salary schedule rapidly becoming non-competitive, the community colleges have assembled extraordinary faculties."² The Deyo report goes on to describe this:

Eighty percent have had previous teaching experience, including 28 percent whose previous experience has been in junior or community colleges; 91 percent have had some previous teaching experience at one level or another. Twenty-five percent of the faculty members earned academic honors as part of their professional preparation. Another very significant fact is that 88 percent held degrees that were appropriate to the academic disciplines in which they were teaching. Eighty-two percent have had career experience other than teaching; 20 percent in business and management, 10 percent in research, 5 percent in engineering and 4 percent in government.³

As these were years of foundation and expansion the assembly of faculty was critical. While this may reflect vanity more than considered judgement, there is little doubt that the quality of the faculty is a major determinant of the quality of the institution. In starting and running a college "personnel are obviously more important than programs or plants."⁴ In starting Berkshire Community College,

¹Bowen and Schuster, p. 4.

²Deyo, p. 13.

³Ibid., p. 13.

⁴O'Connell, p. 79.

President O'Connell describes the characteristics he felt necessary for faculty:

I would stress again the absolutely top priority which should be given to engaging a nucleus of able, energetic, imaginative people right at the outset. The opportunity to start something new has a lot of appeal and the new college can capitalize on that appeal..the appeal of this proposition for ambitious, zestful educators is enormous. The trick is to pick the best of those who are intrigued by the opportunity.¹

One of the problems in bringing together a community college faculty in Massachusetts was the relative newness of the idea to the area. Generally speaking few community college instructors were prepared in programs especially designed for that level of teaching. Few had ever taken a single course describing the institution before they assumed responsibility in it.² Cohen and Brawer further describe the characteristics of a community college faculty:

The proportion of men is lower than in the universities, higher than in secondary schools. Most of the faculty hold academic master's degrees or equivalent experience in the occupations they teach in. They are less likely to hold advanced degrees than university professors. Their primary responsibility is to teach. They rarely conduct research or scholarly inquiry, and they have only a modest formal connection with institutional management. They are more concerned with subject matter than are

¹Ibid., pp. 82-83.

²Arthur M. Cohen and Florence B. Brawer, The Two-Year College Instructor Today, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977), pp. 66-79.

their counterparts in the secondary school, less so than university professors.¹

Academically the master's degree obtained in a traditional academic department would be the more common preparation for teaching in this system. Historically the doctorate has never been seen as a more necessary degree, although it has been rewarded as such.

The years 1960 through the early 1970's were therefore years of expansion and vitality for community college education in Massachusetts. It was in such an era and in such a mood that MCC was founded and in which the faculty being studied made, what is now, a long-term career choice.

MCC

MCC was established as the thirteenth community college in the statewide system in 1969. Planning and formation of the college came as a direct result of the Deyo study which identified the need for a Northwest suburban community college. In establishing the college, the Massachusetts Board of Regional Community Colleges anticipated growth to a level of 2,500 to 3,500 full-time students. The initial location was to be temporary and due to "limitation in the physical conditions" the opening of classes did not take place until September, 1970. The founding faculty consisted of nineteen full-time instructors and two division chairpersons. Fifteen of these fac-

¹Cohen and Brawer, The American Community College, pp. 66-67.

ulty were associated with the liberal arts and sciences, while the other six were aligned with the careers.

The first class of students was a diverse group. There were many Vietnam veterans, and veterans of the social activism of the late 60's. "Most faculty and administrators," reflecting on these first students, "remembered excitement, eagerness, shared adventure, and singleness of purpose as characteristics of the group."¹ The Deyo Report had projected continued growth and development of the community college system in Massachusetts through 1975 and as such MCC seemed certain to maintain a steady development during the 1970's. However, as the then Dean of Administration reflected:

MCC started during a period of rapid growth in the state. Although we all felt naive enough to believe that MCC would always grow, we were never really comfortable with the funding to do the things we wanted to do and support the programs. But we always found a way to stretch the dollar. In retrospect, this may have worked against the college. There was never a period of affluence.²

The President added that:

MCC went from an enrollment of 570 in the first year to 939 the second year. We should not have done that, but everyone was excited. The first year we had the Liberal Arts and Sciences, Medical Laboratory Technician, and Secretarial and Business program. The second year we introduced X-ray Technology and Medical Assisting. The third year

¹Evelyn Clements, et. al. The History of MCC: 1970-1980, p. 9.

²Ibid., p. 19.

Dental Hygiene and Nursing. Our enrollment the third year was 957.¹

The history of MCC was to be marked by struggle, some of which is uncharacteristic of the twelve community colleges in Massachusetts which were established before this institution. "With budget restriction, with a cumbersome legislative process, with scrutiny and skepticism of public higher education, with collective bargaining, have come a host of problems quite unique to MCC."² In addition to such problems there came that dramatic shift in enrollment from liberal arts and transfer education to career and developmental programs that the nation was experiencing. In 1973 the president of MCC emphasized that "community colleges are fast becoming career centers. The community college is in tune with the vocational skill needs of an evolving technological era."³ A 1973 self-study report for accreditation listed the "preparation of students who plan to transfer to four year colleges "ahead of providing for "general semi-professional and technical education" as goals.⁴ By 1982 the Massachusetts Board of Regents, in its long range plan, placed the providing of "associate degree programs which prepare individuals for paraprofessional, technical and service occupations"

¹Ibid., p. 19.

²Ibid., p. 26.

³"MCC: The First Three Years," President's Report, 1973, p. 1.

⁴MCC Self Study Report, submitted to the New England Association of Schools and Colleges, June 1973, p. 2.

ahead of "special programs which prepare qualified students to transfer to baccalaureate degree and other programs."¹ For Cross, "the one function that singularly reserved for the community colleges in Massachusetts Long-Range Plan is remedial/developmental education."²

The change in philosophy was congruent with the change in faculty. The period 1970-1975 saw student enrollment grow from an initial 500 students to 1250 students. By 1986 this figure had gradually risen to 2200 students. At the same time enrollment in the continuing education and community services area had expanded from 972 students in 1970 to over 11,000 students in 1986. In 1970 there were fifteen full-time and eight part-time faculty associated with the liberal arts and sciences while in the career programs there were six full-time and three part-time members. By the Fall of 1975 there were twenty-six full-time and fourteen part-time liberal arts faculty while the career component rose to twenty-seven full-time and fourteen part-time personnel. The Fall 1986 catalog listed one hundred and sixty-six faculty, one hundred and eight of whom were full-time employees. Of this number forty full-time and thirty-two part-time faculty were associated with the liberal arts and sciences, while sixty-eight full-time and twenty-six part-time personnel were

¹Massachusetts Board of Regents. A Long Range Plan for Public Higher Education in Massachusetts: Phase 1, June 1982, p. 20.

²Cross, "Consider the Possibilities," p. 15.

associated with the careers. The academic break-down of the present faculty is as follows:

	<u>Doctorate</u>	<u>Masters</u>	<u>Bachelor</u>	<u>Associate</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Liberal Arts and Sciences:</u>						
Full-time	6	33	1	0	0	40
Part-time	1	27	4	0	0	32
Total	7	60	5	0	0	72
<u>Career:</u>						
<u>Business:</u>						
Full-time	3	18	1	0	0	22
Part-time	1	1	4	0	0	6
Total	4	19	5	0	0	28
<u>Health Careers:</u>						
Full-time	2	25	5	4	0	36
Part-time	2	6	4	1	0	13
Total	4	31	9	5	0	49
<u>Human Services:</u>						
Full-time	0	2	0	0	0	2
Part-time	1	2	1	0	0	4
Total	1	4	1	0	0	6
<u>Technology:</u>						
Full-time	0	6	1	0	1	8
Part-time	1	0	2	0	0	3
Total	1	6	3	0	1	11

Presently then, the liberal arts component of MCC is represented by twenty-four percent of the full-time and nineteen percent of the part-time faculty. The career component has a forty-one percent full-time and sixteen percent part-time representation. The overall liberal arts and science faculty are forty-three percent of the total, while the career faculty have a fifty-seven percent involvement. The full-time faculty is sixty-five percent of the total, while the part-time faculty accounts for the remaining thirty-five percent.

When MCC held its first graduation in June, 1972, 230 students were awarded Associate Degrees or Certificates for completion of one- or two-year programs of study. One hundred and ten students (48%) received Associate in Science degrees, seventy-nine (34%) received Associate in Arts degrees, while forty-one (18%) received Certificates, seventeen in Dental Assisting and twenty-four for Social Work. In 1987 MCC graduated seven hundred and sixty students with fifty-five (7%) receiving the Associate of Arts degree, six hundred and twenty-six (83%) being awarded the Associate in Science degree, and seventy-nine (10%) earned a Certificate for the completion of a one-year program of study.

MCC can be described as a typical suburban community college, perhaps similar to the one described by Richardson, but yet not very dissimilar from the more urban community college researched by London.¹ Based on a student assessment carried out by MCC in the

¹Richardson, et. al., Literacy in the Open-Access College, and London, The Culture of a Community College.

spring of 1984,¹ most MCC students lived relatively close to the school, thirty-nine percent commuting fewer than ten miles one way. Slightly less than half (46%) were first generation college students. About one-quarter of those surveyed studied less than five hours per week, and forty-five percent studied between six to ten hours per week. Almost seventy percent, therefore, were studying ten hours or less per week. Significantly though, eighty-nine percent felt that they were well prepared to do college level work and eighty-one percent felt they were highly motivated and committed to learning. Money and financial pressures were of serious concern with almost half of the group surveyed working twenty hours or more per week. Close to one-fifth felt that money was a serious concern and as such they might not be able to finish college. A large majority (84%) said that they planned to complete their Associate's degree at MCC and many planned to continue their education after MCC either full-time (37%) or part-time (26%). According to the Placement-Transfer Report for the 1984 graduation class, however, twenty-four percent of the graduates were continuing their education full-time and fourteen percent were continuing on a part-time basis, while "seventy-four percent of LAS graduates, sixty-one percent of LS graduates and forty-three percent of all Business graduates continue their education full-time."² In the words of the committee, "it is interesting to

¹Student Needs Assessment Committee, 1983-1984. "MCC: Student Needs Assessment," Spring, 1984, pp. 8-28.

²Ibid., p. 2.

note that the high expectations of our students in regard to completing and continuing their education is consistent with those of other community college students nationwide."

As has been pointed out, the history of MCC has been marked by struggle, some of which is typical of the community college movement in the Commonwealth, some of which is uncharacteristic of the other community colleges in this system. The mid-to-late 70's saw a number of crises, the most significant of which occurred on a state-wide level, that being the movement to unionization and collective bargaining. The atypical concern was the poor physical facilities, and the effect these had on the very "life and spirit of the institution: students, faculty, administration, programs, libraries, laboratories, etc., etc."¹ In December of 1978, the Commonwealth purchased a site which at the present time is in use for certain programs, but the permanent campus has not yet been established. Recently, another branch was opened and plans for a new campus in a large urban area are being formulated. At this time MCC has five distinct locations with little communication between these locations.

A Review of the Literature on Morale

In reviewing the literature pertinent to this study on morale, what became most obvious was the complexity and diversity of the concept. It is evident that the word means different things to differ-

¹Clements, p. 26.

ent people under different circumstances. As Bowen put it, "Perhaps the most elusive dimension of the faculty condition is morale."¹ One of the things that would be initially noted is the apparent decline either in the use of the word morale as a meaningful word or a decline in the notion itself. There does not seem to be lack of interest in the notion. The literature that was reviewed, the 1960's through the 1980's had many earlier citations concerning morale than did the latter part of the search. Much of the research focused on some aspect of learning and instruction with significantly fewer studies examining mission and morale, particularly from the point of view of self-satisfaction and teaching effectiveness. What was more commonplace were studies dealing with job satisfaction, stress, burnout, stuckness and mid-life crises. In following through on these works, a great deal of relationship to morale began to appear. It would be, therefore, difficult to separate a study of morale from these perspectives and as such these works need to be linked to this study.

One further point to be made is that the community college, from a faculty and mission point of view, is different from other educational institutions. The problems associated with the community college are in many ways the same as those that characterize education in general, but yet the community college presents its own uniqueness. Indeed, Boyer, in writing about the undergraduate experience in America, felt that the "two-year college

¹Bowen and Schuster, p. 139.

sector was not within the purview of this report."¹ The community college, however, does consider itself to be part of higher education and many faculty feel their role to be at this level. This study thus uses as much of the significant literature on the community college as could be gathered, in addition to the more extensive literature on higher education in general that was available.

Related and Cited Literature

A generalized background to community college faculty and mission was developed in the previous section. In examining the morale issue in higher education London, Ryan and Sackery, and Seidman describe, although not necessarily by intention, the personal difficulties that characterize teaching. With respect to the word morale itself, the more specific works of Brooks, Cooper, Cowen, Gloster and Heath are cited as relating to community college morale. Bowen and Schuster, in a more general study of higher education, contribute significant data on community college faculty. Studies on job satisfaction which related directly to community college faculty were those of Bednar, Diener, Lacewell, Moxley, Riday, Willie, and Winkler. The classic theories of Maslow and Herzberg dominated this part of the literature. In regard to the nature of work itself, the more general writings of Bowles and Gintis, Drucker, Ferkiss, Fromm,

¹Ernest L. Boyer, College: The Undergraduate Experience in America, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1978), p. XII.

Heilbruner, Karabel, Schumacher, Spring, and Whyte were useful. A smaller, but very significant number of studies focussed on the notion of stuckness. Of particular value were the works of Brookes and Field here in Massachusetts, along with similar studies carried out by Harnish, Caldwell, and Lovett. In regard to morale and mid-life crisis the literature provided contributions from Cardinell and Winstead in conjunction with the social psychology of Bess as it related to the profession of teaching. Two broader-based sources dealing with the relationship between aging and morale were the works of Levinson and Sheehy along with Turnbull's study of the human cycle.

A Brief Historical Perspective on Morale Studies

In the past the man has been first; in the future the system must be first.

F. W. Taylor

In an American tradition the industrious person has generally been viewed as the virtuous person. There seems to be little tolerance of the laggard in our social frame and the measurement of one's worth has most frequently been productivity. Historically it was assumed, at least until the late 1920's, that there was a direct correlation between morale and productivity. It was generally agreed that high morale was associated with high productivity, with productivity being generated by way of efficiency as fostered by scientific management. During this period little attention was paid in trying to understand or even question the nature of work itself. Little was done in determining why satisfaction with the work should relate to work

performance. For teachers, it was determined that job satisfaction was associated with such things as "better mental health, better human relationships, more favorable family and social status, age (older teachers were more satisfied), having religious beliefs, feelings of success, and working in a larger community."¹

The influence of Elton Mayo's work in the 1930's suggested that "no physical improvement in scientific management could overwhelm the feelings that living men and women had about their work and their relation to it."² This and subsequent studies came to be credited with stimulating research into the causes of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. The results came to be interpreted as demonstrating the need to change the focus in work from economic incentives to human relationships. Herein was formulated a "new doctrine" in the quest for greater productivity. If workers produced more when they felt the employer was interested in them as individuals, "then the most efficient means must be found for giving workers the impression that the employer was interested."³ Here was another step in what the sociologist Daniel Bell calls the "movement from authority to manipulation as a means of exercising dominion."⁴ Scientific management as a catalyst, or perhaps even as

¹Rene V. Dawis and Lloyd H. Lofquist, "Job Satisfaction and Work Adjustments: Implications for Vocational Education," (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 199 441, 1981).

²Boorstin, pp. 369-370.

³Ibid., p. 370.

⁴Ibid., p. 370.

an antidote, relates the science of human-relations with the novel profession of personnel management. But this science, too, while ostensibly designed to take fuller account of man's humanity, was destined (in Elton Mayo's phrase) to become a new method of human control."¹

Overall the literature of the 30's and 40's assumed that morale or job satisfaction was related to (or affected) job performance. By the 1950's the human relations movement prevailed. Morale was approached from the point of view of individual motivation or "satisfiers" as exemplified in the works of Roe, Maslow, and Herzberg. Roe's argument was that employment satisfies human needs at all levels of Maslow's hierarchy of needs, from the most basic physiological safety needs to the higher need for self-actualization. Maslow's views in turn come to influence Herzberg and his colleagues through the advancement of the dual-factor theory of job-satisfaction. In his most influential writing, The Motivation to Work, Herzberg explained a study in which he tested the hypothesis that job satisfaction and dissatisfaction were caused by two different types of factors which are two independent continua, one running from satisfied to neutral, and the other from dissatisfied to neutral. The data collected suggested that "motivators," or causes of job satisfaction were intrinsic factors related to achievement, work itself, responsibility, recognition, and advancement. Causes of dissatisfac-

¹Ibid., p. 370.

tion, or "hygienes," included factors such as organizational policy and administration, competent supervision, salary, working conditions, opportunity for personal growth, and good interpersonal relationships. He also found that people are motivated, happy, and productive when they experience the following:

1. Satisfaction from viewing the successful completion of a job.
2. Perceive some act of recognition.
3. Enjoy the nature of the work itself.¹

Herzberg's work stimulated much research on the components of job satisfaction, although recently researchers have questioned the division of these components.²

Lewin and Vroom suggest that satisfaction is the product of "valence," values to an individual, outcomes (salary, high social status), and the perceived instrumentality (effectiveness) of the job in producing these outcomes. According to the Valence Instrumentality Expectancy Theory (VIE) a worker will be more satisfied if the experienced effectiveness of the job in producing a highly valued outcome, is realized.³

¹Frederick Herzberg, Bernard Masuner, and Barbara Snyderman, The Motivation to Work, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959), p. 59.

²B. Davis, "Herzberg's Theory of Job Satisfaction: A Reexamination," PhD Dissertation, The University of Wisconsin, 1982 (Dissertation Abstracts International No. 7-9, 1983), p. 2175A.

³Dawis and Lofquist, pp. 4-8.

Schaeffer feels that in any situation the amount of dissatisfaction generated is determined by the strength of the individual's needs or drives and the extent to which the individual can perceive and use opportunities in the situation so as to satisfy these needs.

What was significant in determining job satisfaction for Adam was an individual's ratio of outcomes to input compared with that of another, as in one's perception of work-worth as contrasted to the salary earner. Such an observation can be noted in light of the shift to the occupational emphasis in the community college. As this shift took place it drew new faculty who demanded higher salaries. The only way these higher salaries could be met was to hold down on the increases given to people in other disciplines that were not in such demand. The literature did not verify, but rather suggested a growing undercurrent of dissatisfaction among faculty members directed toward colleagues in the fields receiving larger salary increases.

One last, and very important perception, relates job satisfaction to the perception that the job itself fulfills, or allows the fulfillment, of the individual's important job values, providing that the values are congruent with the individual's needs.¹

In summarizing the literature on the human relation's influence on morale, Cooper found that for junior college teachers:

1. There was little evidence of any simple or appreciable relationship between worker attitudes and job performance.

¹Ibid., p. 8.

2. The relationship between job satisfaction and performance becomes more positive as the level of the skill requirement of the job increases.
3. A significant relationship between high teacher morale and high student achievement.

The Influence of Maslow and Herzberg

It is apparent that Herzberg's theory of job satisfaction and Maslow's need/drive theories are very influential with respect to morale studies. Let us consider some of the research carried out from these points of view.

Diener,¹ in examining Herzberg's theory that satisfaction stems from the work itself while dissatisfaction is a function of the environment, found that, given the depressed state of higher education, faculty like their work and, judging by Herzberg's criteria, are more satisfied than dissatisfied.

Cooper,² also utilizing Herzberg's dual-factor theory, suggests that specific causes for job satisfaction among community college faculty were achievement, recognition, the work itself, responsibility and advancement. Causes of dissatisfaction were organization, su-

¹Thomas Diener, "College Teaching and Job Satisfaction," (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 248 820, 1984).

²John Frederick Cooper, The Morale and Teaching Effectiveness of Junior College Teachers, (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 134 266, 1977).

pervisory, salary, working conditions, interpersonal relationships and personal life.

Claggett,¹ in examining stress in the bureaucratic setting of a community college, cited lack of participation in the decision-making process, apathetic peers, and low salaries as prime causes of stress within this faculty. This faculty, interestingly enough, also indicated that an increase in underprepared students coupled with student expectations of high grades to be of concern.

In a study done by Willie,² respondents derived their reward from helping students grow and learn intellectually and by having many opportunities to relate to students. The policy of open-admissions appeared to be well understood and accepted by this group. Negatives reflected on ineffective administration, demands on time, budget limitations, and salary and benefit considerations.

Cowen's³ work sought to identify rewards perceived as important and necessary to enhance institutional morale as provided through the collective bargaining agreement. Her results indicated that salary was the top priority, followed by promotion policies,

¹Craig A. Claggett, "Teacher Stress at a Community College: Professional Burnout in a Bureaucratic Setting," (Largo, MD, Prince George Community College, (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 195 310, 1980).

²James H. Wille, "An Analysis of Career Motivations and Job Satisfaction Among Public Community College Faculty in Selected State." EdD Dissertation, No. Illinois University, 1981, (Dissertation Abstracts International, Oct-Dec 1981), p. 1455A.

³Carole Cowen, "A Study of Faculty Perception of Selected Morale Variables," (EdD Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1982).

workload provision, professional development provisions, tenure, seniority, sabbatical leaves and the academic year calendar. Prioritized satisfiers coming from this research were an opportunity to make a difference in student's lives, a feeling of accomplishment, a sense of pride in their work, adequate compensation, and advantages of an academic-year calendar.

Given these kinds of studies, morale in the community college appears to be affected primarily by non-teaching considerations.

Morale and the Community College Faculty

The basic aim of modern industrialism is not to make work satisfying but to raise productivity..in addition, industrial society, no matter how democratic in its political institutions, is autocratic in its methods of management.

E. S. Schumacher

The Organization Man remains a classic because it captures the enduring dilemmas of modern work.

R. J. Samuelson on W. H. Whyte

Most faculty members express favorable attitudes toward their work.

H. Bowen

People willingly endure incredible levels of discomfort when they feel they are striving for a higher cause.

A. M. Cohen

A good deal of the literature reviewed related morale and job satisfaction to productivity thus evidently emphasizing the importance of productivity to the researcher. As a consequence morale has

become linked to institutional as well as personal goals with the notion of morale being reflective of the nature of an industrial and capital society rather than being reflective of the human spirit. Work, and the way we relate to it, thus has its own contrivances and hence morale studies may validly serve best in pinpointing problem areas and strengths in an organization for a particular time and a particular place.¹

In attempting to develop a working frame for morale it appears that morale at one time is a group phenomenon while at another an individual process, making it somewhat difficult to interpret.

In trying to understand what the literature is saying about morale as it relates to teaching it may be necessary to premise the following:

1. Any given informant is subject to the human frailty of assuming that his/her own morale extends to a wider circle of colleagues, and
2. Because faculty morale is a function not only of campus specific conditions but also of general developments in higher education, it is difficult at best to apportion responsibility for morale between local and generic factors.²

¹Kevin R. Smith, "A Proposed Model for the Investigation of Teacher Morale," Journal of Educational Administration, Volume IV, Number 2, (October, 1966).

²Bowen and Schuster, p. 139.

We note, then, that morale is a concept that has been widely studied in a number of different situations resulting in many definitions and a host of interpretations. The works reviewed agree that morale is multi-dimensional, constantly influenced, and readily modified. Most of the work reviewed was also quantitative in its methodology and because morale is dependent on so many factors and because the relevance and importance of each factor varies from situation to situation attempts to convert morale into a statistical form which is meaningful in terms of conclusion merits caution.

To illustrate some of the diversity that exists consider the following definitions of morale:

1. Morale is a forward-looking and confident state of mind relevant to a shared and vital purpose.¹
2. Morale is the tone of the individual and is a direct indication of his success in achieving purposes and meeting needs.²
3. Morale is a concept suggesting individual attitudes of satisfaction, desire and willingness to work for group and/or organizational goals.³

¹Smith, p. 89.

²Orin B. Graff and Calvin M. Street, Improving Competence in Educational Administration, (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1956), pp. 36-37.

³Emil D. Gloster, "A Faculty Morale Study in a Community College," (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 111 453, 1975) p. 4.

4. Morale is essentially a group phenomenon.. "a degree of freedom from restraint in action towards a goal," and as a measure of the degree to which a group actually utilizes its potentiality for freedom.¹
5. Morale is the professional interest and enthusiasm that a person displays toward the achievement of individual and group goals in a given job situation.²
6. Morale implies some human quality which prompts a person to produce at a maximum output. It is associated with a forward looking, healthy and confident state of mind, and includes such attributes as persistence, enthusiasm, zeal and pride.³

A number of the studies (Heath, Ramsey, Willie, Bowen) indicate that most faculty express favorable attitudes toward their careers. However, preponderantly favorable attitudes of faculty toward their profession does not seem to guarantee high morale. Bowen's research indicates that "during the past decade or more faculty members have perceived a diminution of quality and this has been a major source of discontent and poor morale".⁴ Bowen's 1984 interviews further revealed perceptably low morale, the cause

¹Kevin R. Smith, "Morale: A Refinement of Stogdill's Model," Journal of Educational Administration, Volume XIV, No. 1, (May, 1976), p. 87.

²R. R. Bently and A. M. Rempel, "Changing Teacher Morale," quoted in Gloster, p. 6.

³Geoffrey Cloverdale, "Teacher Morale: A Pilot Study," (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 126 034, 1974), p. 9.

⁴Bowen and Schuster, p. 47.

appearing to be not only adverse trends in compensation and working conditions, but also a "pervading sense of insecurity for the future and a sense of declining status for the profession. In general the mood in 1984 "was somber: faculty spirits had sagged. However, the great majority of faculty were carrying on as usual."¹ Bowen feels that what faculty are unhappy about is not necessarily the nature of the work they are doing but rather the conditions of their work. By contrast, Heath argues that teacher morale may be deteriorating because the very intrinsic rewards traditionally associated with teaching are lesser now than they used to be.² In a study on Massachusetts community college faculty Cowen found that, although faculty perception of institutional morale was low, faculty perceived their individual careers as "exciting, fulfilling, and successful."³ Bess adds to this in writing that "intrinsic satisfactions" would be more important to sustained interest in and motivation to teach," since "teaching is a professional occupation attracting individuals whose needs for satisfaction from the work itself are more salient."⁴ Bess goes on to say that faculty are prevented in many ways from becoming satisfied because "most faculty in

¹Ibid., p. 49.

²Douglas Heath, "Faculty Burnout, Morale, and Vocational Adaptation," (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 200 171, 1981).

³Cowen, p. viii.

⁴James L. Bess, "The Social Psychology of Commitment to College Teaching," (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 200 171, March, 1979), p. 3.

American higher education are not trained in the 'craft' of identifying cues in themselves or in their work which are evidence of their successful teaching and which are essential to the experience of satisfaction..nor does the professional reward system reinforce good teaching. Teaching well is itself fraught with extraordinary difficulties, hence both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to teach (or at least to teach well) are relatively weak."¹

Given what is being said a number of themes can be delineated and in a general sense be organized into groups of positives and negatives that have influenced morale as it relates to the community college faculty.

Positives

1. Working with people.
2. Being able to express and share one's own knowledge and experience.
3. To see students grow and achieve.
4. Positive interaction with stimulating peers.
5. Autonomy and academic freedom.
6. Personal freedom.

Negatives

1. Declining status.
2. Loss of confidence and self-esteem.
3. Decline in student motivation and competency.
4. Declining enthusiasm for discipline and changing role.
5. Lack of involvement in policy and decision-making.
6. Stuckness.

¹Ibid., p. 4.

In conjunction with these contrasts a number of other problems relating to the nature of the two-year college ultimately came to touch on the morale issue, these being:

1. The apparent need to promote the distinctive aims of the community college in light of the exclusion from policy-making.¹
2. Lack of awareness of the rapid changes taking place in higher education along with the lack of recognition of adjustment needed to adapt.²
3. Lack of understanding of increased and diversified student needs, interests, abilities and learning styles while distrusting "gimmicky" approaches to these problems.³

Intrinsic Considerations

The literature suggests that important intrinsic factors weave their way through the morale question and point to the possibility that teacher morale may be deteriorating because the intrinsic rewards for teachers are lower now than they used to be. One point of view has it that teachers in the past had a greater sense of vocation (as in calling) and despite extrinsic negatives such as low salaries re-

¹Vincent S. Ialenti, "A Study of the Role of the Massachusetts Community College Faculty in Institutional Image Building," (EdD Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1983).

²Philip C. Winstead, "The Development of Mid-Career Faculty," (Furman University Self-Study, (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 205 150, 1981), p. 2.

³Ibid., p. 2.

ceived their intrinsic satisfaction from the very nature of teaching itself, that is by achieving personal fulfillment through a dynamic and ethically concerned profession. Heath feels that lower intrinsic rewards may be behind the widespread push for extrinsic rewards such as salary, but yet contends that teacher morale remains low even when such rewards are up. This observation has a share of support. Even though many faculty seemed to have drifted into this work rather than having entered it by design, "once the decision was made to do this type of work the most influential factors on this choice came to center around intrinsic as opposed to extrinsic considerations."¹ Intrinsically this person, the community-college instructor, came to give most of his/her time to instructional activities and derived satisfaction from the variables involved in these functions.

Mid-Careerism and Changing Missions

The organizational properties of this study now come to focus on two particular features of the population involved in the work and their impact on morale:

1. The faculty involved has a degree of longevity allowing them to fall into the category of mid-career.
2. The faculty involved reflects the "mission" of the institution in that it is composed of both a

¹Wille, p. 10.

traditional (transfer) and a career
(occupational-technical) faculty.

If the population participating in this study does exhibit variations in morale attitudes, it might very well be that some of these variables are explained by changes reflecting that individuals' developmental biology and/or the realization that one's career, status, and life are measurable and ultimately limited. Theory has it that a crisis consequential to aging occurs between the ages of thirty-five and fifty. One explanation as to why professionals have a career crisis, and perhaps a subsequent morale crisis, "is based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs as it relates to research in teacher satisfaction."¹ Here it is indicated that during the middle of their career teachers commitment to their profession outstrips the sense of satisfaction from life and work. Research seems to indicate that this conflict is a normal, developmental, and probably predictable stage in adult development:

The Mid-Life Transition..brings a new set of developmental tasks. The life structure again comes into question. It becomes important to ask: "What have I done with my life? What do I really get from and give to me wife, children, friends, work, community - and self? What is it I truly want for myself and others?"

Some men do very little questioning or searching during the Mid-Life Transition. They are apparently untroubled by difficult questions regarding

¹C. F. Cardinell, Mid-Life Professional Crises: Two Hypothesis, (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 208 491, 1981), p. 1.

the meaning, value and direction of their lives. Other men realize their life is changing, but the process is not a painful one. They are in a manageable transition, one without crisis. But for the great majority of men this is a period of great struggle within the self and with the external world. Their Mid-Life Transition is a time of moderate or severe crisis.¹

Why then do faculty continue to teach? "On a simple level it is because it is part of their job. At a more subtle level they do not know how to exit the profession."² The decision to stay put may be based on a reaffirmed commitment or "it may stem more from resignation, inertia, passive acquiescence, or controlled despair - a self-restriction in the context of severe external constraints."³

In a pilot-type study on Massachusetts community college faculty done in 1980, Brookes argues that there is some psychosocial condition at work which he refers to as "stuckness." This concept refers to an individual who is "probably past his period of maximum effectiveness, has no perceived career opportunities, is locked in by age, educational level, and need for economic security and is experiencing a decline in enthusiasm for teaching and research and who gives evidence of disengagement and conservative resistance. A faculty member is most likely to be stuck after teaching full-time in one

¹Daniel J. Levinson, Seasons of a Man's Life, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1978), p. 60.

²Bess, "Social Psychology," p. 6.

³Levinson, p. 52.

institution for ten years or more."¹ For Raines, this perspective develops as the result of a lack of challenge which produces a sense of disillusionment and a "psychological exiting of the institution." Distinctive characteristics of this condition would be:

Reduced commitment to what's happening in the college as reflected in absences, lateness, early departures from committee meetings..rigid adherence to required hours on campus, little or no change in the content of courses or instructional strategies for a prolonged period..conservation directed toward things outside the college and probable bitterness about the state of affairs within the college.²

Of twenty-seven faculty involved in Brookes' study, only three were found to exhibit stuckness. One-third of the group had no regrets about having entered teaching and most received satisfaction from this work, a condition that Brookes termed "insulated." Insulated faculty:

Have a high level of job satisfaction, are well-versed in their subject(s), are effective in class. Teaching is a job rather than a calling and they see themselves as professionals who do their job conscientiously and well. Many have succeeded in modifying the institution to suit their personal preferences, particularly in such matters as what they teach and when. They have involvement in extracurricular aspects of the life of their college.³

¹Brookes, pp. 4-8.

²Ibid., p. 16.

³Ibid., p. 72.

Brookes related insulation to Hall's "leveling-off" theory and he concluded that "insulation" is more prevalent in the colleges studied than "stuckness," and that these faculty appear to be influenced more than other groups by hygiene factors. Field, in a follow-up study, found insulation to be present and identifiable among faculty of lesser seniority, but stuckness was not. Stuck people, according to Field, lack sufficient involvement to bring about change: they are detached, able, but uncommitted and unmotivated.¹ Brookes felt that there was nothing a college could do which would bring contentment and satisfaction to faculty experiencing stuckness.

Faculty may be "stuck" in a different sense of the word, however, as when one reflects on the external constraints of a tight job market and the security of any job in uncertain times. Harnish feels that faculty members who are bored or frustrated are now more likely to remain in their jobs despite a lack of interest, challenge, or opportunity to grow within that job. She feels that the result of such attitudes can have a detrimental effect on students, other faculty, and the institution as a whole.² On the other hand, Bess argues that faculty teach "because on some basic level they know that teaching

¹Helen P. Field, "Generativity and Stuckness in Mid-Level Faculty Members in the Massachusetts System of Community Colleges," (EdD Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1981).

²Dorothy Jean Harnish, "Continuing Job Involvement on Long Term Community College Faculty Members," Virginia Polytechnic Institution and State University, PhD. Dissertation, 1983, (Dissertation Abstracts International, July, 1984), p. 62A.

does have the potential of providing some of life's most profound satisfaction."¹

Burnout and Stress in the Community College

If there is one thing that the literature says it is that academic life in the United States has fallen upon hard times:

Evidence for this assertion is everywhere, but nowhere is it more apparent than in the decline of public and private support for higher education and in the shift of funding away from the liberal arts towards technological fields and management programs. These developments constrain the work of professors in the arts and sciences, stifle critical research, stall the dissemination of knowledge, rupture the continuity of venerable academic traditions, and threaten to dissolve the professional collegiality that evolves from a sense of shared intellectual mission. The result is uncertainty about the future of American academic life. Uncertainty about the ideals that previously invigorated the academy. Uncertainty - among those caught in this tangle of change - about themselves. About their profession.²

Not only conservatives but now even a "new breed of neoliberals" talk about restructuring higher education to make it more attuned to the manpower needs of the emerging high-tech economy.³ Educational policies are fast coming to reflect narrow economic pri-

¹Bess, pp. 3-4.

²John W. Cole and Gerald F. Reid, "The New Vulnerability of Higher Education," NEA Higher Education Journal, Vol. 11, No. 1, (Winter, 1986), pp. 29-40.

³Paul Tsongas, The Road from Here: Liberals and Reality in the 1980's, (New York: Random House, 1981).

orities and corporate interests. For a vast majority of Americans higher education is becoming a technical and ideological training ground:

In more traditional industries, successful competition in world-wide markets inevitably means some reduction in total work force. This necessitates the second major change. To give workers the higher skills that are essential to their continued employability, we must provide them with high-quality education. In American society..it is less practical to provide adult education in the companies themselves. Here, when a worker has acquired valuable new skills, he may job-hop to a competitor. There is a uniquely new way to solve that problem, just as the land-grant colleges were a uniquely successful way to bring about the automation of agriculture. It is our two-year community college system. For many Americans who need retraining as the new breed of robots takes over their dull, repetitive assembly-line jobs, community colleges..are providing the first real opportunity in a lifetime for a genuine education worthy of the name.¹

The AACJC, under the current leadership of Dale Parnell, is advocating "to strengthen the connection between education and work because we need to use our colleges to help increase skilled manpower for industry, boost productivity, and assist in economic recovery."² No doubt that the community college is facing a period of intensive reexamination of its entire concept and what they should be.

¹G. K. O'Neill, The Technology Edge: Opportunities for America in World Competition, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), pp. 104-105.

²Dale Parnell and Roger Yarrington, Proven Partners: Business, labor and Community Colleges, AACJC Pocket Reader 1, (Washington, D.C., 1982).

Patricia Cross predicts that the "form and organization of (community college) education will change substantially..because our practices in higher education are no longer consistent with our purposes."¹ She feels that "the one function that is singularly reserved for the community colleges in the Massachusetts Long Range Plan is remedial/developmental education."²

The extension of formal schooling to groups formally excluded is one of the most striking developments in modern history. Faith in the wonder working power of education has been one of the most durable components of liberal education upon which the "good life" has been premised. However, the democratization of education has accomplished little to justify this faith. It has, according to Lasch, neither "improved popular understanding of modern society, raised the quality of popular culture, nor reduced the gap between wealth and poverty. It has contributed to the decline of critical thought and the erosion of intellectual standards forcing us to consider the possibility that mass education is intrinsically incompatible with the maintenance of educational quality. Advanced industrial societies no longer rest on a population primed for achievement. It requires a stupefied population, resigned to work that is trivial and shoddily performed, predisposed to seek its satisfaction in the time set aside

¹K. Patricia Cross, "Toward the Future in Community College Education," (Conference on the Non-Traditional Student, (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 168 626, 1978), pp. 2-3.

²Cross, "Consider the Possibilities" p. 15.

for leisure. Teachers have lost their common sense of what kind of ignorance is unacceptable."¹

For most of its history the community college was free of criticism. In the last two decades the egalitarian proposition has been taken to task. Clark argued that "the wide gap in many democratic institutions between culturally encouraged aspirations and institutionally provided means of achievement leads to the failure of many participants. Certain social units ameliorate the consequent stress by redefining failure by performing a "cooling-out" function. The community college especially plays this role. The process includes such factors as substitute achievement, gradual disengagement, denial, consolation, and avoidance of standards."² The general result of the cooling-out processes is that society can continue to encourage maximum effort without major disturbances from unfulfilled promises and expectations. If the student fails, it is not the system's fault, the system has offered the opportunity and, meritocratically, it is up to the student to succeed. London, in a study of the culture of a Massachusetts community college, felt that the students that he observed were "filled with self-doubts linked strongly to their social class," but concluded that the 'cooling-out' function does not work as

¹Christopher C. Lasch, The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations, (New York: Norton, 1978), pp. 125-153.

²Burton R. Clark, "The Cooling-Out Function in Higher Education," The American Journal of Sociology, (1960), 65, (6), pp. 569-576.

smoothly as Clark seemed to suggest.¹ London further writes that "many of the faculty at CCC view themselves as less than successful and as such redefine their career aspirations, and too are, in a sense, 'cooled out'."

Karabel saw the community college as channeling first generation college students into vocational rather than transfer programs. His thesis is that "the community college, generally viewed as the leading edge of an open and egalitarian system of higher education, is in reality a prime contemporary expression of the dual historical patterns of class-based tracking and of educational inflation."² Karabel built a strong argument that equality of education does not result from equality of opportunity. Karabel attempts to show that the community college is at the bottom track of the system of higher education in both its class origins and the occupational destinations of its students. Tracking takes place in the form of vocational education.

The educational expansion that thus took place in the 1960's and early 1970's occurred without effecting changes between groups or altering the underlying opportunity structures, and came to be known as educational inflation. As the supply of educated people began to exceed the demand, the declining economic value of a college degree had become a liability. Jobs that in the past required

¹London, Culture of a Community College, pp. 151-153.

²J. Karabel, "Community Colleges and Social Stratification," Harvard Educational Review, Volume 42, No. 9, (1972), pp. 521-562.

only a secondary diploma were now requiring a two or four year degree, without any basic change in the nature of the work involved. As has been pointed out the community college moved rapidly into the area of vocational education. Community college faculty began to become "demoralized and uncomfortably isolated from the larger academic culture."¹ Breneman and Nelson asked:

With excess capacity in the college and university sector, should full-time baccalaureate oriented students aged eighteen to twenty-one be encouraged to enroll directly in a four-year college or university rather than in the first two years of a community college transfer program. Should public universities be encouraged to undertake many of the same programs that community colleges have heretofore emphasized, such as noncredit short courses, remedial programs, community services, avocational programs, or narrowly vocational or technical offerings? Should the comprehensive mission of the community college be maintained, or should public policy encourage a greater division of labor among institutions?²

Whatever the parameters of the comprehensive mission:

Let's be candid about the major issue in the community college today: the low academic achievement of its students. The majority of our students are euphemistically called nontraditional. Most of them are disadvantaged. Whatever the cause of this disadvantage, the fact remains that our students are disabled - yes, crippled - academically. Many, if not most of the high school graduates and

¹London, "In Between", p. 62.

²Breneman and Nelson, p. 3.

others admitted to the college are unable to read beyond the grade school level. This shift has resulted in the community college taking on additional roles to meet the needs of this newer type of student body. We now have so many diverse roles that we are floundering for a sound view of who we are, while seemingly enjoying great success as measured by the number of students enrolled. However, students are disillusioned; they expected to be in a college, but they find few college programs. Faculty members are demoralized; they expect to find some students of college-level ability. The reputation of community colleges in American higher education, always a bit shaky for lack of identification, is not only declining, but for some reason has reached bottom.¹

Such is the environment in which the community college teacher has come to function, an environment in which they had little input or have any control over. In the mid-eighties faculty are observed experiencing greater stress and frustration in their quest for self and personal fulfillment. They appear to have lost the energy, vitality, and motivation to want to affect academic matters. Faculty feel powerless. They have lost confidence in administrators. They feel committees are a waste of time. No one cares. Decision makers will not give credit for quality teaching. Staying in the teaching profession is probably the biggest challenge facing teachers today. There are a variety of reasons for this, but probably the most meaningful and rapidly growing reasons are burnout and stress.

¹Bette Slutsky, "What is College For?," Responding to New Missions, New Directions for Community College, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, No. 24, 1978), p. 8.

Burnout, a faddish and threatening term in today's working place, has been labeled a "disease reaching epidemic proportion. Burnout runs through the teaching profession like Asian flu - possibly because it depresses people to be physically assaulted by those who they are trying to civilize."¹ In a survey of almost two thousand faculty members at seventeen colleges Melendez and deGuzman found that sixty-two percent acknowledged severe or moderate job stress.² In another survey of more than nineteen hundred professors at eight public and private universities, Gmelch found that sixty percent of the total daily stress of this population came from their work as faculty members.³ Burnout can be described as a condition brought on by stress, "the response of a person who can no longer tolerate the level of stress present in his/her work environment"⁴ and which is "a state of mind that affects people who work with other people and give much more than what they get in return from their colleagues, friends, supervisors, and clients."⁵

¹Melendez and deGuzman, p. 11.

²Ibid, p. 70.

³Gmelch, p. 27.

⁴Brookes, p. 5.

⁵Melendez, p. 11.

Summary

The mission of the community college has taken on two dimensions in its recent evolution. The first involves Cross' new student to higher education and the second involves the continued centralizing of power and influence at the managerial level. The dynamics generated by this change have impacted on the morale of the faculty in the following ways:

1. The generation of educational uncertainty as the future of the comprehensive mission becomes subject to the exigencies of financial considerations.
2. An increasing faculty separation from administratively defined priorities as the community college becomes more hierarchical.
3. The challenge that the new student poses to the values of traditional higher education with resulting faculty isolation from educational mainstream.
4. A subsequent loss in collegiality and loss of confidence in campus leadership and growing resentment of the major influence exerted by external agencies.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Purpose

This dissertation is a descriptive, exploratory study of experienced, professional community college teachers coping with a period of educational and institutional change. The purpose of this study is to focus on a select group of faculty in an attempt to understand the effect that change in mission had had upon the morale of this group.

Research Instrument

The research method used in this study was qualitative by way of in-depth interviews and phenomenological by way of having the participant express his/her own perceptions. The focus is on the personal experiences of the participant, what is particular to each and what might be common to all. Qualitative methods were chosen as they seemed to be the best way to achieve some depth and detail of response as well as allowing some introspection with regards to what was being said. The reason for selecting qualitative methodology was, in the words of Bogdan and Taylor, to:

allow us to know people personally and to see them as they are developing their own definitions of the world. We experience what they experience in their daily struggles with their society.¹

¹Robert Bogdan and Steven J. Taylor, Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Phenomenological Approach, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975), pp. 4-5.

In addition, qualitative methods are "inductive, holistic and humanistic. They are designed to ensure a close fit between the data and what people actually say and do."¹

Qualitative measures describe the experiences of people in-depth. The data are open-ended to find out what peoples' lives, experiences and interactions mean to them in their own terms and in their own natural settings.²

The purpose of the in-depth phenomenological interviewing is therefore:

to have participants reconstruct their experience and reflect on the meaning they make of that experience. In trying to know and understand the interviewees' experience it was thus important to understand that they were neither subject nor objects of our study; instead they were participants in the research work. The people researched were constantly active in the research; their individual experience, by the very nature of the process, was affirmed as significant.³

¹Steven J. Taylor and Robert Bogdan, Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: The Search for Meanings, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2nd Ed., 1984), pp. 5-7.

²Michael Quinn Patton, Qualitative Evaluation Methods, (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980), p. 22.

³Seidman, p. 15.

The Process

By in-depth qualitative interviewing we mean repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and the informants directed toward understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words. The in-depth interview is modeled after a conversation between equals, rather than a formal question and answer exchange.¹

The primary method for collecting data for this study was the interview. The type of interview developed was designed to explore a specific range of settings, situations, and people.

The interviews themselves were semi-structured. The rationale for such an approach was the outcome of several pilot works. The first of these studies took place in the fall of 1984 during a sabbatical leave. Here extensive interviewing of division chairpersons and faculty at each of the community colleges in the Commonwealth was conducted. Some thirty-five interviews took place. These interviews focused on teaching in the community college and the morale of the faculty. While the methodology was in-depth, the data gathering was by way of note-taking. This was an inherent flaw in the approach, although important background information was gained. From this original investigation both the thesis and the process were revised. The thesis was narrowed to a particular group and the format for approaching the problem became a semi-structured inter-

¹Taylor and Bogdan, p. 77.

view. The data gathered was now recorded on tape for transcription and analysis.

In the Fall of 1986 a questionnaire format was tested on several faculty at MCC. As a consequence of too much structure this model was reduced to the status of a guide. In the winter of 1987 several more faculty were interviewed at MCC with the refined guide and it was determined that no further changes were necessary. The interviews began in earnest.

The data gathered from these interviews is then the essence of the dissertation. This data will, however, be supplemented by informal observations and material available as a consequence of being a member of the population being studied.

The Interview Guide

The interview guide assumes that there is common information that should be obtained from each person interviewed, but no set of standardized questions are written in advance. The interviewer is thus required to adapt both the wording and the sequence of the questions to specific respondents in the context of the actual interview.¹

The interview guide is an attempt, based on previous experiences to keep the interview within certain bounds without doing any damage to spontaneity or constitutiveness. In undertaking such a methodology it has to be recognized that "although people's verbal

¹Patton, p. 198.

accounts may lend insight into how they think about the world and how they act, there can be a great discrepancy between what they say and what they actually do."¹ A most important feature of this methodology is reflective of the interviewer in that "the interviewer must create an atmosphere in which people feel comfortable and talk freely about themselves."² A relationship, believed to be very positive, had already been established with the participants and that such an atmosphere and trust did generate meaningful response. By way of example, during one interview one faculty member hesitated and then said, "I don't know if I should say some of these things, but I'll trust your judgement."

The initial investigations in this project were very much unstructured and left little room for serious analysis. Conversely, an over-structured interview became unwieldy and generated a good deal of extraneous information. (There was little hesitation on the part of the participants to talk about their involvement in MCC or about what has happened to their career as a result.) As an outcome of experimentation a number of statements on the original guide were excised while others were rewritten for the purpose of clarity and consolidation. Some of the sequence was rearranged. These subsequent modifications hopefully focussed more efficiently on the depth and detail desired.

¹Taylor and Bogdan, p. 81.

²Ibid., p. 93.

The revised interview guide was much less brief and to the point but was structured so as not to dominate the process. It was rather a list of areas to be covered with the purpose of keeping things in the perspective being defined.

"The use of an interview guide presupposes," as was the case, "a certain knowledge about the people one intends to study...and is useful when the researcher has already learned something about the informants through field-work or preliminary interviews or other direct experience."¹

The interview guide had three foci which attempted to evaluate what was perceived as three stages in the evolution of the faculty members' morale:

1. Mission and Morale in the Early Years.

This section attempted to gain an understanding as to why the participant chose to come to MCC and to note the aspirations and expectations that were involved. This section examined what the faculty member perceived the original mission to be and asked about the faculty member's morale at this time.

2. The Effect of Mission Changes on Morale.

This section represented a major point in the dissertation in that a basic contention was that a change in the educational mission of MCC took place in the mid-1970's, and that this

¹Ibid., p. 92.

change created a period of confrontation for the original faculty in terms of new students and new institutional relationships that severely damaged morale.

3. Adaptation to Change.

Here, the present state of morale was considered. This section asked for the faculty members' feelings about mission and how they had dealt with the changes that had occurred. It attempted to determine whether the change in mission and morale has had any serious effect on teaching and on institutional relationships.

The Interview Format

The interview guide had the following format:

1. What were your reasons for coming to teach at MCC?
 - 1.a. What was your original understanding concerning the educational mission of MCC?
 - 1.b. How would you describe your morale during this period?
2. Has teaching at MCC changed for you over the years?
 - 2.a. Have you had to alter your personal philosophy, content, or teaching style?
 - 2.b. Has the change in educational mission, that is the shift from transfer to career education, had an impact on your morale?
3. How have you accommodated yourself to the changes that have taken place:

- 3.a. What effect have these changes had on your teaching?
- 3.b. What effect have these changes had upon your relationship with MCC?
4. What suggestion would you have for improving morale here at MCC?

The Population

The population involved in this study consisted of twenty-two "senior" community college faculty members employed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. By "senior" is meant those faculty members who in essence were the "founding faculty" at MCC, those who came to teach at MCC between the years 1970 and 1975, and who are still teaching full-time at MCC at the present. This population experienced the transition from a transfer orientation to a career orientation.

The population studied corresponded to the classical description of the present professorate, that is, forty years to fifty years of age, married, white, holding a tenured position and the rank of associate or full professor. This group is involved in the teaching of traditional undergraduate courses as well as career-oriented courses, spending some ten to fifteen hours per week in preparation for twelve to fifteen hours in the classroom. In addition, contractual obligations demand five hours a week in scheduled office hours given to advising and counseling, along with an unknown number of hours reflective of committee and administrative work. "Faculty

employed at two-year colleges devote 90 percent of their time to activities that directly serve the students."¹

MCC opened in the Fall of 1970 with nineteen full-time faculty and two division chairpersons. The division chairperson traditionally maintained some teaching responsibilities, but there has been a tendency to move into this position from the faculty ranks and then back to faculty status. The population involved is reflective of this and as such, for study's sake, it would be appropriate to consider these individuals as part of the "full-time faculty." Given this terminology, in 1970 there were fifteen full-time and eight part-time faculty associated with the liberal arts and science areas while in the career programs there were six full-time and three part-time members. By the Fall of 1975 there were twenty-six full-time and fourteen part-time liberal arts faculty while the career personnel rose to twenty-seven full-time and fourteen part-time faculty. The 1986 college catalog listed ninety-six full-time faculty, six division chairpersons and 40 part-time persons. Thirty-five full and thirteen part-time faculty were associated with the liberal arts and sciences while the career areas had sixty-one full and twenty-seven part-time representatives.

The years 1970 to 1975 thus saw the faculty ranks take on fifty-three full-time persons. Of this original number, twenty-nine are still at MCC. Four of this twenty-nine presently hold division

¹Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, "The Faculty: Deeply Troubled," Change Magazine, Sept./Oct., 1985, p. 34.

chairperson positions, and two have coordinator roles. Five of the twenty-nine were once in the administrative position of division chairperson and have since returned to faculty status. Of the twenty-nine original faculty, twenty-six were available for participation. Twenty-two of these agreed to be interviewed.

The reason for selecting such a population is that this group reflects a period of significant change in community college education, starting in the mid-1970's and continuing until the present. Early in its own history, as has been indicated, MCC, as did most community colleges, moved rapidly into the career and developmental aspect of education. It is a contention that, for a majority of the population being studied, original premises and aspirations began to erode and as the mission of MCC changed so did the morale of the faculty involved.

The criteria for selecting this population is thus:

1. The participant will have come to teach at MCC between the years 1970 and 1975, those years which represent the formative years of the college.
2. All participants are full-time faculty. Division chairpersons, who are contractually differentiated, are considered as part of this population.
3. The participants are involved in a range of disciplines, characteristic of the mission of MCC. The areas drawn from are humanities (6), mathematics (1), science (5), library (1), social science (1), dental (2), radiologic tech-

nology and diagnostic medical sonography (1), business (4), and technology (1).

Demographics

In the period from 1970 to 1975 the average age of this faculty was around thirty-two. The average age of this faculty at the time of the study was around forty-seven. Seven of the group study had previously taught in high school, eight in other junior or community colleges, and two in four year colleges. Four of this faculty were teaching assistants in graduate school, while two came from clinical settings. The present average years teaching for the population is twenty-one. Three members of the group have doctorates, while the rest have masters' degrees. All but two have the rank of full professor. Fifteen are originally from the area; two of the remaining seven went to school in the area. In the early days the contact hours ranged from fifteen to eighteen, as contrasted to twelve to fifteen at present. The average salary in the first years was around \$12,000. The present salary for this population is in the order of \$32,000, for faculty and about \$35,000 for administrators returning to faculty.

<u>Education</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Years Total</u>	<u>Teaching MCC</u>	<u>Discipline</u>
University of Vermont	BS	Prof	19	17	Humanities
University of Connecticut	MA				

<u>Education</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Years Total</u>	<u>Teaching MCC</u>	<u>Discipline</u>
Worcester Junior College	AAE	Prof	30	17	Technology
Fitchburg State College	BS				
Worcester State College	MEd				
Old Dominion University	BS	Prof	20	14	Business
	MS				
Salem State College	BS	Prof	21	13	Business
	MEd				
Suffolk University	BS	Prof	18	17	Business
	MBA				
Holy Cross College	AB	Prof	15	12	Philosophy
Boston College	PhD				
Duke University	BA	Prof	27	13	Drama

<u>Education</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Years Total</u>	<u>Teaching MCC</u>	<u>Discipline</u>
Boston University	MA				
University of Maine	BA	Prof	37	17	Library
Bridgewater State	MEd				
Simmons College	MLS				
Mass Bay CC	AA	Prof	21	17	History/ Government
Boston University	BA				
New York University	MA				
Yale University	BS	Prof	17	14	Physics
University CA/ Davis	MS				
Columbia University	BA	Prof	21	16	Business
Appalachian State Univ.	MA				

<u>Education</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Years Total</u>	<u>Teaching MCC</u>	<u>Discipline</u>
Boston University	EdD				
University of Rhode Island	BA	Prof	14	14	Dental
Framingham State	MA				
Boston College	BA	Prof	21	16	Literature
Lehigh University	PhD				
Harvard University	BA	Prof	20	16	Literature
University of Iowa	MA				
Mt. Holyoke College	BA	Prof	21	16	Biology
Connecticut College	MS				
Yale University	BA	Prof	17	17	Biology
University of Wisconsin	MS				

<u>Education</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Years Total</u>	<u>Teaching MCC</u>	<u>Discipline</u>
Boston College	BA	Prof	26	17	Literature
	MA				
Middlebury College	MA				
MCC	AA	Assoc Prof	11	11	Sonography/ R.T.
Fitchburg State	BS				
	MEd				
University of Lowell	BS	Prof	26	17	Math
Boston State College	MEd				
Adelphi University	BA	Assoc Prof	15	15	Biology
Boston College	MS				
Columbia University	BS	Prof	26	17	Dental
Hofstra	MS				

<u>Education</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Years Total</u>	<u>Teaching MCC</u>	<u>Discipline</u>
Marist College	BA	Prof	26	17	Biology
Fordham University	MS				

The Interviews

Each faculty member was contacted in person and the intent of the study explained to them. The response was very positive. A preliminary time for the interview was set-up and subsequently formalized so as to accommodate the participant. A number of changes in the schedule did occur but these presented no serious problems.

Most of the interviews were carried out in the faculty person's office. They were done during the months of April, May, and June of 1987. The majority of the interviews took place later in the day when things were not so hectic and interruption was at a minimum. One interview took place at a faculty member's home and another at a coffee shop.

In terms of the process no previously prepared material was issued. The topic of the interview was previously talked about and several ground rules were established at the beginning of the interview. When one gets into a discussion of morale at MCC, the issues of contract, money and physical facilities can dominate the conversation. These issues were asked to be downplayed, if not excluded

from the interview, so that we could focus on the ideas of mission and morale. Nonetheless, it was quite impossible to talk about morale without the contract and the physical plant being brought up.

Before the taping started the time necessary to create a relaxed atmosphere was taken. There was some personal apprehension in the sense that the subject had the possibility of being somewhat volatile. It was felt that there was a certain amount of risk-taking, on both parts, in this methodology. The possibility of personalities rather than issues, although it is hard to separate these, dominating the interviews was a bit threatening. Whether it was the tape recorder or the nature of the questions, the response was quite professional and very non-vindictive. Indeed there were few interviews where the session had to be kept going and many of them required only a few lead-in questions. At times it was necessary to stop recording and redirect or reemphasize the point. No one felt a need to stop the interview because of what was being said. It is interesting to note that things that were evidently quite important to the faculty member came across strongly as an intensity in voiced. As would be expected some interviews were more dominating than others in that opinions were more strongly voiced than others. Some of the interviewees came right to the point but a majority chose to speak at length about their years at MCC.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

This dissertation is a qualitative study of the impact that the change in community college mission has had upon the morale of senior faculty at MCC. The material presented in this chapter was gathered through a process of in-depth interviews with 22 of the original faculty at MCC. The literature on morale consistently shows, paradoxically, that while faculty morale is on the wane, most faculty are generally satisfied with their work. Much of the literature indicates that poor morale is more reflective of factors extrinsic to teaching and, at this point in time, when extrinsic rewards are in short supply, faculty have to rely more on intrinsic satisfaction. This study is supportive of this literature but suggests that even the intrinsic factors, that is the essence of teaching itself, are eroding as a consequence of mission changes that have taken place at MCC.

This study was designed to look beyond the influence of extrinsic factors that the literature expressed as contributive to poor morale: factors such as salary, bureaucratic administration, physical facilities, and the like. Rather this study focused on how morale was affected by the move to career and developmental education. The results of the study show that this faculty did perceive a shift in the mission of MCC and that this shift has contributed to a decline in their morale. Nineteen of the 22 faculty interviewed characterized their morale as fair to poor. (Three of the 22, all from the humani-

ties department, were explicit in saying that their morale was good.) Further, the morale of the career faculty was not seen as being significantly better than that of the non-career faculty. The career faculty expressed many of the same concerns that the non-career faculty did: badly prepared and poorly motivated students.

The data gathered from these interviews indicates that the original premises and aspirations expressed by this group of faculty have been seriously challenged by the fundamental change in mission at MCC. More specifically the changes were: a) a new student body and a corresponding change in educational purpose which will be called careerism, b) a loss of collegiality in terms of both community and purpose, c) institutional changes that have formalized relationships and, d) the effects of mid-careerism that may have insulated many of this faculty.

The material in this chapter is therefore organized in the following manner:

1. The change in mission to careerism.
2. A loss of collegiality.
3. Institutional disengagement.
4. Mid-careerism and insulation.

The Change in Mission to Careerism

A theme that runs through the literature on the community college is that the community college faculty traditionally have educational goals that are different from what the mission of the com-

munity college is intended to be. Although full-time faculty members are basically recruited from social backgrounds comparable to the students they are teaching, "many of those trained and employed as teachers in the community college have credentials acquired in a university environment which is geared to a different type of student."¹ As such it is felt that a "tragic intellectual gulf exists between the faculty and the administration."²

Another fundamental premise of community college leadership has been that the community college student is different from the more traditional college student in terms of academic potential and aspirations, and that it was to be the distinct mission of the community college to address these differences. While emphasizing these points of view and therein intentionally choosing not to be associated with a university style of education, the community college nonetheless continued to draw most of its faculty from the traditional pool of collegiate backgrounds and clearly identified itself as part of the higher educational hierarchy. When MCC was founded in the early 1970s its faculty was representative of such a tradition. Of the faculty involved in this study, 7 came from teaching backgrounds in the high school, 8 from other junior or community colleges, 2 from four-year institutions, 3 directly from graduate school, and the remaining 2 from clinical settings. Seventeen faculty members had

¹Bushnell, Organizing for Change, p. 31.

²Palinchak, p. 175.

relatively extensive teaching experience; all of them had at least 6 years of classroom experience while the average was 9 years. Two fundamental reasons were expressed by the participants for coming to MCC, these being a) the opportunity to teach at the college level, and, b) to be part of a new educational undertaking. As one member of the humanities department reflected, "MCC looked like the future for someone with a master's degree and where I would be honored for my teaching and for my relationship with my students rather than by any research that I might do."

This faculty also reflected the literature finding that community college instructors typically do not have a collective sense of mission. However, this faculty was very supportive of the traditional community college philosophy of being open-access and student-centered. The variation in opinion on what a college education is came from the pluralistic nature of the faculty itself. Whatever these differences it must be emphasized that this group at all times perceived MCC and themselves as being in the realm of higher education and that the teaching that they were doing as being of college level work. MCC, for this faculty, was the first two years of higher education, whether the students were to pursue further education or not. Although some of the faculty saw their role as "helping students to get good jobs and to train them well," these individuals were firm in saying that MCC was not a vocational school, nor was it part of post-secondary education. What the faculty felt at this time was consis-

tent with the evolving mission of the community college system in Massachusetts during this period:

Apparently the (Massachusetts) two-year colleges are serving the role of the lower division functions of a four-year baccalaureate program (and) it seems that the vast majority of students view the community college as a stepping stone to post-upper division work.¹

The point is that this faculty's relationship to the student and to the institution was an extension of traditional educational experiences that these individuals had brought with them to MCC. "When the college opened in 1970," said one, "I used to talk about it, and I believe that others did also, as the Harvard of the community colleges." Another recalled having "bright and motivated students (and) generating a course that would have done credit to any educational institution." Such feelings were supported by MCC having heavy enrollments in the liberal arts courses and where faculty "were given a great deal of encouragement to develop courses in these areas."

Although the faculty perception of mission was by no means a consensus in these early years of the college, all spoke highly of what was happening at MCC and of the students they had in class. The faculty shared a sense of collegiality and common purpose. This is reflective of McCabe's description of this period where "those of us in

¹Massachusetts State Transfer Articulation Committee, Study of Massachusetts Two-Year College Students: Implications for Massachusetts Four-Year Colleges and Universities, (Amherst, MA, ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 068 081, 1972).

the community colleges were buoyed up by optimism and considered ourselves crusaders."¹ MCC, however, emerged at the tail-end of this tradition. For much of its history community college advocates had argued for a more vocational and terminal type of education. Such a mission had begun to receive support and to be developed on a national level during the 1960s. Although the desire for so doing can be seen earlier in its history, the transition to such a mission did not take place in Massachusetts until the mid-1970s.

By the mid-seventies the new students began to arrive on campus and a wave of student consumerism began to challenge the traditional role. "I think," said one faculty member, "that at this time we came to realize the marketplace." The threat of lowered enrollments in conjunction with the imposition of severe budgetary constraints generated much anxiety. "The single most important thing that resulted," felt one faculty member, "was just a growing concern for filling the place with students." The emphasis said another, "was now on survival." A contemporary study of the opinions of higher educational leadership found that "financial issues, enrollments, and mission, (along with) militance and unionism to be more of a concern than morale, development and improvement."² At MCC the changes that took place were attributed to "jealousies, no pay raises, and collective bargaining." The student body was seen as "becoming a bit

¹McCabe, Shaping the Future, p. 12.

²J. Duca, "President's Views on Current and Future Issues in Higher Education," Phi Delta Kappan, April, 1981, pp. 5886-588.

more conservative and quality began to slip." "It was not clear to me," said another faculty member, "that the college had any direction in terms of where it was going, in terms of rationalizing or justifying any of these programs." McCabe now argued that "while some of my colleagues maintain that our mission is not under question I believe that evidence throughout the country of questioning the community college mission is overwhelming."¹

At MCC 11 of the 22 faculty interviewed felt a significant change in mission had taken place, 8 felt that basically it was only the student that had changed, and 3 said that it was not an important consideration for them and that they had not really thought about it. Of the 22, 18 were very much concerned about the change in student attitude toward education that they were now experiencing. Seventeen of the group now saw the mission of the college to be primarily career education, while 5 of the 22 elaborated on remedial or developmental education as now becoming a major part of the mission of MCC.

In general both the liberal arts and the career faculty acknowledged that poorly prepared and poorly motivated students had negatively affected their morale. Career faculty, who were held responsible for curriculum content mastery by various advisory boards, spoke of the lack of student preparation and motivation as undermining their efforts. The liberal arts faculty, on the other hand, now

¹MCCabe, "Shaping the Future," p. 12.

found themselves, for the most part, in a supporting role. Their courses had become required components of, and subservient to, the career programs.

When MCC opened in 1970 it was housed in two long unused buildings on the grounds of a veterans hospital. These facilities were clearly considered to be temporary so that, in spite of poor physical conditions, the MCC faculty saw these early years as being "active, productive, and exciting." The faculty association was created, committees were established, and a spirit of cooperation and enthusiasm on the part of both administration and faculty was described. "There was just so much to learn about," reflected one faculty member, while another recalled that "there were just so many possibilities for growth and personal development." Teaching at MCC was a matter of "building something up from the ground," and of "being an integral part of the colleges' development." A member of the science department expressed what was representative of the feeling at this time:

The faculty were excited about their work. They were trying new things. There was a sense that everything was possible. I'm sure that, like people engaged in a revolution, they thought they were going to change the world.

In these early years this faculty was relatively close-knit with a collective mission and a sense that they "wanted to accomplish something important." They had a feeling of being personally involved. Many of the faculty "stayed around and did a lot of extra

work that they didn't have to do," commented a former administrator. The administration itself "was family, was open for suggestions." It was evident that faculty and administration alike were infected by the spirit of MCC and that their personal involvement had become an expression of their own energy and creativity. This faculty spoke of its sense of importance and common purpose. Another administrator, now in faculty ranks, said:

I do think there was a lot of input from individuals. I think that people felt that they were part of the decision-making process, that what they said was important and listened to in most cases. There was a feeling of self-satisfaction at that time, not only from being in the teaching situation but as part of what was going on.

When reflecting on this involvement and sense of purpose during these early years this faculty described their morale as excellent. Even though the physical facilities were poor, most anticipated a new campus in the near future. This faculty was very excited about the possibilities that MCC offered. There were many opportunities for advancement in rank, small but consistent pay raises, merit rewards, and students who were characterized as being typical of what was felt a college student ought to be. The environment at MCC was one in which this faculty had been raised and were comfortable with. Everyone interviewed recalled having high morale during these building years.

At the time of the interviews, however, the faculty described their personal morale as having changed significantly. For one indi-

vidual, things at MCC were "terrible, a low point, a very low point," while for another the faculty mood was seen as "having become very angry." Nineteen of the 22 faculty interviewed now described their morale as being fair to poor. This observation of morale is consistent with the 1982 study on faculty morale in Massachusetts community colleges where 73.9% of the faculty surveyed disagreed or strongly disagreed that morale was high at their institution.¹ The faculty in this study also reflects a Carnegie Foundation report conclusion that "today's faculty are not only worried about their own security and salaries but they also worry about the integrity of their institution. Like other professionals they want the satisfaction that comes from a job well-done."²

Paradoxically, this faculty, while reporting poor morale, also said that they were generally satisfied with their professional choice and that teaching, although now not what it once was to them, was still satisfying. Only one of the 22 said that he would never go into education if he had to do it over again. In an in-depth study of a small sampling of community college teachers in Massachusetts, Brookes reported 3 of 27 faculty deriving little or no satisfaction from teaching,³ while the Cowen study also showed that faculty per-

¹Cowen, p. 149.

²Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, "The Faculty: Deeply Troubled," Change Magazine, Sept./Oct., 1985, pp. 31-34.

³Brookes, p. 72.

ceived their individual careers as fulfilling and successful.¹ This seeming contradiction was put quite aptly by an MCC faculty member:

Consistently our outside evaluation emphasizes the quality and the dedication of the faculty as one of the strongest, if not the strongest point of the college. But morale continues to diminish as time goes by.

The morale of the majority of this faculty can be described as fair to poor. Yet, the feelings that have been described thus far did not characterize the entire group. There was a small number whose morale was good. Three of the 22, all from the humanities department, had very positive things to say about their morale. What is interesting to note though, is that the fundamental problems of student preparation and motivation still showed through, but these individuals expressed a different perspective in terms of dealing with the changes. Two of the 3 saw what was happening as a challenge, while the third pointed to receiving positive feedback from the administration as meaningful. The following statement is representative of what was said:

If anything my morale is better now than it ever was. I feel very fortunate that I have a job that I enjoy doing. I like the students and I feel that I am part of a going concern. MCC has a real good future. I don't always feel that the humanities gets all the importance that I would like it to have because of the emphasis on the careers, but I understand that.

¹Cowen, p. 141.

It's a struggle sometimes to get the students to care about something that is not, as far as they can see it, directly related to their career, which means making money. But I see that as a challenge. I take each class as a challenge, to see in the students a kind of surprise awakening, that this is something they have begun to think about. Basically, then, my morale is good. The only thing that ever really bothers me is myself, when I get down on myself for not trying hard enough or for missing out on something I should have done. I'm the wrong person to talk to if you're trying to get a sense of things. I just try to do my job the best I can and I guess that's what I feel everybody should do.

As indicated this faculty can be described as a student-centered faculty. Of the 22 faculty in the study, 19 specifically stated that teaching was their major reason for coming to MCC; students were to be the focus of their energy. Eleven of the group spoke of the importance of open-access and of wanting to help those who were less well-to-do or under-prepared "to make the most of themselves." But, they clearly expected to be involved in college level work, to be part of higher education, and to see themselves as colleagues of faculty at other levels in the system. As such MCC was perceived to be, "at that point in time, very excellent in terms of teaching students on a par with any four-year college." The mission in the early years was seen as involving transfer students, students consistently described as bright and motivated. This faculty's initial perception of their students were of individuals in pursuit of a collegiate experience. Good students in a good academic environment had contributed to good faculty morale.

But with a change in the characteristics of the student population came a new educational emphasis. The national trend toward career education redefined the mission of MCC. The bright and motivated students of the early years were now seen as, "in good part very non-intellectual, very goal oriented, very materialistic, and who won't question values and ideas, who don't value values and ideas." As the student became more job-oriented, "we as vendors of a product lived up to their desires," was one reflection. Many of the faculty now felt that the students were determining what the mission of MCC was to be and that this change altered faculty role. Just as in Richardson's study of Oakwood Community College, faculty at MCC now described their students as poor readers and writers lacking motivation and seriousness about their collegiate undertaking. Richardson felt that all this "made it harder for faculty members to derive satisfaction from teaching."¹ An MCC faculty member had this observation:

I think we've floundered. If you really get down to the core of it most people would say that we are trying to give access to a fine educational system to anyone who wants to come. I think a lot of things have gotten in the way of this.

For faculty who identified with higher education, the new student who "now presented such poor academic skills that they are unable to do even typical freshman-sophomore kinds of stuff," represented a serious challenge to their image and their role in the class-

¹Richardson, et. al., p. 36.

room. A common feeling was that "the community college is going to more and more not be thought of as the first two years of a traditional education." One faculty member described the change as significant:

I think the biggest thing that has happened to me over the years is two senses of what the bottom line is. There was one bottom line that the people you were talking to in college wanted to be there. The other bottom line was that some reasonable preparation from which you could start existed. It seems to me that both these things, in some part, are gone. What this means is that the college teaching we thought we were getting into we are now not doing.

The change in student abilities, motivation and values clearly affected the morale of the majority of faculty involved in this study. Both the career and the non-career members expressed varying degrees of distress as a consequence of these changes. Ten of the 14 non-career faculty and all 8 of the career faculty spoke, in one way or another, of how the classroom is now different for them. "Sometimes when I have whole blocks of career students, particularly one group which is notorious for its pragmatism," commented a non-career faculty, "it really makes me not want to go into the classroom, not want to confront their narrow view of reality." Another non-career faculty member felt that "in class I could teach people to appreciate great stuff, that I could help them live, but some of this has broken down with the fact that people simply don't read and I don't know what to do about it." From the career side came the sim-

ple statement that "my morale is down because of what I have in the classroom, lack of interest, and unfortunately I don't see things getting any better..it's bleak, isn't it?" Much the same was said by another career faculty who felt that "students just don't want to do the amount of preparation they used to. You give them an assignment and they may or may not do it." For this person who "tried for a year and a half to promote higher standards," the reality now was that "I no longer fight for those values that I initially believed in, which is unfortunate in that I just gave up."

In addition to poor skills and motivation this faculty noted that students "now expect a lot out of the faculty," not by way of intellectual challenge but rather by way of grades. This supports the finding of a study on faculty stress at Prince George Community College in Largo, Maryland, that indicated that an increase in underprepared students coupled with student expectations of high grades to be a major concern.¹

The new student brings a set of values that is different from what this faculty is familiar with, used to, and considers as being educationally meaningful. London makes such a point when he says that "specifically, the achievement most valued (by faculty at community colleges) was no longer the production of knowledge but the distribution of knowledge and furthermore that distribution was seen as especially valuable to the working class because of its hu-

¹Clagett, Teacher Stress at a Community College.

manizing effect."¹ Cross' strong and influential egalitarian arguments for a community college education are premised more on making a success of the new student. For her traditional education is not necessarily the route to equality of educational opportunity.² This faculty is seen as struggling to accommodate such perspectives.

The Cowen study in Massachusetts, one of several similar studies, shows the faculty reporting that making a difference in their students lives as being very important to them. Melendez and deGuzman make the point that extrinsic rewards by themselves - an increase in salary and promotion in rank - do not motivate professors to improve their quality of teaching.³ Brookes and German further report that "there appears to be ambivalence about academe's principle function, teaching."⁴ These observations are seen as characterizing the faculty in this study. Although it is difficult to be sure about causality when it comes to explaining the dilemma that this group of professional educators is experiencing, the observation is made that the decline in student abilities and motivation was accompanied by the ascendance of career education. It certainly cannot be proven from this work that career education alone is the reason for

¹London, Culture of a Community College, p. 47.

²Cross, Beyond the Open Door, pp. 155-174.

³Melendez and deGuzman, p. 174.

⁴Michael C. T. Brookes and Kathy German, Meeting the Challenges: Developing Faculty Careers, (ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 3, Washington, D.C., ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 232 516, 1983), p. 3.

the morale changes being experienced. However, from what was said by this faculty, career education appears to be perceived as an end in itself. Many of the faculty, both career and non-career, kept coming back to the point that a large number of their students were not interested in anything beyond that which applied to their program of study. "A lot of my students could care less about the subject matter," was a frequent complaint of the non-career faculty. From one of the career faculty came the comment that "it makes me sad to see that students aren't able to take advantage," and that "every year I teach it seems that they are more narrow." Career faculty in this study were supportive of the liberal component of education, but they saw their students as relating strongly only to immediate outcomes. "It's all vocational no matter how you look at," was one of the more pragmatic responses elicited. The perceived need for credentials has superceded any quest for common learning that characterizes a more general education. In short, the shift to career education seems to have had a subtle but pervasive influence. An MCC faculty member summed up the feeling:

A lot more people have been hired here, it seems to me, to support career education. That tilts things in that direction. I feel that when you do that it changes the institution, the relationships within the faculty. The focus is different and the institution changes as a result. There is not the same interest in educational issues, in sitting around and talking about those things. As a consequence more and more faculty come with an interest in their own career areas, perhaps outside jobs, and leave. The result is that the general state of things, intellectually

and commitment-wise, tends to suffer. I perceive the career people as being, I won't say happy, but at least kind of content. But the morale of the liberal arts people seems to have suffered the most.

A Loss of Collegiality

Another contributor to lower morale was the loss of collegiality. Twelve of the 22 faculty spoke repeatedly about experiencing a loss of community and shared purpose. The change in mission is seen as a corollary to diminished collegial relationships. This is not in keeping with Bowen and Schuster's more general finding about collegiality in higher education, but does correlate with the small sample of community colleges they visited.¹

As has been indicated there never was an articulated consensus among the faculty as to the mission of MCC. The faculty felt a shared purpose in that they saw themselves as college teachers involved in college activities. The group described themselves as initially close-knit. There was a collegiality based on friendship and respect for each other. This faculty felt that they were part of the decision-making process. There was a sense of belonging and being part of something meaningful. Each faculty member described his/her role as being important and evidently this was supported by both what was happening in the classroom and in the institution. As one faculty member recalled:

¹Bowen and Schuster, p. 143.

In those beginning years there was something here. We were all learning together. We all had a certain friendship together. We had lousy facilities and yet we were buoyant to be at the birth of a new place. I would say that these years may have been the high point of everybody here, working together, friendly. From there on it has been all down hill.

As MCC grew the faculty became physically separated as the campus split into five locations. This increase in size and location was mentioned by just about everyone as part of their morale problem. Where "once we shared a common bond," said one, "now people don't know other people." For another there was the feeling that "we're all strangers and you just feel like you're walking around doing your own thing." One division was seen as "growing substantially so that we have lost that personal touch." Clearly this separation contributed to the decline in morale. "Look at how little time we spend together as a community," said one faculty member, while another felt that "this is not the organic body that it used to be."

Philosophical differences were also seen by a number of non-career faculty as contributing to a loss of collegiality. For one, such differences were quite serious:

It probably divided us as a faculty. It really has separated us as a group. It's probably the reason why we don't have much of a chance to interact with one another. But I'm not sure that even if we did get together it would be a very enriching kind of interaction any more. There's just too many of us going in too many different directions. There are real educational differences and I just don't think this leads to a common sense of purpose. There are just two entirely opposing philosophical and educa-

tional styles and outlooks. I think we like each other but I'm not sure that, as a group, we'll ever be part of one real community, even if we are physically together. I think my colleagues are doing a good job in what they are doing, but it just isn't college to me.

Institutional Disengagement

One faculty member who had previously described the earlier years as a period of involvement explained the changes that had occurred:

In time we became a bit more departmentalized. A lot more politics and friction between disciplines, between people, were happening. Things began to be a bit more institutionalized, a bit more formal. Things changed and we became more of a place to work than a home. Many of us began to see that there would be more competition for appointments. For many of us the reality was that the visions of 1970 probably would never materialize. I think a lot of people started to realize that it wasn't our college. The idea of shared governance began not to mean shared governance the way we had originally perceived it to be. I think that the subsequent rise of unionism tended to formalize many of the relationships within the college. It tended to make things more bureaucratic.

The changes that took place in the mission of MCC paralleled the changes that took place in the institution itself. The faculty described their relationship to the college as now more contractual and confrontational. They report a loss of a sense of being valued, of having lost influence. Many said that their only real role is in the classroom, "and even that gets undermined by decisions that are out

of our hands in terms of environment, in terms of curriculum needs that take students away from things we consider important." The word powerlessness was frequently used to describe what had happened. Institutional disengagement was perceived as being the outcome. "Our colleagues are still involved in their teaching," commented one career faculty, "but I don't see people participating in much else." In another division, "I see people coming in, doing their job, then leaving," was an observation. "You feel you have no control over change, therefore what's the use," seemed to be the sentiment.

The spirit that was described as characterizing the early years appears to have been lost. Faculty in general were perceived by the interviewees as meeting their responsibilities, putting in their required time, and then pursuing other interests.

Mid-Careerism and Insulation

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of mission changes upon faculty who had a long term association with MCC. The teaching experience of the group spanned a period of 13 to 18 years at this institution. Their average age places them in Levinson's lower middle adulthood in terms of development and in mid-career professionally. Adult development theory indicates that teaching for this extended period of time, especially in one place, would affect morale. Fifteen of the 22 did indeed talk about age and of having been at MCC for a long time. Eleven of this 15 mentioned very specific factors that they were having to cope with: diminished expectations, a

decrease in energy, being in the field for a long time, and doing the same things repeatedly.

Trying to understand the relationship between teaching and morale as a function of change over a period of time is, in the words of Bess, "fraught with extra-ordinary difficulties."¹ As has been presented, the morale of this faculty has been altered by a change in educational emphasis, students with different agendas, and an institution that has expanded therein becoming less personal. Several of the faculty spoke about having to keep their energy levels up so as to cope with this, while others felt that they weren't sure that what was happening was due to the students or to themselves.

In many ways this group of senior faculty do not seem to be significantly different from the generative and insulated faculty described by Brookes. These members have characteristics typical of outstanding teachers, and most of them, in spite of describing morale that was not high and students who were not prepared or motivated, claimed that they still derived satisfaction from teaching. Consistent with Brookes' findings a majority of this faculty had succeeded in modifying the institution to suit their personal preferences, particularly in such matters as what and when they teach. There is no evidence to indicate that any member of this faculty was past a period of effectiveness. The single most troublesome factor for this faculty is the lack of recognition and reward for work that is now very diffi-

¹Bess, "Social Psychology," p. 4.

cult. Mission and institutional changes seem to have eroded morale, and faculty development has not addressed the issues, although there have been some minor reinvestments in the process. This faculty believes that they have much to offer, but that the system does not seek them out nor recognize their potential. As one faculty member explained it:

I don't think it is the money or whatever as much as we don't feel rewarded for what we do. The college has had an uphill struggle, the facilities are not that good, and those of us who have been here for so long have really had to fight emotionally to adapt. Another factor is that a lot of us are getting older. We have fought all the battles and yet we find that we still have to fight the battles once again. That wears you down a bit. I think a lot of community college instructors are making their own bed though. They subconsciously think that they are inferior and they communicate this to the administration and the regents. It is my perception, across the board, that people are distressed and depressed. They have just gotten kind of intellectually and emotionally impotent.

Apparently the energy of most of the faculty members is now confined to the classroom, about which there is much ambivalence. Mid-careerism and aging may be part of the problem, but faculty perceptions are that these are not the most significant factors associated with their decline in morale.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

The purpose of this study was to determine the influence that the change in mission has had upon the morale of the senior faculty at MCC. The literature on faculty morale in higher education had described a continued decline in morale over the past decade or more. This decline has generally been associated with factors extrinsic to teaching itself. However, data gathered in this study indicate that the movement from open-door to open-access, the emergence of career education, and the initiation of remedial-developmental education, have contributed to the erosion of faculty morale. In short, as the mission of MCC moved from a perceived primacy of liberal and transfer education to career and developmental education, the morale of the faculty declined. Teaching, always hard, was now seen to be more difficult than ever. The data presented pointed to four major changes that took place at MCC since its founding in 1970 which contributed to the decline in faculty morale, these being, a) a new student body and change in educational mission, b) a loss of collegiality, c) institutional disengagement, and d) mid-careerism and insulation.

When the faculty involved in this study first came to MCC in the early 1970s the teaching profession was in a period of high public esteem. MCC was viewed as a very desirable place to teach, and

the morale of this faculty was high. Three factors were consistently identified as contributing to this high morale:

1. A common purpose as professionals in higher education.
2. A sense of collegiality.
3. An identification with the institution.

At the time of the interviews morale was described as being low and the three factors identified above were seen as having deteriorated. A fourth factor, related to this faculty being in mid-career, was also indicated to be contributive to the decline in morale. The purpose of this chapter is to elaborate on these four changes and this chapter is organized accordingly:

1. The change in mission to careerism.
2. A loss of collegiality.
3. Institutional disengagement.
4. Mid-careerism.

The Change in Mission to Careerism

Education in the United States has traditionally been viewed as a major mechanism for maintaining the integrity of the society and for enhancing the quality of an individual's life. In this century the community college has become an established segment of such a tradition. However, in the 1960s and 1970s, in an attempt to create its own uniqueness, the community college broke from the norms in

higher education and made a commitment to an open-door/open-access policy. The past three decades have witnessed the principle of open-access challenge the older meritocratic process by accepting students formally excluded from higher education. This movement has evolved a new category of student in higher education, the "non-traditional" student. These non-traditional students (less-academically prepared, first generation to college, older and part-time) brought pressure upon the community college to move away from the more traditional perspective of a college experience and challenged faculty to reconsider the purpose of education in the community college. Such a purpose or mission has yet to be clearly delineated, although career and developmental education have presently come into prominence in the community college. For the faculty involved in this study there once existed a commonness of purpose derived from being part of traditional higher education. To teach was to share an articulated belief that the classroom process was a humanizing undertaking capable of being shared by all involved. Open-access has, however, brought such a diversity of student preparation and motivation to the classroom that it has made the act of teaching a very complex undertaking. In addition to this the emphasis on career as the outcome of importance has resulted in a de-emphasis on the more general components of education.

The change in the mission of the community college over the past two decades can be seen as the fulfillment of a long-term vocational advocacy. Although the philosophy of the community college

evinces some degree of commitment to the ideals of general learning, the stronger message is that career or vocational education confers an economic advantage and an avenue of upward mobility for its clientele. Whereas, at one point in time, the goal of community college education, at least in the minds of the faculty and students, was to proceed to the baccalaureate level by way liberal studies, more recently a large number of students have been convinced that an appropriate education, such as that offered by the community college, is necessary to obtain a better job. Riding a wave of egalitarian impulse that has brought more people into higher education along with a preoccupation with preparation for high-tech occupations, the community college has come to be associated with vocational outcomes. This shift in educational mission has been successful in that it has "gained support from students in search of jobs, business in search of trained workers, and educators in search of jobs."¹ In Massachusetts, career education has been strongly influenced by training for high-tech occupations as exemplified by Senator Tsongas' call for a "High-Technology Morrill Act."² At MCC there has been, in addition to the high-tech influence, an on-going emphasis on careers in health and business related areas. What this study points to is a correlation between the ascendancy of career education, the lack of preparation

¹W. Norton Grubb, "The Bandwagon Once More: Vocational Education for High-Tech Occupations," Harvard Educational Review, 1985, 54 (4), pp. 429-451.

²Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 98th Congress, First Session, Washington, DC, March 1, 1983, Volume 129, Number 23.

and motivation of many of the new students, and the loss of intrinsic satisfactions that have long characterized the teaching profession. The act of learning, of inquiring, was perceived as being of lesser importance than the acquisition of credits necessary to attain a marketable degree.

This study also points to contradictory evidence as to student achievement and faculty concerns as expressed in the interviews. In a 1983-84 student assessment survey of 1,016 MCC students, 89% reported that they were well-prepared to do college level work. 81% reported that they were well-motivated and committed to learning, while at the time almost 70% reported that they were studying ten hours or less a week.¹ What is of significance in this is that the student perception of themselves is supported by faculty assessments. An examination of 9,849 grades for the fall of 1987 showed that 60% of this population received a grade of B or better. (When corrected for withdrawals the figure is reduced slightly to 55%.) It is thus difficult to reconcile what faculty have said about students and the data on student achievement. If, as in this example, more than half of the students are doing above average work it would seem that this would be very pleasing to faculty and that morale would be high in this area. More research in this area is necessary so as to understand the dynamics that are involved. The data, while far from being conclusive, suggest two possible explanations for the contradiction:

¹Student Needs Assessment Committee, pp. 8-28.

1. The influence of the policy of full-time equivalency on student retention.
2. A challenge to personal self-worth as a teacher and a professional as imposed by the differences in the abilities and values of the new students.

The Influence of the Policy of Full Time Equivalency

In a previously cited study on morale at Prince Georges Community College, it was pointed out that the emphasis on retention, that is credit hours being equivalent to funding, was the second most cited source of stress for faculty at this institution. At MCC this same point was made by many of the faculty interviewed. "If students don't come," asked one faculty member, "then what happens?" Another faculty member was concerned that "if we don't offer the courses that the students want they may go elsewhere." A more caustic view was that the "single most important thing that happened here was just a growing concern for filling the place with students." Faculty, it was felt, ultimately paid a price for this:

It's just a matter of making sure that there are enough students here and they they're growing in numbers. Whether it was deliberate or not the price we paid for this was that people just kind of looked away from educational issues. It wasn't just a matter of bringing them here, but we also had to keep them. That helped the FTE.

As in Richardson's study, faculty members were not pleased with the circumstances that resulted.¹ This faculty found themselves

¹Richardson et al., pp. 152-153.

in a dilemma where the maintenance of higher standards meant the possibility of fewer students and that they were not going to win the philosophical battle without threatening their jobs or those of their colleagues. The faculty's acceptance of the inability to reverse such prevailing trends was one more factor contributing to the decline in morale.

A Challenge to Personal Self-Worth

A second possible explanation might be the challenge to personal self-worth that has taken place as a consequence of mission changes. When this faculty first started teaching at MCC their self-worth as professionals was being met by many aspects of the college, most importantly the classroom. But at the time of the interviews many were describing starting semesters with full classes and feeling lucky if half the class took the final exam. One faculty member told of starting with 90 students and having 34 take the third exam. As the students became less able and/or less willing faculty morale declined in this area. Seidman makes note of this when he says that "faculty who try to uphold a conception of collegiate standards based on their own collegiate education and their knowledge of the field find themselves vulnerable to rejection and resulting self-doubt about what they are doing."¹ As this faculty attempted to hold to their expectations of academic excellence they experienced declining

¹Seidman, p. 76.

classroom enrollments. "Those of us who have been here for so long have had to fight emotionally to adapt," commented one faculty member.

Several of the faculty saw what was happening as a "professional identity crisis," and described the feeling:

There was a period of time when the students diminishing abilities had a very direct and demoralizing effect on my feelings of self-worth. There was a slide in the whole academic tone of the college. It was easy to take this personally and to say that my self-worth stinks and that my students don't love me anymore. My professional self-image had always been that of a scientist. With the shift in the population it was impossible to think of myself as a scientist anymore.

For another faculty member:

There is no sense that we are valued at all as professionals, as people who have input into the educational process. It seems to me that education is the least important thing and that we are perceived of as the least important factor.

The shift to career and remedial education was not seen as the result of faculty dialogue and eventual consensus, but was the response to prevailing market forces. Faculty adaptation has been difficult and stressful. Mechanisms for accomplishing necessary changes in attitudes and behavior have not been addressed and the system offers little incentive and few channels for the consideration of educational issues. How this has truly affected teaching as well as the ultimate achievement of organizational priorities is difficult to

quantify. Most faculty report that they are still dedicated to their teaching, but the commitment to new priorities seems tenuous.

This faculty also expressed a difference between their personal expectations and what they were now able to accomplish. A majority still felt that they were performing a useful social function, but with diminished enthusiasm. "I wish that what I was doing felt more respected by society," reflected one faculty member. Under the present circumstances it appears to be difficult to experience a real sense of fulfillment. Some faculty have attempted to do this by redefining their role:

Over the years, particularly the last several years, I have come to redefine what I do. I don't think of myself so much as a subject-matter specialist anymore, but rather just as a teacher of the kinds of students that we have here. It's not so much how I define myself anymore, and that's been a happy transition. I feel that there are many faculty here who have not made that transition very well and I think that is the problem. The accommodation that I came to has been the difference. To some extent this may just be a rationalization, but it feels better. So if it is a rationalization, it is effective.

Even if such adaptation to the circumstances is achieved it can still leave one with the sense of failure as an academic, one no longer able to participate in or contribute to a higher learning. Although faculty still regard their teaching in a positive manner they are seen as having to rely on their own initiative for satisfaction. One faculty member explained this:

Fifteen years ago I might have said, I'll show them, I'll show them how terrific I can be. I will go and do all these things and then I will get my reward. Now I say, wait a minute! If I'm going to do it for the reward then I'm not going to do it because the reward is not there. If I'm going to do it, I'm going to do it for my own satisfaction. That's the internal debate I've had about everything lately. I'm not going to get support or applause from any quarter other than myself, so it has to be pleasing and important to me before I'm willing to put the energy into it.

For individuals who, by bent of their own educational experiences, have established standards and expectations, adaptation has, to a great extent, been by way of divestment. "The thing that begins to go is the internal motivation," said one, while another indicated that:

It's easy to slide in your material because your students are not demanding new stuff. The students will take anything. They think if you can say it easily you must be brilliant. At one level you get kind of ashamed of yourself in that there is nothing that holds us to a standard except that which is inside us, and sometimes I think that fails us a bit. We are not under any kind of pressure that may bring about our best work. All of the motivation has to be internal. A lot of the reward has to be internal also. For me the greater effect of this has been outside the classroom. I give much less time to the school than I ever gave before. I still give a lot, but I don't think that I'm missing out on much now.

In many ways, then, there has been a violation of expectations that has led to conflict between faculty perception of role, student abilities and expectations, and institutional priorities. All of this has

intruded upon the faculty member's feeling of self-worth as a professional. If intrinsic rewards are what is left in terms of job satisfaction it may well be, at this level at least, that even these are eroding as compensation for many faculty. Such a point of view did not go unchallenged, however:

I think that a lot of people who suffer from morale issues are lower than a snakes belly about what they are doing here because their professional self-image is entirely tied up with being a subject-matter specialist. They find that they can't give credence to how much subject matter they can teach any more in that they are dealing with students who are unwilling and unable to perform at a level they used to be able to do. You do have to make concessions and I know a lot of people who don't, can't, and just rail at the students. They are just furious in this situation and at the students for presenting these problems to them. It's a bad arrangement, very bad.

Faculty Concerns Hint at a Deeper Debate

For much of its history the community college has been free of criticism. Perhaps it is because the mission had been so traditional throughout these years. But faculty in this study, as in more recent literature, have become uncertain as to what the community college is really about. "When I began teaching I was hoping that everybody was as interested in life as I was," said a faculty member, "but I have been shocked into reality. It is depressing to see that. I constantly feel that we are fighting a battle of feeding society what society wants as opposed to what we have to offer society." It may be, that

at this stage in the evolution of the community college, the egalitarian claims of open-access have been over-stated. For many critics of the community college open-access represents no more than a safety valve working to sort individuals for university work or for prospective employers. "There is a sense," said one faculty member, "that we are at the bottom of a pecking order in higher education." Even the former Chancellor of Higher Education in Massachusetts felt that equality in higher education does not exist:

There is, in my opinion, a difference between the skills, experience, and educational background of community college professors and university professors. I contend that the levels of compensations should reflect the difference.¹

When community college advocates speak in terms of open-access and equality of educational opportunity a great deal of rhetoric is thus involved. In the long-run the community college may be considered as being fundamentally conservative, functioning more to promote the economic and social status-quo rather than providing for any meaningful change or real upward mobility. "For the community college to attempt to open dialogue . . . on any of a score of social issues would tend away from its self-ordained role as guardian of the status-quo," is the ultimate criticism to be drawn from Cohen

¹James J. Healy, In the Matter of Factfinding Between: Board of Regents of Higher Education, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and Massachusetts Community College Council, Massachusetts Teachers Association, Case No. PS-158-1984, p. 39.

and Brawer.¹ In a study on goals, carried out by Cross, such factors as social criticism, humanism/altruism, and cultural/aesthetic awareness were the goals least desired by faculty, administrators, trustees, and community.² What appears to be of concern to faculty in this study is that MCC, because of its commitment to pre-determined career curriculum, fails to prepare students to think critically and creatively. On the part of many faculty there appears to be a psycho-social barrier about an education that has as its primary outcome the preparation of students for short-term employability. Herein lies a major difference between many faculty and those whose influence directs community colleges towards short-term goals of full enrollments. Advocates of the philosophy of comprehensiveness argue that the general education component of the associate degree will provide for the rounding out of the students education, but according to many faculty, general education courses represent no more than an intrusion upon the real purpose of attending the community college, marketability.

Critics of community college career education reject the claim that vocational education programs benefit low-income and minority students,³ and that current educational movements serve only to

¹Cohen and Brawer, The Collegiate Function, p. 60.

²K. Patricia Cross, "Community Colleges on the Plateau," Journal of Higher Education, Vol. 52 (March/April, 1981), pp. 115-116.

³Fred F. Pincus, "The False Promises of Community Colleges: Class Conflict and Vocational Education," , Vol. 50, Number 3, 1980, pp. 332-361.

trivialize and vulgarize education by focusing on the technical and ameliorative issues rather than the moral and transformative ones.¹ The Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Education also states that "increased access to higher education will mean little to the millions of new students if the degrees they seek are weakened by reduced standards or overspecialization. Access will mean little to the nation at large if its academic institutions offer fragmented, vocational curricula."² Purpel sees the current situation as but "the latest instance of the phenomenon of the trivialization of educational issues, the evasion or neglect of larger, more critical topics and the stress put on technical rather than on social, political and moral issues."³

Whatever the debate about the appropriateness of curriculum the reality is that the new student and the new missions have altered traditional values and methodologies. The present challenge is to deal with classroom diversity. Although faculty still consider teaching as what is most important to them, many things have gotten in the way of performing this function with a high degree of satisfaction.

¹David Purpel, The Moral and Spiritual Crisis in Education: A Curriculum for Justice and Compassion in Education, South Hadley, MA, Bergin and Garvery Publishers, Inc., 1988.

²Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Higher Education, , U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC, 1984, p. 14.

³Purpel, pp. 2-3.

A Loss of Collegiality

In the early 1970s, MCC, like other community colleges in the Commonwealth, experienced a period of major growth. The faculty in this study spoke of their being caught up in the spirit of the time and feeling that most anything they wanted to accomplish was possible. O'Connell described similar conditions for the founding years at Berkshire Community College when he spoke of "the opportunity to start something new as having a lot of appeal (which) for ambitious, zestful educators was enormous."¹ By the mid-1970s, however, the momentum had faltered. Budgetary constraints kept faculty in poor physical facilities while students who were poorly prepared and differently motivated arrived on campus. The educational purpose of MCC was now seen by many as having become purely vocational. Competition replaced cooperation as concerns became more pragmatic. Faculty now described a deterioration in collegial relationships with the following factors being implicated in this decline:

1. Disenfranchisement from the decision-making processes.
2. Loss of common purpose.
3. Physical separation.

¹O'Connell, pp. 82-83.

Disenfranchisement

When this faculty first came to MCC there was a strong sense of identification with the institution. Students, faculty, and administration were seen as working together in terms of common outcomes centered around traditional undergraduate experiences. In these early years many of the faculty were involved in the development of a faculty association and felt that they would have a significant input into the decision-making processes. What occurred in the community college during the period 1960 to 1975, however, was that "a pyramidal structure for governance arose in which power flowed from the president at the top of the organization down through successive layers of staff."¹ The rationale given for pursuing such bureaucracy was that community colleges "were experiencing a dramatic growth and that a division of labor with a specialized group of managers was necessary to make decisions appropriate to the conditions of growth."² The result of all of this was that "the president and senior administrative staff became progressively removed from faculty (and) regulatory procedures became necessary."³ Faculty now saw themselves as having become effectively disenfranchised from the decision making areas of the institution. At Prince Georges

¹Richard L. Alfred and David F. Smydra, "Reforming Governance: Resolving Challenges to Institutional Authority," in Deegan and Tillery, Renewing the American Community College, San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass Publishers, Inc., 1985, p. 203.

²Ibid, p. 204.

³Ibid, p. 204.

Community College it was reported that "over one-half of the sources of stress involved the college administration and were primarily concerned with the lack of faculty influence over administrative decision making."¹ In the Cowen study in Massachusetts 62% of the population involved responded negatively to the item "by and large, top-level administrators were providing effective educational leadership," while 59% responded negatively when asked if "communication between faculty and administration is good."² At MCC many of the faculty interviewed felt that they no longer had any meaningful input and that:

Maybe the role of the president has been kind of redefined in the past 20 years. Maybe they have a background in education but the things they have to handle day-in and day-out are no longer educational issues. It seems to me that the president of an educational institution ought to be an educator rather than a manager-administrator.

Faculty members in higher education traditionally relate to each other and to the institution and its representatives on an informal basis and in the framework of collegiality. The reality, it appears, is that faculty have come to be one part of a division of labor generated by individuals with organizational orientation. According to Claggett:

¹Claggett, p. 5.

²Cowen, p. 101.

Rational decision and a hierarchy of authority now ensures disciplined compliance to directives and, along with rules and regulations, a well-coordinated system of implementation, uniformity, and stability in the operation of the organization. A career orientation provides the incentives for employees to be loyal and to exert the extra effort. These characteristics serve to maximize administrative efficiency.¹

Claggett argues further that such a model can have a dysfunctional or negative consequence as there are critical differences that exist between a professional's view of service and bureaucratic perception of organization. He states that:

First, the professional is bound by a norm of service while a bureaucrat's primary responsibility is to organization. Second, professional authority is based on technical knowledge while bureaucratic authority rests on a legal contract backed by formal sanctions. Third, professional decisions are based on internalized professional standards, while bureaucratic decisions represent compliance with directives from superiors. Finally, a professional's decision is judged by peers while a bureaucrat's decision is judged by a superior.²

Melendez and deGuzman also feel that:

The idea of a bureaucratic organization should not be imposed upon the university. The idea of manager-subordinate is totally inconsistent with the idea of a university.³

¹Claggett, p. 5.

²Ibid, p. 5.

³Melendez and deGuzman, p. 58.

Although faculty in general felt removed from the decision-making areas, and that their morale had suffered as a consequence, a few saw the problem as otherwise. One faculty member was quite emphatic in saying that:

We have to stop feeling negative. I don't see the administration as the problem. I have seen too many people who don't want to teach anymore, who can't do anything else, and couldn't make as much money elsewhere. If there is negative morale then people should fish or cut bait. If they are tired of this place they should go elsewhere, if they're all that good.

Loss of Common Purpose

Another aspect of collegiality, common purpose, was seen to characterize this group of faculty during the early years of MCC. Although pluralistic in educational background this faculty shared a common purpose in that they viewed themselves as part of a common undertaking relating to higher education. "I seem to remember students in those days as being very turned on to education," recalled a faculty member. In these years faculty were aware of both a liberal and career bent to MCC, but they also thought that "there was a constant effort to unite these two missions." Many of this faculty indicated that they simply "saw students as the focus of the process," and that they were teaching at MCC "so as to provide a fine educational experience for their students" as well as "helping students to find good jobs." Even if there were different paths the consensus

of this faculty was that "the whole situation and the place lent itself to thinking about MCC as a two-year transfer institution."

The mid-1970s, as documented by Barron at Genesee Community College, was a period of transition to career education. For an MCC faculty member, "by the fourth or fifth year of the college's development the liberal arts and sciences had become de-emphasized," and now "it was naive to assume that teaching at a community college would be a lot like a four-year set-up." Career education at MCC, as at Genesee and Oakwood Community Colleges, displaced transfer education. With the influx of the new student came, in the words of a faculty member, "the feeling that your importance had begun to slide." A loss of common purpose took shape in the emergence of a frame of mind on the part of many students and faculty that the only subject-matter worthy of pursuit was that which related to the career. At the time of the interviews major differences in purpose between career and non-career faculty were seen to exist. "Maybe," said one non-career faculty, "it's because we have basically different world views, different philosophies, different value systems." As a consequence, it was thought, "more and more faculty have come with just an interest in their own career areas." The days of "early afternoon discussions on educational purpose" and "faculty association meetings where one spouted one's mouth about academic standards and being vocal about the liberal arts" were apparently gone.

Although faculty in general have drifted apart, loss of purpose seems to have been experienced more by the non-career faculty. "I

initially felt," said one, "that my job was to give a broad liberal arts education, but now the focus is on my just kind of supporting the career programs."

The educational purpose of the career faculty has, by contrast, remained fairly intact, although, paradoxically, their morale was seen to be in decline. From a teaching point of view many in this group were dependent upon various accrediting agencies for what they had to accomplish. As a consequence, said one of these faculty members:

I don't think that teaching has changed for us. We're in a specialized field where our program is dictated by a commission. If the students can't maintain themselves they aren't going to pass the nationals. The student has to come to my standard of achievement.

Accommodation to the changes in mission are thus seen as being more difficult for the non-career faculty. The non-career faculty, in contrast to the career faculty, experienced a greater change in student attitude and motivation, although both groups agreed that the students are much different from what they used to be. For one non-career faculty member, "the change has made me wary of introducing ideas," while another said that "I just lose my energy and do the straight-and-narrow." In general, a number of this faculty held to their original purpose of trying to provide students with a traditional college experience and would not compromise to the point where they would teach at the high school level.

Loss of common purpose was also expressed as a professional problem in that there was a lack of intellectual challenge in the class-

room. "I now find that I can't bring in the academic life that I was heading towards," said one faculty member, while another felt that "it was easy to slide in your material because your students aren't demanding new stuff." London makes note of this problem when he writes that, "while the mission of the community college helps define the profession, it has also removed individual teachers from the mainstream of their academic disciplines."¹ Most of those interviewed appreciated being left alone but, for the most part, felt that the lack of challenge had taken away from their role as professional educators in the field of higher education. As a consequence London feels that community college instructors are now "alone and in-between:"

To the extent that there is no commonly agreed upon formula on how and to what degree to mix the special purposes of community colleges with the world of higher learning, many of those who teach in two-year institutions will continue to feel uncomfortably alone and in-between.²

Physical Separation

A third and frequently cited factor relating to loss of collegiality was physical separation. In the early years of MCC there was only a single campus and faculty spoke of experiencing a sense of family and camaraderie. There was a group cohesiveness that lent to

¹London, "In-Between," p. 71.

²Ibid, p. 73.

a period of high morale. "Everybody knew everybody and we all worked closely together," was one sentiment. Another recollection was that "we all personally participated and that showed up in the strong morale that we had." As MCC grew it was not able to evolve a single campus and, by the time of the study, five distinct locations had arisen. Faculty, subsequently, had come to drift apart. This further limited personal contact necessary to collegiality and aggravated the differences in educational purpose that had arisen. Very little opportunity for faculty to exchange points of view were available. "I miss the conversations we used to have," said one. "Now people aren't around, they don't stay. With limited classroom space and being separated by campuses there's kind of a fragmentation." Another faculty member elaborated:

There was a sense of camaraderie when I first came here. People worked closely together. I think we all shared a common bond. But now people, in my division at least, are disgruntled and disillusioned. One of the central problems that I see is an incredible sense of fragmentation.

The feelings of the faculty were summed up by one who said:

I attribute the decline in morale mostly to the growth of the college. I have seen it in this department and I have seen it happen in the college. I think that it is sheer numbers and distance. People just don't know other people.

Physical separation thus appears to have been a contributing factor to a decline in faculty morale, particularly at the level of relationship between career and non-career faculty. "If, as a faculty,"

thought one non-career person, "we were to sit down more regularly with the career people and talk informally, maybe we would find that some of our preconceptions are erroneous." What might be of greater concern is that the damage done is irreversible and that, as a faculty member put it, "even if we did get together with one another, I'm not sure that it would be a very enriching experience anymore."

Institutional Disengagement

When MCC first opened the faculty spoke of these early years as being productive and exciting. Conversations with office mates, working hard of the MCCFA, debating academic issues, being vocal about the liberal arts, meeting on Saturdays, and staying around and doing extra work were recalled as characterizing faculty relationships to the institution. By the mid-1970s, however, the faculty had come to the realization that many of the things they had anticipated had not happened and were not going to happen. A sense of powerlessness was expressed. As one faculty member put it, "you feel you have no control over change so therefore what's the use?" The feeling of belonging had been replaced by a feeling of exclusion. Faculty now said that they were still committed to their teaching, but to little else:

If you want to take a look at morale being down look at how little time we give to this college as a community. This is not the organic body that it used to be. It's now a group of people who come in to teach their courses, adhere to their office hours, and leave.

What has been perceived as happening at MCC has been faculty disengagement from the institution. The following reasons are seen as being involved in this disengagement:

1. Powerlessness and exclusion.
2. Lack of reward.
3. Changes in personal life.

Powerlessness and Exclusion

At the time of this study a number of faculty members characterized their role in the affairs of the institution as one of powerlessness. For one of these faculty, "the sense of state leadership is that the community college has a certain role to play and that role is powerlessness." Even more demoralizing was the statement of another faculty member who said that "I don't see us getting even some of the power back. If anything I feel we are losing more control . . . I just don't see a way to regain control." As Magarrell reports, such concerns were stated by faculty at other community colleges:

Faculty at 10 community colleges, as a group, felt a loss of control resulting in a dramatic decline in institutional spirit and concern for their institution's system of governance.¹

For MCC the road to meaningful participation was to have been through the faculty association. Many of this faculty spent long

¹Jack Magarrell, "Decline in Faculty Morale Laid to Governance Role, not Salary," Chronicle of Higher Education, 25(11), 1 November 1982.

hours in writing the constitution and serving as members of this association. Conditions such as those described by Rice and Austin, when pointing to those things that make a college exemplary, appear to have existed initially at MCC. In the Rice-Austin study:

Every one of the ten colleges with high morale and satisfaction had a leadership that was aggressively participatory, in both individual style and organizational structure. Faculty at high morale colleges perceive the decision-making process to be more participatory than do their colleagues at low-morale colleges. In every one of the ten decision making areas about which we inquired, faculty in high-morale colleges report greater involvement.¹

Whether there ever was a true participation in the early years is not certain. What did exist was a perceived feeling of inclusion. It is clear, from what faculty have said, that a spirit of collegiality did exist and that there was less of a barrier between faculty and administration. What was also clear was that there was room to do things. The early years were a period where important things had to be done, and there was incentive for doing them. There were committees to be formed, departments to be organized, courses to be created, and promotion in rank that meant financial reward as well as prestige. Merit, related to college service, was an important mechanism for rising in rank. But "things changed and many of us began to see that there would be competition for appointments (and) a lot of us now started to realize that it really wasn't our college . . .

¹Eugene R. Rice and Ann E. Austin, "High Faculty Morale: What Exemplary Colleges do Right," , March/April 1988, p. 54.

that the idea of shared governance began not to mean shared governance." Representative of the outcome was the statement by a faculty member who said that "although I am very much committed to my teaching, admittedly I am much less committed to things that I now feel are nonsensical and a total waste of my time . . . committee work and that sort of thing, where there is no opportunity to change things significantly." One way to deal with exclusion from meaningful participation, along with work that had become "more painful and frustrating," was "to simply look to other areas." For some faculty it was felt that "the real purpose is to get through the teaching day as quickly as possible." A faculty member observed:

I see faculty backing off from activities. I see them feeling little sense of power or control. The only control we actually have is in the classroom. Our colleagues are still involved in their teaching but I don't see them participate in much else. There seemed to be a sense of community at the time but now you feel you have no control over change, so what's the use.

This faculty felt that they tried, but that there were all sorts of institutional limits to their efforts. "I really tried to do things to make and affect change," said one, "but most of it was a failure. My morale is now not as bad since I've disengaged myself from the place."

Some faculty perceived the emergence of the union as an attempt to regain some control and to restore self-esteem as professionals. For one faculty member the feeling was that exclusion "had

an effect on my morale and forced me to move into the union. I became an organizer and an advocate." But unionization was seen as having severe limitations as an instrument for restoring faculty leadership in the academic affairs of the college. Institutional relationships deteriorated to the point where almost all the energy was expended on hygienic factors. Little, if any gain, was seen by the faculty in the areas relating to academic governance and inclusion in the policy making processes. In the words of Cohen, "faculty have come to have more and more control over things of less and less importance."¹ The newly re-organized Board of Regents was considered to "be isolated, not very accessible, legally separate by contractual philosophy." One faculty told of receiving a letter from the Board's lawyer for having personally communicated with the Regents members rather than having gone through the union. As the channels of communication narrowed, exclusion became a reality.

Lack of Reward

A second factor seen as being involved in institutional disengagement is a perceived lack of reward for work that has become increasingly difficult. "There is no reward built into this system for things above and beyond the call of duty," said a faculty member. "After 15 years you get tired of it." Many other faculty now felt that

¹Cohen, "The Growing Influence of the State," p. 52.

any reward that was forthcoming had to be internal. A faculty member explained:

There has to be a reward for good behavior or else you don't repeat the behavior. I behave very well...where's the reward? My reward comes from my colleagues and from my students. Teaching is what has become significant. My own personal reward is something I have to do for myself. Faculty are what makes this place and I think that you have to be an educator to truly understand the value of what is important.

In the Cowen study the most important source of reward appeared to be monetary. This faculty felt that colleagues and students were quite important to their job satisfaction, but that even these relationships were decreasing as satisfactions.

Personal Life

A third factor expressed by this faculty as relating to their being less involved is a very practical one, and that is changes that have taken place in their personal lives. "I used to be very involved," said one, "but now I have a young child and a teaching job that keeps me very busy. I don't have the extra hours that I used to." This individual went on to say, however, that "nonetheless I have gotten very apathetic because of a number of other things that have happened." For another who previously expressed frustration at not being able to effect change, disengagement from the institution was "also for personal reasons," but as a consequence "my morale is

now looking better." A third individual went on to say that "my first priority is my family and then my students."

Part of this faculty's early involvement was fueled by institutional momentum. Faculty wanted to give of the time they had not only because they had more time to give but also because of the factor that the investment of this time was worthwhile to them. At the time of the interviews this was not the case. Many had now transferred much of their time and energy away from the institution and into their personal lives. For one who had put a great deal of time in during the early years there was now "a family to consider and they have become more important." Another very involved faculty member now felt that, "quite frankly I now like to put my time and effort into things that I can derive much more pleasure and satisfaction from. I now do enjoy my life beyond the office, but never, hopefully, at the expense of my students."

Mid-Careerism

Bowen and Schuster have written that "the composition of the American professoriate by age is a matter of considerable contemporary importance (and that) it is widely believed that the faculties are becoming older and that their effectiveness is therefore declining."¹ The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education project that by the year 2000-2001, 78.7% of tenured faculty will be age 46

¹Bowen and Schuster, p. 37.

and over and that 54% of tenured faculty will be age 56 and over.¹ Other writings point out that during a period of life, roughly between the aged of 30-55, many people experience crises. One explanation as to why professionals such as teachers have a career crisis during this period is based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs. This hypothesis speculates that, during the middle of their careers teachers' commitment to the profession outstrips the sense of satisfaction derived from their work.² In regard to community college teaching, McGrath and Speak write that "community colleges are still relatively young, but while nobody was looking, their professoriates have become middle-aged - and not just in years - with their youthful innovative enthusiasm dulled by decades of struggle."³

The average age for the faculty involved in this study was 47. As was characteristics of faculty in general, this group repeatedly asserted their commitment to teaching, yet indicated that the profession had become more difficult and, in many ways, less rewarding to them. In regard to morale, one faculty member described having been at MCC for a long period of time:

As far as my morale being down is concerned it could be a number of things. I could be because

¹Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Three Thousand Futures: The Next Twenty Years for Higher Education, Washington, DC, Jossey-Bass Publishers, Inc., 1980, p. 26.

²Cardinell, p. 1.

³Dennis McGrath and Martin B. Spear, "A Professoriate is in Trouble but Hardly Anyone Recognizes it," Change Magazine, January/February, 1988, p. 26.

I've been here for 14 years and I may be getting tired of doing the same things. But my morale also ties in with not being excited about coming in every day because I know the students aren't as interested. But, again, that could be the students or it could be me.

Research, such as that conducted by Levinson, indicates that mid-career conflict is normal, developmental, and probably predictable. It would be difficult to say whether the outcomes described in this study are the result of biological phenomena related to aging rather than a complex of psycho-social interactions associated with the profession. What is seen in this study is a group of educators who have moved into mid-career and who are having a difficult time resolving the changes that have taken place within their professional lives. One faculty member saw the change as a matter of maturation:

I don't like to say it, but it's the aging process. Seventeen years ago I was more youthful, impetuous and impatient. I was also more excited about things, more romantic, more idealistic. With age, though, came a bit more maturity, a bit more understanding and a little more awareness of the realities of the situation, not only of the way things are but of the way they will be.

Another faculty member spoke of things that never happened:

When you start teaching right out of grad school you're committed to education. You're going to push back the curtains of ignorance. You're going to help students learn. You're going to write. Your whole career is right in front of you and you are going to do great and wonderful things. Now I know that a lot of that is not going to happen.

In a pilot study on Massachusetts community college faculty Brookes argues that there are psycho-social conditions that evolve as a consequence of teaching full-time in one institution for ten years or more. Brookes refers to these conditions as stuckness and insulation.¹ In a sense many of the faculty in this study exhibited stuckness through both a physical and psychological exiting of the institution as indicated in the reduced commitment to the institution that they spoke about. None were bitter, however, and only one regretted having entered the profession. In many ways this faculty was also characteristic of Brookes insulated faculty, having a level of job satisfaction, being effective in class, and successfully modifying the institution to suit their personal preferences in teaching matters.²

Though faculty morale was generally eroding, a few reported that they still had some of the optimism that they had in the early years and that things would get better. As in Brookes study, the majority of this faculty expressed satisfaction with their teaching. "What has been good for me here at MCC," said one, "has just been in the classroom. That's the bottom line. The classroom is the only place I feel validated as a professional."

As faculty repeatedly expressed such satisfaction they, paradoxically, also repeatedly pointed to the difficulties that had arisen. Therefore, it was difficult to assess the impact that change had upon

¹Brookes, pp. 4-8.

²Ibid, p. 72.

classroom effectiveness. This faculty, as in Brookes study, considered themselves to be professionals who were quite conscientious about their teaching; however, several faculty members expressed concerns about now accomplishing less, not being challenged, being less demanding, and perhaps having grown somewhat complacent about things. Some faculty spoke of having to change from content to process while others said that they would not compromise to the point that they would teach on the high school level. One of the more striking comments came from a non-career faculty who may have expressed the more general mood when he said that, "A profession I thought was not going to be alienating has become, in some ways, very alienating because of the split required to do my job in class. I now find that I can't bring in the academic life that I was heading towards. I find, except in limited ways, that I can't use a great deal of my academic past in class."

Summary

The picture that has emerged from this study indicated that this faculty's morale was in the order of fair to poor. As MCC grew its faculty, as did other community college faculties, was confronted with change in the area of their work, roles, and self-conceptions. There is considerable evidence (Brookes, Cohen, London, Melendez, Richardson, Seidman) that community college teachers are ambivalent about their setting and their work. Poorly prepared and differently motivated students have challenged the traditional values of

the faculty while, at the same time, the institution itself has taken on more of a bureaucratic format. This faculty was seen as not having a larger voice in determining academic policy and, as among community college teachers in general, they shared a deep concern about their relative powerlessness. This faculty was supportive of the open-door philosophy of the community college but expressed skepticism about the relative value of open-access. Although they accepted the idea that education ought to be available to all, they felt constrained in terms of what they actually could accomplish under the conditions of student diversity in preparation and motivation, especially when the majority of students were coming to focus primarily on careers and not on liberal studies.

Another theme that emerged from this study reflected upon Bess' perception that "present views of (faculty) problems are limited by the relative lack of recognition of the importance of intrinsic motivation."¹ The notion that morale can be dealt with through financial considerations fails to recognize the more evolved and conscious levels of human behavior was a notion that was entertained, but not agreed upon, by all faculty. Bess goes on to say, however, that "no enthusiasm or continuing involvement in an activity can be expected if the intrinsic rewards for the energy expended are not forthcoming."² Intrinsic satisfaction, derived from students who could and

¹James L. Bess, "The Motivation to Teach," Journal of Higher Education, May/June, 1977, 48, Number 1, p. 244.

²Ibid, p. 245.

wanted to be part of a more traditional higher education, characterized the earlier years at MCC. The inability of the community college to articulate objectives that would meaningfully include faculty has made it difficult for an individual faculty member to see how they have contributed to the common good. What is incongruent is the emphasis placed on programs, numbers, and student retention, while, at the same time, neglecting those things which would uplift faculty morale and bring them back into the mainstream of institutional activities.

Faculty members, on several occasions, noted that claims to equal educational opportunity are being supported, in many ways, on a part-time basis. Faculty felt that it was hard for them to feel good about themselves and what they were doing when such work is routinely filled with part time instructors. Students, they felt, must also get the same message, which is that the outcome is more important than the process. One thing that is clear is that faculty have not resolved the differences between institutional priorities that are quite pragmatic and their own personal values as to what it means to be educated. What has to be of concern to such faculty is that influential policy makers such as McCabe and Skidmore, while arguing that there must be an emphasis on achievement and standards, state that the "future must bring a concentrated focus on our literacy crisis and future occupational requirements," and that, "in order to successfully meet the important needs of our society, there must be a complete shift away from the 1960s mentality that still dominates much of the

community college activity."¹ The change in educational purpose and collegial relationships has alienated faculty from both the institution and from each other.

In many ways the community college is seen by this MCC faculty as having become anti-intellectual. Emphasis on career education has generated the processing of information. There is little incentive to pursue further learning in one's academic discipline. Eble and McKeachie describe the problems that now beset many community college faculty:

Most community college teachers, like their peers in the four-year colleges, are intellectually curious, intelligent - intrinsically motivated - but their teaching situation limits the ability to satisfy these motives. Community college teachers have little opportunity to offer specialized courses in the areas of their interests; teaching loads tend to be heavier. There is the danger that teaching becomes a forty-hour-a-week job in which one simply meets classes, corrects papers, and makes teaching and learning as dull as dish washing.²

¹Robert H. McCabe and Suzanne B. Skidmore, "New Concepts for Community Colleges," in George B. Vaughn and Associates, , San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass Publishers, Inc., 1983, p. 242.

²Eble and McKeachie, p. 220.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

This study was a descriptive, exploratory study of experienced community college teachers who have witnessed a period of educational and institutional change. The population involved in this study consisted of 22 senior faculty members at MCC, one of the fifteen community colleges in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. By senior in this study was meant those faculty who came to teach at MCC between the years 1970 and 1975, the founding years of the college. In 1975 there were 53 full-time faculty of which 29 were still at MCC in 1987, the year this study was conducted. Twenty-six of this original group were available for participation and 22 agreed to take part in this study. Of this 22, 15 were male faculty and 7 were female faculty. Fourteen of the 22 were non-career or liberal arts faculty, while eight of the 22 were directly related to career programs.

The purpose of this study was to examine the effect that the change in mission, that is the movement from transfer to career and developmental education, had upon the morale of this faculty. The research method used was qualitative by way of in-depth interviews and phenomenological by way of having the participants express their own perceptions of what had taken place at MCC.

The reasons that this faculty gave for coming to MCC were to a) teach, b) be part of a new educational undertaking, and c) to be of

service to those students who were less-well-to-do or less well-prepared for college work. The morale of this faculty was high during the early years of MCC. Factors contributing to this high morale were a) a common sense of purpose as professionals in higher education, b) a sense of collegiality and, c) an identification with the institution. Data gathered from the interviews indicated that at the time of the interviews the original premises and aspirations of this group had been seriously challenged by the changes in the mission that had taken place. Four factors were seen as being involved in this change, all of which contributed to a decline in the morale of this faculty. These changes were: a) a movement to open-access whereby any student, regardless of preparation, was able to enter the college, b) the development of an attitude that career courses were the only worthwhile pursuit, c) institutional changes that led to a loss of collegiality, and d) a loss of identification with and a subsequent disengagement from the institution.

As a consequence of these changes the morale of this faculty was seen to be in decline. Nineteen of the 22 faculty interviewed characterized their morale as being fair to poor. Three of the 22, all from the humanities department, described their morale as being good. Eleven of the group felt a significant change in mission had taken place; eight said that it was only the student that had changed; three indicated that they had not really thought about any change that might have taken place. Eighteen of the 22 expressed concern about the change in student attitude. Seventeen of this faculty now

felt the mission to be career education and 5 saw remedial or developmental education as becoming a major part of the mission of MCC. Eighteen of the 22 talked about the classroom as now being different for them, and in virtually all cases the differences were negative. The morale of the career faculty was not seen as being significantly better than that of the non-career faculty in that both expressed much the same concerns: badly prepared and poorly motivated students.

While the literature on faculty shows that morale is on the wane it also points out that most faculty say that they are generally satisfied with their work. While this study is supportive of this literature, it does suggest that the intrinsic factors that are commonly associated with teaching have eroded as a consequence of the mission changes that have taken place. As a result of these changes the morale of this faculty declined. The results of this study suggest a concern for the well-being of the individual faculty member as well as for the integrity of the institution. Many of this faculty felt that they had been excluded from the decision making processes and that the changes that had taken place were beyond their control. They felt that there was very little left for them outside the classroom and even that had been endangered by decisions that they were no longer part of. The result of all of this was that the enthusiasm of the early years had not been sustained and faculty have had to make their own personal adaptations to the changing circumstances. Extrinsic factors have long been considered the main reason for the de-

cline in faculty morale; however, the evidence gathered in this study now suggests that the intrinsic part of the profession, that is teaching itself, is a source of declining morale, at least in this institution where the study took place.

Recommendations to Policy-Makers in Higher Education

The literature on faculty morale deals extensively with job satisfactions, and typical recommendations focus on extrinsic considerations such as salary and working conditions. There has been little said about individual faculty needs as they relate to teaching outside of that which deals with pedagogy. Formal programs of staff development are seen as having very little impact on senior faculty, and tend to serve the needs of the institution rather than individual faculty members. Very little has been written about the impact that change in mission has had upon faculty, and "though there has been important work done on the nature of the community college faculty, none of it really focuses on the important question of the way students, the faculty and the academic environment have evolved and adapted to one another."¹ The community college has advertised itself as being adaptive to the changing needs of its student population and of being creative and innovative in developing programs to serve their needs. Ironically, there is little indication that it has made such an investment in its faculty. Unless some way is found to

¹McGrath and Spear, p. 26.

recognize and reward good teaching and to involve faculty in policy making areas, "faculty will experience ever more acutely the dissonance between their assigned responsibilities and what their departments value."¹

This study points to serious morale problems that exist at the faculty level. Many of the issues surrounding morale, such as salary and working conditions, are presently dealt with through collective bargaining. Faculty in this study, however, have indicated another set of factors involved in the decline of their morale which presently have little or no forum for resolution, these being mission, governance, and the direction of their careers.

Rethinking the Implications of Open-Access and Career Education

The issue of student preparation and motivation for college level work was of great concern to all of the faculty involved in this study. If student success was to be achieved, they felt, the student must have the necessary academic skills to accomplish this. Policy makers thus need to more carefully and thoughtfully consider the implications of open-access enrollment driven education. This study provides ample evidence that these well-intentioned policies have complicated and far reaching implications.

The present educational policy of career and remedial education in conjunction with open-access admissions is not without seri-

¹Brookes and German, p. 42.

ous difficulties. The welding of open access and career education seems to have resulted in radical changes in both student motivation and faculty morale. In a period of financial constraint policy makers might examine the Miami-Dade commitment to provide programs and resources "for all students who are willing to do the work necessary to be successful."¹ To accomplish this within the frame of open-access, however, would require a reconceptualization of the community college as a two year institution. This was the feeling of a number of the faculty in this study. "If it takes three or four years to develop a student," said one, "then that is what we will have to do." To support this aspect of the mission the state, in Cross's words, is going to have to "ante-up." The ideal of providing qualified and competent teachers in the community college has been realized but the ideal has been distorted by the pressures brought about by retention. In Richardson's words, "it is time to move away from the emphasis on enrollment to an emphasis on outcome."

Palinchak feels that there is "a tragic intellectual gulf that exists between administration and faculty,"² while Blocker contends that faculty "must fully accept, as the major task of the institution, the goal of preparing students for employment."³ This philosophical difference is probably the most important factor in need of resolu-

¹Miami-Dade Community College, General Education in a Changing Society. (Dubuque, IA: Kendal Hunt Publishing Company, 1978), p. 11.

²Palinchak, p. 211.

³Blocker, p. 215.

tion as far as the faculty interviewed is concerned. It is highly problematic whether the community college can fulfill any serious mission with a disenchanting faculty. In the long-run, should career education carry the day, it may be necessary to build a faculty around those who agree with the premise of career education and who are readily committed to institutional priorities.

If, on the other hand, the community college wishes to maintain its original mission of comprehensiveness it is going to need to attend to the place of transfer education. In the earlier history of the community college most of the curriculum offered was for college credit. Recent years have seen compensatory and career education in ascendancy and a decline in the collegiate function so that "the curriculum in the academic transfer programs has flattened out,"¹ with little sequencing of academic type courses resulting. If comprehensiveness is to be maintained then it will be necessary to redesign the place of transfer education. Presently, transfer type courses serve primarily to augment career programs. To bring some continuity to course taking for those outside the careers the establishment of a transfer division where, as in the careers, the student is given direction and the courses can be sequenced, might be considered.

¹Arthur M. Cohen, "Leading the Educational Program," in George B. Vaughn and Associates, Issues for Community College Leaders in a New Era, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, Inc, 1983) p. 173.

Another of the more significant things to have happened to this faculty has been the loss of collegiality and a subsequent disenfranchisement from the institution. Although physical separation and poor working conditions contributed, the loss of a common sense of purpose and of meaningful participation in the decision making processes were seen as being of greater consequence. While there were differences in education philosophy among faculty members in the early years, a common sense of purpose existed in that they felt that what they were doing was part of public higher education and that they were all in the undertaking together. At the time of the interviews this faculty was experiencing a sense of fragmentation with uncertainty about role as teacher and faculty member. Policy makers ought to be aware of the outcomes that their decisions have on faculty morale, especially when faculty perceive themselves as having been excluded from the creation of such policy. The results of this study point to the need to reestablish collegiality by reinvolving faculty in the decision-making processes. Faculty need to be involved in on-going dialogue as to the purposes of education so that "the ideas of education are again discussed and intellectualism becomes the hallmark of our trade, (and) there will be, once again, life after teaching for students and professors alike."¹

¹Ivan Volgyes, "Is There Life After Teaching? Reflections of a Middle-Aged Professor," Change Magazine, November/December, 1982, p. 11.

The faculty in this study also reported having become disengaged from the institution. The reasons given for such disengagement were exclusion from the governance process and a lack of reward for work that had now become more difficult and frustrating. What is seen in this study is the difficulty in achieving change within an educational organization when those who have to carry out such changes have not been involved in determining what kind of change was to take place or how these changes were to be implemented. To properly effect change, argue Richardson and Rhodes, "administrators need to convince faculty that existing practices are inadequate and proposed changes merit faculty commitment."¹ For Richardson and Rhodes, "the mechanism for accomplishing changes in attitude and behavior is the governance process."² A governance process that builds commitment needs to be concerned with faculty involvement in making important decisions. A professional faculty would be "in charge of the essential conditions of its work and would reconceptualize the academic disciplines to fit the realities of the community colleges."³ An effective governance process would not depend on the organizational structure through which it operates as much as it does upon the quality of leadership provided by both faculty and administration. For Richardson and Rhodes:

¹Richard R. Richardson, Jr. and William R. Rhodes, "Building Commitment to the Institution," in Vaughn, Issues for Community College Leaders, p. 202.

²Ibid, p. 202.

³Cohen, "Leading the Educational Program," p. 174.

Effective participation in governance, a process that develops, enhances, and sustains commitment to organizational priorities, can be a powerful tool for organizational change. It may be the only effective tool left to community college administrators.¹

The sense of the faculty in this study was that teaching is a profession and that they are members of that profession, not mere employees. Failure to accept this mind-frame and to respond to it in a positive manner will only foster continued alienation. If policy makers and administration wish to accomplish faculty commitment to institutional priorities they will have to involve the faculty meaningfully. As Rice and Austin note:

Faculty at high morale colleges are encouraged to work collaboratively with each other and with administrators. Faculty can identify with these colleges because each offers an environment in which individuals are encouraged and supported (and) because the leadership in these colleges is participatory in style and the decision making collaborative.²

Even if such desired changes were to be accomplished faculty are still going to have to resolve their personal distaste for administrative and committee type work. Cohen and Brawer warn that "instructors will not easily attain their goal of participation in decision making as long as they shun the mechanisms through which decisions are made."³ Perhaps such distaste could be modified, how-

¹Richardson and Rhodes, p. 193.

²Rice and Austin, p. 57.

³Cohen and Brawer, The American Community College, p. 86.

ever, if faculty felt that participation was more than mere acceptance of predetermined outcomes. "If members of an organization are expected to grow and change, they must be provided with opportunities to participate in deciding what is to be done, as well as how it is to be done."¹

Rethinking Faculty Development

At the time of the study the MCC faculty was predominantly at mid-career. Energy levels were mentioned as having decreased as a consequence of having grown older and having been involved in the battle for such a long period of time. Granting that age and a long stay at a single institution can result in a decline in morale, there is no reason to believe that these two factors alone can account for the decline in morale reported by the MCC faculty. The data clearly indicates that the institutional changes described throughout this dissertation had profound negative effects on faculty professional development. Faculty, it was felt, cannot be utilized simply as a means to an institutional end. They must be considered, as they felt they did in the early years of MCC, as individuals who make important contributions to the institution and whose ideas and ideals are worthy of consideration and implantation. Faculty members themselves would need to regain this feeling. If the community college is to be truly student centered it must also be faculty centered, for ulti-

¹Richardson and Rhodes, p. 196.

mately student satisfaction is inextricably linked to faculty satisfaction.

Although the literature indicates that "generative faculty are self-motivating,"¹ this study suggests limits beyond which self-motivation fades. Faculty may not be able to return to the energy levels of their youth, but research provides ample evidence that morale and involvement can be maintained at high levels when institutions create environments in which faculty feel involved and supported.

The faculty involved in this study are basically tenured and at the rank of full-professor. There is little room for motivation in the area of salary and promotion. Unless one aspires to an administrative position it is a point in the career where factors relating to teaching are the source of personal satisfaction. This faculty was seen as struggling in this area and the institution not being a source of intervention. Eble and McKeachie rate a "sense of accomplishment" as a major source of faculty satisfaction. Such faculty members, they said, enjoy learning and want to develop new skills and understandings, so that:

The increasing number of tenured and older faculty emphasizes the need for offsetting the ill effects that can arise from faculty members who feel they are stuck in the same place and professional position. The recent concerns with evaluating tenured professors needs to be accompanied by equal concern with positively reinforcing them.²

¹Brookes, pp. 58-64.

²Eble and McKeachie, p. 169.

The opinion is widespread that recent and impending changes in the age structure of the professoriate presently are, and will increasingly be, seriously detrimental to higher education.¹ This study points to problems that faculty have with their work, roles, and self-perceptions. It also points to the importance of intrinsic motivation as this relates to being in the profession for an extended period of time. Consequently, "unless faculty members perceive the teaching enterprise as a continuing source of profound satisfactions - satisfactions arising out of the fulfillment of deep-rooted human needs - they will rarely have the sustained role commitment that is necessary for creativity and excellence."² Such conditions were seen to exist in the early years at MCC, but were seen as having deteriorated through institutional and mission changes. It would be important therefore, that community college leadership take the initiative for faculty development and support individual faculty members needs for professional growth and re-vitalization. Perhaps an adequately funded faculty career development program might be started, one having its own director who, in addition to career counseling, would look into the availability of grants, opportunities for faculty exchange, and the like. The fundamental purposes of such faculty development would be to enable faculty members to generate and/or sustain greater intrinsic satisfactions, and to provide a way

¹Bowen and Schuster, pp. 39-43.

²Bess, p. 245.

for faculty and administration to be cooperatively and effectively engaged. The future of community colleges may well turn on how effectively they can evolve a faculty development program because, "in the near future it may well be that an older faculty, most of whom chose the academic profession in a period where higher education was buoyant and attractive, may prove to be more capable than young people recruited . . . at a time when higher education may be in the doldrums."¹

Further Research

The data gathered in this study suggests that there is much that is unknown in three significant relationships. Each of these areas is deemed worthy of further research.

The Impact of the Mission Change to Career Education on Classroom Performance

Clearly these faculty report conflicting data as to classroom performance. On the one hand they report that classroom teaching has become their sole means of job satisfaction. On the other hand they talk passionately of the difficulty that career students bring to their teaching. A careful analysis of the transcripts indicates both a turning to classroom teaching as the primary source of job satisfaction, and a withdrawing of energy and commitment from

¹Bowen and Schuster, p. 40.

classroom teaching. The data, of course, provides no reliable means of determining what actual impact the change to career education has actually had on classroom teaching. While any such study has obvious methodological difficulties, it has enormous import. If the present trend toward career preparation as the primary goal of college students continues, more and more academic faculty members will find themselves in the same position that the MCC faculty were in ten years ago. How this will affect their classroom performance has much to do with the future of higher education.

The Relationships Between Career and Non-Career Faculty

While the ideal of a community of scholars may have always been more myth than reality, even the ideal seems improbable between career and non-career faculty. There is reason to believe these faculty members came to higher education with dramatically different, even contradictory ideas of what higher education is all about. This study provides some evidence that these differences are not being played out in an open forum of spirited collegial interaction, but rather the differences have resulted in each group retreating to its own position, while initiating little if any healthy interaction. These relationships, now and more so in the future, appear to be of much significance.

Faculty and Administration

While there is no lack of data pointing to the centrality of faculty-administration relationships, the experience at MCC only confirms what researchers have found in higher education for several decades: that the issue of leadership in higher education remains central to faculty morale. If the morale problems that have been described are to be dealt with and faculty are to be re-vitalized administrative leadership must not only be open to dialogue but would need to creatively engage faculty at a level where there is a meaningful investment of the faculty's time and energy.

A Final Word

Community college advocates have always pointed to their teaching faculty as their greatest resource. "The quality of faculty leadership," wrote Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., "is crucial to the success of the community college because the institutional aims and their objectives have their ultimate translation in what is done in the classroom."¹ Studies such as this one indicate that faculty are having a difficult time in adapting to both the educational and institutional changes that have taken place in the community college. The commitment of the community college seems to continue to be to attract non-traditional type students and to support vocational outcomes, and therefore it is unlikely that liberal education will move to center

¹Gleazer, This is the Community College, p. 123.

stage in the foreseeable future. What will need to be reconciled is the relationship between liberal and collegiate education to career and vocational education. In the words of Alfred North Whitehead:

The antithesis between a technical and a liberal education is fallacious. There can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal, and no liberal education which does not impart both the technique and the intellectual vision.¹

The faculty involved in this study came to MCC as academics, even if their role was in the career or technical areas. As this faculty aged the place of collegiate education waned and the faculty had to cope with an ever-increasing non-academic population. This faculty felt that they were offered extremely limited, if any, roles in determining the direction or the educational philosophy of the institution. Their response was to disengage from the institution. If this study is an accurate portrayal of community colleges, it does not bode well for the future.

¹Alfred North Whitehead, The Aims of Education, New York: The Free Press, 1919, p. 48.

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