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Finding Voice: A History of the Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union

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Finding Voice: A History of the Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union

by

Shawn Edward Mueske

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

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Dissertation Committee:
Dr. Steven McCullar, Chairperson
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Abstract

A comprehensive history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union was compiled with emphasis placed upon union organization, leadership, activities, events, faculty satisfaction levels, and relationship to national education labor movements. The Hirschman exit, voice, and loyalty theory provided the conceptual framework of the project. Total faculty satisfaction was determined by the combination of academic, working conditions, and governance factors experienced in the profession. Faculty satisfaction was influenced by intrinsic and extrinsic factors coupled with a procedural and distributive justice evaluation. When total satisfaction dropped to unacceptable levels faculty faced a dilemma. Highly dissatisfied faculty either exited the profession/institution or pursued voice to mitigate their dissatisfaction. Unionization and collective bargaining represented voice used to mitigate faculty dissatisfaction. The choice to engage in voice demonstrated loyalty to the profession/institution. The history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union explored faculty total satisfaction during critical moments in union history.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedication to the past, present, and future members of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. I truly hope this union history educates and inspires its membership. To my faculty union brothers and sisters, thank you for your tireless efforts to improve the lives of students. We stand as educators united.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*From its humble beginnings our union has grown,
So no working person need struggle alone.
But no gain that's been made has been made without cost,
And together we'll see that no gain's ever lost;
Take a look at those countries where workers aren't free -
If it weren't for the union, where would we be?*

“If it weren’t for the union” - Peter Hicks and Geoff Francis (1991)

The Minnesota two-year college faculty union has been in existence since 1963. There has been no attempt to bring the data on the formation, activities, and influence of the union into historical perspective. The purpose of this project was the development of a union history through primary source evaluation and oral history narratives. The major areas of inquiry included: 1) facts of the organization; 2) faculty satisfaction and dissatisfaction during pivotal union decisions; 3) external and internal influences on union development; and 4) national higher education union influences on union development.

This qualitative research project utilized the Hirschman voice, exit, loyalty theoretical framework and situated in the interpretive paradigm. The literature review was utilized as an important resource to identify themes, provide analysis, and generate insight during the examination of Minnesota two-year college faculty union resources. The themes explored in the literature review included: 1) national collective bargaining attitude studies; 2) academic, governance, and working condition factor satisfaction; 3) shared governance research; 4) national reasons for unionization and collective bargaining; 5) national research on negotiations, contracts, strikes, layoffs, diversity, and mergers; 6) national higher education union labor histories; 7) external and internal influences; 8) craft and industrial union classification; 9) union labor law; and 10) anti-union research. The researcher emphasized the evaluation of faculty

satisfaction during association establishment in 1963, collective bargaining adoption in 1971, strike of 1979, and the decertification decision of the two-year technical and transfer college faculty unions and recertification as a single union in 2001. Hirschman predicted decreased faculty satisfaction resulted in a decision to exit the profession or the pursuit of voice to express their dissatisfaction. Unionization was pursued to provide collective voice. The choice to remain engaged, despite dissatisfaction, demonstrated loyalty to the profession. In addition to the compilation of a general history, this project included an evaluation of the Hirschman voice, exit, and loyalty theory as a viable model for the Minnesota two-year college faculty union experience.

The majority of the primary source evidence was found in the files of Minnesota two-year college faculty union headquarters which contained membership data, correspondence, newsletters, and reports. Minnesota two-year college system resources were found at the Minnesota Historical Society. Oral history narratives were conducted with union leaders and select members.

Statement of the Problem

The fact that a history of the Minnesota two-year college union does not exist, in itself, presented a practical problem. The creation of a history alleviated the problem. The consequences of not compiling a history means the struggles of previous generations of faculty members may be forgotten.

Union members want young people to study what they remember. The contributions made to building a nation and the sacrifices they made to democratize its brutal workplaces and to create for millions of their kind lives with a measure of economic and

social security, most retired union members worry that their struggles have been forgotten (Green, 1997, p. 5).

When memories are forgotten, the next generations of faculty lack a point of reference regarding issues, both ongoing and resolved. “The struggle against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting, the elder generation worries that the continuity of their traditions is dying” (Blatt, 1981, p. 3). History can inspire. A union history can provide a sense of community by creating a common origin story for its members. Arnold Toynbee (1955) wrote “Our past experience yields the only light that we have for illuminating the path ahead” which was echoed by Thompson (2000), “the future springs from the past” (p. 27).

Description and Scope of the Research

Utilization of the interpretive paradigm required extensive context and analyses to address questions of why and how events occurred. An exhaustive secondary source literature review of national two-year college and higher education union history provided valuable insight into the creation of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union history. The literature review included an examination of reasons collective bargaining was adopted by national faculty unions. The reasons for the establishment of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union was compared to national trends. National college faculty satisfaction levels were examined. The sources of satisfaction from the national studies were synthesized to create a vocabulary for comparison to the Minnesota two-year college faculty experience. The faculty satisfaction factors of academics, working conditions, and governance were explored to provide insight into the college faculty profession. Higher education union issues including contracts, negotiations, strikes, layoffs, and mergers were examined and possible areas of faculty dissatisfaction identified. These results

were used for comparison with the Minnesota two-year college faculty experience. Three previous attitude studies involving Minnesota college faculty were used to provide demographic data and insight into the satisfaction levels of Minnesota two-year college faculty. Additionally, research critical of faculty unionism was investigated. The literature review included an examination of the Hirschman's exit, voice, and loyalty theory (Hirschman, 1970) with additional emphasis placed upon Hirschfeld's satisfaction theory (Hirschfeld, 2002).

The primary literature review of Minnesota two-year college faculty union documents were included in the results of the project. These documents provided answers to what, who, where, and when questions of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. Since history was first and foremost concerned with a sense of time and an awareness of continuity, the organization of this project was chronological in nature. The development of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union was viewed by historic periods. The periods identified in this project were 1869-1913 Two-Year College Conceptualization, 1914-1934 Two-Year College Origins, 1935-1962 Junior College Refinement, 1963-1970 Formalization of Junior College System and Birth of the Union, 1971-1978 Collective Bargaining Begins, 1979 Strike, 1980-1989 Recognized Potential, 1990-1999 Maturation, 2000-2009 Two-Year College Union Merger and Recertification, and 2009-2013 Difficulties. Within each historic period, topics with special significance to the development of union history were highlighted. Additionally, faculty satisfaction data and relevant state and national labor union events were incorporated in the historic period entries. Oral history narratives provided valuable eyewitness accounts of union activities and events.

Research Questions

The general research questions which guided this project were:

1. What were the experiences concerning union organization, activities, leaders, and accomplishments at various points in Minnesota two-year college faculty union history?
2. What were the major sources of Minnesota two-year college faculty satisfaction and dissatisfaction at various points in history and how did these sources influence actions of faculty?
3. What were the influences of external factors on the development of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union?
4. How does the Minnesota two-year college faculty union experience compare to the national higher education union experience?
5. What was the pattern of development of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union over the past fifty years? Can this pattern be used to evaluate the future course of union organization and influence in higher education?

Purpose and Significance

The purpose of this project was the creation of a comprehensive history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. There has been no history compiled of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. The research conducted on the history of Minnesota two-year colleges, faculty, and unions was sparse. A dissertation written by Whaley (1990) focused on the 1979 MCCFA strike. Another dissertation written by Meyer (1956) discussed the pre-union history of Minnesota public and private two-year colleges, spanned the years of 1905 to 1955. Dr. Phillip

Helland (1987), Chancellor of the Minnesota Junior College System, wrote a book entitled, *Establishment of public junior and community colleges in Minnesota, 1914-1983*. Helland focused on the development of the statewide system; however, Helland failed to mention faculty or unions. Ellis (2011) wrote a dissertation which compared the higher education merger in Georgia with mergers in Minnesota and Kentucky. Stecklein and Eckert (1958) surveyed Minnesota two-year college faculty before unionization and sources of satisfaction were explored. Eckert and Williams (1972) surveyed Minnesota two-year college faculty regarding sources of satisfaction and attitudes towards collective bargaining shortly after collective bargaining was adopted in 1971. Willie and Stecklein (1982) surveyed Minnesota two-year college faculty in 1980, shortly after the strike of 1979, and measured sources of satisfaction and attitudes towards collective bargaining. The data collected in this project may assist the Minnesota two-year college union in strategic planning, contract negotiations, and other union activities. The status of loyalty to both the profession and union may be concluded from the data. Minnesota two-year college faculty and administrators may gain greater insight into the positive and negative results of unionism. The negative results can reveal opportunities for change. Positive results can be accentuated. Examination of the sources of positive and negative satisfaction may initiate the process of tearing down long-standing silos.

The research has practical significance for Minnesota two-year college faculty. Understanding the historic development of the union, provides its members with context of where the union has been and offers a roadmap to where it is going. As Santayana (1905) proclaimed in *The Life of Reason*, “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it” (p. 284).

Assumptions

The narratives provided for this project provided accurate reflections of union activities and events. The truthfulness of narrative responses was important to the integrity of the project.

Objectives

Primary sources from each Minnesota two-year college union historic period were secured. Two-year college union elected leaders and influential members from each historic period were identified and participated in oral history narratives. Common themes were discovered when evaluating primary union documents, secondary sources, and oral history narratives. Broader analysis information was collected to assist in interpretive analysis and helped answer questions of why and how events occurred throughout the Minnesota two-year college faculty union history.

Delimitations/Positioning

The Minnesota two-year college union history included pre-union history, 1869-1962. The pre-union years provided insight into the conditions leading to unionization. The decision to unionize was of utmost interest. The satisfaction levels of faculty prior to the unionization were important for identifying the reasons for forming a union. The remaining history spanned the fifty-year of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union, 1963 to 2013. Within each historic period, topics with special relevance to the development of the union were highlighted. In addition to the choice of faculty to unionize in 1963, special focus was placed on the decision to enter begin collective bargaining in 1971, the strike of 1979, and the merger of community and technical colleges into a single, two-year college union in 2001. The Minnesota two-year college

faculty union history did not include oral history narratives of non-union faculty or administrators.

As with any history, it was impossible to recreate historic events in their entirety which created obvious omissions. Attempts were made to be as comprehensive as possible, but there may be additional relevant events or themes which were overlooked. It is quite possible for another researcher to discover events or themes not covered in this project. Further, the choice of this researcher to examine faculty satisfaction over the course of the union timeframe was a unique choice others may have left out. Another researcher may find another interesting aspect of Minnesota two-year college faculty union to explore over the timeframe.

The researcher has been an active union member and served in a multitude of union positions during a twenty-four year teaching career. He was mentored by several faculty members who were teaching when the Minnesota two-year college union formed. Their stories instilled a curiosity about the history of the Minnesota two-year union. As a faculty advocate, the researcher has been personally involved mediating the dissatisfaction of many union colleagues. Sources of faculty satisfaction are a daily concern for union leadership. The researcher has a passion for history and has compiled a large collection of Minnesota two-year college faculty union primary source materials. The researcher has a strong pro-union bias, but presented negative information when uncovered and relevant to the union history.

Summary

This dissertation was divided into five distinct chapters. Chapter one addressed the problem, scope, purpose, significance, assumptions, and delimitations of the project. The research questions which guided the research were presented. Chapter two included an

explanation of the different sources of evidence utilized in this project. A review of research on issues relevant to the project included exploration of the conceptual framework, sources of faculty satisfaction, collective bargaining, national higher education union history, national two-year college history, faculty satisfaction surveys, union criticism, and additional union issues. The union history literature review was organized in chronological order. Chapter three addressed methodology. Oral history research was explored, sampling of participants explained, and data collection instrument defined. The qualitative research design utilized an interpretive paradigm. Chapter three concluded with sections explaining data collection, analysis, human subject approval, procedures, and timeline. Primary source information and oral histories were included in chapter four. Results were presented in chronological order and provided evidence to answer the research questions. Chapter five included a discussion of results. Conclusions, discussion, implications, and recommendations were addressed.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

*There is power in a factory, power in the land
Power in the hands of a worker
But it all amounts to nothing if together we don't stand
There is power in a Union*

“There is Power in a Union” – Joe Hill (1913)

Research literature contains empirical evidence. Primary source evidence was compiled and analyzed to determine relevant themes for the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. The emerging picture of the research literature analysis revealed a lack of anecdotal data. Those stories of experience were gained through oral history narratives. The Hirschman exit, voice, and loyalty theory provided the conceptual framework for this project. Several sources of evidence, including primary union documents, secondary sources, and oral history narratives were utilized to compile a Minnesota two-year college faculty union history. Primary union documents and oral history narratives provided useful information regarding the organization, leadership, and activities of the Minnesota two-year college union. Minnesota two-year college faculty satisfaction surveys provided insight into faculty satisfaction levels in 1956, 1968, and 1980.

Broad historic analyses was provided by secondary sources. College faculty job satisfaction was explored by a secondary source examination of academic, governance, and working conditions factors. Secondary source examination of national collective bargaining attitudes studies provided a benchmark for Minnesota two-year college faculty comparison. National reasons for higher education faculty unionization and contract goals provided insight for the Minnesota experience. National research on union issues of negotiations, strikes, layoffs, diversity, and mergers provided valuable insight about the Minnesota two-year faculty union

experience. National higher education union labor history provided additional insight into the actions of the Minnesota two-year college union. Primary sources, secondary sources, and oral history narratives provided information regarding the external and internal environments that contributed to the development of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. The research and analysis was grounded in the interpretive paradigm. The vast amount of analyses and contextual information was critical to the interpretation of historic events and activities.

Sources of Evidence

In order to secure answers to general and specific research questions, evidence was gathered from both primary sources, secondary sources, and oral history narratives. Thompson (2000) emphasized the importance of both oral and written evidence. He believed the content of the evidence was critical, not its format.

Primary Sources

Primary sources “provide the raw data... to address research questions and support claims” (Booth, Colomb, & Williams, 2008, p. 69). A historic compilation is primarily concerned with primary sources. The primary sources used in this project included documents from the files of Minnesota State College Faculty (MSCF) headquarters and Minnesota Historical Society, unpublished reports in union headquarters, letters and reports to local union chapters, reports of union officers, minutes of union Executive Committee meetings, proceedings of the union Delegate Assembly, union member scrapbooks, union pamphlets and bulletins, and editions of the *Green Sheet*, the official publication of union to its membership. The data results obtained through primary sources were placed in chapter four.

Secondary Sources

Secondary sources are “research reports that use primary data to solve research problems and are written for scholarly and professional audiences” (Booth et al., 2008, p.69). Secondary sources include articles in journals and newspapers which present opposing or supporting views, historical works of higher education unionization, histories of unionized faculty, unpublished sources, dissertations, higher education and traditional labor union studies in Minnesota and across the nation, periodicals related to labor union activity, and reference works on collective bargaining, negotiations, and faculty-administration relationships.

Oral History Narratives

Oral history narratives are “open-ended, relatively unstructured interviews that encourage the participant to tell stories rather than just answer questions. Stories might relate to the participants, their experiences, or the events they have witnessed” (Tracy, 2013, p. 141). Oral histories are “verbal accounts of objects, images, and events in the form of descriptions, anecdotes, and narratives” which are critical components of historical studies (Booth et al., 2008, p. 85). Oral history narratives allow the researcher to “make connections in the interpretation of history” (Yow, 2005, p. 13). The “narrative is an important component of oral history, along with description, explanation, and reflection” (Yow, 2005, p. 15). The data results obtained through oral history narratives are found in chapter four.

Overview of Literature Review

The history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union included an analysis of satisfaction components, union decisions, and union activities. How union faculty respond to satisfaction components impacted union decisions and activities. These factors created a unique

history. Academic, working conditions, and governance factors were examined to provide insight into total faculty satisfaction during impactful moments in history. Once unionized and operating under collective bargaining, an analysis of union activities provided additional insight into faculty satisfaction. Union roles were defined by type, craft versus industrial, and by laws, federal and state. Unions participate in negotiations, contracts, strikes, mergers, layoffs, and issues of diversity. How the union responded to these activities provided insight into faculty satisfaction. The everyday activities of faculty regarding academic, working conditions, and governance also provided insight into faculty satisfaction. The history of national higher education faculty unions provided context and analyses for comparisons with the Minnesota two-year college faculty union history. National faculty satisfaction studies provided insight into Minnesota two-year college faculty satisfaction. The Hirschman exit, voice, and loyalty theory provided the conceptual framework in the development of the history. All of these factors were explored in the literature review. A listing of terms and acronyms used in this project is located in Appendix A.

Two-Year College Purpose

The “junior college” term was a predecessor term to “community college,” and originally referred to an institution whose primary mission was to provide liberal arts education leading to transfer and completion of the baccalaureate degree (Ellis, 2011; Harris, 1968). Community colleges do not award higher than two-year degrees (Baker et al., 1994). Puyear (2001) indicated that many community colleges emerged from university branch colleges or were developed by high schools. Similar colleges were an outgrowth of occupational training and became known as “technical institutes, technical colleges, or vocational schools.” Their mission was occupational

education in preparation for immediate employment (Ellis, 2011; Harris, 1968; Keller, Lokken, & Meyer, 1958). As a response to the changing labor market, community colleges broadened their liberal arts curriculum to include career programs. Career programs drew upon a core of arts and sciences curriculum, a feature which distinguished them from vocational training. An expanding number of career programs were shared with technical colleges as new careers required a combination of cognitive and manual skills (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). Comprehensive community colleges were two-year colleges that offer credit certificates, diplomas, and associate degrees in programs designed for immediate employment or transfer to four-year institutions (Ellis, 2011). Two-year colleges were “created in response to the desire of the working class community to make college degrees and professional careers accessible to its children, and the college has the reputation of being responsive to the values and aspirations of its residents” (Olsen & Shopes, 1991, p. 194). Community colleges provided an education for all with the desire and the perseverance to profit from it (Harris, 1968).

Community colleges were important grounding institutions. They provided cultural and educational opportunities for its citizens, retraining opportunities, and stimulate civic and political activities. Community colleges provided opportunities for young adults to remain in their communities for an additional year or more (Keller et al., 1958). Two-year colleges were long known for their affordability, location, and open admissions policies (Fields, 1962; Kintzer, 1973; Knoell & Medsker, 1965). Koos (1925) reached the following conclusion:

Public junior colleges foster the economic democratization of higher education. It is shown in the large proportion of students in all types of higher institutions, junior colleges included, living at home while in attendance who acknowledge that they would be certain or likely to be deprived of the opportunities for higher education if they were

required to attend away from home. Most significant of all, perhaps, is the democratization shown in the increased proportions in public junior colleges of the sons and daughters of fathers in the lower levels of occupational groups, levels less frequently represented in other types of higher institutions. Without doubt we have in the public junior college an important influence for the economic and social democratization of educational opportunity (p. 99).

The close development of the institution with the community they serve made two-year colleges a distinctively American form of higher education. These institutions were named community colleges because they reflect and interpret local conditions and were responsive to the specific economic and social needs of the people they serve (Eckert & Stedman, 1960a).

Conceptual Framework: Hirschman Exit, Voice, and Loyalty Theory

The Minnesota two-year college faculty union history was examined through the Hirschman exit, voice, and loyalty conceptual framework. Hirschman's theory focused on satisfaction subscales and ultimate effects or outcomes of total satisfaction levels without addressing the causes of satisfaction. Hirschfeld's satisfaction theory addressed the causation of satisfaction. A marriage of the Hirschman-Hirschfeld theories provided a more comprehensive explanation for the outcomes of exit and voice.

Hirschman Exit, Voice, and Loyalty Theory

Albert O. Hirschman's theory was introduced in *Exit, Voice, Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organization and States* (1970). Originally proposed as a business theory, the exit, voice, and loyalty theory appeared custom-made to explain the actions of unions.

Hirschman believed consumers who became disillusioned with a product they used for a period

of time were confronted with a dilemma. The consumer can simply disconnect, or exit, with the product and seek alternative products. Or the customer can engage the company in dialogue, express their grievances, and pursue change, termed “voice” by Hirschman. The choice to persist and exercise voice exhibits loyalty to the product and the company. When faculty become dissatisfied with their work, they too can exit, or they can pursue voice. When attempts to express individual voice fail to achieve satisfaction, collective voice can be pursued. Faculty often turn to unionization and collective bargaining to provide voice. The election of voice demonstrates faculty loyalty to the teaching profession and/or institutions. Loyalty can fade and exit pursued when faculty dissatisfaction continues to grow.

To Hirschman, exit represents an economic option, while voice represents a political option (Hirschman, 1970). For voice to be effective, there must be a credible threat of exit (Hirschman, 1970). Loyal workers use voice when they believe their efforts can influence the organization (Hoffman, 2006). Voice represents loyalty; loyalty inhibits exit (Hoffman, 2006; Witt, 2011). Loyalty is allegiance to a concept beyond self, such as an organization. Loyalty stems from a commitment of moral responsibility or a rational, cost-benefit analysis. Hirschman (1970) termed the continuance commitment of loyalty, “golden handcuffs” (p. 34). The loyal employee is bound to the organization, but the relationship remains mutually beneficial. Voice and exit can act as complements. Voice can improve the availability or effectiveness of exit (Newman, 2007). Exit can amplify collective voice by legitimizing the threat of further exit (Newman, 2007). Exit also represents desertion and is often used as an act of last resort after voice efforts fail (Hirschman, 1970). Exit options fail to make an impact if the exiters are quickly replaced. But, if the reasons for the exit persist after the exiter departs, full exit is impossible (Hirschman, 1970). When exit is encouraged by the public, opportunities for voice are

diminished (Witt, 2011). Hirschman (1970) notes that exit has a privileged position in American. The art of voice is difficult to pursue when the exit is an easy alternative (Hirschman, 1970). Once exit is selected, voice is no longer viable (Hoffman, 2006). Under conditions where exit is impossible, voice is limited, resulting in despair and withdrawal (Witt, 2011). When the cost of exit is too high, because of family, state, or church, voice becomes the only viable option to express displeasure (Hirschman, 1970; Hoffman, 2006). Hirschman (1970) argues that some dissatisfied workers do not exit or express voice, they engage in acquiescence (p. 31). Hoffman (2006) termed acquiescent workers as tolerant, and explained they offer no feedback to improve organizations. Hirschman's theory has been applied to citizens exiting undesirable neighborhoods, failing school districts, substandard services, poor providers, or corrupt governments (Hirschman, 1970; Witt, 2011). Exit means leaving disagreeable circumstances, withdrawing support in products or services, departing an organization for another, or forsaking one's nationality (Witt, 2011).

Freeman (1976) applied Hirschman's exit, voice, and loyalty theory to labor unions. Hirschman believed dissatisfied employees, unable to influence change via traditional voice mechanisms, such as issuing direct complaints to management, will elect to exit the organization or explore alternative avenues of voice. Freeman believed unions and collective bargaining represent alternative voice. The pursuit of alternative voice represents dissatisfaction with the organization, but also represents loyalty to the organization (Hammer & Berman, 1981). Freeman argued that union exits differ from free market exits. (Freeman, 1976). Individual union workers attempt to control their own work environments by employing several forms of "exit-behaviors," such as quitting, absenteeism, and "quiet sabotage," the reduction of work effort. Strikes are an example of collective exit-behavior. The information provided by exit mechanisms

grant a glimpse into work conditions and insight into trade-offs workers are willing to make for desired improvements.

Unions alleviate the danger of employer retaliation against individual workers expressing dissatisfaction (Freeman, 1976). In a union, exit is an individual decision, voice is collective (Newman, 2007). Unions provide a direct line of communication between management and workers and offer an alternative mode of expressing dissatisfaction rather than exit (Freeman, 1976). Unions reduce worker turnover (Freeman, 2005). Union workers have lower exit rates and greater years of tenure than their non-union peers. High grievance rates do not measure the success of collective voice working to improve labor conditions, it is opposite. Good worker-management relationships resolve problems without going through formal dispute processes (Freeman, 2005). Loyal union workers file grievances to express their dissatisfaction, because they believe the organization is worth improving (Hoffman, 2006). The union voice monopolizes worker power (Freeman, 1976). The normative voice of the union reflects the desires of the average worker, the voice of the exceptional and substandard worker are not expressed in the monopolized union voice.

Freeman concluded that drawing attention to work place problems and voicing concerns kept dissatisfied workers from exiting (Freeman, 1976). The persistence of dissatisfied union workers may unintentionally decrease job satisfaction. He suggests that voice made individuals more sensitive and willing to criticize work conditions (Freeman, 1976). Hammer and Avgar (2005) found union workers were less satisfied with workplace conditions than nonunion workers despite the union's ability to create improved material rewards and opportunities to exercise voice. The exit-voice interpretation by Hammer and Avgar found reported

dissatisfaction differs from actual dissatisfaction that leads to exit (Freeman, 2005). If collective bargaining failed to mitigate satisfaction, employees may still exit.

Satisfaction Lens (Hirschfeld Satisfaction Theory)

The determination of total satisfaction was ascertained after the satisfaction subscales are examined through the satisfaction lens. The satisfaction lens examines elements of psychological needs and organizational justice. Total job satisfaction is the extent to which people enjoy their work (Spector, 1997). Mueller and McCloskey (1990) define job satisfaction as a positive affect towards employment and it is arguably a fairly stable evaluation of how the job meets the employee's needs, wants, or expressions. Job satisfaction has been conceptualized and operationalized as both a multifaceted and an overarching construct (Hirschfeld, 2000). The literature endorses both approaches when measuring job satisfaction. Operationally, one of the greatest difficulties in assessing job satisfaction is the possibility to be satisfied with some aspects of a job and, at the same time, be dissatisfied with others (Spagnoli et al., 2012).

Hirschfeld explored psychological needs (Hirschfeld, 2000, 2002; Hirschfeld, Feild, & Bedeian, 2000; Hirschfeld & Feild, 2000) and organizational justice applications (Bernierth, Walker, Walter, & Hirschfeld, 2011) in determining work satisfaction. Exploring the satisfaction subscales through a satisfaction lens, including psychological needs and organizational justice, provides a clearer picture of total satisfaction determination.

Psychological needs. Hirschfeld (2002) introduced the concepts of achievement orientation and work alienation as opposing forces that determine a worker's job involvement-role. The job involvement-role is the overall degree to which one is engaged in the tasks that comprise one's work. Achievement orientation refers to the extent to which an individual has high aspiration levels, high standards, and a willingness to work hard toward task

accomplishment (Hough et al., 1990). The achievement orientation has a direct influence on an employee's psychological involvement in their work (Hirschfeld, 2002). An employee with high achievement orientation finds work content necessary to attain personal goals and a sense of meaningfulness. The most committed employees tend to be inseparable from their work role (Mohrman & Cohen, 1995; Paullay et al., 1994; Wallace, 1995). Work is central to the lives of committed employees. A strong job-involvement role indicates a strong congruence between an employee's value system, self-identity, and personal and work lives (Kanungo, 1982). If one does not derive much personal meaning and satisfaction from the content of work, achievement orientation will not result in a high level of job-involvement role (Hirschfeld, 2002). Employees dissatisfied with the content of their work will have a lower job-involvement role level, regardless of achievement orientation.

The achievement orientation is highly linked to intrinsic and extrinsic satisfaction. Intrinsic job satisfaction is how employees feel about the nature of their work, while extrinsic job satisfaction is how employees feel about the aspects of the work external to the work itself (Spector, 1997). Brown (1996) found intrinsic job satisfaction is more strongly related to improved job involvement-role than extrinsic job satisfaction. Intrinsically-motivated employees have a propensity to engage in their work for inherent interest and satisfaction (Amabile et al., 1994). Brief and Roberson (1989) found intrinsic job satisfaction directly reflects the job's ability to convey personal meaning and satisfaction. Low intrinsic job satisfaction weakens the positive relationship between achievement orientation and job involvement-role. When employees are satisfied with intrinsic work content, achievement orientation has a strong positive relationship with job involvement-role (Hirschfeld, 2002). Satisfaction with intrinsic job characteristics enables work alienated employees to improve achievement orientation levels and

greater overall job involvement-roles. Work alienated employees who are dissatisfied with intrinsic work content will have consistently low achievement orientation and job involvement-role levels (Hirschfeld, 2002). High work alienation and/or low intrinsic satisfaction levels cause a disconnection between achievement orientation and job involvement-roles. Intrinsic job satisfaction is strongly related to individuals' overall levels of psychological involvement in job tasks (Hirshfeld, 2002).

Job involvement-role is influenced by several personality variables. Conscientiousness consists of employee achievement orientation and dependability (Mount & Barrick, 1995). Dependability encompasses the extent to which an individual is purposeful, determined, reliable, persistent, and feels a sense of obligation (Mount & Barrick, 1995). Brown (1996) found individuals who were high in personality traits indicative of job motivation (i.e. work ethic endorsement, self-esteem, and intrinsic motivation) are predisposed to high job involvement role. Likewise, employees with high job involvement-role have much at stake and are more likely to experience emotional exhaustion when psychological needs or organizational justice applications are threatened (Bagozzi, 1992).

The high job involvement-role employee is satisfied with the job, especially with the content of the work itself, which is intrinsically satisfying. This employee remains satisfied with the job even when the supervisor is perceived as lacking inconsideration, uncommunicative, or autocratic, whereas less-involved individuals become dissatisfied under similar circumstances. The employee also has strong affective ties to the organization which bind them more strongly to the organization than their long term investments in the organization do, the job involvement-role employee is considerably

less likely than others to entertain thoughts of leaving the organization (Brown, 1996, p. 252).

Work alienation represents disaffection toward the job-involvement role and reflects a tendency to be psychologically disengaged from work activities and settings (Hirschfeld, 2002; Hirschfeld & Feild, 2000; Kanungo, 1982). Work alienation is fueled by powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and estrangement (Seeman, 1959). It is the extent to which a person views work activities and involvement to be pointless. This unenthusiastic outlook toward work stems from the perception that work endeavors do not contribute to the attainment of personal goals or needs (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). Work alienation represents a generalized, indifferent outlook toward work and manifests as an absence of enthusiasm and involvement (Kobasa et al., 1982). Work alienation is an attitude construct shaped by work experiences (Hirschfeld et al., 2000). Work-alienated employees are unlikely to experience positive encounters and interactions at work (Hirschfeld et al., 2000). With high work alienation, there was no relationship between achievement orientation and job-involvement role (Hirschfeld, 2002, p. 1673). Work alienation is strongly correlated with work locus of control. The work locus of control is a generalized expectancy that organizational and work-related rewards, reinforcements, or outcomes are controlled (Spector, 1997). Emotional exhaustion is a result of work alienation and leads to absenteeism, burnout, and exit (Howard & Cordes, 2010).

Organizational justice. According to the person-environment fit model (French et al., 1982), employees experience stress when their personal attributes are not congruent with their work environment. Unfairness is a source of incongruence forwarded in the person-environment fit model. The evaluation of injustice is an obvious roadblock of goal attainment (Mikula et al., 1998). If something in the environment unfairly prevents an employee from obtaining that which

is valued, the environment cannot supply the need; the employee is unfairly labeled a misfit.

According to Folger and Cropanzano's (2001) fairness theory, employees use social comparisons to create alternative scenarios to improve their own personal situations. Employees who find others have been treated more justly, or received better outcomes, experience internal tension as they question why (Adams, 1965). Employees judge what is fair or not fair by comparing the treatment and outcomes they receive with the treatment and outcomes others receive (Adams, 1965). Selflessness is a component of justice that moves from situational concerns to moralistic concerns (Folger & Cropanzano, 2001). Envy and guilt play a role in workplace justice.

Organizational justice is a combination of distributive justice and procedural justice. Distributive justice is a measure of fairness of employees' outcomes at work and procedural justice is the fairness of procedures affecting employees at work (Pillai et al., 1999). Distributive justice is a combination of personal, internal, and external equity. Personal equity involves personal compensation relative to work quality, education, effort, and productivity. Internal equity is compensation comparability across the institution. External equity is compensation comparability across similar institutions (Summers & DeNisi, 1990). Procedural justice can take the forms of decision-making processes, formal justice systems, and interactional justice. Control theory argues fair decision-making procedures involve the inclusion of voices from all affected by decisions (Thibaut & Walker, 1975). Brown (1996) found participative decision-making had a strong relationship to job involvement-role. Any decision-making procedures that include shared control will achieve high satisfaction marks for decision-making. Formal justice systems produce fair procedures recognized by accurate information and transparent communication (Greenberg, 1993). Interactional justice is the administration of policies, justification of decisions, and social

interactions that communicate value and social identity. Fair procedures demonstrate that employees are valued. Unfair processes express devaluation (Bies & Moag, 1986).

Bernerth et al. (2011) explored justice differences in an organizational change context with an individual or procedural focus and a co-worker or distributive focus. The difference between individual and group justice levels leads to predictable outcomes. The outcomes of evaluating justice differences lead to emotional exhaustion, change commitment (voice), and turnover intentions (exit) (Bernerth et al., 2011). Differences in perceived fairness for oneself versus others were negatively related to change commitment, but positively related to emotional exhaustion. Emotional exhaustion mediated the relationship between justice differences and the important outcomes of change commitment and turnover intentions. Employees are willing to expend resources only to the extent to which they see such resources being replenished in the future (Adams, 1965). It seems unlikely that employees who see coworkers being treated more favorably, or receiving better benefits as a result of a change, will actively work toward successful change implementation (Bernerth et al., 2011). Employees who see coworkers being treated worse may imagine themselves as an eventual victim of such negative actions created by the organization (Folger & Cropanzano, 2001). Employees who see others receiving better outcomes or treated with more respect are likely to feel anguish as they question why they failed to receive similar outcomes (Folger & Cropanzano, 2001). When employees perceive disparities in organizational fairness during times of change, they will likely respond by taking steps to protect their own resources or minimize their own resource loss (Hobfoll, 1989). There are more selfish motives in assessing fairness during times of change. Employees faced with either actual resource loss or expected resource loss will not only be less committed to change, but entertain exit (Bernerth et al., 2011). Perceptions of injustice can lead to emotional exhaustion and result

in avoidance or withdrawal (Leiter, 1991). Prolonged emotional exhaustion from organizational justice concerns generates the same outcomes as failing to meet psychological needs (Berneth et al., 2011).

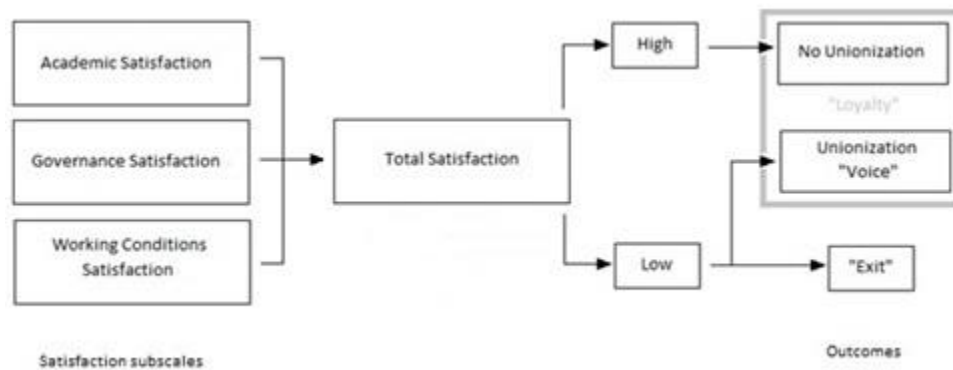


Figure 2.1. Hirschman exit, voice, and loyalty theory. Adapted from Hirschman (1970) and Freeman (1976).

Figure 2.1 displays total satisfaction as a combination of academic, governance, and working condition satisfaction factors. Hirschfeld satisfaction theory provided the lens, psychological needs and organizational justice, which contributed to the determination of total satisfaction. If total satisfaction falls below to unacceptable low levels, dissatisfaction results. Low total satisfaction leads to exit from the profession/institution or initiates the search for voice to mitigate the dissatisfaction. The exploration of unionization and collective bargaining represents voice, and demonstrates loyalty to the profession/institution. Highly satisfied faculty do not pursue unionization or collective bargaining. Faculty dissatisfied with any of the satisfaction factors resulting from institutional failure to meet a standard of psychological needs or organizational justice may result in faculty exit to another institution to mitigate their dissatisfaction.

Understanding the source and level of dissatisfaction and satisfaction through the Hirschman exit, voice, and loyalty conceptual framework provides insight into the possible condition of faculty at Minnesota two-year colleges. This insight may provide MSCF and MnSCU with a road map to mitigate future faculty dissatisfaction.

Faculty Satisfaction Factors

Academic, working conditions, and governance factors contribute to overall faculty satisfaction. The components of these factors are important to college faculty. Dissatisfaction with any one of these factors has been cited as reason for unionization and collective bargaining. Voice, provided by unionization and collective bargaining, was pursued to mediate faculty dissatisfaction.

Academic Factors

Studies focused on the effects of unionization and collective bargaining on academic factors were limited. Academic factors include academic freedom, instruction, curricular development, student evaluation, student advising, faculty evaluation, and full-time/tenure status attainability (Ali & Karim, 1992; Ernst, 1975; Lee, 1979; Ponak et al., 1992; Thaxter & Graham, 1999). Two-year college faculty believe academic factors are central to the profession and exhibit high levels of satisfaction from participation in their components. Two-year colleges are considered centers for educational development which focus on teaching. They strive to be places where instructors collaborate on teaching and learning, and find expert technical assistance to help them realize some of their instructional goals (Smith, 1968). Engaged two-year college faculty continuously strive to improve teaching and learning (Moen & Stave, 1968). Good teaching causes students to feel the excitement of ideas. Student involvement with ideas

creates an awareness of their own needs. Good teaching requires spontaneity and flexibility.

Good teaching allows a teacher to disappear in a course (Moen & Stave, 1968; Olson & Lakso, 1968). Teaching effectiveness is determined through direct observation of student growth.

Student growth is not determined simply through testing and grades, but includes an increased understanding of attitudes, values, and responses.

The quality of teaching is directly related to the success or failure of the accomplishment of established goals. Garrison (1968) interviewed hundreds of two-year college faculty and discovered most were unsure of their goals and those of their institutions. If the college was unsure in its purposes and/or mission, it was likely faculty were unsure. Faculty who were not convinced of the worthiness of the direction of their institution were likely to be dissatisfied, quarrelsome, and rebellious. An institution without direction indicated a serious communication breakdown between administration and faculty (Garrison, 1968).

Two-year college faculty develop curriculum which balances the needs of their diverse students and the demands of transfer institutions (Moen & Stave, 1968). Many two-year faculty believe the over emphasis and problems of transferring courses to four-year colleges is a hindrance to new course offerings and modifying established ones (Harris & Deardon, 1968; Olson & Lakso, 1968).

Faculty interest in unionization appeared to be in response to working conditions and governance factors, not the academic factors of the work itself (Brett, 1980). Factors which negatively impacted faculty academic satisfaction included heavy teaching loads, large class sizes, unprepared students, lack of academic support, and excessive bureaucracy (Keim, 1988; Milosheff, 1990). There was wide consensus that faculty should have primary authority over core academic issues, including standards for admitting students, curriculum, instruction,

standards of student competence, and ethical conduct. Further, most faculty believed their peers should have a voice in faculty hiring, promotions, tenure, and discipline (Hamilton, 2004).

Academic freedom is at the heart of scholarly innovation and cherished by members of academe (DeCew, 2003). Faculty members invoke academic freedom to support their ability to speak, teach, research, and publish. Institutions invoke academic freedom to avoid having to disclose confidential peer review materials and other personnel documents to civil rights and discrimination plaintiffs (Wolf, 1988). Regardless of how academic freedom is interpreted, it is a primary impetus for unionization (DeCew, 2003). When academic freedom is threatened, faculty consider unionization as a means of protecting it. Unionized faculty often memorialize academic freedom in collective bargaining contracts (Boyd, 1971; DeCew, 2003; Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a; Rotella, 1996). Birnbaum and Inman (1983) and Wilson et al. (1983) discovered the majority of college presidents believed faculty unionization hindered academic freedom. Peltz (2002) proclaimed “political appointees control everything about academic freedom and legislators have the power to dry up any university’s money if they don’t like what is going on” (p. 121).

Collective bargaining contracts often include the academic factors of course content, course materials, teaching methodology, course syllabi, testing, and grading (Boyd, 1971; Swift, 1979; Thaxter & Graham, 1999). Few studies found collective bargaining led to an increased number of academic factors addressed in contract agreements. Lee (1979) found collective bargaining led to increased voice and satisfaction regarding academic policy and degree requirement decisions. Collective bargaining preserved the academic factors which provided greatest faculty satisfaction. During the eighties, academic issues were memorialized in collective bargaining contracts and have remained important components of faculty union

contracts. Teaching assignments based on seniority rules, instead of merit, diminishes quality instruction and does not promote optimal student success. The traditional union stance on seniority can create greater dissatisfaction in talented, younger faculty (Aronowitz, 1998; Kerchner & Koppich, 1993; Kerchner & Mitchell, 1988).

If academic voice is part of governance, faculty enthusiastically exercise their voice (Taylor, 2013). Minor (2003) explored three different decision-making options involving faculty in higher education, 1) faculty involved in all decision-making issues; 2) faculty involved in decision-making in academic matters only; and 3) faculty not involved in significant decision-making. Within these options, it can be predicted to what extent faculty involvement was formally secured through negotiations or established by traditions, culture, and informal arrangements (Lamont, 2009; March & Olsen, 1976; Tierney, 2004; Whitley, 2008). Typically, shared governance models relegate faculty to decision-making on academic matters. If the faculty want a voice in the academic direction of the college, they must be prepared to look beyond their perspective of discipline-specific educators. Faculty spend the majority of their time and energy on staying current in their fields and express less interest in broader curriculum issues (Toombs & Tierney, 1991). College faculty focus attention on their own course content and pedagogy validated by traditions of academic freedom and autonomy (Innes, 2004). Faculty must be willing to spend time and energy on committee work and institutional activities with limited connection with their discipline, program, or department (Garrison, 1968). Mission statements, philosophies, and catalogs are filled with academic jargon and often lack true meaning. Course descriptions contain vague terms and phrases which provide little insight into subject areas. The most detailed and understandable parts of college catalogs are sections dealing with credits,

grades, prerequisites, regulations, and money (Garrison, 1968). Faculty must challenge the notions of mission statements, philosophies, catalogs, and course descriptions.

Faculty compensation is based on credit hours generated, number of classes taught, and number of students per class (Rotella, 1996). One strength of two-year colleges is smaller class sizes where instruction is adjusted to the ability of the student (Harris & Deardon, 1968; Meyer, 1956; Moen & Stave, 1968). Increased teaching loads and class sizes create overworked faculty and results in underprepared students. Rotella (1996) believes the emphasis on economic savings regarding teaching resulted in a decline in learning.

Students are ultimately responsible for their success or failure. Faculty create conducive environments and assess student learning. Faculty guide and facilitate students through the learning environment (Rotella, 1996). “Faculty are the ones who make the lifelong commitment to teach, research, and serve, and it is faculty, not administrators, whom students remember” (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a, p. 15).

Working Conditions Factors

The majority of literature regarding faculty collective bargaining focuses on working condition factors. Working condition factors include salary and fringe benefits, job security, and workloads (Ali & Karim, 1992; Ernst, 1975; Lee, 1979; Ponak et al., 1992). Most studies of faculty attitudes towards pre-collective bargaining revealed high levels of dissatisfaction with working condition factors (Castro, 2000; Graf et al., 1994). Salary and benefits were the most cited sources of dissatisfaction leading to collective bargaining in higher education institutions (Allen & Keavey, 1981; Balkin, 1989; Bigoness, 1978; Brett, 1980; Carr & Van Eyck, 1973; Garbarino & Aussieker, 1975; Keaveny & Allen, 1979; Keim, 1988; Lindeman, 1973; Milosheff, 1990; Rassuli et al., 1999; Schriesheim, 1978; Schultz, 1975; Woolston, 1976). A few studies

identified salary as a positive source of faculty satisfaction (Ambrose et al., 2005; Toutkoushian & Bellas, 2003). College faculty who enjoy privileged economic positions had little desire to engage in collective bargaining (Hardigan, 1975). If higher education institutions want to avoid faculty unionization and collective bargaining, pay faculty well. High status, high salaried professors do not support unionization (Wulff, 2005).

Studies comparing salaries between union and nonunion faculty are numerous and yield varying results. Many studies found marked improvement of unionized faculty salaries immediately following the adoption of collective bargaining, but the improvements faded three to five years later and regressed thereafter (Baker, 1984; Birnbaum, 1974, 1976; Finley, 1991; Guthrie-Morse & Hu, 1981; Herman & Skinner, 1975; Leslie & Hu, 1977; Marshall, 1979; Morgan & Kearney, 1977; Wiley, 1993). Ashraf (1997) argued union wage premiums may be underestimated because many unions find it more politically expedient to fight for increases in benefits rather than salary increases. Birnbaum (1974, 1976) found the rate of salary increases at four-year institutions were significantly higher for unionized over nonunionized faculty, but on two-year colleges the differential was not statistically significant (Henson et al., 2012). Studies which found collective bargaining improved union salaries showed improvements ranging between 0.4 and 14 percent over nonunion faculty (Ashraf, 1992, 1997; Barbezat, 1989; Benedict, 2007; Freeman, 1978; Lillydahl & Singell, 1993; Monks, 2000; Rees et al., 1995; Schultz, 1975). Ashraf (1997) estimated an 8.4 percent wage improvement accompanied unionization at two-year colleges. However, the impact of local cost of living differences were not considered (Henson et al., 2012). Barbezat (1989) estimated a statistically insignificant union salary advantage of 1.3 to 1.6 percent. Monks (2000) estimated a union salary premium of 7.3 percent using one model and 14 percent using another. Still other studies have found no

difference between union and nonunion salaries (Hedrick et al., 2011; Marshall, 1979; Martinello, 2009). Henson et al. (2012) discovered when cost of living differences were considered, real salaries at unionized institutions were on average lower. Baldrige and Kemerer (1981) determined that the annual financial benefit for unionized faculty was \$750 to \$900 per person annually. The same benefit would be \$2,055 to \$2,467 per person annually in 2016 with inflation. The question of whether collective bargaining results in higher salaries remains unclear (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Despite the contradictory salary results, faculty are convinced that collective bargaining will improve working condition satisfaction (Ali & Karim, 1992; Freeman, 1986; Gomez-Mejia & Balkin, 1984; Ormsby & Ormsby, 1988). Collective bargaining salary improvements at one institution can generate spillover effects on the salaries at non-unionized institutions. For instance, in order to attract job applicants, a non-unionized institution may have to match salary offers from unionized institutions. Thus, unionization may raise salaries of all faculty and lead to a smaller union wage differences (Henson et al., 2012). Unionized faculty appear satisfied with attempts to increase salaries, and not necessarily with corresponding results.

The debate over the benefit of unionization wages has persisted throughout American history. John Dewey (1933) addressed Yale American Federation of Teachers (AFT) local 204 proclaiming,

Some teachers have the idea that the sole object of a teachers union is to protect teachers' wages. I have no apologies to make for that phase. I don't see why workers should not have an organization to secure a decent living standard (p. 125).

If college faculty were attracted to unions because of salaries, it may be expected the membership increased when salaries were relatively high, and decreased when salaries were comparatively low (Lester, 1968). However, the AFT history revealed a very different story.

During periods of rapid inflation, college faculty salaries lagged and created gross inequities in compensation. The purchasing power of faculty salaries dropped drastically from 1917 to 1920, but union membership increased. Salaries rose in 1921 and union membership decreased.

Salaries increased slightly during the Depression, but hit a low in 1935 when compared to the Consumer Price Index drop (Lester, 1968). The peak of higher education union membership was in 1939, when real value of college salaries increased. After World War II rapid inflation came, but faculty salary increases slowed resulting in less purchasing power. Membership in AFT jumped in 1947 fueled by desires for better salaries and large numbers of faculty returning from the battlefield to the classroom. From 1949 to 1952, faculty salaries jumped 19 percent while the consumer price index rose only 10.7 percent. Membership in AFT locals dropped from 727 in 1949 to 472 in 1952. Membership continued to drop through the fifties, reaching a low of 296 members in 1958, despite improved salaries throughout the decade. Comparing AFT union membership and salaries from 1955 to 1963 revealed no relationship. The largest upsurge in AFT membership occurred between 1964 and 1965 when higher education faculty were in the best economic position they had enjoyed for many years (Lester, 1968). According to a 1974 survey, college presidents and union leaders agreed faculty unions focused on economic issues such as faculty salaries, promotions, and working conditions, while faculty senates retained control over academic issues, such as degree requirements and curriculum matters (Baldrige & Kemerer, 1976).

Faculty frustration with the lack of financial return and mobility created perpetual concern. Meanwhile, critics charge the faculty union's primary purpose was the improvement of salaries. The mid-sixties brought higher levels of financial support to higher education institutions, which translated into increased faculty salaries, but the trend reversed in the

seventies when a period of financial retrenchment began (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008). College faculty salaries reached their peak in 1972-73 and quickly fell thereafter (Gappa et al., 2007). Faculty pay increases throughout the eighties and nineties failed to keep up with inflation (Cohen, 1998). Faculty unions continued the pursuit of economic improvements for its members (Cain, 2010c; Cameron, 1982; Carr & Van Eyck, 1973; Castro, 2000; Duryea & Fisk, 1973; Garbarino & Aussieker, 1975; Keavey & Allen, 1979; Kemerer & Baldrige, 1975a).

While the studies which examined the impact of collective bargaining on salaries yield varying results, the studies on the impact of fringe benefits were uniformly positive (Angell, 1973; Budd, 2005; Staller, 1975; Swift, 1979). Union member fringe benefits increased twice as fast as their non-union peers (Freeman, 2005). Leaves, insurance, sabbaticals, and other forms of compensation were a major component of total faculty compensation (Budd, 2005). Many unionized faculty negotiated increased benefits when salary increases were not possible. Faculty satisfaction levels towards working condition factors were not diminished if salaries, fringe benefits, job security, and workloads were at least maintained. There have been empirical support for the promotion-related benefits of unionization. Both Gomez-Mejia and Balkin (1984) and Ormsby and Ormsby (1988) found unionization did not negatively impact faculty satisfaction with regards to promotion. Improved working condition factors improved faculty satisfaction, diminished working condition factors created dissatisfaction (Keim, 1988; Milosheff, 1990).

Faculty dissatisfaction has grown around the topic of job security. Most faculty are not concerned about losing their positions, but are concerned with the invasion of part-time instructors (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008). Faculty unions advocated for tenured positions and retraining for its members (Carr & Van Eyck, 1973; Castro, 2000; Garbarino & Aussieker, 1975;

Keavey & Allen, 1979; Thompson, 1975). Attacks on academia in the form of funding cutbacks, increasing workloads, rising part-time numbers, and attempting to abolish tenure encouraged the expansion of faculty unionization (Bodah, 2000; DeCew, 2003; Ehrenberg et al., 2002; Ponak & Thompson, 1984). The decision to unionize generally returns favorable outcomes for job security, tenure, promotion procedures, due process, and heightened protection against unfair treatment and arbitrary administrative action (Henson et al., 2012; Myers, 2011; Wickens, 2008). Ponak and Thompson (1984) reported mixed feelings among faculty about the benefits of unionization regarding tenure procedures. Collective bargaining formalized written tenure policies (Benedict & Wilder, 1999; Gilmore, 1981; Williams & Zirkel, 1988). Many researchers believe higher education unions must demonstrate a willingness to bargain tenure processes. Most researchers believe tenure will not be abolished. However, many predict that limiting tenure from five to twenty years may become increasingly common. Many believe tenure was intended to assure due process for faculty in their personnel relationships with higher education institutions, it was not intended to be a lifetime guarantee of employment (Trachtenberg, 1996).

Lillydahl and Singell (1993) worked with 1987-1988 NSOPF data and found unionized faculty were more satisfied with wages, benefits, and job security than their non-union counterparts. Unionized faculty were less satisfied with workloads, quality of colleagues, and research assistance. Overall satisfaction between unionized and nonunionized faculty was approximately equal. Unions enforced contracts, delineated promotion processes, created grievance structures, and helped faculty deal with the bureaucracy of higher education institutions. Absent a wage premium, many faculty believe these benefits were sufficient to offset the cost of union dues (Henson et al., 2012). Faculty remain concerned about salaries, benefits, independence, and autonomy, but added concerns for job mobility, tenure decisions, job

conditions, due process, and attacks on shared governance (DeCew, 2003; Devintz, 2003; Rassuli et al., 1999; Wickens, 2008).

Governance Factors

Governance factors include mission, vision, and goals creation and implementation, policy formation, strategic planning development, allocation of facilities, development of departmental budgets, and inclusion in personnel decisions. The primary reason cited for faculty pursuit of collective bargaining was the desire to acquire increased decision-making power and shared governance authority (Begin & Browne, 1974; Cain, 2010c; Carr & Van Eyck, 1973; Castro, 2000; DeCew, 2003; Dykes, 1968; Garbarino & Aussieker, 1975; Jones, 1986; Keavey & Allen, 1979; Kemerer & Baldrige, 1975a, 1975b; Lee, 1979; Maitland & Rhoades, 2001; Ponak et al., 1992; Schultz, 1975; Thaxter & Graham, 1999; Thompson, 1975; Wollett, 1973; Woolston, 1976). Unionization does not require faculty to give up claims to collegial decision-making and shared governance (Maitland & Rhoades, 2001).

Every higher education institution has its own unique history and culture. An institution's origin, mission, vision, resources, structure, and "organizational ethos" all contribute to how stakeholders interact and work together (Hendrickson et al., 2013, p. 19). Governance models evolved from these factors.

Higher education institutions which operate with formal hierarchies, strict channels of communication, and policies and rules for governance, are described as bureaucratic institutions. Individuals within bureaucratic organizations are assigned responsibility for decision-making by the formal administrative structure and inherent chains of command (Baldrige et al., 1977). Community colleges are described as bureaucratic institutions (Cohen & Brawer, 1996), relying on rules, regulations, and legal authority for governance (Kater & Levin, 2005). Many

community colleges are heavily oriented to management rights in a broad range of governance areas that exclude faculty participation and limit faculty power (Birnbaum, 1991; Kater & Levin, 2005). Garrison (1968) classified community colleges as administrators' institutions, where all major decisions were made by administrators. In some institutions, even minor decisions, such as which textbooks to order, were made by administrators. Some of this top-down management resulted from the intellectual and operational habits of former school principals and superintendents who became junior college presidents and deans. Community college governance structures, with their remnants of secondary education governance, consist of rational, authoritative decision-making processes, which are slowly transitioning to more participatory processes (Baker & Associates, 1992; Birnbaum, 1991; Cohen & Brawer, 1996; Kater & Levin, 2005). Despite faculty efforts to acquire more influence over decision-making, Rhoades (1998) remind faculty they remain managed professionals. An adversarial relationship between administration and faculty is expected. Within this adversarial relationship, unionized faculty and managerial administrators were interdependent with their job responsibilities. Two-year college faculty typically do not set college-wide budgets, enforce employment policies, determine limits for student enrollment, control hiring practices, or approve or eliminate academic programs. Miller and Miles (2008) concluded administrators were increasingly responsible for external fundraising efforts and managing relationships with the business community, reducing the amount of time available to set curriculum.

Governance models. Hendrickson et al. (2013) identified three forms of academic governance in higher education, bureaucratic, collegial, and political or shared. "Governance concerns power; who is in charge; who makes decisions; who has voice; and how loud is that voice?" (Rosovsky, 1990, p. 261). Corson (1960) was credited for applying the term

“governance” to higher education decision-making between faculty, who had authority over curriculum, instruction, research, and classrooms, and administration, who had authority over the institutional operations of finance, student affairs, physical plant, and public relations (Hines, 2000; Kater & Levin, 2005; Mortimer & McConnell, 1978).

Bureaucratic governance focuses on hierarchies, authority, and chains of command to accomplish defined goals (Hendrickson et al., 2013). The model was defined by formalized power, not informal power relationships (Hendrickson et al., 2013). The absolute authority of the bureaucratic leader created a dichotomy of superiors and subordinates, a characteristic of the managerial culture (Hendrickson et al., 2013). When governance factors were cited as the major source of faculty dissatisfaction leading to collective bargaining, bureaucratic governance was the model most often employed.

The collegial governance model seeks to transform the institution into a community. All members are encouraged to participate in governance creating a sense of ownership and collegiality. Recognizing the value every member of the institution brings to governance is indicative of collegial governance. Faculty working under a collegial governance exhibit the highest levels of satisfaction towards governance (Hendrickson et al., 2013).

Political or shared governance is exercised through influence over formal position (Hendrickson et al., 2013). Decision-making through collaborative discourse rather than formal position is central to shared governance (Hendrickson et al., 2013). “Shared governance is both an ideal and an operational reality that pertains to ways in which policy decisions are made in colleges and universities” (Hines, 2000, p. 142). Shared governance defines the “rights of the faculty to participate in making important decisions, certifying their status and importance” (Birnbaum, 2004, p. 12). Governance is shared between the academic and governing bodies and

coordinated by the university executive (Taylor, 2013). “Shared governance exemplifies democratic partnerships” (Hendrickson et al., 2013, p. 270). Shared governance must be mutually accepted by faculty and administration as a working relationship rather than an autocratic approach to decision-making (Birnbaum, 1989; Miller & Miller, 1996). The faculty must be active participants in academic decision processes rather than monitors of the administration or defenders of the status quo (Duderstadt, 2004). Hypothetically, shared governance delegates academic decisions, such as student admission standards, faculty hiring and promotion, and curriculum, to the faculty. Administrative decisions, such as acquiring resources and planning expenditures, and designing, building, and operating facilities, are the responsibility of the administration. The governing board focuses on public policy, accountability, fiduciary responsibilities, and selecting leadership positions (Duderstadt, 2004).

Shared governance. The shared governance model is well-suited to describe community college governance. Community colleges utilize collective bargaining as a way to manage the political aspects of governance (Fryer & Lovas, 1990; Kater & Levin, 2005; Levin, 2000). The shared governance model incorporates issues of power, conflict, and politics to academic decision-making and provides an accurate account of the influence of external environment and constituents. Shared governance is a political system that balances power between many constituencies and employs negotiation to develop consensus (Baldrige, 1971; Kater & Levin, 2005).

Birnbaum (2004) proposed academic institutions operated most effectively when governance was shared. Shared governance brings constituents together in a legitimate process to accomplish important tasks (Eckel, 2000). Constituents believe in governance based upon negotiation and compromise. Inclusive governance yields superior outcomes (Birnbaum, 1991).

By increasing participation in governance, providing a sense of influence, and creating multiple avenues for interaction, shared governance creates social capital.

Social capital leads to trust and cooperation; a reduction of social capital weakens the influence of constituents within an institution, but also reduces the effective influence of their leaders (Birnbaum, 2004, p. 14).

Without faculty support and acceptance, change initiatives do not persist nor have significant impact (Eckel, 2000). Shared governance attempts to find a balance between the legal authority of administration and the professional authority of faculty (Birnbaum, 2004; Crellin, 2010).

When a balance is lacking, conflict results. Administrative authority typically displaces professional authority creating in a power differential and faculty dissatisfaction. Attempts to limit the role of faculty in governance are interpreted as attacks and identified as illegitimate processes in the eyes of faculty (Birnbaum, 2004). Further, reducing the faculty role in shared governance inhibits the development of social networks and social capital of the institution. Faculty members often seek collective bargaining when they feel their professional authority has eroded at their institution.

Management assertion of rights to all decision-making responsibility challenges faculty participation in shared governance. Unionization and collective bargaining does not guarantee shared governance; over half of the collective bargaining contracts fail to address this right. Some contracts establish exclusive management rights to make decisions, while other contracts provide for faculty participation in academic decision-making, and even in fiscal and strategic policy-making (Maitland & Rhoades, 2001). Legally, shared governance is a misnomer. By law, essentially all legal power of higher education institutions are held by governing boards and delegated to administration. Faculty are typically granted responsibility for academic matters

(Duderstadt, 2004). On most campuses, the role of faculty and administration in shared governance are not clearly defined (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Boards must assure colleges are well run. Boards hold the responsibility for institution welfare, purposes, standards, mission, and performance evaluation. Under the direction of the Board, the college President holds the key administrative position (Blikre, 1974).

Four shared governance models are recognized including representative democracy, corporate enterprise, collegial, and entrepreneurial. These models demonstrate how shared governance may play a role in strategic development rather than accurate descriptions of change processes. In the representative democracy model, emphasis is placed on the relationships between students, administration, and staff in institution development and the importance of formal rules and regulations for decision-making processes (de Boer & Stensaker, 2007). In the collegial model, emphasis is placed on institutional culture and ownership, while decision-making is based upon consensus (Clark, 1972, 1983; Harvey, 1995). In the corporate enterprise model, external stakeholder representation in decision-making bodies is an important characteristic and central to the enhancement of institution in its community (Amaral et al., 2003). Finally, the entrepreneurial model emphasizes strategic development processes and places great importance on dynamic leaders who take initiative and form internal and external coalitions for change (Etzkowitz et al., 2000).

Hendrickson et al. (2013) defined shared governance as either collaborative, consultative, or distributive. Collaborative governance is identified by shared decision-making among faculty and administration. Consultative governance retains ultimate authority in administration, but faculty are sought for advice during deliberations. Distributive governance results when

decision-making is delegated to faculty or administrators according to their assigned responsibilities or expertise.

Shared governance is affected by academic or market institutional types. Market institutions find little reason to implement shared governance. Faculty simply transmit information and students consume that product. Corporate structures are utilized to improve efficiency and effectiveness (Birnbaum, 2004). Globalization, academic capitalism, governmental interaction, and turbulence affect the balance of power and stakeholders involved in institutional decision-making (Crellin, 2010; Eckel, 2000; Hines, 2000; Kaplin & Lee, 1995; Kater & Levin, 2005; Levin, 2001; Morphew, 1999; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). Academic institutions are rooted in a culture of academic freedom and critical discourse. Free expression without fear is central to academic institutions. Principles are more important than rules, votes, and consumer preferences (Birnbaum, 2004). Faculty from academic institutions demonstrate higher levels of satisfaction towards governance factors than faculty in market institutions.

Shared governance can further be defined as hard or soft. Hard governance uses “structures, regulations, and sanctions to define authority, prescribe organizational processes, and encourage compliance with policies and procedures” (Birnbaum, 2004, p. 10). Hard or rational leaders are often seen as forward thinking and self-interested. Hard governance focuses on costs, benefits, and projection calculations (Blackburn, 1998). Soft or interactional governance focuses on social interactions that create and maintain group norms. Soft governance is grounded in how organizational cultures are created and the processes people use to make sense of what they are doing for the institution.

Soft governance is backward-looking. The essence of soft governance is embedded in the socialization and expectations of the participants; institutions justify their behaviors,

participants their roles, and society its support, based on their consistency with processes, roles, and missions established in the past (Birnbaum, 2004, p. 10). Hard governance proposals almost always sound reasonable and self-evident. But when they conflict with soft governance, they inevitably fail (p. 11).

High levels of faculty satisfaction can be realized in both hard and soft systems.

Faculty unions bargain shared governance rights into contracts to ensure faculty professional authority is recognized and preserved (Hendrickson et al., 2013). Scholarly work on governance in the seventies acknowledged shifts in student demographics, increased faculty unionization, expanded student service roles, and increased interference from external agencies (AAUP, 1966; Baldrige, 1971; Baldrige et al., 1977; Corson, 1960; Duryea, 1973; Mortimer & McConnell, 1978). Carr and Van Eyck (1973) discovered faculty dissatisfaction with governance systems in higher education institutions during the seventies was a major factor of the rapid expansion of collective bargaining. Several studies have found similar results (Blikre, 1974; Boyd, 1971; Garbarino & Aussieker, 1975; Garbarino et al., 1977; Keaveny & Allen, 1979; Lindeman, 1973; Rassuli et al., 1999). Faculty desired greater voice in the management of their institutions. The term “shared governance” emerged in the literature following the 1966 release of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) pivotal *Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities* which legitimized the faculty role in governance. The AAUP statement rallied internal stakeholders, such as governing boards, administrators, faculty, and students, “in the belief that the colleges and universities of the United States have reached a stage calling for appropriately shared responsibility and cooperative action among the components of the academic institution” (AAUP, 1966, p. 1). The statement declared faculty have “primary responsibility” for the overall curriculum, “the subject matter and methods of instruction,”

research, requirements for the degrees offered, faculty appointments, promotions, and tenure, and “those aspects of student life which relate to the educational process” (AAUP, 2001, pp. 218-223). The AAUP acknowledged governing boards and their administrative agents have primary authority over decisions on mission, strategic planning, fiscal and physical resources, budgeting, decisions to create new departments, schools, or universities, and the selection and assessment of deans and presidents. However, the AAUP argued these decisions should be informed by faculty consultation (AAUP, 2001). Faculty and administration must govern higher education together as they are “inescapably interdependent.” (AAUP, 2001, p. 218).

Despite differences in the governance of academic institutions, the role of faculty has been steeped in tradition and is assumed to be significant by the entire higher education community (Benjamin & Carroll, 1998; Lee, 1980). The top areas in which faculty have natural voice and authority in decision-making are curriculum, general education, admissions, academic standards, and promotion and tenure requirements (Tierney, 2004). Faculty are an integral part of the operations of the institutions beyond their teaching role (Birnbaum, 1989; Kater & Levin, 2005). In the shared governance tradition, faculty offer vital input in matters of curriculum, hiring and retention of colleagues, and setting the standards for grading and graduation (Burgan, 2004). Faculty desired increased involvement in governance, especially concerning budgets, wages and working conditions (Burgan, 2004). In a 1998 NEA survey, two-thirds of the faculty wanted greater involvement in budget planning and setting the percentage of part-time and non-tenure track faculty. Faculty also wanted greater involvement in decision-making regarding faculty salaries and classroom technologies (Survey, 1998).

A faculty culture that prizes individual freedom and consensual decision-making posed challenges for many higher education institutions. The presumption that administration has the

answers to all problems created resentful faculty, especially related to issues of teaching and learning (Burgan, 2004). Once administration was deemed authoritative, most ideas generated by administrators were dismissed by faculty. Formal strategic planning efforts met with the same reaction, unless attached to clearly perceived budget consequences or faculty rewards (Duderstadt, 2004). Greater faculty participation in governance required new responsibilities and understandings by both faculty and administrators (Taylor, 2013). The goals of the institution and the means to achieve those goals were often misaligned between faculty and administration (Garrison, 1968). The tension between administration and faculty had many causes, but the primary cause was the ability of both factions to interpret the same set of facts so differently (Garrison, 1968). Administrators were focused on efficiency, faculty on academic values, and trustees with responsiveness (Birnbaum, 2004).

A study by Oliver and Hyun (2011) explored shared governance between faculty and administration in comprehensive curriculum reform at four-year private colleges. Administrators in four-year private colleges wanted more influence in curriculum matters and used appeals for shared governance to acquire more authority. Advocates for increased administrative authority in curriculum decision-making believed shared governance required mutual respect and submission, effective communication, and the recognition of the corporate responsibility for curriculum. Curriculum was viewed as a corporate responsibility that must be shared by the collective faculty (Aleshire, 2005; Mortimer & Sathre, 2007). The leader of a curriculum change process must possess strong administrative ability, leadership skills, and political skills (Seymour, 1988). The team of curriculum change agents must include representation beyond faculty members, including senior management, profession representatives, appropriate organizations, accreditation committees, and students (Walkington, 2002). Faculty operate in

four interdependent cultures which influence their beliefs and attitudes, including the culture of the institution, the culture of the national higher education system, the culture of the academic profession, and the culture of their discipline. Participation in all of these cultures make it difficult for faculty to engage in curriculum change initiatives. Pressures from these different cultures are often in conflict (Tierney, 1989). Some faculty struggle with what Fullan (2001) referred to as re-culturing or the ability to rethink their roles. Therefore, some faculty were unable to successfully engage administration in curriculum change initiatives.

Faculty believe collective bargaining increased their influence on governance factors (Ali & Karim, 1992; Driscoll, 1978; Kubiak, 1981; Schultz, 1975; Thomas, 1980). Collective bargaining typically resulted in some degree of power shifted from administration to the faculty (Wollett, 1976), but created an increasingly cumbersome and legalistic process (Garfield, 2008; Kemerer & Baldrige, 1975b). Institutions with effective shared governance structures prior to faculty collective bargaining usually maintained their collegial governance structures after collective bargaining (Begin, 1974, 1977, 1978; Kemerer & Baldrige, 1975b; Lee, 1979; Mortimer & Lozier, 1974; Mortimer & Richardson, 1977) while ineffective shared governance systems became more embattled and less collegial (Drummond & Reitsch, 1995; Ponak et al., 1992). Drummond and Reitsch (1995) stated,

Faculty unions at colleges with [previously] weak and ineffective governance systems began to address academic and professional matters in addition to traditional concerns.

These colleges tended to become more embattled and less collegial (p. 56).

The reasons for selecting collective bargaining provided explanation of these trends. If faculty entered collective bargaining because of dissatisfaction toward academic or working condition factors, governance factors were deemed, at minimum, satisfactory. If faculty entered collective

bargaining and cited governance factors as a source of dissatisfaction, there may be a longer period of time before governance satisfaction was regained. Effective governance relied upon leadership, relationships, and trust. On campuses where these elements were missing, governance was not effective, regardless of the structures present (Kezar, 2004).

Higher education institutions responded to changing external environments by threatening shared governance (Crellin, 2010; Eckel, 2000). Under pressure to attain greater efficiency and cost-effectiveness, the concept and operation of shared governance became a topic of attention (Kaplin & Lee, 1995). Increased accountability, declined public support, increased economic pressure, increased globalization (Kater & Levin, 2005), and increased reliance upon part-time faculty threatened shared governance (Crellin, 2010). Rhoades (1998) argued threats to shared governance lie with administration. Administrators claim the need for flexibility to make tough choices in restructuring their institutions. Powell (2008) concluded administrators' influence in decision-making relies on their central organizational positions, access to and ability to control better information, and closer relationships and proximity to gatekeepers of the institution. Faculty decision-making authority has diminished with the resurgence of administrative power. Many faculty responded to the rise of administration authority by sloughing off their governance roles (Burgan, 2004, ix). Taylor (2012) warned the shared governance decline was neither inevitable nor desirable, instead a moderate degree of tension between the governing and academic bodies was desirable (Taylor, 2013). Higher education governance demands a system of checks and balances. In the past, faculty provided a challenge to administrative initiatives. An informed faculty monitors, rather than impedes, administrative progress (Burgan, 2004, xiv). Institutions employ different strategies to integrate faculty into governance processes. Faculty, who have the closest relationship to students, provide valuable

governance contributions (Miller & Miles, 2008). Faculty leaders on mature unionized campuses can be far more cooperative with managerial initiatives than those on traditional non-unionized campuses (Burgan, 2004). As Seestedt-Stanford (2006) confirms, “The union not only impacts the welfare of the faculty, it represents but also influences the goals and objectives of the institution” (p. 129).

There is no standard governance theory operating within higher education institutions. What works for one institution may not work for another. Size and function add to complexity and formality. There are multiple facets to an institution so interdependence, communication, and joint action are important factors for success. All governance models strive to make effective decisions and move those subjected to the decisions to accept them as legitimate. “People in general, and academics in particular, do not automatically accept the decisions of authorities” (Birnbaum, 2004, p. 12). Faculty governance is not an either/or proposition, it is the utilization of a range of communicative and decision-making structures that maximize the voice of the faculty (Tierney, 2004).

The success or failure of shared governance is dependent on the variables of trust, leadership, process and structure, building confidence, slow response, peer passivity, lack of preparation, and marketization/corporatization. A great deal of research has been conducted on each variable.

Trust. The ability to generate and sustain trust is a key to effective leadership (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002). Gappa, Austin, and Trice (2007) argued new approaches to governance can only be successful in a culture of mutual trust and respect. A lack of trust and respect leads to increased tension. The tension between administration and faculty has been identified as a major obstacle of shared governance (Crellin, 2010). Impactful decision-making has been linked to

positive relationships within a culture of trust. When trust does not exist, people act out of fear or anger. Without trust, communication ceases to be open and honest, data and information is withheld, real listening is diminished, and participants are unable to find common ground. Relationships, trust, and leadership, rather than restructuring, are central to effective shared governance (Braskamp & Wergin, 1998; Del Favero, 2003; Kezar, 2004; Weingartner, 1996). “Relationships and trust are hard to separate; good relationships lead to trust, and trust develops good relationships” (Kezar, 2004, p. 44). The sustainable partnerships of shared governance are critical for planning processes, identifying strengths, prioritizing needs, and agreeing upon mutually beneficial practices. Transparency is a necessary element of trust between administration and faculty (Hodges & Dubb, 2012). Transparency requires shared information between stakeholders to understand the interest, intentions, and capabilities of each partner. It does not mean all information is disclosed indiscriminately, but rather that information be relevant and delivered in a timely fashion (Hodges & Dubb, 2012).

Trust between administration and faculty is developed when both act in predictable ways and are concerned with, and act in, the interests of one another. Trust strengthens the legitimacy of leaders by creating mutually reinforced bonds of identity, confidence, and support between constituents. Trust is an essential component of successful governance creating compliance and cooperation within the group. Bennis and Nanus (2003) claimed a leader can have a transformative vision, but with low trust within the organization, it will never be realized. Trust in leadership can be based on their ability to compete successfully for and allocate resources or based on the ability of constituents to predict leader behavior (Birnbaum, 2004).

If relationships and trust are damaged, the shared governance system will likely fail for lack of direction, motivation, meaning, integrity, a sense of common purpose, ways to

integrate multiple perspectives, open communications, people willing to listen, and legitimacy (Kezar, 2004, p. 45).

Trust can be created when faculty and administrators engage in consultation and adhere to the advice produced (Kezar, 2004). As noted in several studies (Clark, 2004; Kezar, 2004), trust takes time and effort to develop, implying consultations between administration and faculty must be seen as useful and not symbolic. It is difficult to create a balance with speed and efficiency on one side and trust and engagement on the other. Shared governance success is not based upon speed and efficiency, but on reliability and trust. A process built on quick decisions, typically results in poor decisions. A slow, thoughtful process assures superior decision-making (Kerr, 1963). Speed is not admirable, if decisions are poor and lack support (Kezar, 2004; Stensaker, 2013).

Absent trust and established relationships between negotiators, the bargaining process fails, decision-makers on both sides of the higher education table will not risk exposing vulnerabilities (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Moore (1981) reported major changes in trust between administration and faculty after the adoption of collective bargaining. Whether faculty adopt collective bargaining or not, if trust and transparency are part of governance, faculty satisfaction towards governance factors increases.

Leadership. A college president must develop partnerships with key constituents while demonstrating respect for the institution's mission and culture. The president must advance the institutional vision and use shared governance effectively and responsibly (Hendrickson et al., 2013). Schuster, Smith, Corak, and Yamada (1994) found leadership and leadership style were critical to governance efficiency and overall institutional success.

Emotional intelligence was found to be the most vital component of successful

leadership. About 90 percent of the differences between top and average leaders was attributed to emotional intelligence rather than cognitive abilities (Hendrickson et al., 2013, p. 260).

The president's management style and public statements influenced faculty pride, morale, and productivity (Keller, 2004). Wasylyshyn (2012) labeled leadership types on a continuum from remarkable to perilous to toxic (Hendrickson et al., 2013). Institutions with toxic leadership had failed governance models, while remarkable leaders employed a wide-range of successful governance structures. Effective leadership provided a sense of direction with clear priorities while moving toward planned outcomes (Kezar, 2004). Schuster et al. (1994) suggested effectiveness was the value of achieving a quality decision based upon competence. The current political landscape calls for a leader who can "act as a facilitator, possessing strong negotiating and social skills to manage and influence competing interest groups of a common objective" (Hendrickson et al., 2013, p. 51).

If leadership is missing and relationships and trust damaged, the governance system will likely fail for lack of direction, motivation, meaning, integrity, a sense of common purpose, ways to integrate multiple perspectives, open communications, people willing to listen, and legitimacy (Kezar, 2004, p. 45).

If planning processes were to be successful, the best practices of shared governance must be employed, especially if administrative leaders wanted the resulting plans to be supported by faculty (Hendrickson et al., 2013). Enhancing leadership, developing training opportunities, and building relationships are effective methods for improving institutional operations (Birnbaum, 2004). The damage caused by a history of disrespect and a lack of trust between administration and faculty must be intentionally addressed. Collaboration or consensus decision-making with

shared governance, instead of command, authoritative decision-making, can begin a process of recovery. The process is slower, but is more effective. Faculty satisfaction levels towards governance factors confirmed leadership classification from remarkable to toxic.

Studies identified honesty, competence, loyalty, integrity, good judgment, and sense of justice as desirable leadership characteristics. Arsenault (2004) surveyed respondents from four different generations about important leadership qualities. Honesty was identified as the most important leadership characteristic across generations. Competence and loyalty were also identified as important. Paine (1994) defined integrity as the steadfast adherence to a strict moral or ethical code and central to modern leadership studies. Good judgment, tempered by flexibility and situational awareness, has great influence on performance. In modern leadership, good judgment is more than intellect or making good decisions. Good judgment requires character and courage (Tichy & Bennis, 2007). Justice was defined as the perceived level of fairness in the organization. Justice is concerned with the rules and norms governing how outcomes are distributed, procedures for making distribution decisions, and how people are treated interpersonally (Folger & Cropanzano, 1998).

Faculty and administrative leadership is critical for the management of collective bargaining in higher education.

The truly successful do not simply engage in the articulation of a vision, or elaborate planning processes, they do not put great faith in rational decision-making, or behave as if their role is to serve others, nor do they manipulate colleagues and subordinates through cleverness or intimidation. Under such circumstances, leadership is impossible and certainly breaks down under conditions of goal ambiguity, professional dominance, and environmental vulnerability. The most effective executives and faculty leaders

communicate well, know their institutional culture, engage in authentic behavior, legitimize the ideas and action of others, surround themselves with the right people, demand the bad news, continually agitate for excellence, are tenacious, patient, and focused on goals (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a, p. 22).

Collective bargaining resulted in centralized decision-making and stronger administrative leadership. Successful collective bargaining required strong union representatives and strong, effective administrators (Hollander, 1992). Strong administrative leadership allied with strong union leadership against common external threats is highly effective (Hollander, 1992).

Leadership has extensive responsibility for generating trust, engagement, and support from all its members during strategic planning. Stensaker (2013) argued shared governance has been reinterpreted as a responsibility of leadership. In higher education, the president must provide leadership to and through faculty, governmental agencies, and the public (Blikre, 1974).

Garrison (1968) suggested administrative leaders take a less paternal look at their faculty. Faculty were identified as a major source of advice and insight for college development. When faculty were consulted in college-wide decision-making, the result was a hard-working, cooperative faculty with high morale and a willingness to experiment. Administrators should recognize faculty committee work, special assignments, and other non-teaching duties, combined with heavy teaching loads require time consideration provisions (Garrison, 1968). These considerations demonstrate faculty contributions are valued.

Institutions with exceptional administrative leadership are poised for success (Blikre, 1974). Leadership inspires trust. Leadership is forceful, but not demanding. Leadership is decisive, not defensive. Leadership is capable of purposive listening. Leadership is emotionally secure. Leadership must develop an awareness of the needs of the participants, understand

conflict, and how to deal with conflict. Leadership must involve the participants so common goals are identified, problems understood, and procedures for achievement agreed upon.

Leadership needs to understand that when the decision-making processes are broadened, it improves the quality of decisions, understanding, and trust (Blikre, 1974).

Autocratic administrators maintaining a centralized, top-down decision-making process with rigid hierarchies, generate faculty-administration conflicts (Ali & Karim, 1992; Jackson & Moulton, 1993; Parilla, 1993). Autocratic administration and the resulting faculty dissatisfaction was the most cited failure of shared governance and the reason identified as the most frequent cause for collective bargaining pursuits (Boyd, 1971; Brett, 1980; Ernst, 1975; Herman & Skinner, 1975; Ladd & Lipset, 1973; Neumann, 1980; Rassuli et al., 1999; Thaxter & Graham, 1999).

Process and structure. Shared governance can be both frustrating and exasperating, but is the best process for higher education institutions to achieve their goals. Shared governance provides the "consent of the governed validated by checks, balances, and legitimate contending voices" (Birnbaum, 2004, p. 8). Shared governance provides mechanisms to mediate mistakes (Eckel, 2000). The managerial culture respects formal lines of authority and responsiveness to the pressures for accountability (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008). Kaplan (2003) examined board size, meeting frequency, allocation of board power, union status, centralization and decentralization, and other structural issues, applied to governance outcomes. He found a minor relationship between decisions and structural issues. Governance structures did not account for the variance in outcomes among higher education institutions (Kaplan, 2003). Kezar (2004) found structural factors impacted efficiency. People and relationships are central to governance success, structures and processes are secondary (Wheatley, 1996).

Benjamin and Carroll (1996) of Rand Corporations suggested shared governance was ineffective and inefficient due to its outdated structure and processes. Academic endeavors, budgeting, and policy were seen as exclusively administrative prerogatives in direct conflict with shared governance (Birnbaum, 2004). A national study in the nineties found that seventy percent of campus faculty, staff, and administrators believed decision-making processes were ineffective and new approaches needed to be considered (Kezar, 2004). Blake, Mouton, and Williams (1981) acknowledge that “to attain excellence, universities must develop new organizational models,” and “cannot be led or managed like a business” (p. 29). Effective and inclusive faculty shared governance processes result in high levels of faculty satisfaction.

Building confidence. Gayle et al. (2003) described the importance of building confidence in employees during a career. Confidence was built over time and required intensive interactions between institutional co-equals. Unfortunately, many faculty members did not believe administrators acted in a manner that builds confidence (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008). “The dominance of the managerial culture has resulted in a violation of the psychological contract between faculty members and their institutions” (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008, p. 120). Bergquist and Pawlak (2008) proposed much of the discontent inside many colleges and the rise of collective bargaining can be traced to the breaking of psychological contracts between the academy and its employees. Birnbaum (2004) found “perceptions of self-worth and perceptions of fairness are related; when one feels valued, one is also more likely to believe that the group is functioning effectively and fairly” (p. 14). Unilateral, top-down decision-making generate rules, sanctions, and incentives quickly, but because they were not developed through a legitimate shared process, they were narrowly focused and difficult to enforce. The result was decreased confidence in the system and increased alienation (Birnbaum, 2004). Toma (2005) found a

strong sense of belonging encouraged people to demonstrate loyalty to the institution, to cooperate with one another, and to have a strong sense of connectedness. Institutions focused on building faculty confidence generate satisfied faculty. Universities with long histories of stable employment created psychological contracts where employees expected to have lifelong employment in exchange for faithful service, passive acceptance of authority, even with ineffective administration. However, if these expectations were violated, faculty dissatisfaction and collective bargaining followed (Bowen & Schuster, 1986; Cohen, 1998).

Slow response. In the nineties, a number of higher education experts argued large higher education institutions were incapable of responding to a rapidly changing environment in a timely fashion (Hendrickson et al., 2013). The slow process of shared governance was identified as responsible for hindering efficiency (Birnbaum, 2004; Hendrickson et al., 2013; Stensaker, 2013). Boards became less tolerant of delay and dissent. Boards demanded quick program reorganization decisions and showed frustration when faculty senates offered opposing views to board projects (Burgan, 2004). The structural barriers created by academic departments with many units make decision-making a slow and challenging process (Kezar, 2001; Mortimer & Sathre, 2007). Due to the inherent slow response, critics argued shared governance was not conducive to academic settings where strategic changes need to be quickly implemented (Stensaker, 2013). Critics argued faculty were obstructionists and needed to have their influence in governance curtailed (Birnbaum, 2004). The slow response argument was grounded in the managerial culture which focused on efficiency and competence (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008). Developing relationships with colleagues, central to successful shared governance, was a time consuming and, sometimes, difficult task. In the rush for quick, efficient solutions, institutions opted for scientific management techniques which focused on structure and process over people

and relationships (Kezar, 2004). Studies suggest structure impacts efficiency, but may not improve effectiveness (Kezar, 2004). Streamlining decision-making inhibits faculty's ability to respond to their disciplinary environments and diminishes the social capital of the institution (Hendrickson et al., 2013). Birnbaum (2004) proposed institutions were more effective when governance was shared, "Faculty involvement in shared governance may slow down the decision-making process, but it also assures more thorough discussion and provides the institution with a sense of order and stability" (p. 7). Faculty were more likely to be satisfied with governance factors when consulted in decision-making, faculty were not as concerned about the speed of decision-making.

The responsibility for successful shared governance is shared between faculty and administration. Faculty are responsible for making institutional issues a priority, for coming to the table prepared and informed, and for acknowledging the time frame within decisions must be reached. A lack of preparation slows an already slow process. Administrators are responsible for creating the climate in which good governance can operate (Eckel, 2000; Stensaker, 2013). A lack of preparation among shared governance team members caused individual faculty to develop lower levels of governance factor satisfaction.

Peer passivity. Another criticism of shared governance is faculty reluctance to make difficult decisions involving their colleagues (Hendrickson et al., 2013). Faculty members on promotion committees are more apt to approve weak candidates for fear of reprisal from the union (Ladd & Lipset 1973). Lucey (2002), a former community college president, noted negative consequences resulted when faculty were passive about governance and abdicated their curricular authority in decision-making. "The role of faculty is to monitor existing academic programs and develop new curricula in response to environmental change" (Hendrickson et al.,

2013, p. 270). The role of faculty unions has altered decision-making, substituting functional authority by virtue of experience with formal authority which is legislatively and legally derived (Hendrickson et al., 2013). Individual faculty satisfaction levels towards governance factors may decrease when forced to make decisions which adversely affect their colleagues. When faculty become involved in shared governance and decision-making, they tend to become preoccupied with peripheral matters such as wages, parking, and buildings rather than strategic issues such as the protection of academic values. The faculty traditions of debate and consensus building, fragmented academic departments, and loyalty to academic disciplines over institution seem incompatible with the rapid pace of decision-making required to keep up with an ever changing higher education environment (Duderstadt, 2004). According to Burgan (2004), most faculty lack managerial expertise and the necessary time for governance activities on campus.

Marketization/corporatization. Reform and change initiatives introduced new external stakeholders in institutional governance. The marketization of higher education is responsible for this growing trend (Etzkowitz et al., 2000; Geiger, 2004; Kerr, 2001; Teixeira et al., 2004). Further, the marketization of higher education has substituted the representative democracy for a more corporate governing structure which streamlined internal decision-making (Dill, 1982; Power, 2007; Smith & Adams, 2009) and provided external stakeholders with increased authority (Robbins, 2003; Tuchman, 2009). A shift of power to a college governing body mirrors the board structure of a private company, with the chair of the council reflecting the chairman of the board of a private corporation and the vice-chancellor as the chief executive officer (Shattock, 2003). College presidents at corporate-style institutions think of themselves as CEOs rather than professors who are first among equals, and are often selected from the corporate sector rather than the academy. Faculty lose their voice and student voice is equated with that of

a consumer who expects particular goods and services (Tierney, 2004). Shattock (2002, 2006) discovered limited evidence that top-down management, characterized by a strong chief executive and a powerful governing board, was successful in higher education. If anything, the opposite held true. The failures of higher education governance were often attributed to the governing board, or executive, rather than an academic body (Shattock, 2002, 2006, 2012). The loss of faculty power associated with weakened senates and increased corporatization was essentially a loss of perceived control (Wickens, 2008). Faculty on many campuses resented the rise of corporatization and their diminished role in governance (Ramo, 1997). Faculty respond with almost automatic opposition when corporate jargon is articulated in administrative planning. There is no surer way of arousing faculty angst than utilization of terms like stakeholder, value added, total quality management, or accountability measures, when discussing governance (Burgan, 2004). Changes in the size of institutions and their administrations have impacted governance. During the corporatization of higher education, the hiring of managers and directors from private industries for top higher education board and administrative leadership positions became common practice (Bronfenbrenner & Juravich 2001; Conlon 2000; Rhoads & Rhoades 2005; Robin & Stephens 1996). Institutions governed in corporate fashion, substituted their traditional academic focus with the goal of amassing and storing wealth (Wolff 1996). Most faculty were wary about being managed like workers in private industries and focused on job preservation instead of innovation. Critics believe shared governance is a serious obstacle to educational change as detrimental as a passive, inattentive board of trustees (Keller, 2004). To combat the rise of corporatization in higher education, many faculty seek unionization as a solution (Johnson et al., 2003). However, Myers (2011) cautioned that collective bargaining cannot directly address corporatization or efficiency issues.

Collective Bargaining

To analyze why Minnesota two-year college faculty chose to unionize in 1963 and enter in collective bargaining in 1971, an exploration of collective bargaining and the reasons why college faculty unionize across the nation provides important insight. Julius and DiGiovanni (2013a) defined collective bargaining as a process to manage disagreements about rights, authority, and the roles of important constituencies in academic organizations.

Collective bargaining is a method of introducing civil rights into the working environment; that is, of requiring that management be conducted by rule rather than by arbitrary decision. Two areas of concern: the importance of preserving a proper balance between the freedom of the administration to manage and the protection of employees from arbitrary administration (Slichter et al., 1960, pp. 214-215).

Blikre (1974) believed collective bargaining was a method of determining conditions of employment between employer and employee representatives memorialized in a master contract. It can also be viewed as a vehicle for conflict resolution by the process of compromise. The National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) of 1935 defined collective bargaining as,

the mutual obligation of the employer and the representative of the employees to meet at reasonable times and confer in good faith with respect to wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment, or the negotiation of an agreement, or any question arising thereunder and the execution of a written contract incorporating any agreement reached if requested by either party, but such obligation does not compel either party to agree to a proposal or require the making of a concession (National Labor Relations Act, 1935, p. 10).

Rhoades (1998) identified the greatest advantage of collective bargaining as its ability to negotiate autonomy into higher education. Duryea and Fisk (1973), Seidman et al. (1974), and Ponak and Thompson (1984) revealed faculty expected collective bargaining to strike a balance between administrative management freedom and the protection of faculty from an arbitrary administration. Burgan (2004) recognized considerable value in administration, unionism, and shared governance, but not if they become so antagonistic that the result of their interactions was conflict rather than cooperation.

Collective bargaining is a fluid, political process with all of the associated pros and cons. Like most political processes, those with power win the day, not those with more sound, rational arguments (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). DiGiovanni (2011) identified six core elements central to successful collective bargaining. These elements included trust, shared history, ground rules, credible data, conflict management, and effective leadership. Organizational relationships were important factors in determining the success of collective bargaining. The interrelationships between administration, faculty, staff, and students determined the morale on campus and were vital to the functioning of the institution (Wickens, 2008).

Several researchers determined collective bargaining altered power structures. Hollander (1992) cautioned that faculty became more powerful than other constituencies on campuses where collective bargaining was adopted. When layoffs occurred, full-time faculty positions were often preserved while part-time, secretarial, administrative, and maintenance positions were eliminated. Collective bargaining revealed divisions between disciplines, exposed the haves and have nots among faculty, and placed administrative treatment of faculty and staff under intense scrutiny for hints of inequity (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013b). On some campuses, the faculty union displaced the faculty senate in importance and influence (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a).

According to Baldrige et al. (1978), college presidents on unionized campuses reported lost power to faculty, but actual evidence indicated a power shift towards administration. Wickens (2008) and Julius and DiGiovanni (2013a) reported collective bargaining shifted authority to college presidents and system offices at the expense of faculty influence. The traditional relationship between administration and faculty altered after the adoption of collective bargaining (Wolf, 1988). Both administrators and faculty agreed collective bargaining diminished collegiality and created division on campuses (Gilmore, 1981; Hedgepeth, 1974; Ponak & Thompson, 1984; Schell & Loeb, 1986; Wilson et al., 1983). DeCew (2003) described the faculty-administration relationship on unionized campuses as rife with defensive behavior and impaired communication. Julius and DiGiovanni (2013a) also found collective bargaining led to ineffective overall communication. In her literature review, Cameron (1984) concluded faculty participation increased with the adoption of collective bargaining. Faculty and administrators both reported an increase in faculty power (Cameron, 1982). Collective bargaining codified informal policies, and created more structured, transparent, and standardized practices. Collective bargaining formalized supervisory responsibilities and standardized management (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Collective bargaining increased consistency and equity in compensation practices, governance, and grievance processes.

During the seventies, several concerns increased interest in collective bargaining, including a general authority crises across higher education. An absence of common goals and shared sense of purpose was identified as a concern in higher education (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). The desire to control working conditions put faculty at odds with existing decision-makers. Traditional power structures fragmented and a new struggle for power ensued. The expansion of middle management, bureaucratization, and increased student power contributed to

the collective bargaining movement. Additional factors contributed to the expansion of collective bargaining, including activist governing boards, overreaching state agencies and legislatures, slowly rising salaries, inadequate budgetary support for faculty interests, static or declining enrollments, competition for tax dollars, and public concerns regarding student behavior. Collective bargaining ushered external third parties into decision-making processes and formalized the involvement of union leaders in institutional decision-making under the protection of state law (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Many faculty members felt the need to organize to defend themselves in an increasingly hostile work environment. Collective bargaining became more about protection than aggression, it was an effort to preserve the status quo more than to influence new positions (Blikre, 1974).

Faculty are naturally independent and autonomous, but can be persuaded into collective action (Wulff, 2005). Faculty members who lead collective bargaining movements are typically under thirty years old, non-tenured, politically left, lower on the salary schedule, and describe the administration and/or the organization as poorly functioning (Blikre, 1974). Bigoness (1978) conducted a study of faculty attitudes toward collective bargaining. His correlational analysis revealed that faculty who were highly involved in their jobs were less likely to favor collective bargaining. Research showed most pro-union faculty, defined as those who voted for certification and recertification, were of lower power status, such as women, assistant and associate professors, non-doctorates, those receiving lower compensation, and faculty teaching humanities, education, and social science (Devinatz, 2003; Rassuli et al., 1999; Settles et al., 2006; Van Sell et al., 2006). Faculty with resources are in better positions to deal with work-related issues themselves, less likely to desire collective bargaining, and are often dissatisfied with union services (Myers, 2011). Union leaders are inherently more liberal and antagonistic

towards the administration than faculty senate members. As a result, unionized faculty as a whole are represented by a more hostile group, creating a more adversarial and less cooperative relationship with the administration. The hostility makes the administration less open to faculty recommendations and requests (Wickens, 2008). If the union represented a true cross-section of the faculty, the union's interests coincide with the broadest faculty interest. Union solidarity relies on reconciling the need for dues with the rights of faculty to criticize the union (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a).

While faculty have the right to organize and enter into collective bargaining, it is appropriate to analyze the impact of that decision. Faculty must examine the impact of collective bargaining on their institution, academic life, and present mode of operation. Governance remains a means, not an end. Governance should be designed and/or adjusted for the sake of entire academic enterprise (Blikre, 1974). Blikre (1974) cautioned collective bargaining broadened negotiations at the bargaining table and shifted decision-making from the faculty to the union. An adversarial form of governance polarizes the faculty, students, and administrators, and destroys collegiality. Faculty professionalism and collegiality are preserved when union and administration representatives adopt shared governance in collective bargaining without allowing decision-making to become the exclusive domain of either the union or administration (Blikre, 1974).

Blikre (1974) implored faculty to consider a series of questions before the adoption of collective bargaining:

Will collective bargaining affect existing faculty rights, working conditions, the course of instruction, determination of grades and degrees, academic freedom, and workload? Will unionization strengthen managerial authority? Will the union contract infringe on the

existing authority of departments, committees, and senates? Will collective bargaining reduce campus autonomy? Will arbitrators rule on contract disputes and grievances? Will line-item budgeting become more prevalent? What will be the relationships with boards and administrators or the position of senior and junior faculty members? (p. 13-14).

If collective bargaining is adopted, faculty must decide whether the contract will be narrowly or broadly focused, address working condition factors only, or include academic and governance factors. The Carnegie Commission favored contracts which addressed working condition factors only (Blikre, 1974). Kellett (1975) asserted collective bargaining within community colleges successfully increased salaries, benefits, services, and faculty participation in decision-making. Job security improved in the early decades following collective bargaining (Marquette, 1996).

A major complication of collective bargaining is increased time commitments.

Negotiations, grievances, contract monitoring, political activities, lobbying, contract preparation, rewriting handbooks and policies, union meetings, rallies, union newsletter, and meetings between administration and union officials are all time consuming efforts (Angell, 1973). Administrators are trained to administer, publicize, and lobby with city, state, and federal government. To maintain a degree of equity at the negotiation table, unions increase political involvement at local, state, and national levels in attempts to form cooperative alliances (Boris, 2004; Duryea et al., 1973).

History plays a role in collective bargaining. People in academic institutions have long memories, especially the faculty (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013b). Personal history, disciplinary feuds, perceived slights from years ago, and retribution desires impact collective bargaining (DiGiovanni, 2011). Some union activists, referred to as true believers or those with whom

reconciliation is impossible, strive to address grievances decades in the making (DiGiovanni, 2011; Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013b).

The adoption of collective bargaining marks a failure of an institution or system to maintain faculty satisfaction or mitigate faculty dissatisfaction. Collective bargaining demonstrates a loyalty of faculty to stay engaged in the profession despite their dissatisfaction. Faculty commitment to the institution and the union are independent constructs that can co-occur (Dean, 1954; Purcell, 1954).

Faculty satisfaction varies by status, resources, opportunities, and relationships. In general, highly satisfied faculty have greater status, compensation, resources, opportunities, manageable workloads, and positive and equitable relationships (Seifert & Umbach, 2008). Faculty report greater satisfaction when they have voice and influence in important decisions and processes and when working conditions are equitable (Ambrose et al., 2005; August & Waltman, 2004; Rosser, 2004). Job satisfaction is maximized when employee and institutional expectations are closely aligned (Myers, 2011). Myers (2011) reported new faculty tend to have unrealistic expectations about their roles. Faculty who had lower-status, little authority, minimal job security, heavy workloads, and non-supportive work environments reported lower job satisfaction (August & Waltman, 2004; Devinatz, 2003; Rosser, 2004). Seifert and Umbach (2008) found lower satisfaction among faculty who are traditionally marginalized. Rassuli, Karim, and Roy (1998) concluded that faculty who were initially pro-union often became anti-union several years after joining. These faculty were critical of the union's inability to improve their work environment, collegiality, and communication with administration (Myers, 2011). The introduction of a collective bargaining does not significantly impact faculty commitment to the university (Wickens, 2008). Faculties adopt collective bargaining to improve the conditions of

their employment. They expect the union to enhance their benefits and services (Blikre, 1974; Devinatz, 2003; Rassuli et al., 1999; Settles et al., 2006; Van Sell et al., 2006). Faculty members explore collective bargaining to improve job security (DeCew, 2003; Wulff, 2005), gain shared responsibility in institution priorities, prevent loss of individuality, and enhance social and economic conditions (Blikre, 1974). Collective bargaining supporters are concerned about economic and academic issues ranging from salaries and job security to academic freedom and faculty governance (Wulff, 2005). Studies conducted by Myers (2011) and Julius and DiGiovanni (2013b) found economic issues were important to faculty, but were not the primary reason for adopting collective bargaining. Faculty reaction to mismanagement, authoritarian management style, and arbitrary decision-making often leads to collective bargaining with the hope of a contract that ensures shared governance (Burgan, 2004). Even on campuses with faculty senates, faculty still unionize with hopes to increase their influence in negotiating the terms of their employment (DeCew, 2003). Faculty often reject unionization and collective bargaining when administrators actively solicit faculty input (Magney, 1999; Zalesny, 1985), foster mutual respect, and make equitable decisions (Hammer & Berman, 1981; Hemmansi & Graf, 1993). Authentic shared governance creates faculty satisfaction. Highly satisfied faculty have no interest in collective bargaining (Brett, 1980).

When higher education institutions accommodated larger enrollments, the influence of faculty on academic policy and procedure changed. The unintended consequence of increased student enrollment was greater faculty dissatisfaction. Governance authority shifted away from faculty and toward administration, who gained a more centralized role on college campuses (Garbarino & Aussieker, 1975). Wickens (2008) asserted that governance inequity was the catalyst which led to the rise of faculty collective bargaining.

The loss of faculty power, increased workload, diminished job security and equity, clouded promotion procedures, ineffective grievance processes, and loss of academic freedom prompted desires for collective bargaining (DeCew 2003; Wickens, 2008; Williams & Zirkel, 1988). According to DeCew (2003), faculty were provoked to join unions through the adversity between faculty and administration. When faculty perceived their role in decision-making as superficial, an adversarial relationship with administration results, and the relationship legitimized through collective bargaining (Ernst, 1975). When faculty perceived themselves as unappreciated, replaceable, and expendable, they were apt to seek protection through collective bargaining (Wulff, 2005).

Unionized faculty have lower levels of job satisfaction compared with certain non-unionized faculty. Myers (2011) found no variation between union and non-union faculty. Other studies which compared job satisfaction in unionized versus non-unionized workplaces failed to find notable differences (Wickens, 2008). Leslie and Hu (1977) and Freeman (1978) found positive union effects on satisfaction, but did not differentiate between two- and four-year institutions. Rees (1994) discovered higher retention rates among unionized faculty. The lack of consistent results linking improved faculty satisfaction with unionization may suggest a lack of correlation between the two components.

Early research on factors connecting faculty satisfaction to collective bargaining focused on salaries (Castro, 2000; Feuille & Blandin, 1974; Garbarino & Aussieker, 1975; Myers, 2011). Despite reports claiming faculty dissatisfaction with salaries, several of studies (Garbarino & Aussieker, 1975; Kellett, 1975) reported improved satisfaction with unions. A study conducted by Shuster, Smith, Corak, and Yamada (1994) examined strategic planning councils at unionized and non-unionized universities and found that mature bargaining units played a strong and

positive role in decision-making. Better leadership, compensation, and working conditions have all contributed to improved overall satisfaction with unionization (Castro, 2000).

When faculty members are consumed by administrative ‘atrocities’ and find that they have in common only their contempt for management rather than teaching, research, or scholarship, there is little reason to believe that any academic culture other than advocacy [unionization] will find sufficient nourishment to thrive, or even survive (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008, p. 117).

Several studies identified the external factors of inflation, economic recession, declining student enrollments, increased education costs, diminishing public support, and cuts in education funding as sources of faculty dissatisfaction and increased collective bargaining on college campuses (Feuille & Blandin, 1974; Kemerer & Baldrige, 1975a; Lussier, 1975; Schultz, 1975). Researchers attempted to determine whether or not collective bargaining mitigated faculty dissatisfaction (Wickens, 2008). Throughout the decades, researchers called for longitudinal study of higher education collective bargaining (Cameron, 1984). Longitudinal studies which span several years are at risk of data bias because conditions cannot be experimentally controlled (Cameron, 1984). However, longitudinal studies provide valuable information. Researchers have explored faculty attitudes and experiences before and following unionization, and before, during, and after a strike action.

A study outlining the reasons for higher education collective bargaining conducted by Kemerer and Baldrige (1975a) found lower levels of faculty satisfaction with working conditions led to the higher rates of collective bargaining.

The culture of advocacy in higher education emerged in response of the inability of management to meet the personal and financial needs of faculty and staff. If

administrators act as though they are responsible for the formulation of institutional policy, faculty will have to reestablish their influence through collective action (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008, p. 111).

In the decade of the nineties, increasing board activism, student enrollment, governmental intervention, globalization, public distrust, and accountability, coupled with decreasing resources coalesced in a resurgence of shared governance (Alfred, 1998; Deas, 1994; Gilmour, 1991; Hardy, 1990; Hines, 2000; Levin, 2001; Morphew, 1999; Piland & Bublitz, 1998; Rhoades, 1998; Thaxter & Graham, 1999) and increased collective bargaining (Arnold, 2000).

Before collective bargaining laws, governmental employees were forced to passively accept their working conditions. They were considered public servants. They were paid what governing boards unilaterally decided they should be paid. Employee problems, concerns, and requests were often unheard (Stark, 1974). In the early years collective bargaining worked well because the American public was sympathetic to the plight of labor. The same public support for faculty unionization is lacking today (Trachtenberg, 1996).

The presence or absence of faculty collective bargaining is more a measure of institutional and demographic variables than faculty attitudes towards collective bargaining. Faculty attitudes about unions are poor predictors of what actually occurs in unionized settings.

In attempts to mediate faculty dissatisfaction, collective bargaining negotiations focus on traditional bargaining goals (working condition factors), academic bargaining goals (academic factors), and policy bargaining goals (governance factors) (Angell, 1973; Boris, 2004; Kellett, 1975; Ponak et al., 1992; Schultz, 1975; Wollett, 1973). Collective bargaining represents alternative voice. The choice to pursue alternative voice indicates faculty dissatisfaction with academic, governance, and/or working condition factors, but demonstrates loyalty to the

profession/institution (Hammer & Berman, 1981). According to the Hirschman exit, voice, and loyalty theory, dissatisfied faculty unable to influence change via individual voice mechanisms, such as issuing direct complaints to administration, will elect to exit or explore alternative avenues of collective voice (Hemmasi & Graf, 1993). If collective bargaining fails to provide acceptable voice or to mitigate faculty dissatisfaction, exit may still occur.

The faculty role in governance is almost always an issue in collective bargaining. Faculty support collective bargaining when they perceive erosion of their governance role, but remain concerned about the effect of collective bargaining on existing governance practices (Maitland & Rhoades, 2001; William & Zirkel, 1988).

During the seventies, faculty concerns often focused on the undesirable increase in student involvement in campus governance. By the eighties, an alternative perspective on faculty concerns prevailed. Faculty members began focusing not on student control but rather on growing administrative control (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008, p. 127).

Collective bargaining resulted in centralized decision-making with more bureaucratic and formalized procedures (Baldrige et al., 1981; Cameron, 1984; Moore, 1981; Richardson & Mortimer, 1978). Additionally, collective bargaining eliminated the arbitrariness of promotion decisions (Cameron, 1982).

Collective bargaining enhances collegiality by improving communication between faculty and administrators and by establishing guidelines for shared governance (DeCew, 2003). Wolf (1988) proclaimed the ability to work effectively with colleagues and administrators was an appropriate criterion in faculty evaluations. Positive co-worker relationships reduced stress in the workplace (Fenlason & Beehr, 1994).

Blikre (1974) predicted collective bargaining was inevitable, in some form, throughout all of higher education. He argued institutions should design and develop unique collective bargaining vehicles to improve the quality of education and assist an institution in achieving its goals within the means and resources provided. On some campuses substantial faculty involvement in decision-making prevailed. On other campuses faculty members never gained much influence through committees and senates, particularly on two-year colleges. Faculty wanted to gain and redistribute power. They saw collective bargaining as the opportunity to capture power from administrators and boards (Blikre, 1974). Whether power was gained or not, once faculty selected collective bargaining, the decision was typically irreversible (Semas, 1974). The presence of collective bargaining represented the voice of a majority of faculty (Boyd, 1971). However, Ponak and Thompson (1984) found two-thirds of unionized faculty believed collective bargaining created an overemphasis on rules and decreased collegiality with administration.

Craft Unionism

There are several parallels between the unionization of higher education faculty and industrial workers. However, there are tremendous differences. Craft unions unify workers along skill lines. Industrial unions unify workers by industry, not skills. Higher education faculty were organized as skilled professionals. Most researchers equate faculty unions to craft unions (Chandler, 1967; Julius, 1993). The American Federation of Labor (AFL) exclusively organized skilled workers (i.e. carpenters, plumbers, printers), a classic craft union. The Knights of Labor (KOL), Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) organized unskilled, semiskilled, and skilled workers by industry (i.e. timber, mining, railroads,

and machine operators). Like craft unions, faculty unions typically adopt a defensive posture designed to safeguard negotiated rights and solidify gains in professional autonomy (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2003). Industrial unions focused on accumulation of rights. Craft unions emphasize workers' rights and the administration of those rights. Craft union contracts safeguard these prerogatives (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2003). If seniority or entrance criteria are threatened in a craft union, passionate reactions occur. When the union rises to defend its jurisdictions, a great deal of non-productive activity can occur (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2003).

Craft unions have the ability to participate in managerial processes, but the relationship between a craft union and management can become destructive when both parties focus on the defense of their respective rights instead of the problem both are trying to solve (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Craft unions are flexible within their own internal groups, but rigid in their external relations (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Again, relationships with administration become strained when both parties focus on their respective rights and neglect the problem.

Craftspeople and bureaucrats stress universal standards, specialization, and evaluation of competence on the basis of performance. Conflicts arise not because of the differences, but because of similarities (Chandler, 1967; Chandler & Julius, 1979). Faculty unions focus on a broad range of professional issues, while industrial unions focus on economic issues. Economic issues are important to faculty too, but have not proven to be a primary cause to elect collective bargaining (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Faculty unions, like craft unions, are not antithetical to professionalism. Unions memorialize academic prerogatives into labor agreements, reinforcing and safeguarding professional rights and responsibilities such as tenure and academic freedom (DeCew, 2003). The focus on professional union issues is termed professional unionism. If the union focuses solely on seniority-determined work rights, uniform procedures and policies in the

workplace, and guaranteed job security, conflict may arise with professional academic values. However, the above scenario conforms to what is thought of as the industrial union approach (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Some researchers call the focus on industrial union issues, traditional unionism.

Most faculty believe the profession lends itself to the values of independence and self-control, and the desire to control peer evaluation and working conditions. A history of acting like individual scholars made unionization uncomfortable for faculty (Ladd & Lipset, 1973). Faculty value choice and control over their course loads, research focus, and committee participation (Ladd & Lipset, 1973). Most faculty admit they never wanted a union but felt it was necessary to get administration to listen to them (Ladd & Lipset, 1973).

The national higher education unions, AAUP, NEA, and AFT, have powerful voices in the state legislatures and influence in the realm of public funding for education. However, higher education unions looked to “industrial, strong arm” unions for imagined clout in collective bargaining (Burgan, 2004). The past successes of industrial unions were looked upon with envy by craft unions. Employing industrial union tactics and overemphasizing personal working conditions placed the union at odds with the professional responsibility of faculty. This situation created tension between faculty members. “The union and the faculty are not one in the same, regardless of what many union leaders may say” (DiGiovanni, 2011, p. 24).

Ladd and Lipset (1973) and Aronowitz (1998) suggested resistance to unionization stemmed in part because college instructors viewed themselves and their motivations as separate from the often uneducated, unsalaried industry unionists. Professor Harry Overstreet, AFT local 71, cautioned faculty “should not be snobbish, thinking of themselves as intellectual as opposed to manual workers, but rather should ally themselves with all who do useful work” (Overstreet,

1920, p. 57). Despite the “gulf that separates manual and intellectual labor” (Aronowitz, 1998, p. 14), the success of early industrial unions was followed by the equally successful campaigns of public school teachers and higher education faculty. Educators set aside a degree of professional autonomy and unionized.

In 1985, Al Shanker, the late AFT president, coined the term “professional unionism” which describes the nature of the negotiations where the self-interests of faculty and educational interests of the institution are coupled. The responsibilities of faculty unions and collective bargaining have changed. Consuelo Rey Castro (2000), professor of political science at East Los Angeles College and a former AFT local negotiator, outlined the difference between industrial unions of the past and the transformation toward professional, craft unionism seen in community colleges. Castro (2000) explained the early objective of unions was to maintain job security, central to industrial unionism, but objectives have shifted towards academic values, central to professional unionism. Traditional bargaining goals focus on governance and working condition factors. Professional bargaining goals focus on academic factors. Excessive traditional unionism creates a deficiency in professional unionism goals and vice versa. Extended periods of time without balance between traditional and professional goals leads to an erosion of the union and the higher education system. Higher education faculty wanting to maintain their status as professionals must exhibit craft union priorities, not strictly industrial union priorities (Castro, 2000).

Collective Bargaining Laws

Across the nation, state collective bargaining laws are cited as a major cause for the expansion of faculty collective bargaining (Carr & Van Eyck, 1973; Duryea & Fisk, 1973;

Garbarino & Aussieker, 1975; Kemerer & Baldrige, 1975a). Public institutions are subject to federal and state collective bargaining laws. Private institutions are subject to federal laws controlling collective bargaining.

The inauguration of President Roosevelt, a labor advocate, marked a new beginning for unions in the United States (Lichtenstein et al., 2000). The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933, contained provisions, Section 7a, which called for the protection of collective bargaining rights for unions. Title I of the NIRA outlined codes for fair competition, trade union rights, and working standards. The U.S. Supreme Court declared NIRA unconstitutional on May 27, 1935 (Lichtenstein et al., 2000). After the failures of the NIRA, Congress introduced the National Labor Recovery Act (NLRA), commonly known as the Wagner Act (Farber, 2006). The Wagner Act, named for New York Senator Robert Wagner, granted employees the right to unionize. The Act was designed to reduce management power and control over their employees. Debate was insightful. Wagner argued “until the promise made by section 7a of NIRA was given definite meaning...increasing unrest is inevitable” (Lichtenstein et al., 2000, p. 431). Harvard Dean of Labor Economists, Sumner Slichter, testified, “introducing civil rights into industry, that is, of requiring that management be conducted by rule rather than by arbitrary” (Lichtenstein, 2002, p. 36). Harvard Law School Dean, Wayne Morse, explained,

The progress of civilization cannot be stemmed. We must advance from the application of the law of the jungle to the use of the law of reason. Facts must be substituted for accusations; labor disputes must be approached upon the basis of calm deliberation and an intelligent consideration and understanding of the economic and social problems involved (Lichtenstein, 2002, p. 36).

The working class needed more purchasing power and unions were the only institutions capable

of implementing a wage standard capable of getting the country out of the Depression (Lichtenstein et al., 2000).

The Wagner Act passed in June 1935 and was signed by President Roosevelt in July (Farber, 2006; Lichtenstein, 2002). Title 29, Chapter 7, Subchapter II, § 151 of the Act aimed to correct the "inequality of bargaining power between employees who do not possess full freedom of association or actual liberty of contract and employers who are organized in the corporate or other forms of ownership association." Collective bargaining was defined as the vehicle to achieve the intent of the Act (National Labor Relations Act, 1935).

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) established in Sections 3 to 6, was charged with oversight authority (Hendrickson et al., 2013). The NLRB assisted with collective bargaining adoptions, litigations, and violation prosecutions. The General Counsel of the NLRB provided legal advice. The Board issued rules for interpreting the labor legislation. Decisions of the NLRB were binding, unless a court rules the Board acted outside its authority (National Labor Relations Act, 1935).

Under section 10, the NLRB was empowered to prevent unfair labor practices, which may ultimately be reviewed by the courts. Section 11 directed the NLRB to lead investigations, collect evidence, issue subpoenas, and require witnesses to give evidence. Under section 12, interference with Board investigations was illegal (National Labor Relations Act, 1935).

The central premise of the Act was outlined in Section 7, employees have the right to join a trade union and engage in collective bargaining with representatives of their choosing. Employee units can only be represented by one exclusive bargaining representative. Employers were encouraged to bargain with collective bargaining representatives (National Labor Relations Act, 1935).

Under section 8, prohibited actions by employers, employees, and unions, known as an unfair labor practices were explained. Section 8 defined the following as unfair labor practices:

1) to interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of the rights guaranteed in section 7. This includes freedom of association, mutual aid or protection, self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively for wages and working conditions through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in other protected concerted activities with or without a union; 2) to dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it; 3) by discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization; 4) discriminating against employees who file charges or testify; and 5) refusing to bargain collectively with the representative of the employer's employees (National Labor Relations Act, 1935, Sec. 8, para. 1-5).

After World War II wages dropped across the nation which caused widespread worker dissatisfaction. Between victory day and July 1946, 43 large strikes, involving over 10,000 workers, occurred as a direct result of NLRA rights (Kaufmann & Hotchkiss, 1999). Many Americans believed these lengthy and costly strikes were indications that unions had become too powerful, which led to the passage of the Labor Management Relations Act, 29 U.S.C. §141 et seq., or Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 (Kaufmann & Hotchkiss, 1999). The Taft-Hartley Act's closed shop prohibition allowed non-union faculty members to be hired when a faculty union was present. However, the non-union faculty members paid fair-share dues, agency fees, if they received benefits from a collective bargaining agreement (Ehrenberg et al., 2002; Russo et al., 1992; Swift, 1979). Despite President Truman's veto, Congress amended the NLRA in 1947 with

the Taft-Hartley Act, aimed at the unfair labor practices of unions and workers (Labor Management Relations Act, 1947). The Act was sponsored by Senator Robert A. Taft and Representative Fred A. Hartley, Jr. The Taft-Hartley Act prohibited strikes, boycotts, mass picketing, closed shops, and monetary donations by unions to federal political campaigns. It also required union officers to sign non-communist affidavits. Union shops were heavily restricted, and states were allowed to pass right-to-work laws that outlawed closed union shops. The federal government was able to impose strikebreaking injunctions if a strike threatened national health or safety (Nicholson, 2004). The Taft-Hartley Act, Section 1(b) states,

Industrial strife which interferes with the normal flow of commerce and with the full production of articles and commodities for commerce, can be avoided or substantially minimized if employers, employees, and labor organizations each recognize under law one another's legitimate rights in their relations with each other, and above all recognize under law that neither party has any right in its relations with any other to engage in acts or practices which jeopardize the public health, safety, or interest. It is the purpose and policy of this Act [chapter], in order to promote the full flow of commerce, to prescribe the legitimate rights of both employees and employers in their relations affecting commerce, to provide orderly and peaceful procedures for preventing the interference by either with the legitimate rights of the other, to protect the rights of individual employees in their relations with labor organizations whose activities affect commerce, to define and proscribe practices on the part of labor and management which affect commerce and are inimical to the general welfare, and to protect the rights of the public in connection with labor disputes affecting commerce (Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, para. 2-3).

McLennan (2001) explained the Wagner Act prohibited unfair labor practices on the part of employers, the Taft-Hartley Act prohibited unfair labor practices by unions.

The Taft-Hartley Act anti-Communist measures caused the CIO to expel nine unions for refusing to purge themselves of Communist leaders in 1949 (Lester, 1968). With an increasingly difficult external environment, the AFL and CIO merged in 1955. After passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, the number of union victories in NLRB-conducted elections declined. During the 12-year administration of the NLRA, unions won victories in over 80 percent of elections. But in that first year after passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, unions only won around 70 percent of the representation elections conducted by the agency (Bellace & Berkowitz, 1979). The increased tensions between unions and employers compelled government to increase its involvement in labor relations. The Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, or Landrum-Griffin Act, regulated labor unions' internal affairs and their officials' relationships with employers (Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, 1959).

The national Right-to-Work movement was introduced to fierce union opposition at the 1954 Minnesota AFL convention. The AFL union leadership quickly responded with an impassioned call to action,

Labor unions are a constant challenge to industrial despotism. They compel industry to face and meet the problems incidental and inherent in an ever-rising standard of living, and to provide an orderly method of meeting problems of unemployment, illness, and old age. History bears witness to the fact that Labor unions have not been accepted willingly by employers. Industry has dealt with them because of necessity. Because they prefer weak unions they have attempted to weaken the power of unions through restrictive legislation. Many states already have enacted what they call the 'Right-to-Work' bill, and

employers in this state have already served notice of their intention to have such legislation enacted by the Minnesota legislature. No greater hypocritical statement has ever been made than to call this type of legislation statute to preserve or guarantee the right-to-work. The employers has resisted every effort to establish the rights of workers. Left to their own devices, workers would work only if their employers willed it. They have never championed the rights of workers in our lawmaking bodies. They have resisted, and they still resist fair payment of workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance. Now they have the audacity to appear as the champion of Labor in their so-called "Right-to-Work" bill. There is but one purpose for such legislation. They feel that it will weaken labor unions. Their purpose is not to give anyone the right-to-work. The employer—under this statute—will be the sole judge of whether or not an individual shall have employment. Their bill provides there shall be no union shop contract; that no person shall be required to contribute time, money, or effort in maintaining a union. This proposal is contrary to all the democratic principles of majority rule. It protects the laggard and the slacker, but it does not guarantee them the right-to-work. This is a challenge Labor must face. It clearly demonstrates that the employer will use the power of government to advance his own interests and legally stifle the principles of democracy in industry. The title of the bill is high-sounding. Everybody believes in the right-to-work, and many will be misled by it. Hence it is vitally important that we impress upon the people we represent the urgency of sending to the law-making bodies, men who can see through the sham and hypocrisy of those who want to use government for their own selfish purposes (Lawson, 1955, pp. 158-159).

As of 2013, no right-to-know laws were enacted in Minnesota.

Collective bargaining in public institutions is regulated by state law (Kaplin & Lee, 2014). President John F. Kennedy signed executive order 10988 on January 17, 1962 which permitted federal government employees exclusive bargaining rights (Ehrenberg et al., 2002; Swift, 1979). The Order served a model for state public employee unionization. State legislation granted the authority to extend these rights to teachers and other state employees (Lieberman & Moskow, 1966). By 1965, six states, California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon, and Washington, passed bills which allowed collective bargaining rights for public employees. The NLRA applied to all business corporations since inception, but applied to all faculty and staff employed by private higher education institutions in 1970. Many states followed suit, establishing their own laws governing collective bargaining for public employees (Wickens, 2008). By 2000, approximately 30 states outlined the governing of the public higher education collective bargaining processes through state law (Metchick & Singh, 2004). A few states have adopted laws prohibiting collective bargaining among public employees (DeCew, 2003). Public higher education state laws are variable while the interpretation of federal labor law is more uniform across the country (Kaplin & Lee, 2014). Community college faculty and public school teachers were likely to unionize when given the legal opportunity (Blikre, 1974).

The NLRB and state employment relations agencies make decisions about which employees should be included in the same bargaining unit on the basis of the ‘community of interest’ of the employees (Kaplin & Lee, 2014). Factors used to determine community of interest include history of past bargaining, extent of organization, skills and duties of the employees, and common supervision. Part-time faculty won the right to bargain, but were required to form a separate bargaining unit, rather than being included with full-time faculty, if a

state labor board or NLRB panel found they do not share a community of interest with full-time faculty (Kaplin & Lee, 2014).

The NLRB determined that private college faculty could organize under the protections of the NLRA in 1971 (Kaplin & Lee, 2014). Federal law contains no special provisions for college faculty. In *NLRB v. Yeshiva University*, 444 U.S. 672 (1980), the U.S. Supreme Court considered how federal collective bargaining principles apply to private academic institutions. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit held that Yeshiva's full-time faculty were managerial personnel and therefore excluded from NLRA coverage. Private college faculty were ineligible to bargain collectively (DeCew, 2003; Euben & Hustoles, 2003; Getman & Pogrebin, 1988; Kaplin & Lee, 2014). A manager was defined as an individual who may hire, promote, reward, or recommend faculty. (Getman & Pogrebin, 1988). According to the Court, faculty and institution governance interests at private colleges cannot be separated from each other (Kaplin & Lee, 2014; Palmer, 1999). Private college faculty had their collective bargaining rights revoked. Although Minnesota two-year college faculty are public employees, parallels can be drawn with their private college counterparts.

Justice Brennan, on behalf of the four dissenters, argued the NLRB decision should be upheld (Kaplin & Lee, 2014). He argued that 'mature' universities have dual authority systems: a hierarchical system of authority culminating in a governing board, and a professional network that enable professional expertise to inform and advise the formal authority system. (Kaplin & Lee, 2014). According to Brennan, the faculty have an independent interest in decision-making, but the university retains ultimate decision-making authority and utilizes faculty judgment when consistent with its own perception of the institution's needs and objectives. Brennan argued faculty were not accountable to the administration for their governance structures, nor were the

faculty managerial in performing governance roles (Kaplin & Lee, 2014, p. 228). There were greater numbers of private college faculty under contract in 2013, by almost 50 percent more than was the case before the *Yeshiva* decision (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Although tenured faculty are typically protected from termination without reasonable cause, most faculty who hold administrative positions do not have tenure in those administrative roles (Kaplin & Lee, 2014).

Several additional court cases provided clarity for issues specific to higher education and possible union activities. In *Greene v. Howard University* (1969), the court looked to outside writings to determine the customs and usual practices of the institution and interpret the contract in light of such custom and usage. The court reasoned,

Contracts are written, and are to be read, by reference to the norms of conduct and expectations founded upon them. This is especially true of contracts in and among a community of scholars, which is what a university is. The readings of the marketplace are not invariably apt in this noncommercial context... The employment contracts of [the professors] here comprehend as essential parts of themselves the hiring policies and practices of the university as embodied in its employment regulations and customs (Kaplin & Lee, 2014, pp. 218-219).

Sweezy v. New Hampshire (1957) concluded a state cannot inquire into content of professor's lectures or political associations. *Sweezy* said, to impose any strait jacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and universities would imperil the future of our nation (Wolf, 1988).

Keyishian v. Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York (1967) found states statute which forbid continued employment of subversive teachers were unconstitutional (Wolf, 1988). One year after *Keyishian*, the Supreme Court decided *Pickering v. Board of*

Education (1968). A series of cases became the basis for the second stage of academic freedom development in the courts. This line of cases, called the *Pickering-Connick-Garcetti* line, centers on the free speech rights of all public employees, not merely faculty members (Kaplan & Lee, 2014).

In another case, the court denied constitutional rights to faculty participation in institutional governance. The case involved the subject of this dissertation. In *Minnesota State Board for Community Colleges v. Knight* (1984) the Supreme Court found the meet and confer provision of Minnesota Public Employment Labor Relations Act (PELRA) did not unconstitutionally deny First Amendment rights to faculty members who were not members of the exclusive collective bargaining representative. The court concluded the speech rights guaranteed by the First Amendment take on a special meeting in an academic setting. These rights do not require government to allow faculty to participate in institutional policymaking. Faculty involvement in academic governance has much to recommend it as a matter of academic policy, but it finds no basis in the Constitution (Wolf, 1988). The union is legally required to bargain and represent all employees regardless of whether or not they are members of the union (Wickens, 2008).

Additional Relevant Union Research

Research has been conducted on union contracts, negotiation rules, strikes, diversity, mergers, and layoffs. These issues contributed to the Minnesota two-year college faculty union history. An analysis of these issues provided insight into the Minnesota experience.

Contracts/Negotiation Rules

Collective bargaining appears to be a permanent fixture in higher education. A contract is

the document that incorporates the policy provisions that affect the working day and life of faculty (Blikre, 1974).

Kater and Levin (2005) examined two-year college faculty union contracts across the nation for content. Contract topics were coded by decision-making authority as joint action, faculty participation, management, or silent. Sixteen areas were identified and coded, including budget, calendar, curriculum, discipline, evaluation, faculty hiring, general problems, grievance, harassment, management hiring, new positions, professional development, program changes, retrenchment, sabbatical, and tenure. According to Levin (2000), these were the major content areas of collective bargaining pertaining to decision-making in two-year colleges.

The most common contractual topics cited with mandatory faculty decision-making authority were curriculum (56 percent of contracts), faculty evaluation processes (52), sabbatical recommendations (48), retrenchment (47), and college calendar (42). Joint action decision-making authority was consistently related to grievances (93 percent of contracts) (Kater & Levin, 2005). Collective bargaining provided a formalized and structured method of handling disputes, which may have improved communication and minimized hurtful interpersonal interactions (Wickens, 2008). To work efficiently, unions required faculty to be subjected to collective discipline (Trachtenberg, 1996). Contracts containing binding arbitration clauses were coded as joint authority, as both faculty and administration contributed jointly to the final decision which was left to an arbitrator. The Supreme Court ruled in *Boys Markets Inc. v. Retail Clerks Union* (1970) that national labor policy favored settlement of labor disputes by arbitration in higher education (NCSCBHE, 1973b).

In the tradition of shared governance (Mortimer & McConnell, 1978), faculty are recognized as academic professionals, and usually granted the right to determine the delivery and

content of curricular offerings, while management retained legal authority for curricular matters (Kater & Levin, 2005). More than fifty percent of collective bargaining contracts do not stipulate faculty participation in academic governance, such as the hiring of faculty, curriculum, and tenure. Although there were examples of faculty involvement in governance, there were many more examples of non-involvement (Kater & Levin, 2005). There were governance areas not under management authority, such as, intellectual property rights, which was significant for all faculty (Kater & Levin, 2005; Rhoades, 1998). Blikre (1974) and Maitland and Rhoades (2001) advised contract bargaining agents to restrict topics for contract inclusion. These researchers suggested contracts be limited to fiscal matters, economic benefits, and strategic matters related to academic choices, while governance and academic affairs were left to the institutional system, not contracts.

Management had legal authority for institutional operations, and as cited in contracts, the right to create new positions (91 percent of the contracts), modify existing programs (88), hire management employees (85), manage fiscal policies (74), and make tenure decisions (67). Approximately one-half of college faculty contracts made no mention of advising as a faculty responsibility (Teague & Grites, 1980). Contract silence in many governance areas granted management broad rights (Kater & Levin, 2005). Language requiring promotion and tenure recommendations with required faculty input by faculty appeared in slightly over one-third of contracts (Kater & Levin, 2005). Over one-quarter of the contracts required faculty involvement in budget processes. Consistent with most governance issues, faculty input was defined with weak consultative language such found in the contract from Southwestern Community College “faculty shall be allowed to participate” in budgetary decisions (NEA, 1995), or from Broward County Community College, “the role of such Faculty at these [budget] meetings shall normally

be limited to observing, clarifying, advising, and providing a faculty perspective” (NEA, 1998).

A topic found in over one-third of contracts, was the right of representation during discipline proceedings. More than half of the contracts addressed discipline. The primary purpose for the inclusion of discipline in contracts was to assure due-process during disciplinary proceedings. Over thirty-seven percent of the contracts allowed for, at minimum, an advisory role for faculty in the hiring of new faculty either through recommendations to administration or participation on selection committees (Kater & Levin, 2005). Forty-eight percent of contracts examined required faculty participation in the area of sabbatical recommendations. Another forty-seven percent of the contracts stipulated involvement of the faculty in retrenchment proceedings (Kater & Levin, 2005).

As with tenure issues, collective bargaining formalized promotion procedures into contracts (Benedict & Wilder 1999; Gilmore 1981; Williams & Zirkel 1988). Faculty unions generally focused negotiation terms around salary, hours, benefits, terms and conditions of employment, and formal grievance procedures (Rees, 1994; Sun & Permuth, 2007).

When examining contracts it became apparent most faculty unions used collective bargaining to bundle established rights into contractual language (Goodman & Andes, 1972). Research demonstrated that early contracts dealt with traditional working condition issues, such as salaries and hours worked, but negotiations related to academic issues were rare (Baldrige et al., 1981). Faculty union gains in the areas of long-range planning and retrenchment were minimal. Administrators believed the placement of administrative and personnel matters in faculty union contracts made decision-making processes more complex and time-consuming (Chandler & Julius, 1979; Kellett, 1975).

Ponak, Thompson, and Zerbe (1992) conducted a survey analysis of collective

bargaining goals at eight Canadian universities. More than 80 percent of the faculty surveyed reported support of using collective bargaining to negotiate traditional issues of salary, benefits and layoff procedures. Interestingly, less than half of the same faculty favored the use of collective bargaining to negotiate academic and policy issues. Researchers reported these results indicated an intentional desire of the surveyed faculty to limit the scope of bargained items (Ponak et al., 1992).

“Interactions between faculty and administration have become, on both sides, a game characterized by face-saving and a façade of power and confidence” (Florin, 1975, p. 33). Administrators responded to growing external legislative pressures by assuming greater decision-making authority, which caused increased traditional unionism among faculty (Lee, 1979). During negotiations, relationships between administration and faculty become strained when sides engage in posturing and brinkmanship. This ritualized combat leaves long-lasting negative effects (Hartley, 2010). Julia Koppich (1993), previous deputy director at Policy Analysis for California Education, Berkeley, stated the approach towards professional unionism “requires changes in strategy, particularly for the union. Traditional troop rallying is no longer a viable tactic, the parties must be convinced, and convince their respective constituents that issues can be solved, even contracts settled, without traditional saber rattling” (p.13).

Ground rules are key to successful contract negotiations. Ground rules establish rules of engagement and afford protections to those who explore difficult and complex issues at the bargaining table. Ground rules do not stop blustering, saber-rattling, and posturing. These remain part of the process as parties need the freedom to advance ideas and gauge constituent reactions. (DiGiovanni, 2011). Since the early days of collective bargaining, there was little doubt that the relationship between negotiators remained critically important. A relationship characterized by

trust and honesty between chief negotiators remained essential for successful negotiations (DiGiovanni, 2011; Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Data drives perception and those who link good data with believable assumptions, win negotiations. Power and influence in academe cannot be exercised without reliable data. (DiGiovanni, 2011; Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a).

Collective bargaining is a process of managing disagreements about rights, authority, and the roles of important constituencies in academe. Managing conflict is difficult where long-standing policies, procedures, and statutes concerning authority and the nature of shared governance must be interpreted. Further, the parties must accommodate long standing informal practices and formal labor agreements (DiGiovanni, 2011).

Seestedt-Stanford (2006) described faculty unions, as having the “potential to be strong coalitions that can increase the power and influence of faculty and affect institutional policy and thus the goals of the institution, especially in difficult economic times” (p. 5). Although, negotiated master contracts are the norm at most public higher education institutions, it is preferred that institutions would function under a model of co-determination between administration and faculty where shared authority, trust, and understanding of professional responsibilities prevail. Collective bargaining can be averted if higher education institutions develop inclusive decision-making processes and provide reasonable wages and benefits (Blikre, 1974).

Strikes

The ability to strike remains a controversial weapon in the union arsenal. Highly satisfied higher education faculties do not strike (Flanzraich, 1982). Faculty consider a strike when confronted with major issues impacting their work lives (Begin et al., 1975). Faculty discontent with salary, benefits, working conditions and/or the degree of participation in decision-making,

can lead to a faculty strike (Bacharach et al., 1990; Colton & Graber, 1982). A perceived failure of the bargaining process can also initiate a strike (Begin et al., 1975). Low levels of job satisfaction were associated with greater union sympathies (Baldrige et al., 1978; Feuille & Blandin, 1974; Ponak & Thompson, 1984) and an increased likelihood of voting in favor of a labor strike (McClendon & Klaas, 1993; Ng, 1991). All strikes actions begin with a strike authorization vote. Strike authorization votes are commonplace, but strikes are rare.

Many faculty find strikes incongruent with academe. These faculty believe strikes violate the principles of collegiality and governance (Flanzraich, 1982). In *Unions on Campus*, Kemerer and Baldrige (1975) asserted higher education strikes were ineffective and only damage the professoriate itself. The AAUP maintained strikes damage the collegial bond between administration and faculty. Further, strikes during recessions lead to worker substitutions, lack of job alternatives, and hostile consumers (Flanzraich, 1982).

Myers (2011) reported only fourteen percent of college faculty perceived strikes as a legitimate form of collective action in 1969. The number rose to sixty-one percent by 1977, clearly demonstrating the growing acceptance of strikes by faculty. McClendon and Klass (1993) found striking faculty who expressed greater union commitment were more likely to engage in picketing activities and vote to defy court injunctions that ordered them back to work. Several states prohibited college faculty strikes, but the increase in unionization translated into increased labor militancy, including working to rule, absenteeism, and quiet sabotage (Wickens, 2008).

From 1966 to 2015, one hundred eighty-five higher education faculty union strikes were reported across the United States. The number of strike actions per year ranged from zero (1995, 1996, 1999, 2005, 2008, and 2012) to thirteen (1977 and 1979) (See Figure 2.2). Strike action was highest during the seventies, averaging 7.9 strikes per year. After an average of 5.4 strikes

per year in the eighties, strike actions became uncommon with 1.5 strikes per year during the nineties, 1.1 strikes per year during the 2000s and 2010s (Annunziato, 1994; see Figure 2.3). The reason for the decline in higher education faculty union strike actions after the eighties remains a topic for future research.

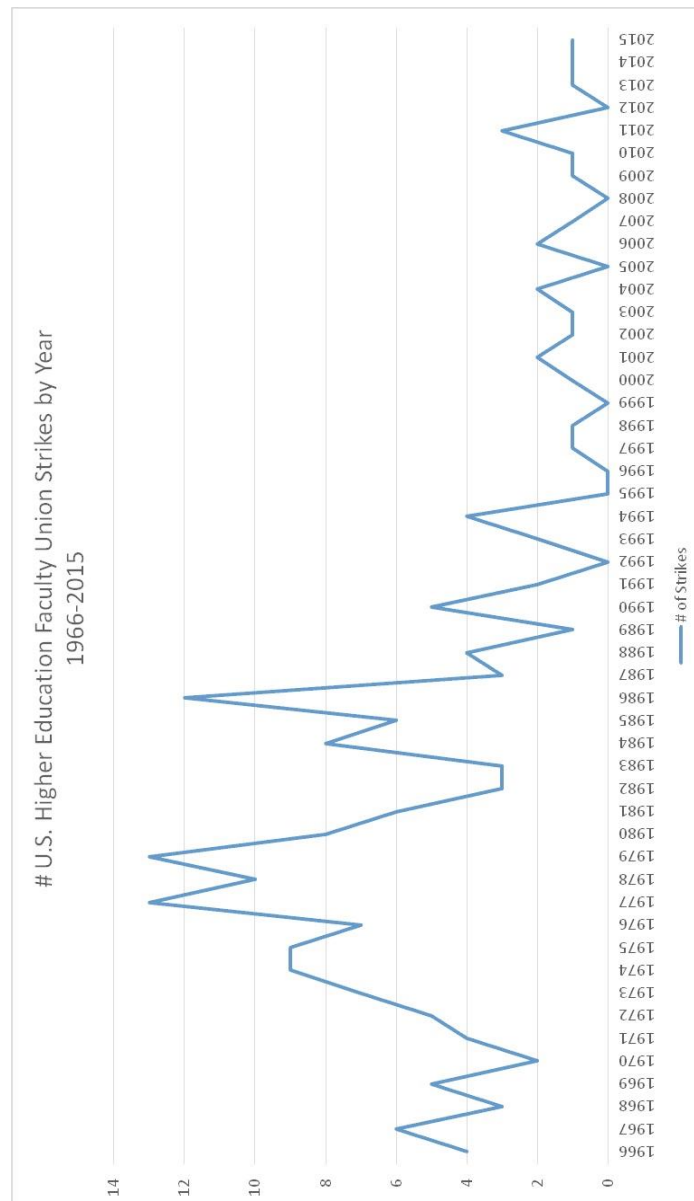


Figure 2.2. Number of U.S. Higher Education Faculty Union Strikes by Year, 1966-2015

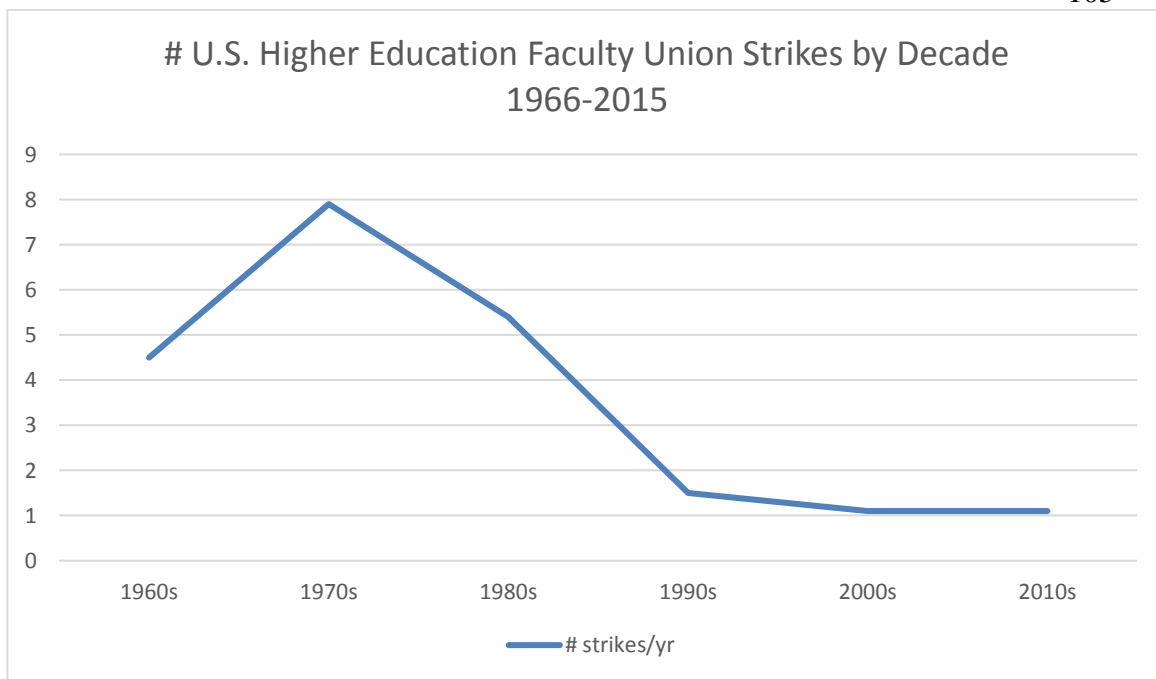


Figure 2.3. U.S. Higher Education Faculty Union Strikes by Decade, 1966-2015

Between 1966 and 2015, fifty-seven percent (106) of faculty strikes occurred at two-year institutions and forty-three percent (79) at four-year institutions (Annunziato, 1994; see Figure 2.4). The majority of strikes during the sixties, seventy-two percent, and the seventies, sixty-two percent, occurred at two-year colleges (Annunziato, 1994). In the eighties, approximately half, fifty-six percent, of the faculty strikes occurred at two-year institutions. The vast majority of strikes after 1990 have occurred at four-year institutions (Annunziato, 1994). The reason for the transition from the majority of two-year institution faculty strikes during the sixties, seventies, and eighties to the four-year institution faculty strikes during the nineties, 2000s, and 2010s remains a topic for future research.

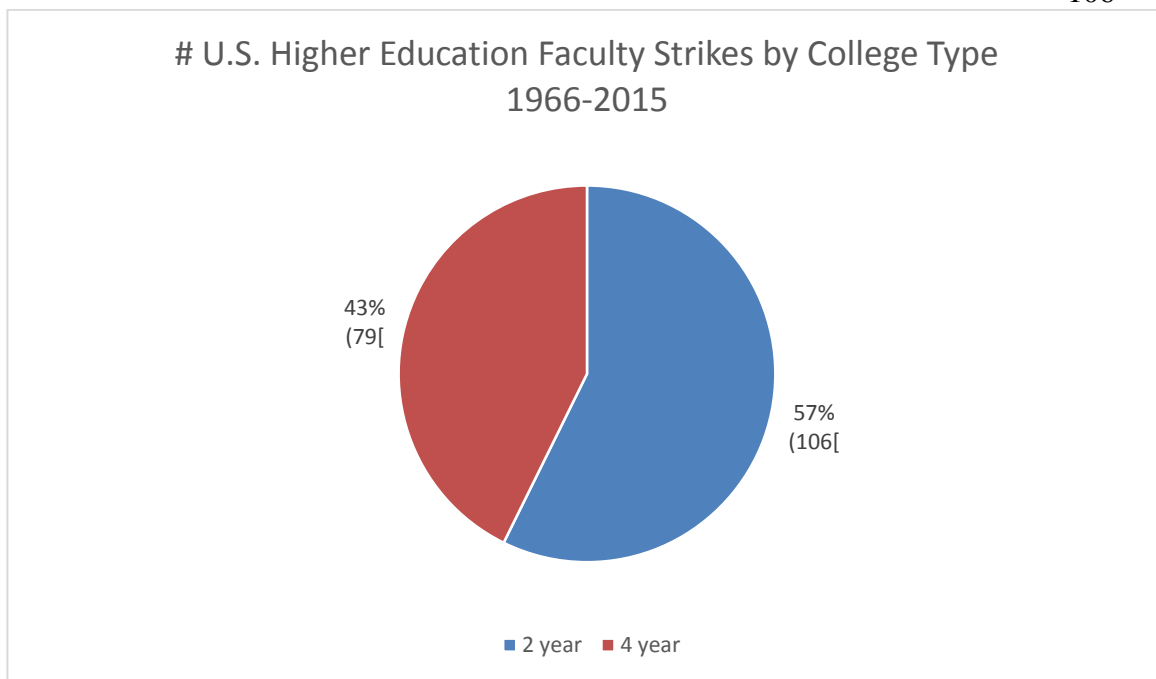


Figure 2.4. U.S. Higher Education Faculty Union Strikes by College Type, 1966-2015

The higher education faculty union strike actions from 1966 to 2015 were conducted by various bargaining units, including AFT (forty-nine percent), AAUP (twenty-five percent), NEA (nineteen percent), and independent bargaining units (four percent) (Annunziato, 1994; see Figure 2.5). The majority of two-year institution striking faculty were represented by AFT and the majority of four-year institution striking faculty were represented by the AAUP.

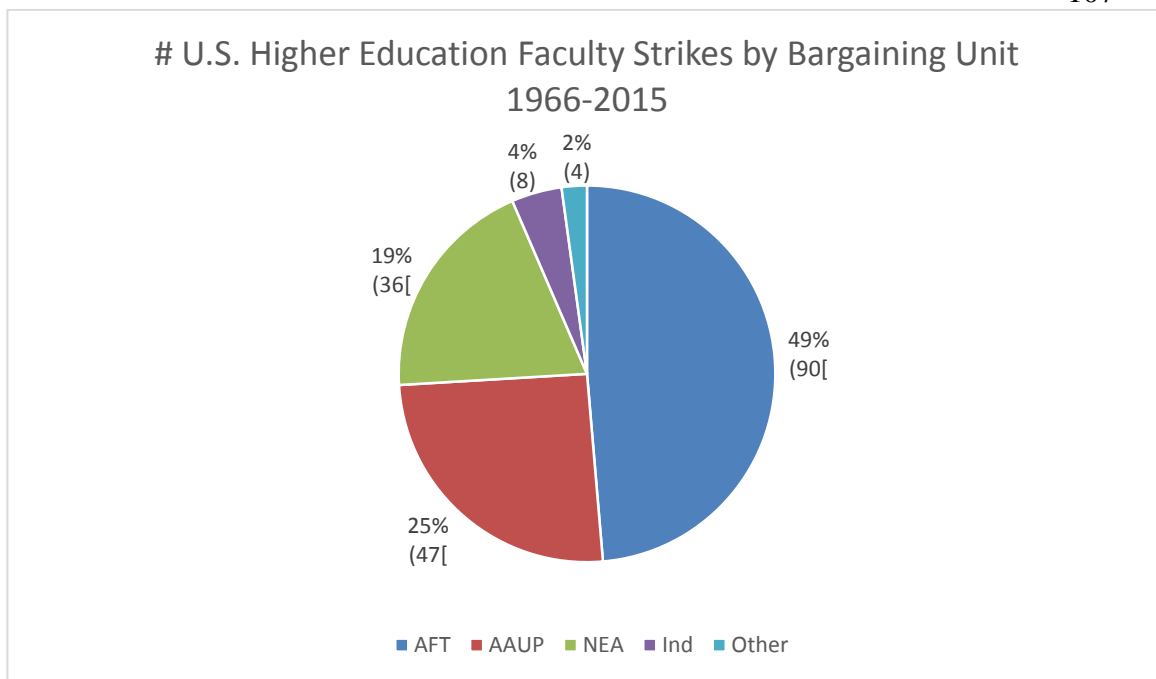


Figure 2.5. U.S. Higher Education Faculty Union Strikes by Bargaining Unit, 1966-2015

Of the 185 strikes between 1966 and 2015, the states with the most higher education faculty union strike actions include Michigan (44), Illinois (37), New York (24), Pennsylvania (21), New Jersey (13), Ohio (9), and California (7). These seven states account for eighty-four percent of all higher education faculty union strikes. Eight additional states have experienced at least one higher education faculty union strike (CT, WA, MA, RI, AK, IA, HI, MN). The District of Columbia and Puerto Rico have experienced at least one higher education faculty union strike (see Figure 2.6).

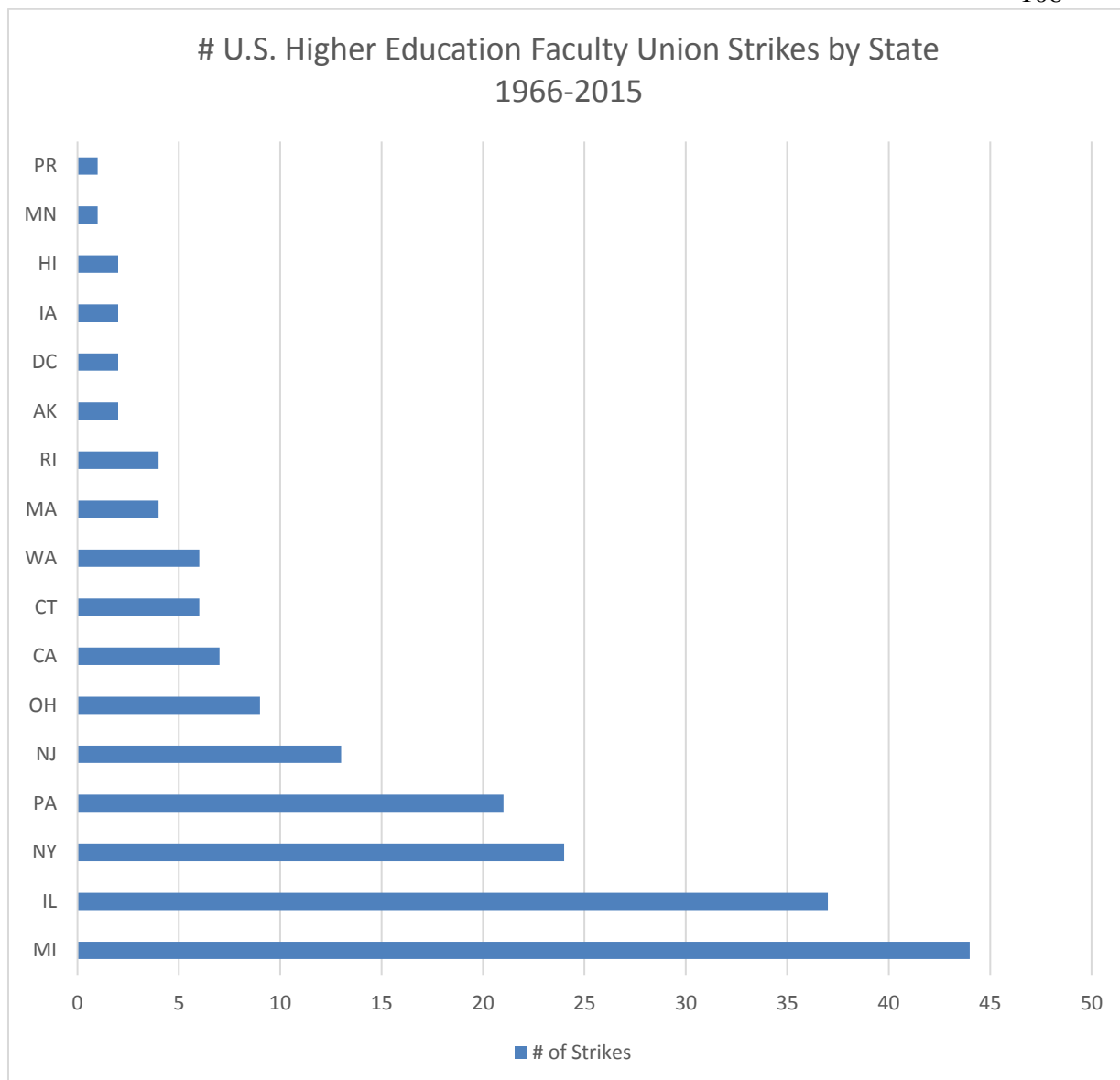


Figure 2.6. U.S. Higher Education Faculty Union Strikes by State, 1966-2015

All of the strike actions occurred in states with state collective bargaining laws. No strikes occurred in states lacking collective bargaining laws (AL, AR, CO, KY, LA, MI, UT, WV, WY) or had laws banning public sector collective bargaining (AZ, GA, MS, NC, SC, TX, VA) (Davenport, 2014). The *Annual Directory of Faculty Contracts and Bargaining Agents in Institutions of Higher Education* monitored and reported on U.S. higher education faculty union

strike activity until 1997 when publication ceased. *The National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education and the Professions* also reported on higher education faculty union strike activity from 1966 to 1994. Higher education faculty union strike activity since 1997 was assembled by the researcher.

Diversity

Generations of white males have dominated the faculty ranks of American higher education throughout history. Post-World War II marked the beginning of court-ordered desegregation. The Civil Rights Act, Voting Rights Act, and Great Society educational opportunity programs were catalysts for change. During the sixties, Black Power campaigns and student diversity movements advanced increased faculty diversity. Between 1960 and 1975, the workforce became increasingly public. Federal, state, and local public employees increased from five to almost forty percent of the workforce. A large number of public employees were from underrepresented groups. National public employee unions, such the NEA, AFT, American Federation of Government Employees, and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), experienced significant growth during the sixties and seventies. Black, ethnic, and gender studies programs and campus cultural centers expanded across the United States (AFT, 2010). Affirmative action programs increased diversity on campuses. These initiatives increased enrollment of underrepresented students. Underrepresented faculty numbers also increased, but failed to keep pace with student enrollment (AFT, 2010). A 2005-2006 AFT demographics survey revealed 5.4 percent of college faculty were black, 4.5 percent were Latina/o, and 0.04 percent were Native American, even though these groups represent 12 percent, 14 percent, and 0.08 percent of the U.S. population respectively (Jacobson, 2008).

Women were more successful in navigating unions. Female union members increased from 3.2 million in 1956 to 6.1 million in 1991, the female proportion of unionized workers increased from 18.5 percent to 37.0 percent over the same period (BLS, 1992). In 1991, 19.3 percent of all male workers were unionized, only 12.6 percent of women were represented by unions (BLS, 1992). In 2010, 45.7 percent of union workers were women, it is expected to be over 50 percent by 2020. The percent of unionized white men has dropped from 51.7 to 44.8 percent between 1983 and 2010 (BLS, 2011). Bill Fletcher Jr., AFL-CIO education director summarized, “The working class is becoming browner and more female,” and current memberships reflect this trend (Fletcher, 2000, p. 104). Union leadership does not reflect its changing membership.

Student success is influenced by faculty role models and mentors with whom they identify. When student diversity mirrors faculty diversity, the college campus is a more welcoming place (AFT, 2010). The AFT views faculty diversity as a union issue. “The process of effectuating a diverse faculty is an essential element in achieving a greater measure of economic and social justice in America” (AFT, 2010, p. 4). A disproportionate number of underrepresented faculty were hired as part-time faculty, which marginalized their contributions, created inequitable pay and working conditions, limited job security, and infringed on their academic freedom. In 2007, 10.4 percent of all college faculty were from underrepresented groups. Seventy-three percent of those positions were part-time (AFT, 2010). The AFT passed several pro-diversity policies and resolutions designed to increase faculty diversity. A lack of diversity on hiring committees, combined with limited enthusiasm for diversity missions, limited underrepresented faculty numbers. Seventy percent of Black and Latina/o faculty reported the racial climate at work affected their job satisfaction (Jaschik, 2005). Underrepresented faculty

members feel tokenized, stigmatized, left out or out of place. Underrepresented faculty are asked to devote inordinate time on committees. Further, they are pressured to represent racial/ethnic groups in organizations and at speaking engagements (AFT, 2010).

The AFT recommended unions take an active role in increasing and retaining underrepresented faculty. Diversity initiatives need to be incorporated into collective bargaining contracts (AFT, 2010; Leonard, 1985). Each local unit should establish a standing diversity committee to oversee and coordinate diversity activities. Institutions should develop a diversity mission and strategic plan (AFT, 2010). According to Leonard (1985), “the most obvious way unions can affect the demographic composition of the work force is by directly controlling hiring” (p. 116). When a union has “no direct influence on hiring, they affect wages, promotions, layoffs, grievance handling, and working conditions of direct concern to potential employees” (Leonard, 1985, p. 116).

Unions often lack underrepresented leadership. Lamm (1975) found Blacks frequently excluded from appointed union positions. A study of Black union leaders conducted by Lamm (1975) identified various strategies used to elect Blacks into union leadership positions. He found slate balancing, the intentional inclusion of black candidates on ballots, was the most effective strategy to elect Black leaders (Lamm, 1975). However, the strategy was rife with tokenism. Without slate balancing, Black candidates were frequently absent in mixed race unions. Women held minor union positions, such as stewards, secretaries, or treasurers (Lamm, 1975; Bryant-Anderson & Roby, 2012). Because union representatives are drawn from union ranks, they are likely to have social identities tied to the majority and the dominant culture. Union representatives are challenged to ensure a nondiscriminatory workplace (Paap, 2006). Research revealed the leadership style of women differed from men. Women were described as more

caring and helping (Gray, 1993); more participatory, talked with, rather than to, constituents (Cranford, 2007); and less hierarchical and collaborative (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Kaminski & Yakura, 2008). Men had a greater tendency toward transactional leadership, characterized with rewards and punishments, and hands-off leadership (Carli & Eagly, 2012; Kaminski & Yakura, 2008). Leigh (1979) found Blacks displayed a preference for unions based upon the relative freedom from discrimination afforded them by the inclusive policies of unions. The NLRB decreed unions have a responsibility to represent all members of a bargaining unit, including underrepresented employees. Unions were credited with protecting workers from arbitrary treatment from management (Leonard, 1985). Black leaders felt discrimination was widespread within the union movement (Lamm, 1975). The privileged majority viewed racism and sexism complaints as proof that outsiders are ruining their nice environment (Paap, 2006).

One of the greatest struggles faced by African Americans in the United States has been the prolonged fight for education. Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) were established to serve the educational needs of African Americans (Davenport, 2014). According to Davenport (2014), HBCUs fell behind mainstream institutions with regards to effective leadership, governance, and management of their faculty. HBCU faculty do not petition for shared governance and have little involvement in institutional decision-making. Faculty, without shared governance, rarely participate in collective bargaining. The lack of shared governance was identified as a barriers to faculty advancement and development at HBCUs (Davenport, 2014).

A history of socioeconomic marginalization and the struggle for success has not resulted in an embrace of labor unions by Blacks in America (Davenport, 2014). For prolonged periods in American history, Blacks were excluded from the permanent labor force. Reasons for exclusion

ranged from the “lack of education and skills to overt prejudices and discriminatory labor practices, including outright threats and intimidation” (Davenport 2014, p. 35). The instrument of mobilization and solidarity, unions, were absent. Left to construct their own instruments of advocacy and representation, Black faculty turned to church leaders as the locus of mobilization against their discriminators (Davenport, 2014). Not only does it appear that unions were unsuccessful in mobilizing faculty into action against unfavorable work conditions, unions were viewed with suspicion at HBCUs (Davenport, 2014). Past history continues to play an important role in establishing trust between Blacks and unions.

There are some documented differences between Black and white union leaders. Black workers take their grievances to black leaders, even when grievances have nothing to do with race. Black union leaders use their position to assist other Blacks to secure jobs. Most unions spend considerable time, effort, and money on political and community causes. White unions focus attention on white communities, and black unions center on black communities (Lamm, 1975). Lamm (1975) found the Black unionist is “more militant and more anti-white than the Black working class or the Black middle class” (p. 231). Paap (2006) found “white women and people of color are likely to see the union as failing to address their real interests of workplace equality” (p. 388). White men believe they have been put into precarious position with race and gender-related vulnerabilities in the workforce and unions are seen as privileging white women and people of color (Paap, 2006). To improve the condition of Blacks in our society, Lamm (1975) believed unions must grant blacks greater voice, use union resources to benefit the community, and seek to influence the union and the broader labor movement. “White women, white men, and men and women of color must see their interests as unified through the union if they are going to work for the union” (Paap, 2006, p. 389). Hill, Green, and Eckel (2001)

concluded the reason campuses began serious diversity efforts was when a catalyst prompted the institution to react. It could be a crisis, external pressure, or gap between reality and expectations.

To respond to limited diversity among its faculty union leadership, the California Faculty Association (CFA), the collective bargaining agent for the California State University system, created the Council for Affirmative Action (CAA) charged with assisting in building a faculty union reflective of the diversity of the State (Canton 2012). The CAA operated under the principles of standing up for social justice and equity and providing voice to those disenfranchised in their union and the CFA. The mission of the CAA was to provide leadership for achieving diversity, assisting historically underrepresented groups to gain access to CSU, monitoring and making recommendations on issues related to affirmative action policies, developing diverse leaders at statewide and chapter levels, and building a statewide group of activists (Canton, 2012). The CAA was intentional in its commitment to equal opportunity in faculty recruitment, hiring, and compensation. Prior to its initiation in 2004 the CFA leadership was 47 percent female and 23 percent non-white (six percent Black/ four percent Latina/o). By 2007, CFA leadership transitioned to 57 percent female and 33 percent non-white (10 percent Black/20 percent Latina/o) (Canton, 2012). The CAA counted among its achievements 1) becoming a positive force for union membership growth; 2) identifying and growing statewide and campus based leaders; and 3) identifying inherent problems in the faculty evaluation process most affecting faculty of color and women (Canton 2012).

The research revealed development of minority union leadership required a desire of the union to diversify, intentional recruitment and retention of minority leaders, and engagement in

open, honest communication. These efforts built trust and a union that encouraged participation of all its members.

Mergers/Layoffs

Public and political pressure for higher education institutions to do more with less in growing. The economic pressure pushed institutions to explore cost savings while maintaining efficiencies. Mergers and layoffs are common tools for institutions facing economic uncertainties.

According to Luecal and Fricke (2001) and Bragg (2010), merger is an effective strategy to address rising costs. Luecal and Fricke indicate that,

cost savings result from the elimination of job functions, jobs, facilities and related expenses that are no longer needed when certain activities at the acquired company are integrated with the on-going activities of the core business (p. 4).

Costs and articulation are two major factors which drive mergers between technical and community colleges (Ellis, 2011). The 1995 Minnesota merger was identified as the flagship example of postsecondary system consolidation (Puyear, 2003). Merger was an important part of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union story.

When it became necessary to reduce personnel, layoffs were distributed among the least powerful and invisible groups on campus, mid-level administrative staff, secretarial staff, and part-time faculty (Hollander, 1992). Layoffs were a frequent concern for the Minnesota two-year college faculty union.

Union Criticism

The potential implications of collective bargaining on collegiality, professionalism, and institutional autonomy create grave concern. The price of unionism may be greater loss of self-commitment, motivation, and intellectual freedom which are central to the goals of academe (Blikre, 1974). Some union critics believe college teaching transformed from a profession into a labor union motivated by self-preservation. Higher education institutions are in a period of considerable stress and strain. Their fundamental purposes are being re-examined, independence is eroding, conflict is intensifying, change is continuous, and governance is in conflict (Blikre, 1974). Rather than respond in the tradition of industrial unionization, union critics believe more attention should be focused on the *Yeshiva* Supreme Court decision, which determined professors play a more significant role in the conduct of their institutions than any workers on an assembly line could ever imagine (Trachtenberg, 1996).

In a 2000 University of California report, administrators were more critical of the impact of the union on shared governance than faculty (Hamilton, 2004). A majority of administrators believed faculty unions increased confusion and adversarial situations which led to a non-professional environment. Most admit unions were willing to be more outspoken than faculty Senates when dealing with administration. Administrators believed unions removed issues from collegial discussion, divided the faculty, increased communication, deficiencies, and hostility, and created an “us versus them” environment (Hamilton, 2004). Wilson et al. (1983) reported that following unionization, the majority of administrators reported unionization did not stimulate positive change in the academic environment. Critics cited several potential disadvantages related to job security and due process. For instance, it was suggested that

unionization made termination and/or lay-offs of unionized faculty procedurally and politically difficult (Rhoades 1998).

Some analysts point out that unions were not representative of the faculty. Senates may be composed of politically active faculty, but members of the senate must answer to their fellow peers who questions their actions. Union leaders only answer to fellow union members and not to faculty who chose not to join the union. As a result, a subset of faculty is silenced on issues that were the purview of the union (Wickens, 2008).

Opponents of unionization argue that faculty governance works effectively. Faculty are capable of successfully negotiating with administration without a union. In fact, unions diminish faculty influence in governance through other means (DeCew, 2003). Critics of unionization anticipate the development of conflict in the faculty–administration relationship (DeCew, 2003; Seidman et al., 1974). They argue that unionization is inherently adversarial, and creates tension and division between faculty and administrators.

Burgan (2004) revealed the accusations that unionized faculty waste time, guard turf, and make departmental compromises that fail to benefit all faculty are not always misplaced. It has been suggested that the relationship between faculty and students may be compromised by faculty unionization (Wickens, 2008). According to DeCew (2003), students see the unionization of faculty as a threat to their influence and decision-making power on campus.

Most boards and administrators find the idea of faculty unions a violation of professionalism and collegiality (Burgan, 2004). “When faculty in higher education turned to unionism, they invoked a conceptual model that had little in common with the conception of a faculty as a rarified and privileged group” (Arnold, 2000, p. 20). Many suggested that collective bargaining may be incompatible with the professionalism and values of the professoriate. They

believe unions hinder institution decision-making, damage shared governance, and dismantle faculty status (DeCew, 2003; Nelson, 1997). However, there is very little research that establishes a causal relationship, particularly in regard to professionalization (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013b). Faculty work at institutions with expanding layers of administration and bureaucratic forms of organization. Faculty are expected to be efficient and accountable. They must report and justify their work (DeCew, 2003). Hutcheson (2000) argued this situation increased tension between faculty professionalism and bureaucratic employment, which challenged the professionalism of faculty. Significant animosity developed between pro-union and antiunion factions during the unionization drive, and bitterness continued following a successful certification vote (DeCew, 2003).

Higher Education Faculty Attitude Studies

Nationwide Studies

Karim and Ali (1993) studied faculty attitudes toward collective bargaining. Faculty attitudes towards bargaining issues of personnel, governance, compensation, and academic were identified and correlated to demographics. The study found significant differences between collective bargaining attitudes and faculty rank, tenure status, income and gender. Discipline, highest degree held, and age had no statistical significance on attitudes toward collective bargaining. A fifty-five item questionnaire was sent to 618 Indiana State University faculty (N=750) in 1991 and a response rate of 36 percent was achieved. The sample was self-selected, not random, which was an obvious criticism of the study. The questionnaire included twenty-six questions and twenty-nine statements which addressed personnel, governance, compensation,

and academic subscales. The questions were modified from questionnaires created by Tilbury (1982) and Ponak, Harel, Thompson, and Kedem (1987).

The Karim and Ali (1993) study was important in defining the faculty satisfaction subscales used in this project. Personnel, governance, compensation, and academics were the satisfaction subscales used in the Karim and Ali study. Governance, compensation (renamed working conditions), and academic factors became the focus of this project. The personnel factor was not seen as unique and was dissected and redistributed under the governance and academic indicators. The compensation components of personnel were placed within the working conditions factor, while the hiring process components were placed within the governance factor.

Schriesheim (1978) explored the influences of economic and noneconomic job satisfaction, attitudes toward unions in general, and attitudes toward the local union on pro-union voting in a representation election at a plastic injection molding company. A questionnaire was administered to the 64 production employees the morning after the representation election. Representatives of the union and the company encouraged employees to participate in the questionnaire. A cover letter explained the university-sponsored research and guaranteed anonymity. The majority of employees completed the questionnaire (N=59). The union lost the close election, 33 to 31 (Schriesheim, 1978).

National collective bargaining attitude studies by conducted by Ladd and Lipset (1973) and Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker, and Riley (1978) included questions similar to those utilized in the 1956, 1968, and 1980 Minnesota surveys.

Minnesota Studies

Faculty satisfaction surveys conducted by University of Minnesota researchers in 1956, 1968, and 1980 provided valuable demographic and satisfaction data of Minnesota two-year

college faculty (Eckert & Williams, 1972; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; Stecklein & Willie, 1982; Willie & Stecklein, 1982). Minnesota two-year college faculty were not unionized or engaged in collective bargaining in 1956, so the results of the first survey provide an excellent baseline analysis of faculty attitudes. Longitudinal conclusions were provided by the 1980 survey (Willie & Stecklein, 1982).

Brief History of National Two-Year Colleges and National Education Unions

Collective bargaining in the United States is nearly a 100 years old. While the NLRA was passed in 1935, the majority of higher education faculty unions were established in the late sixties. Unionization and collective bargaining on college campuses was achieved and modeled after the actions of the NEA, AFT, and AAUP. The NEA, AFT, and AAUP began as professional associations trying to foster the development of education for students and faculty (Kearney, 1992). However, these unions quickly transitioned and advocated for academic freedom protection, grievance procedures, retrenchment defense, equitable salaries, and adequate working conditions (DeCew, 2003; Nelson, 1997). The NEA focused on unionizing K-12 teachers, the AAUP on college faculty, and the AFT on both K-12 teachers and college faculty (Tyler, 1959). The NLRB asserted jurisdiction over higher education in 1970. Although higher education unions made significant gains on campuses, first time collective bargaining contracts are still being negotiated. Unions have clouded power structures. Despite high levels of unionization, an uneasy balance persists between unions and pre-existing senates. The jurisdictions of faculty and administrators overlap in many ways. Staking out clear areas of influence remains a challenge; organized faculty continue to struggle with identity issues (DiGiovanni, 2011).

1857-1915

The NEA was organized in 1857 in Philadelphia when forty-three administrators and superintendents addressed the educational needs of all American children (Holcomb, 2006a).

The 1857 invitation included,

Believing that what has been accomplished for the states by state associations may be done for the whole country by a National Association, we, the undersigned, invite our fellow-educators throughout the United States to assemble...for the purpose of organizing a National Teachers Association...We cordially extend this invitation to all practical teachers in the North, the South, the East, and the West, who are willing to unite in a general effort to promote the general welfare of our country by concentrating the wisdom and power of numerous minds, and distributing among all the accumulated experiences of all; who are ready to devote their energies and their means to advance the dignity, respectability and usefulness of their calling; and who, in fine, believe that the time has come when the teachers of the nation should gather into one great educational brotherhood. (Valentine, 1864, p.18).

Membership in the early NEA was limited to administrators and superintendents. The NEA organized as the National Teachers Association (NTA) but changed its name in 1870 (Holcomb, 2006b). The initial focus of the NEA was educational quality improvement through political influence, but later added improvement of wages and working conditions (DeCew, 2003). Most teachers worked in one-room schoolhouses with inequitable salaries, earning less than \$100 a year or only receiving food and lodging (Holcomb, 2006a). From 1857 to 1865, NEA membership was restricted to male, K-12 teachers (Holcomb, 2006b). In 1866, women were admitted and the NEA became an unwavering voice for women's rights. In the 1890s,

school administrators comprised fifty percent of the active membership of NEA, while only eleven percent were classroom teachers (Murphy, 1990). At the time, education was considered an expensive luxury for most Americans and was illegal for African-American children.

Educating African-American students became a primary concern for the early NEA. Literacy was linked to freedom and emancipated slaves campaigned for state-supported schools and the NEA lobbied for federal support (Holcomb, 2006b). In 1899, the NEA established the Department of Indian Education, to address the educational needs of American Indian children (Holcomb, 2006b). Child labor was a major focus of the NEA in the early 1900s (Holcomb, 2006b).

The potential of higher education expansion was obvious. In 1890, the United States college-aged population (18-21) was more than five million, but college enrollment was 135,242 or 2.6 percent of the population. (Keller et al., 1958). If the public could be convinced of the value of higher education, the growth potential was great.

Small, local unions emerged and organized under the AFT or NEA, including the most influential and powerful of the early local teachers unions, the Chicago Teachers Federation (CTF). The CTF organized in 1897 with three constitutional goals, “gain a raise, to protect teacher pensions, and to study parliamentary law” (Murphy, 1990, p. 62). An early pay increase victory earned the CTF national attention and increased membership. In 1902, the CTF became the first unionized faculty in the nation. Fordyce (1945) quoted an editorial in the November 3, 1902 issue of *The Chicago Daily Tribune* expressing strong opposition and commented that teachers should, “Obey and say nothing; obey and appeal; or resign” (p. 120). The rising power of the CTF made it a prime target for the Chicago Board of Education. The CTF lacked legal protection and the Chicago Board of Education threatened teachers. In 1915, the Chicago Board

of Education enacted the “Loeb Rule” which prohibited teachers from membership in or affiliation with labor unions (Lieberman, 1956). In 1915, the Chicago Board of Education presented teachers a new contract that declared CTF members would not be rehired (Murphy, 1990). The lack of collective bargaining power and subsequent firing of thirty-five teachers in 1916 led to the dismantling of the CTF (Murphy, 1990). The autocratic practices of administrators pushed Chicago teachers to explore national organization. By April 1916, eight local teacher organizations moved to form a national organization. Three Chicago locals were joined by Gary, Indiana, Federation; the Teachers’ Union of the City of New York; the Oklahoma Teachers Federation; the Scranton, Pennsylvania, Teachers Association; and the High School Teachers Union of Washington, D.C. to create the charter membership of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) (Fordyce, 1945). The AFT was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor (AFL). John Dewey received the first AFT membership card (Kahlenberg, 2006). The AFT retained the radical activism of the CTF and voiced its support for academic freedom and teacher rights. Conversely, the NEA remained focused on professionalism and character development (Murphy, 1990).

On its 50th anniversary, 1907, NEA membership reached 5,044 (Holcomb, 2006b).

Challenges faced by teachers changed in the early 1900s.

Teachers taught expanded curriculums, fulfilled bureaucratic demands for increased paperwork and testing, and managed multiage classrooms with hundreds of students, many of whom were recent immigrants (Holcomb, 2006c, p. 1).

Surveys conducted in 1909 showed more than half of the students in a classroom did not speak English (Holcomb, 2006c). A lack of adequate salaries and classroom support, coupled with poor working conditions, created a teacher shortage.

Between 1900 and 1920, the number of junior colleges grew rapidly across the nation. McDowell (1919) conducted the first nationwide survey of junior colleges and reported thirty-nine public and ninety-three private junior colleges operating in twenty-eight states. Many of the early junior colleges were established in California due to a law permitting local school districts to establish junior colleges passed in 1907 and another in 1917 which provided state and county aid for the local school districts (Lindsay, 1947).

The AAUP formed in 1915, under the leadership of John Dewey and Arthur O. Lovejoy (Cain, 2014; DeCew, 2003). The AAUP was the only national association focused exclusively on higher education faculty. William A. Sharper of the University of Minnesota wrote to A.O. Lovejoy in December 1914, during AAUP formation, “There is no doubt that as a class of workers, we permit injustices to continue and grievances to remain uncorrected that should not be tolerated” (75 years, 1989, p.4). The AAUP was involved with national lobbying efforts and concerns for faculty rights such as academic freedom, tenure, due process, and salaries (DeCew, 2003). The primary goal of the AAUP was to provide faculty an effective voice in decision-making which affects their working conditions and professional well-being (DeCew, 2003). There was disagreement whether organizing benefited or diminished faculty status (Wilson, 2007).

The AAUP was founded by and for faculty at elite institutions (Cain, 2014, p. 13). Opponents accused the AAUP of acting solely as a trade union (Brubacher & Rudy, 1958). However, AAUP leaders resisted the image of being a trade union by refusing to be engaged in collective bargaining and strikes; the AAUP often presented itself as an anti-labor organization (Cain, 2010c). AAUP leaders attempted to establish partnerships with academic administrators and feared union affiliation would impede such collaborations (Metzger, 1961). Less than a year

after its founding, the AAUP explored whether it should expand its mission from investigating abuses in higher education to remedying those abuses through collective bargaining.

After publication of the AAUP *Declaration of Principles on Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure* in 1915, the New York Times replied with a response reflective of the nation's attitude towards unions.

Academic freedom, that is the inalienable right of every college instructor to make a fool of himself and his college by yealy, intemperate, sensational prattle about every subject under heaven, to his classes and to the public, and still keep on the payroll or be reft therefrom only by elaborate process, is cried to all winds by organized dons...It would be well for the Professors' union to understand that the screeching, the shallowness, and the pretense of too many professors are bringing on the vocation a certain discredit. The union suffers from the violence of some of its members (New York Times, 1916, para. 1).

Collective bargaining was viewed as an alternative means to achieve AAUP goals (Hutcheson, 2000; Metzger, 1965). Its weak traditional union stance gained the AAUP the reputation as "the least militant of faculty unions" (DeCew, 2003, p. 19). At the national level, the AAUP was viewed as an educational charitable organization, but served as the exclusive collective bargaining agent for 61 of its 370 local chapters (Nightingale, 1998). The AAUP's decision to separate bargaining and academic freedom highlighted the disagreements over whether unionization offered benefits, support, and protection or diminished faculty status and professional authority (Wilson, 2007).

1916-1929

Faculty dissatisfaction with alleged inadequacies of the AAUP led to the formation of the AFT (Wilson, 1942). Calls for unionization were seen as a reasonable response to the increased corporatization of higher education (Cain, 2014). The growth pattern of the AFT was directly related with the national labor union movement which explained the differences of growth patterns compared to the AAUP, which had no association with the labor movement (Lester, 1968). Charter membership of the AFT reached 2,969, but dropped to 1,593 by 1918 (National Union, 1966). The dropping membership caused the AFT to recruit beyond K-12 teachers to college faculty. At the AFT annual convention in July 1918, the resolution which allowed college faculty membership was adopted. Howard University established the first AFT college faculty chapter, local 33, on November 18, 1918. (Cain, 2014; Janes, 1921). Local 33 included twenty-nine faculty in its charter membership. Local 33 disbanded in 1920 amidst fear of retribution by administration and government officials. University administrations across the nation vehemently opposed AFT affiliation (Logan, 1969). On May 9, 1916, AFT locals requested assistance from the AFL and its president, Samuel Gompers. The AFT was welcomed to the “ranks of our great trade unions” by Gompers (AFT, 1955, p. 266). Gompers believed the power of workers was centered in collective action at the economic level based on contracts, and backed by the power of the strike (Tyler, 1959). Shortly after its foundation, the AFT set up its headquarters in New York City in July 1916. The AFT, an affiliate of the AFL, was the only national higher education organization rooted in traditional unionism, and embraced its relationship to organized labor and gained the title, “parent of college unionism” (Lester, 1968, p. 48). Local leaders were eager and enthusiastic, but were not very knowledgeable of the

processes and purposes of unionization. John Dewey, addressed a meeting of teachers and urged unionization. He proclaimed,

We (teachers) have not had sufficient intelligence to be courageous. We have lacked a sense of loyalty to our calling and to one another, and on that account have not accepted to the full our responsibilities as citizens of the community. I would like to point out that these labor unions are engaged in useful service; that they also are servants of the public and it may be that if the more enlightened, more instructed, that is to say, the more lettered portions of the community like the teachers, put themselves fairly and squarely on a level with these other bodies of people who are doing needed and useful service, that they will hasten the time when all of these unions will look at all their work and labor...from the standpoint of service to the general public (Dewey, 1916, p. 100).

The AFT objectives defined by its Constitution were,

- 1) To bring associations of teachers into relations of mutual assistance and cooperation;
- 2) To obtain for them all the rights to which they are entitled; 3) To raise the standards of the teaching profession by securing the conditions essential to the best professional service; and 4) To promote such democratization of the schools as will enable them better to equip their pupils to take their places in the industrial, social, and political life of the community (AFT, 1966a, p. 3).

Fifteen AFT locals were established between 1918 and 1920 and filled the void left by the AAUP's elite approach, but over half disbanded within two years (Cain, 2010c; Lester, 1968). Lobbying efforts were the primary activity of these early locals (Cain, 2014). Winterton Curtis, University of Missouri AFT local president, admitted AFT locals were interested in improving the economic and working conditions of college faculty (Lovejoy, 1920). Many

faculty believed AFT affiliation caused administration and colleagues to see them as radical. The union felt a duty to assist faculty whenever economic equity and academic freedom were under assault (Lovejoy, 1920). The first unionized faculty in Minnesota occurred in 1920 when Winona State Normal School, AFT Local 131, was chartered amidst governance and salary disputes (AFT applications, 1920; Cameron, 1982).

Major federal influences in molding and shaping secondary and postsecondary vocational education began with the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 (Lynch, 2000). The Act was designed to prepare youth for jobs resulting from the industrial revolution and provide them with a general curriculum alternative (Swanson, 1951). The Act emphasized a separation from traditional curriculum and called for a different focus to meet the needs of children of the working class, who attended high school but were not headed to four-year institutions (Gray, 1991). The Smith-Hughes Act created for a Federal Board of Vocational Education with separate state boards. According to Roberts (1957), each state submitted a plan for federal vocational education funding and agreed that 1) the federally aided program of vocational education would be under public supervision and control; 2) the primary purpose would be to prepare students for useful employment; 3) vocational education would be of less than college grade; 4) vocational education would be designed to meet the needs of those over fourteen-years old who had entered or who were preparing to enter the occupation for which they were receiving training; and 5) the state and local community would provide the necessary plant and equipment (Baker et al., 1994).

In the twenties, junior college enrollment increased from 16,031 to 74,688 students. Junior colleges were accepted and recognized across the nation (Colvert & Baker, 1955). In 1922, 207 junior colleges were in operation, 137 privately supported, but expanded to over 600 colleges, mostly public, by the end of World War II (Cohen, 1998). The increased number of

junior colleges beckoned a nationwide organization to coordinate and communicate common concerns. A national journal, *Junior College Journal*, was suggested by the American Association of Junior Colleges (AAJC) in 1924. In 1929, it was agreed that the AAJC and Stanford University would jointly produce the monthly journal. In 1938, the AAJC assumed full financial responsibility for the publication (Colvert, 1955). Walter C. Eells of Stanford University was the first editor of the *Junior College Journal* in 1930 and served as the AAJC executive secretary from 1938 to 1945. With his position and influence, Eells became a leader for the development of two-year colleges in the United States (Rutledge, 1951; see Appendix K for photo). Eells' most important contribution was his criteria for the establishment of new junior colleges which included a school district election, approval by the State Board of Education, State Department of Education, or a special commission, assessed valuation of ten to fifteen million dollars, and an adequate high school population, enrollment, or number of graduates. A requirement for a high school average daily attendance of 400 or an enrollment of 500 was determined to be sufficient to support a junior college (Rutledge, 1951).

Between 1928 and 1940, thirty-six AFT locals were formed and twenty percent disbanded within two years, only half survived more than ten years (Lester, 1968). Most locals chartered over concerns for 1) social and economic problems of the country; 2) education quality issues; 3) economic conditions of the profession; 4) greater democracy in academic governance; and 5) defense of academic freedom (Lester, 1968). The high failure rate of AFT locals coincided with the decline in the national labor union movement. Institutional pressures, fear over radicalism, and concerns over prestige and status, all contributed to the failure of the early locals (Cain, 2010b).

Under the increased pressure on the labor union movement, the NEA proposed a merger

with the AFT, under the condition the AFT sever ties with the national labor movement. Both organizations agreed there was strength in numbers. However, the offer was rejected and an AFT countered to the NEA to join “the great American labor movement” (AFT, 1966b, p. 113). The NEA also refused.

The first large university in the Midwest with AFT affiliation was the University of Illinois chartered in January 1919. The reasons cited for affiliation were a lack of democratic processes for faculty to influence working conditions and dissatisfaction with salaries (Cain, 2010a; Illinois University, 1919). Greater Boston and New York City locals chartered in April 1919. The purposes of unionization included improving working conditions and shared governance, and raising standards and democratization of the industrial, social, and political life of the community (Turner, 1919). The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, AFT Local 79, was chartered in May 1919. In 1922, two normal schools in Wisconsin, Whitewater and Superior, were chartered. The Whitewater local survived until 1925, when members realized they had nothing “to fight for.” Madison State Normal in South Dakota chartered in 1920 and two members were dismissed in the first year for organizing. By 1921 the local reported all the remaining members had been dismissed (Strecker, 1920). Washburn College chartered in 1919 following a request to J.E. Kirkpatrick, Head of the Economics Department, to resign after thirteen years of service. Sympathetic colleagues believed a union would support their rights. By 1920, Kirkpatrick was not rehired and the local was disbanded (Washburn, 1919). Under the backdrop of economic plight and rapid inflation, the AFT reached its peak faculty membership of 9,808 in May 1920 (Lester, 1968).

The AFT Education Committee presented recommendations regarding community colleges at its 12th Annual Convention in June 1928. The Committee noted community colleges

were becoming increasingly important and recommended,

1) Separate buildings instead of in high schools, with offices for teachers and space for real college work; 2) A high school diploma should be required for admittance and there should be standards or achievement; 3) Teachers should have a Master's degree (in technical subjects, experience would substitute) and training in teaching; the President of the community college should be of college caliber; and there should be definite plans for regulating the teaching load, and for sabbaticals to pursue further study; and 4) If there was not a separate Board for the Community College, there should at least be a separate committee of the Board to deal with the College (AFT Education Committee, 1928, pp. 12-13).

Membership drives were highly successful with charismatic union leaders. In 1928, Dewey addressed New York local 5 and commented,

It is a great pleasure to meet with men and women who believe in combination, in union and organization to support actively the common cause, to unite for work and not merely to engage in academic discussion (Dewey, 1929, p. 1).

Yale local chartered in April 1928. Yale faculty wanted to be a progressive force and reduce segregation of professors from the rest of the nation's workers. Their objectives were to "preserve and extend academic freedom and address social problems of the day" (Lester, 1968, p. 95).

By 1920, the NEA was large enough to establish a Representative Assembly composed of delegates from states and locals (Holcomb, 2006c). The NEA focused on salary improvement, retirement pensions, and strengthening the expanding system. At the end of WWI, professors refused to join unions because of "a feeling among them that their salaries were not the nature of

wages, and that there would be a species of moral obliquity implied in overtly dealing with this matter” (Veblen, 1918, p. 162).

The impetus for union organization during this period was from a desire to secure greater democracy in the workplace and academic freedom for educators; some locals were formed because of the progressive, socialistic leanings of their leaders. National higher education unions during this period were not interested in collective bargaining, electing instead to cooperate with administration regarding institutional governance with a strong focus on academic freedom (Cain 2010; Metzger, 1961, 1965). The early unions were seen more as professional associations than collective bargaining units (Cain, 2010; Kearney, 1992).

1930-1948

In the thirties, debates raged on the appropriateness of unionization of college faculty. Joseph Allen, an anti-union faculty, wrote to AAUP members and contended that,

Union organization was not appropriate because a union is primarily devoted to the welfare of its members and uses methods of force, rather than reason and persuasion. At times of great injustice a union might be needed, but as soon as it accomplished its objective, it would no longer be necessary (AAUP, 1938, p. 232).

After President Roosevelt assumed office, he forwarded a pro labor agenda. Membership of the AFT increased to 7,536 members in 1933. The NEA became a member of the Federal Advisory Committee on the Emergency in Education and federal aid started coming to schools (Holcomb, 2006c). The Great Depression caused workers to be seen as underdogs, and there was a belief workers must have strong representation to counterbalance the greediness and ruthlessness of powerful financial and business interests. Dewey (1928) harnessed the energy

and idealism of unionization, and called on fearful college faculty to “abandon their cowardly position and organize” (Dewey, 1928, p. 4).

Membership in labor unions in the United States more than tripled between 1930 and 1939, rising from 12.3 percent to 27.6 percent (Vangiezen & Schwenk, 2010); AFT membership exploded four times (Lester, 1968). Union opposition continued into the forties, critics argued the tactics used in the thirties demonstrated “labor unions are organized for war” (Wakeham, 1941, p. 441).

During the thirties, the junior colleges continued to grow. In 1930, there were 97,631 students attending 469 junior colleges. By 1939, there were 236,162 students attending 610 junior colleges (Colvert, & Baker, 1955). The forties saw the slowing of junior colleges growth, partly due to World War II. Enrollments dropped 23.2 percent in 1943 alone. Despite the dropping enrollment, in 1949 there were 634 junior colleges serving 562,786 students (Colvert, & Baker, 1955).

Critics of vocational colleges believed an emphasis on occupational programs watered down academic programs. They argued spending effort and money on students in occupational programs shifted dollars intended for traditional program students. The mere presence of students learning to be secretaries, accountants, electronic technicians, or auto mechanics diminished the academic endeavors associated with transfer programs. However, many others believed the presence of occupational programs enhanced transfer programs (Harris, 1968).

The AFT suffered the effects of the anti-communist purges of the thirties and forties (Cain, 2014). The AFT national leaders of the thirties faced Communist accusations. Davis, former Yale professor, became the first college professor to lead the AFT. In the September 2, 1939 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* a picture of Davis was placed over a caption reading,

“The only AFL union controlled by the Communists is the teachers’ union, and Jerome Davis, dominates it” (Stolberg, 1939). Dr. Davis sued for libel and received a settlement out of court which he considered vindication. His views were controversial, but he was an undeniable champion for the worker (Lester, 1968). George Counts became AFT president after defeating Davis at the 1939 AFT convention. Counts won election because of his loyalty toward the union, stance against Communists, and reputation in education circles. Counts led the AFT campaign to rid itself of Communist influence (Miller, 1967). The Communist Party actively targeted membership among intellectuals and labor unions, the AFT met both criteria. An article in a 1937 Communist Party monthly journal targeted AFT membership, “The task of the Communist Party must be first and foremost to arouse the teachers to class-consciousness and to organize them into the AFT” (Iverson, 1959, p. 71-72). In 1935, the national AFT convention voted to affiliate with the American League against War and Fascism (Miller, 1967). Three AFT Locals, 5, 537, and 453, were identified as under Communist control. In 1935, AFL President Green wired the AFT Convention and insisted the Local 5 charter be revoked. He declared, “The Communists have vowed to destroy the AFL, and we can’t permit the Teachers’ Union to be used as an instrumentality through which the Communists will attempt to achieve their destructive purposes” (Miller, 1967, p. 42). The Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York suspended AFT locals 5 and 537 because of links to Communist activities. Locals 5, 537, and 453 were expelled from the union during the national convention in 1941 (Ouster, 1941). Locals of the thirties fought for academic freedom, tenure, and rights of faculty across sectors and ranks (Cain, 2010b). Joining the union became a political statement (Cain, 2010b). The AFT transitioned from a “gadfly” union focused on social issues to one focused on faculty working conditions (Murphy, 1990).

During World War II, general labor union membership continued to grow. But, the AFT lost 10,000 members due to the expulsion of the three locals and expiration of the WPA program (Kuenzli, 1946). Increased college unionization reflected the favorable climate of public opinion towards unionization in general (Chamberlain, 1951). At the beginning of the thirties, only two college locals remained in existence. But the end of 1940, thirty-six new college locals had been chartered (Lester, 1968). The post-war increase in membership peaked in 1947. The first collective negotiation agreement believed to be one won by an independent teachers' association occurred in Norwalk, Connecticut in 1946 (Stinnett et al., 1966). However, the AFT reported, West Suburban Local 571 at Cicero, Illinois, obtained a signed collective agreement in July, 1944 (AFT, 1944).

Early in 1947, less than two years after the end of World War II, the President's Commission wrote a report on Higher Education for American Democracy to help ensure a major role by higher education in preserving and enhancing the democratic ideals fought for during the war. The report was called the Truman Commission Report. The Report asserted that 49 percent of high school graduates could profit from two years of education beyond high school and explored ways to encourage increased opportunities for college attendance (Vaughan, 2000). The Report introduced the term "community college," suggesting that these colleges place emphasis on working with local public schools. Community colleges should be within reach of most citizens, charge little or no tuition, serve as cultural centers for the community, offer continuing education for adults as well as technical and general education, be locally controlled, and be a part of the national and state higher education system (Vaughan, 2000).

1949-1960

Between 1949 and 1954 the AFT made small gains in membership while faculty received modest salary increases which “helped address the inequities of post-war inflation” (Kuenzli, 1949, p. 2). A steady downward trend in membership continued to a low in 1958 (Lester, 1968).

The NEA assisted the war effort by “coordinating the rationing of sugar, oil, and canned goods; promoting the sale of Defense Saving Stamps and Defense Bonds in schools; encouraging students to salvage metal and plant victory gardens; and lobbying Congress for funding for public schools near military bases” (Holcomb, 2006c, p. 2). The NEA also lobbied for the G.I. Bill, which allowed over two million veterans to pursue higher education.

Derbigny (1949) surveyed higher education union locals and found twenty-four affiliated with the AFL, four affiliated with the CIO, and one independently affiliated. Ten locals represented junior colleges, the remainder represented four-year institutions. Membership ranged from one to ninety percent at any given institution. Solomon and Burns (1961) gathered data on the unionization of white-collar workers and found the AFT membership of 70,000 ranked seventh among fifty-seven unions.

In 1954, the Supreme Court passed *Brown v. Board of Education* which called for desegregation of public schools. The NEA contributed extensive lobbying and financial contributions to the effort (Holcomb, 2006c). In 1957, the NEA’s 100th anniversary, membership reached 700,000 (Holcomb, 2006c).

Collective bargaining organization moved forward with renewed ambition when the AFL and CIO merged in 1955. In February 1956, George Neany, AFL-CIO President, met with AFT leadership to discuss adoption of collective bargaining with New York Local 2. Their goals were comparable salaries with other professions and adoption of collective bargaining (AFT, 1956).

By the end of the fifties the sharp decline in faculty salaries became a union concern. The anticipated increase of college attendance expected in the sixties gave the salary issue increased urgency. In 1957, the President's Commission on Education Beyond High School documented the severity of the problem and recommended raising of college faculty salaries as a high priority (Self-survey, 1965).

The attitudes and customs of the American people changed during the fifties. Occupational patterns changed. Powerful social, political, economic, scientific, and technological forces and trends shaped and influenced the educational system (Keller et al., 1958).

Colleges and universities met society's needs by providing a path for upward mobility, generating research and development, and competing in the Space race and fighting the Cold War. As higher education's profile became increasingly linked to a middle-class lifestyle in the fifties and sixties (Carnevale & Rose, 2012, p. 85). During the fifties and sixties, Americans' demand for access accelerated. College and university enrollments grew by around 200 percent during this time, and the state and federal policies and programs that followed this expansion increased expectations for accountability at the state and federal levels (Hendrickson et al., 2013, p. 141).

An increased proportion of working women, decreased reliance upon unskilled workers, and the technological advancements created a growing need for highly skilled and technically trained workers to operate new machines. The percentage of women gainfully employed increased for decades. In 1870, only 15 percent of all gainful workers were women. By 1910, the percentage increased to 21 and by 1950 to 28 percent (Keller et al., 1958). The growth of science and technology with its trend toward production mechanization, automation, and distribution resulted in a decline in the number of weekly hours of employment, increased leisure hours, and

earlier retirement age (Keller et al., 1958). Changes in industry resulted in changes in the labor force. The changing economy needed increased numbers of highly skilled workers and decreased numbers of unskilled workers (Keller et al., 1958). Junior colleges were well adapted to meet the education needs of technicians and engineering aids. But junior colleges were also retraining people for new jobs when their old jobs were made obsolete by mechanization (Keller et al., 1958). “The expansion of the two-year college has been one of the most notable developments in post-high school education in twentieth century America” (The President’s Committee, 1957, p. 64).

By 1955, college enrollment increased to thirty-two percent of the population between ages 18 and 21. Stated in different terms, the population of college-aged Americans almost doubled, while college enrollments increased twenty-two fold (Keller et al., 1958). Keller, Lokken, and Meyer (1958) summarized the factors that supported college enrollment expansion from 1900 to 1955 as 1) rising family income; 2) greater demand for college trained employees; 3) adoption by a growing proportion of families of a college education as a goal for their children; 4) accessibility of college education to a wider group of the population, through junior colleges and evening sessions and through the greater availability of financial aids and part-time work; 5) increased number and proportion of high school graduates; and 6) public recognition of the value of college education to the national welfare, expressed for example, in the student deferment program and the veteran’s education program. In 1959, Wisconsin became the first state to pass collective bargaining laws for public employees (Holmcomb, 2006c).

1961-1979

Mission delineation became prominent in the fifties and sixties, when state coordinating boards emerged and enrollments expanded. Over the previous four decades, statewide

coordinators, planners, and governing boards considered alternative structures to achieve excellence and affordable access for diverse student populations. (Bastedo & Gumpert, 2000). Transfer versus technical programs offered in community colleges versus area vocational technology institutes was a new delineation debate.

In April 1962, a New York City AFT local, the Teachers Guild, merged with high school teachers to form the United Federation of Teachers (UFT). The UFT used its new collective bargaining status and submitted eighty-two demands to the Board of Education, including increased pay, smaller class sizes, and reduced teaching loads (UFT, n.d.). When the school board rejected its proposal, 20,000 UFT teachers went on strike, despite the Condon-Wadlin Act of 1947 which permitted the removal of striking teachers in New York (Murphy, 1990). The strike proved successful, and Governor Nelson Rockefeller ended the strike with an agreeable settlement which included a \$995 annual pay increase (Kahlenberg, 2006).

The AFT made rapid membership gains in the sixties, while traditional labor union membership numbers declined. “The shift to white-collar proportion in the work force became more pronounced in the late fifties, and by 1960, the white-collar groups represented 44.2 percent of union potential” (Solomon & Burns, 1963, p. 143). College locals behaved as traditional unions, complete with membership drives, collective bargaining contracts, and use of strikes and picketing (Lester, 1968). There were twelve active college locals in 1958, by 1966 there were fifty-one. Twenty-five new locals were formed in California alone (Lester, 1968).

In November 1960, New York Local 2 conducted the first teacher strike in city history (AFT, 1960). In June 1961, teachers voted overwhelmingly in favor of collective bargaining and selected the UFT as their exclusive collective bargaining agent. Even though their strike was unsuccessful, the New York Local 2 vote was a landmark event and served as a catalyst for the

public education collective bargaining movement in the United States (Lieberman & Moskow, 1966).

From 1949 to 1963 enrollment in junior colleges increased over two and a half times (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1966). There were no local unions in community and technical colleges in 1949, but by December 1966 42.3 percent of the entire union membership was from 1,611 community and technical college locals (Lester, 1968). Community and technical college faculty accounted for 12.8 percent of all higher education faculty in 1966 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1966). Community college enrollment rose from 350,000 in 1958 to over one million in fall of 1965 (Lester, 1968). Attention to the exploding student enrollment limited faculty-administration interaction which resulted in increased alienation. The sense of alienation, manifested itself as a lack of input into governance and decision-making, and created dissension among the faculty (Corson, 1960). The dissension which arose from faculty exclusion spilled over into other venues. In the late sixties, most educational conferences were organized and dominated by administrators. Faculty participated, but desired opportunities to express their professional concerns without presidents and deans peering their shoulders (Garrison, 1968).

New locals consistently identified limited faculty participation in governance and decision-making as major problems at their institutions (Garrison, 1967). Faculty dissatisfaction in these areas produced positive unionization drives with little effort. Many faculty saw their place in higher education system as third class standing (Lester, 1968). In the sixties, the union movement attracted those who were dissatisfied with faculty power in academic matters and who were willing to take militant action to secure “professional control” (Lester, 1968, p. 245). Major aims of AFT college faculty locals were academic freedom, strong faculty senates, public salary schedules, tenure, probation evaluations, sabbatical leaves, teaching loads, and grievance

procedures (Lester, 1968).

In the sixties and seventies, baby-boomers attended college in large numbers. Enrollment continued to explode in community colleges. Between 1960 and 1979 community college enrollment increased 930 percent (Breneman & Nelson, 1981). The baby boomer enrollment combined with community college legitimacy, accessibility, and proximity caused an enrollment phenomena (Cohen & Brawer, 2003). Garbarino and Aussieker (1975) discussed the societal changes in the sixties which contributed to the development of collective bargaining in higher education. The nation believed the investment of education in the college-aged population paid dividends for both the individual and society. Furthermore, advances in space technology and the need for a more educated, skilled workforce led to increased federal funding for education. When the National Defense Education Act of 1958 passed, the United States poured hundreds of millions of dollars into educating Americans, a direct response to the Russian Sputnik launch and politician viewpoint that higher education was vital to the national security of the United States (Aronowitz, 1998).

The NEA and the American Teachers Association (ATA), a Black teacher's union, merged in 1966 and promoted civil rights for all educators and students (Holcomb, 2006a). Membership of the NEA rose to 3.2 million (Holcomb, 2006d). Education became a right for every child, regardless of family income or ethnicity (Holcomb, 2006d).

During the 1965 academic year, there were 245,000 full-time higher education faculty with rank of instructor or higher (HEW, 1966). Membership of the AAUP was 74,962 and AFT membership was 3,577 (AAUP, 1966). The majority of higher education institutions were still private (64.3 percent) (U.S. Office of Education, 1966). However, 85 percent of college union locals were 96 percent public institution members (Lester, 1968).

The February 1961 issue of *The American Teacher* was devoted to union organization and highlighted trade union principles. At the 1965 Annual Convention, AFT President Charles Cogen proclaimed, “The AFT has emerged from its long incubating period as a protest movement. We have become a union” (Cogen, 1965, p. 4). The first collective bargaining agreement was signed by Henry Ford Community College, AFT local 1650, in Michigan in September 1966. “Collective bargaining enabled professors to achieve truly professional control of teaching and learning conditions” (Lester, 1968, p. 193).

Many faculty remained ignorant of union methods and purposes, lacked organizational skills, and received little assistance from the national organization until the sixties. The AFT was in the forefront during the late sixties faculty union movement. The first four-year college faculty union was the Merchant Marine Academy in 1967 (Cameron, 1982; Kearney, 1992). The first four-year college faculty union contract was reached at the City University of New York (CUNY) in 1969 (Ehrenberg et al., 2002).

The first strike of university professors occurred in 1966 at St. John’s University, AFT Local 1460, a private college in New York when thirty-one faculty were dismissed for trying to increase salaries (Horchler, 1966; Kugler, 1997). The strike failed to create institutional change, but united faculty in the union movement (Kugler, 1997). The first public community college strike occurred in September 1966 at Henry Ford Community College shortly after the adoption of collective bargaining (Howe, 1966). The strike was settled six days later with contract raises from \$500 to \$900 (Michigan, 1966). The largest professors’ strike followed in November 1966 at Chicago City College (Lester, 1968). “The college movement was strongest in areas where the leadership was most militant and most dedicated to making the AFT a true union organization” (Lester, 1968, p. 235).

The AFT had its greatest representation in the Midwest and West coast. West coast union growth was a phenomenon of the sixties (Lester, 1968). The AFT failed to resonate in Southern states, but unionization of any kind fared similarly. Geographically, the AFT college unions were most heavily represented where public higher education institutions had the greatest acceptance (Lester, 1968).

Financial concerns were a primary reason for unionization during the late sixties and early seventies. The expansion of higher education multi-campus systems and rise in bureaucracy stratification were contributing factors to collective bargaining expansion.

In the years of the Great Depression, the union movement appealed to intellectuals as an instrument of social reform; after the World War II, it was seen as a means of combating inflationary pressures on the college professor; in the Sixties, it adopted the militant methods deemed appropriate by the larger society as a means of social protest (Lester, 1968, p. 247).

As administrators exerted increased control over faculty workloads, tenure standards, and job security, faculty experienced diminished salaries, fringe benefits, and decision-making authority. The faculty elected to join unions where state legislation permitted collective bargaining (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a).

In 1973, the Council for Financial Aid to Higher Education described community colleges as “the most important innovation in American education during the twentieth century” (CFAE, 1973, p. 1). Serving local communities, a natural relationship was built between industry and the community college. The CFAE (1973) claimed that this relationship was responsible for providing a “trained workforce in literally hundreds of fields” (p. 7). Further, this relationship was enhanced by the passing of the federal Vocational Education Acts of the 1960’s which

established occupational programs that led to employment upon completion (Cohen, 1984).

Driven by a positive external environment in 1973, the AFT represented 17 four-year institutions and three community colleges (Aussieker & Garbarino, 1973) and membership increased to 9,000 (DeCew, 2003); the NEA represented 16 four-year institutions and 92 two-year colleges, most were technical colleges under local K-12 control (Aussieker & Garbarino, 1973). The NEA became an effective collective bargaining agent (DeCew, 2003). Twenty-five to thirty percent of college faculty were covered by union contracts by 1979; twenty percent of all higher education institutions (Garbarino & Lawler, 1979; Ladd & Lipset, 1973).

The changing climate in higher education moved the AAUP to collective bargaining activity in October 1971 (75 years, 1989). The AAUP believed the goals of collective bargaining were, 1) the protection and promotion of the economic and other interests of the faculty; 2) the establishment of the structures that provide for faculty participation in governance; 3) guarantees of academic freedom and tenure; and 4) orderly and clearly defined procedures for prompt consideration of problems and grievances of faculty members (Gellman, 1998).

In spring 1973, 304 institutions operated with faculty unions, 90 percent were public (DeCew, 2003). To accommodate the enrollment growth, new campuses were opened and most existing campuses expanded their facilities (Mumper & Freeman, 2005). The years of 1968 and 1971 have been called the “wonder years” of faculty unionism due to the massive volume of contracts being negotiated. The contract wonder years were 1969 and 1972 when there were volumes of signed contracts (NCSCBHE, 1973a).

During the seventies and eighties, reports indicated sharp declines in transfer rates from two-year to four-year colleges which inevitably resulted in fewer students achieving baccalaureate degrees (Fields, 1962; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991).

In the seventies and eighties, the fastest growing section of the labor movement consisted of professionals and other white collar employees. The leading organizer was the professorate (Aronowitz, 1998). Ladd and Lipsett (1973) predicted that “faculty trade union organization and formal collective bargaining are likely to constitute the most important new intramural issues in the seventies” (p. 1). The Carnegie Commission report, *Governance of Higher Education*, published in April 1973, identified 170 faculty bargaining units representing 250 institutions of the 2800 U.S. higher education institutions; three-fourths of the units were community colleges (Blikre, 1974; Hedgepeth, 1974).

By September 15, 1973, eighteen states bargained over 150 higher education contracts. Minnesota had one higher education collective bargaining contract in 1973 (NCSCBHE, 1973a); The Minnesota Junior College Faculty Association (MJCFA), subject of this dissertation, was the exclusive collective bargaining representative of the Minnesota multi-campus community college system (NCSCBHE, 1974). All of the 114 two-year college contracts were public institutions, but only 19 of the 36 four-year contracts were public institutions (NCSCBHE, 1973b). Collective bargaining contracts continued to expand. By 1975, 26 states signed 212 contracts (NCSCBHE, 1975). A review of collective bargaining contracts was conducted by the NCSCBHE (1975). The study identified the first year of collectively bargained contracts signed between 1966 and 1975. The number of first contracts signed by year were: 1966 (3), 1967 (6), 1968 (3), 1969 (19), 1970 (24), 1971 (38), 1972 (59), 1973 (24), 1974 (22), and 1975 (14).

1980-1999

One reason cited for the quadrupled costs of four-year college education from 1965 to 1980 was the proliferation of two-year colleges which offered courses at low to no tuition. Dr. Clark Kerr, Director of the Carnegie Council Foundation for Higher Education, predicted two-

year college enrollment would outpace four-year colleges through 1990. Two-year colleges were considered the best value in U. S. higher education. Topping the list were California community colleges which offered two years of study without tuition charge for its residents. In 1980, community college tuitions range from a \$200 per semester average to New York City's \$500. For wage-earning families, a simple realization emerged, some level of higher education was necessary for their children to be successful. The problem was no longer a matter of college graduates earning more money, but that young people without some higher education, were unable to secure worthwhile jobs in the expanding economy (Margolius, 1980).

The eighties were a time of growth and relative prosperity for higher education and the cultural aspects of organizations moved to the forefront (Dill, 1982; Tierney, 1988). Governance became less hostile and focused on collaboration and consensus (Kater & Levin, 2005).

By 1990, there were 476 faculty unions, 95 percent at public institutions (Annunziato, 1995). Annunziato (1995) compiled membership data of the AFT, NEA, and AAUP. The AFT was the largest union representing faculty at two- and four-year institutions. The NEA was a close second representing two-year college faculty. The AFT accounted for 116 two-year bargaining agents, with contracts covering 41,734 faculty on 218 campuses (Annunziato, 1995). The NEA represented 191 two-year college bargaining agents with contracts covering 43,692 faculty on 376 different campuses (Annunziato, 1995). The AAUP accounted for nine two-year bargaining agents, with contracts covering 2,425 faculty on 17 campuses (Annunziato, 1995). By 1998, with 80 percent of the public teaching profession unionized, teachers accounted for the highest unionized density in the labor movement (Aronowitz, 1998). The AFT had 975,000 members with 91,000 in higher education. By 2000, a third of all the professorate was unionized (DeCew, 2003). The AFT continued its distinction as the most militant of the educational unions,

and as the strongest and most popular of the national unions (DeCew, 2003). The AFT focused on higher salaries and benefits, governance, academic freedom, and the role of faculty (Profiles, 1998).

In 1994, the number of faculty represented by exclusive collective bargaining agents at two-year colleges was 103,967; 43 percent of all full-time faculty at higher education institutions (Annunziato, 1995; Julius & Gumport, 2002). Rhoades (1998) found the number increased to 63 percent of full-time faculty when public institutions were examined independently. In fact, public institutions accounted for 95 percent of all unionized faculty.

Two-year colleges accounted for 349 of the 502 faculty higher education collective bargaining agents; 69 percent of all higher education collective bargaining agents. Only ten collective bargaining agents represented faculty at private two-year institutions; 14 percent of the faculty covered by collective bargaining were found at private institutions (Annunziato, 1995). Independent bargaining agents accounted for thirty-one two-year college locals, with contracts covering 12,803 faculty on 46 campuses (Annunziato, 1995). In 1998, the AACC reported there were 1,132 community colleges in operation in the U.S. (Phillippe & Patton, 2000). In 1998, 116,018 faculty at public two-year colleges were represented by exclusive collective bargaining agents; 47.5 percent of all full-time faculty at higher education institutions (Hurd et al., 1998). In the same year, there were a total of 336 faculty union contracts in public two-year colleges in the U.S. (Hurd et al., 1998). NEA had 2.3 million members in 1998, but only 86,000 were college faculty (Profiles, 1998).

2000-2015

As of 2006, collective bargaining represented 318,504 faculty organized in 575 separate bargaining units from 491 institutions with 1,125 campuses (NCSCBHEP, 2006). Faculty

participation in collective bargaining increased by 62,000 from 1998 to 2006 (NCSCBHEP, 2006). The majority of the faculty members, 94 percent, were employed by public institutions from 31 states and the District of Columbia (Castro, 2000).

Public institutions continued to have more faculty unions under collective bargaining contracts than private institutions (Wickens, 2008; Wulff, 2005). Ehrenberg et al. (2002) found 38 percent of full-time faculty in public higher education institutions were covered by collective bargaining contracts in the mid-nineties, while only six percent of full-time faculty in private institutions were covered. According to NSOPF data, the mid-Atlantic Census region and California contain 40.5 percent of all unionized faculty which suggested faculty were more likely to adopt collectively bargaining in these areas. A demographic study conducted by Moriarty and Savarese (2006) and Julius and DiGiovanni (2013a) found the vast majority of unionized faculty were located in the West, Mid-Atlantic, and Midwest, with nearly half located in the states of California and New York. Community colleges enrolled about half of the undergraduate students in the U.S. They had multiple missions and most admitted any student over age 18 who applied and could benefit from instruction (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002). The mission of providing higher education for all who could benefit from it coupled with the needs of society for expansion of education beyond high school were serious considerations for increased higher education public financing (Rotella, 1996).

Cohen and Brawer (2003) identified community colleges operating in every state. The AACC reported 1,173 community colleges enrolled 11.8 million students in 2010 (AACC, 2009). According to the NCSCBHEP data, NEA, AFT, and AAUP represented 54 percent of all unionized faculty; but percentages were higher due to combined union representation by several bargaining units (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Research had not determined whether combined

units yielded better results during negotiations (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). United Academics, a combined AAUP and AFT unit, represented college faculty at the University of Alaska, University of Vermont, and Rutgers University (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Minnesota State College Faculty (MSCF), the subject of this dissertation, maintained membership in NEA and AFT. In 2006, the NEA and AFT announced locals may join state and local organizations affiliated with the AFL-CIO. The unions shared political goals ranging from vouchers and charter schools to No Child Left Behind (Teachers, 2006). In 2014, AAUP membership was 47,000 professors.

Over the next decade, administrators at the bargaining table will hear familiar themes. Faculty will complain of too many students who are ill prepared for college, too little time, and not enough autonomy or resources. They will complain about too much pressure to publish or engage in meaningful research. They will rail about the amount of time spent in service activities, and how the decline in staffing the institution with tenure track faculty has only added to their burdens. They will grumble about process issues, unfair evaluations, and too much emphasis on student evaluations. They will insist that benefits be kept untouched, salaries increased, the benefits enjoyed prior to bargaining be added to those now being negotiated, release time for every manner of activity be instituted, and in many locales, work for the union be recognized as academic service for promotion and tenure (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a, p. 8).

Budget shortfalls among community colleges, both internally from tuition and fees, and externally, from state and federal appropriations, diminished available funding (Boris, 2004). With less funding and limited resources, community colleges found contract negotiations increasingly difficult. Determination of bargaining issues were critical for union leaders and

administrators. The AAUP, AFT, and NEA remained the prime movers when it comes to faculty organizing, and showed no signs of yielding to other labor organizations. All three unions pledged support for part-time and graduate teaching assistant unionization (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013b).

Future Concerns

The landscape of higher education is changing. Higher education institutions and faculty unions are navigating a complex set of obstacles. The future is uncertain. The growing list of factors negatively impacting the future of higher education include scarcity of financial resources (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a; Mumper & Freeman, 2005; Rotella, 1996), declining public confidence in college quality, efficiency, and leadership (Lane, 1992; Rotella, 1996), and corporatization and globalization of higher education (Aronowitz, 1998; Burgan, 2004; Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013b; Rhoades, 2006). Additional struggles are generated by a number of forces including a 1) declining in support from state budgets, 2) growing intervention on many fronts by boards and alumni, 3) increasing demand by nontraditional students for expanding offerings, and 4) expanding competition with neighboring institutions. Moreover, boards and administrations appear intent upon micromanaging higher education and faculty (Burgan, 2004).

Higher education finds itself stymied in reversing its fortunes by a strong anti-intellectualism sentiment in society, increasing length of time undergraduates take to graduate, unemployment and underemployment by several graduates, and failure to deal openly with its publics, including the disclosure of data about crime on campus and graduation rates (Hollander, 1992; Lane, 1992). The new accountability movement in higher education has called for refocusing attention on measurable outcomes rather than the traditional focus on inputs alone

(Burke, 2002, 2005; Zumeta, 1998). Administrators and legislators increasingly assert control over faculty workloads, promotion and tenure standards, and job security (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013b). There has been a “loud and growing demand to pay faculty based on performance as well as student and institutional outcomes measures” (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013b, p. 19).

Many states face long-term structural problems making it difficult to even maintain higher education funding (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a; Mumper & Freeman, 2005). Legislators understand funding for higher education is discretionary and can be expanded or reduced (Hollander, 1992). Higher education institutions must compete with public safety, corrections, elementary and secondary education, and health services for improved salaries and benefits (Trachtenberg, 1996). The attitude toward higher education in many states is hostile, reflecting a sense in many state legislatures that colleges and universities have neglected teaching in favor of research and have not responded adequately to statewide priorities for minority access, school improvement, and other issues related to the perceived decline in America’s competitive position (Hollander, 1992). Given increasingly tight constraints on state budgets, combined with few options for legislators to balance those budgets without cutting higher education, understanding the impacts of collective bargaining on faculty salaries is important and topical (Henson et al., 2012).

Declining federal and state support, increasing use of part-time faculty, declining full-time appointments, expanding presence of free online courses, building public pressures for tuition decreases, growing disenchantment with the benefits of higher education, transient presidential leadership, expanding institutional size, and legislation have been cited by scholars as catalysts for change in higher education (Birnbaum, 1991; Blau, 1973; Garbarino et al., 1977; Hodgkinson, 1971; Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a; Kemerer & Baldrige, 1976; Pfeffer, 1997).

Increasing levels of administration, growing percentage of budgets devoted to administration rather than instruction, and growing examples of faculty advice ignored on key educational matters are frequently cited as obstacles by the AAUP (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a).

Despite legislation establishing ratios for part-time to full-time faculty, some college departments have more than half of their courses taught by part-time faculty who often divide themselves among three or four colleges (Rotella, 1996). The growth areas of faculty unionization in the future will be among part-time faculty and graduate teaching assistants (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). In 1998, the NCSCBHEP reported a total of 75,882 part-time faculty represented by unions (Hurd et al., 1998). By 2012, that number had risen to 147,021 (Berry & Savarese, 2012). There are 107 part-time faculty unions, not counting units that include both part-time and fulltime faculty (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Administrators have expressed dissatisfaction with providing too much security to this last remaining faculty group over whom considerable flexibility exists (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Unionized institutions appear to be hiring part-time faculty at the same rate as non-unionized institutions (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013b). Rhoades (2006) argued that core part-time faculty are increasingly unionizing because they want to forward an agenda that reprioritizes instruction, questions the costs of academic capitalist enterprises, reinvests in the social contract of higher education, rebalances the academy, and improves working conditions for all personnel (Myers, 2011). Part-time faculty simply do not have the managerial involvement in their institutions that full-time tenured and tenure-track faculty have to make such a managerial argument credible (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Metchick and Singh (2004) cited two contemporary issues with major union implications, increased use of part-time faculty and expanded use of distance education.

Beginning in the nineties, collective bargaining in higher education addressed the increased use of part-time faculty and role of technology in higher education.

Part-time faculty are often excluded from shared governance processes resulting in a void of potential ideas. Involving part-time faculty in academic governance, including curriculum development, provides them with better understanding of institutional mission and curricular design. "By bringing these faculty members into the academic governance and culture of the institution, they will become active contributing members instead of being kept on the sidelines as second-class citizens" (Hendrickson et al., 2013, p. 326). Fears of administrative exploitation and manipulation of part-time faculty must be addressed to increase governance satisfaction levels for all faculty. "The best governance is invisible. If an institution spends inordinate time and energy on issues of governance, it is almost certainly not operating effectively" (Birnbaum, 2004, p. 17).

Historically, collective bargaining benefits were granted only to full-time faculty. Part-time faculty rights and benefits were normally omitted from collective bargaining contracts. The increased use of part-time faculty and the poor working conditions they endure made them "ripe for unionization" (Mechick & Singh, 2004, p. 57). Dedman and Pearch (2004) estimated part-time faculty average 60 hours per week in preparation, planning, teaching, and grading. Part-time faculty work for low pay, no benefits, limited working space, and no guarantee of future assignments. New proposals designed to improve part-time faculty position were introduced into collective bargaining negotiations across the nation. The establishment of buy-in benefits systems, assimilation plans into departments, differentiated salary schedules rewarding long-term affiliation, and orientation and training programs are beginning to be introduced into contracts (Dedman & Pearch, 2004).

In September 2002, Western Michigan University allowed part-time faculty the same rights as tenured faculty. These faculty were a unique class of educators called academic career specialists who maintained full-time contractual loads, but were hired on continuing contracts (Fogg, 2002). In 2005, nearly 140 part-time faculty refused to cross picket lines when the City Colleges of Chicago held a work stoppage; they were not rehired for the subsequent spring semester (Bradley, 2005). Faculty viewed the action as retaliation for their union support, despite denials by both the Board of Trustees and the Chancellor.

Higher education instruction is transitioning rapidly from full time, tenured classroom faculty to part-time faculty teaching online education. The emphasis on tenured, full-time faculty unionization must change when the majority of faculty are part-time and/or graduate assistant faculty. Unions will continue to flourish because higher education lacks the resources and abilities to address the needs of these new constituencies (Kaplin & Lee, 2014). “The future may result in more, not fewer, collective bargaining units” (DiGiovanni, 2011, p. 25).

Graduate student unionization continues to escalate due to increasing teaching workloads, rising tuition, and longer graduation times (DeCew, 2003; Dixon et al., 2008). A 2001 NLRB ruling permitted collective bargaining for teaching assistants at New York University; the first private university with unionized teaching assistants (Ehrenberg et al., 2002). Administrators have reported concerns about graduate student unionization, fearing difficulties in removing underperforming students (Julius & Gumpert, 2002). Faculty fear graduate student unions may damage the mentoring relationship between a graduate student and their faculty advisor (DeCew, 2003; Ehrenberg et al., 2004). Wickens (2008) found graduate student bargaining did not interfere with faculty’s ability to advise or instruct graduate students and did not inhibit the mentoring relationship between students and their advisors. Many faculty believed that graduate

student employees were underpaid and generally exploited by the university. Critics suggest faculty mentors will evolve into faculty supervisors who can no longer speak candidly to their graduate students. Instead, these faculty must speak cautiously for fear that their comments might be cited in a grievance hearing (Julius & Gumpert, 2002). University campuses experienced an increase in protest activity around labor issues during the late nineties, highlighted by several graduate employee unionization campaigns (Dixon et al., 2008). “The university works because we do” became a rally cry across major universities in the 2000s (Lafer, 2003). Graduate employee unionization efforts have tripled the number of graduate employee unions. In 1990, there were five American graduate student unions. By the fall of 2000, graduate employees in 23 universities had voted to unionize, and in at least 19 other universities, graduate employees were in the process of organizing (Rhoades & Rhoads, 2002). Twenty percent of the nation’s graduate employees were unionized by 2005 (Rhoades & Rhoades, 2005). By 2006, there were more than 40 universities with recognized graduate student unions (Singh et al., 2006). Over 64,000 graduate student employees are represented by unions, distributed among 28 institutions of higher education, all in the public sector (Berry & Savarese, 2012). However, this number is likely to rise if the NLRB reverses the *Brown University* decision and gives bargaining rights to graduate teaching and research assistants and perhaps research assistants at private colleges (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013b).

The first tasks of faculty unions today is to attract empathy to their cause. Much of the public views college professors as the alleged, exploitative beneficiaries of an unmonitored system rife with rewards such as tenure and sabbaticals. The American public must learn to see them, once again, as benefactors and guides. This is the prerequisite for successful collective bargaining in this century (Trachtenberg, 1996).

Summary

The compilation of the history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union included an examination of satisfaction components, pivotal union decisions, and resulting union activities. Union decisions and activities were directly influenced by faculty satisfaction levels which created a unique history.

As explained by the Hirschman exit, voice, and loyalty theory, the combination of academic, working conditions, and governance factors indicates total faculty satisfaction. When faculty are highly dissatisfied, they can exit the profession or pursue voice. Collective bargaining is often selected as voice, and attempts to mediate faculty dissatisfaction.

Academic, working conditions, and governance factors were examined to provide insight into total faculty satisfaction during impactful moments in history. Because governance factors directly contributed to the unionization of Minnesota two-year college faculty, governance factors were examined in greater detail. Governance models and the elements of shared governance such as trust, leadership, process and structure, building confidence, slow response, peer passivity, and marketization/corporatization were explored for possible connections to the Minnesota two-year faculty union experience.

Once unionized and operating under collective bargaining, an analysis of union activities provided additional insight into faculty satisfaction. Union roles were defined by type, craft versus industrial, and by laws, federal and state. The Minnesota two-year college union functions as a professional craft union operating under both federal and Minnesota law. Unions participate in negotiations, contracts, strikes, mergers, layoffs, and issues of diversity. How unions respond to these activities provided insight into faculty satisfaction. Nationwide studies provided insight into the Minnesota two-year college faculty union experience.

The everyday activities of faculty regarding academic, working conditions, and governance also provided insight into faculty satisfaction. Additionally, the attitudes of nationwide college faculty provided insight to the attitudes and satisfaction levels of Minnesota two-year college faculty. The history of two-year colleges and national higher education faculty unions provided context and analyses for comparisons with the Minnesota two-year college faculty union history.

Nationwide union criticism and future union concerns were also explored for possible explanation of Minnesota two-year college faculty union criticisms and concerns. If these criticism and concerns are not found to be part of the Minnesota two-year college faculty experience, their exploration provided valuable insight into potential areas of influence.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

*In the factories and mills, in the shipyards and mines
We've often been told to keep up with the times
For our skills are not needed, they've streamlined the job
And with slide rule and stopwatch, our pride they have robbed*

“Worker’s Song” – Ed Pickford (1981)

This project utilized a qualitative research approach and situated in the interpretive paradigm. Oral history narratives, primary union documents, and secondary literature sources provided the data for the project. Document analysis and interviewing are among the most common types of data collection in qualitative studies (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003). Primary union documents provided the base information to construct a union history, including a timeline of important people and events (see Appendix B). Oral history narratives were conducted to validate, interpret, and enrich the timeline. Interpretation required an extensive examination of context. Secondary documents provided historical context and the broader analyses used in this project.

Research Design

This project utilized a qualitative research design. Qualitative research is useful to “document participants’ personal perspectives and meanings” of lived experiences (Johnson & Christensen, 2013, p. 441). The fundamental aim of qualitative research is to develop a greater understanding of individuals’ experiences through the consciousness of the experiencer (Giorgi, 2009; Todres & Holloway, 2006). The emphasis of qualitative research is to describe or interpret human experience as lived by the experiencer in a way that can be used as a source of evidence. Qualitative research utilizes a variety of empirical resources that address the routine and/or the

problematic (Kvale, 1989). Unlike quantitative research seeking causal determination, prediction, and generalization, qualitative research seeks illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations (Hoepfl, 1997).

The majority of this project involved the compilation a historic union timeline and conducting, transcribing, coding, and interpreting oral history narratives. The result of the primary union document examination was a timeline of activities and events, union member demographics, and editorial accounts of the activities and events. The history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union constructed solely from primary documents would have been hollow without a collection of oral history narratives from the union members and leaders who actually experienced the timeline. Qualitative research can lead to a richness of understanding through the confirmation of results, extension of knowledge, and/or initiation of new perspectives about the research subject (Bazeley, 2004).

Oral History Research

Despite its place as the oldest form of historic research, it is only recently that oral history gained global recognition as an important contributor to historic study (Thompson, 2000). “Oral history is a method of gathering and preserving historical information through recorded interviews with participants in past events and ways of life” (Neuenschwander, 2002, p. 65). The methodology of conducting oral history interviews has been standardized. The Oral History Association released principles and standards which outline the responsibility to narrators, interviewers, and several external stakeholders (Neuenschwander, 2002). While these principles and standards provide guidelines for professional conduct, they do not restrict innovation and imagination. The Oral History Association created useful checklists for designing, conducting,

and processing oral history narratives (Oral history, 2000). With proper training, oral histories can be utilized by researchers from any discipline.

Oral histories are valuable primary sources and conform to central tenets qualitative research. “Oral history derives its value not from resisting the unexpected, but from relishing it” (Ritchie, 2003, p 13). Narrators share the stories they want to share. Sometimes narrator stories deviate into new, uncharted topic areas, when this occurs, interviewers must resist the urge to immediately return to the planned topic or an opportunity may be lost.

“Memory is the core of oral history, from which meaning can be extracted and preserved” (Ritchie, 2003, p. 19). Memory is fallible. The oral history interviewer can mediate faulty memory by conducting preparatory research to assist narrators, provide context and structure through questions, and mutually address misstatements and contradictions in narratives (Ritchie, 2003). According to Thompson (2000), “The oral history interviewer has to be a good listener, the narrator an active helper” (p. 23). Not every perceived event is retained in memory, nor are all the details in a retained memory. Narrators remember what they find important. Those at the center of events can remember their own contributions, but people on the periphery are more able to make comparisons between central figures. “The memory process depends upon interest” of the narrator (Thompson, 2000, p. 131). Interviewers will evaluate the credibility of the narrations after the recordings.

Historical analysis is a complex process involving several sources of information. Moss (1977) illustrated the components involved in the process of historical analysis with the levels of evidence, including oral history narratives in the process (see Figure 3.1). People, places, events, and objects form historical reality reassembled from selected primary union sources.

Recollections and reflections are the creation of a combination of historical reality and

continuing experiences. These memories can be captured in documents, but may also be obtained through oral history narratives. Oral history narratives provide continuing experience insights regarding historical reality. A collective study of written and oral sources, as used in this project, provided the basis of proper historical analysis.

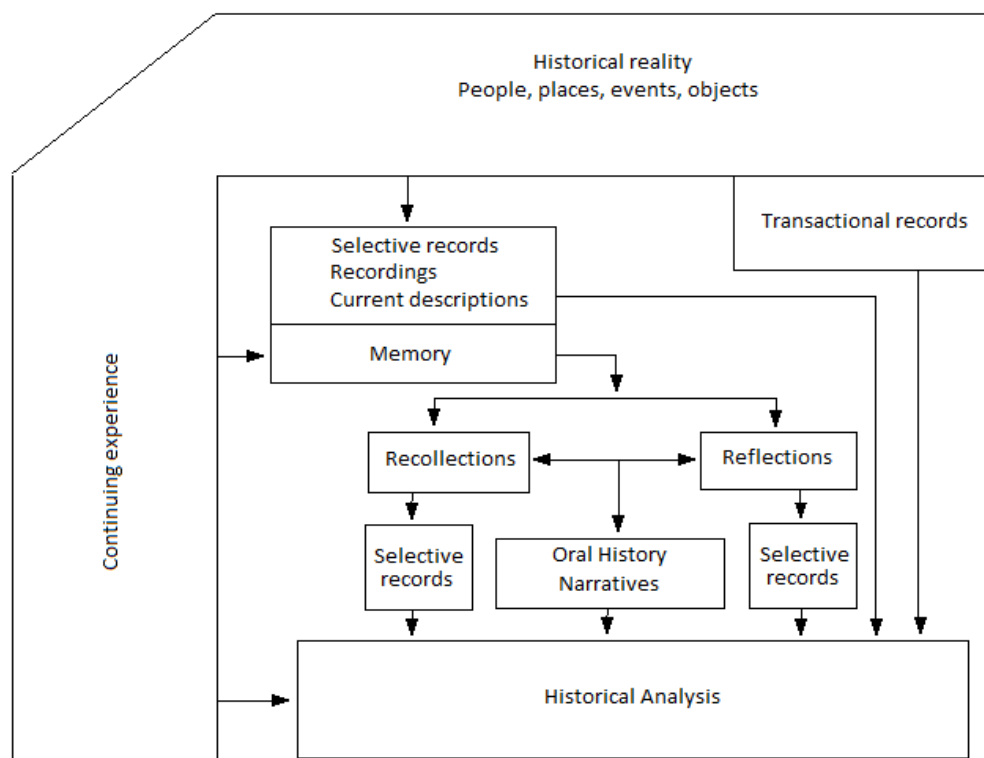


Figure 3.1. Components of historical analysis. Levels of evidence and the place of oral history interviewing in the process. Selective records include personal journals, scrapbooks, retrospective writings, and oral recordings. Adapted from: Moss, W. (1977). Oral history: An appreciation. *American Archivist*, 40, 429-439.

The oral history narratives used in this dissertation classify it as community study. A community study consists of a large number of people who share a common interest. This project was designed primarily for an audience of Minnesota two-year college union faculty, also making it a public history (Whitman, 2004).

Historical Research

Stimmann Branson (1982) offered central principles to the study of history: 1) History is

concerned with the uniqueness of events, persons, and movements in the past; 2) History is dynamic, it is a process; it is the unfolding of the human story; 3) History depends on evidence; it is an effort to get the facts straight; 4) History is an indispensable aid to understanding contemporary problems and issues; and 5) History is a matter of interpretation and reinterpretation (Stimmann Branson, 1982). The history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union was the result of unique events and persons. The narrators provided narrations concerning union events and persons which were deemed trustworthy by the primary union documents utilized in this project. Likewise, the primary documents were deemed trustworthy through the events and persons mentioned in the narratives. The interpretative paradigm was ideal for the interpretation and reinterpretation of data analyzed in this project. The researcher believes the history will aid the understanding of contemporary problems, but cannot predict the impact before it is realized.

Stimmann Branson (1982) explained our past was different from our present. Each event, person, or movement was unique, so history concerns itself with knowledge about specific events, persons, or movements of a particular past over generalizations. History students attempt to recreate in their mind what it was like to live in another time and place. They must empathize and sympathize with individuals, institutions, customs, or ideas which may at first seem foreign. Only with a developed feel for a particular era can one understand the past. One cannot simply use contemporary insights to judge the past. Instead, one must consider the information, realities, and beliefs of other times. They did not have the information available today. They may have lacked similar values and priorities. In short, the present was their future (Stimmann Branson, 1982). History moves and is never static. History is not a series of snapshots of the past, rather events which lead from one to another. Students of history are interested in the unfolding

process. They focus on movement through time which explain how and why a society, person, or movement took the course it did (Stimmann Branson, 1982). Knowing the roots of present problems and issues is essential to understanding and coping with them. It would be foolish to attempt to solve any problem without knowing how and why it arose. Such knowledge is not a certain prescription for action in the present. History does not repeat itself or history teach predictable lessons. (Stimmann Branson, 1982). How and why are inseparable questions for the historian. The historian seeks to understand the reasons individuals and groups did what they did (Stimmann Branson, 1982).

Research Paradigm – Interpretive (Hermeneutics)

An interpretive paradigm guided this qualitative research project. Kuhn (1962) defined a paradigm as a research community that shares values, beliefs, and assumptions regarding the nature and conduct of research. The choice of research paradigm is a direct reflection of researchers' epistemological understanding of the world. The interpretation of research findings reveals the researchers' underlying philosophies and draws on the notion that "all knowledge is knowledge from some point of view" (Fishman, 1978, p. 531). The researcher's point of view reveals a paradigm preference.

Combining primary documents, oral history narratives, secondary contextual data, and broader analyses facilitate the historic interpretation of each data set and allows for the creation of new knowledge and insight (Bottoms, 2000; Bryman, 2004). Interpretivists believe there is no single method or route to knowledge (Willis, 1995). Analyzing the data sets with inductive and deductive reasoning, separately at first, then moving back and forth between the data sets with the knowledge produced by each one, and finally bringing those together, enables the

interpretation of the data from a multidimensional perspective. Observation and interpretation make meaning and draw inferences between information and abstract patterns (Aikenhead, 1997).

An interpretive paradigm is an effective and appropriate strategy for situating a qualitative historic research project because according to Willis (2008), “the goal of interpretive research is an understanding of a particular situation or context much more than the discovery of universal laws or rules” (p. 99). Interpretivists focus on the evaluation of interpretive theories, not on the generation of new theories (Gadamer, 1976). Interpretive research addresses issues of influence and impact and focuses on the questions “why” and “how” (Deetz, 1996). These questions are addressed with continuous attention to context analyses (Reeves & Hedberg, 2003). The Hirschman theoretical framework utilized in this project is a good example of an interpretive theory. Its evaluation was central to this project.

Interpretive hermeneutics creates a holistic understanding of historic events. Examination of written and oral data includes an empathetic “imagining of the experience, motivations, and context of the speaker/author, and then engaging in a circular analysis that alternates between data and the situated scene” (Tracy, 2013, p. 42). To interpret the data, historical context must be considered. Beyond the simple reconstruction of timeline of actual events, insight will be gained from personal accounts of those who experienced the timeline (Wright & Losekoot, 2012). Every attempt should be made “to see the world through the participant’s eyes” (Tracy, 2013, p. 41). The complexity of the historic reconstruction calls upon multiple types of sources to provide context and broader analyses. Heidegger (1962) adopted interpretive hermeneutics as a form of research inquiry. Heidegger believed, “the meaning of qualitative description as a method lies in interpretation” (p. 61). He saw description in itself as a form of interpretation. In essence,

interpretive hermeneutics “seeks to elucidate or make explicit our understanding of human behaviors and actions” (Allen & Jensen, 1990, p. 244). Interpretive hermeneutics acknowledges the researchers’ subjectivities and role in the interpretation instead of separating them from the research (Gadamer, 1976; Koch, 1995). Data were interpreted through alternative streams of consciousness, drawing upon personal, expert knowledge. Experiences as a Minnesota two-year college faculty union leader provided the researcher with valuable insight in the interpretation of historic union activities.

Hermeneutics is derived from ancient Greece and Hermes, the messenger of the gods. Hermeneutics was originally used in the interpretation of ancient texts. From medieval times, hermeneutics was included in the study of law and the interpretation of judgments in the context of where and when judgment was made coupled with the social and cultural traditions of the time (Wright & Losekoot, 2012). Understanding is achieved by considering independent parts of the whole and the whole itself. The interplay between the parts and whole is in continual movement (Gadamer, 1976). Again, historical context and analysis provide the parts necessary to interpret the whole. The literature review for an interpretive project of this nature must be broad and exhaustive.

Heidegger (1927) emphasized uncovering reality from the perspective of the experiencing participant. The world is revealed to the experiencer. Experiencer disclosure is essential to historic recreation. Oral history narratives are custom made for providing this connection to the past. The reciprocity between text and context is part of what Heidegger called the hermeneutic circle (Agosta, 2010; Heidegger, 1962; Weber, 1920). This research project will continuously explore this reciprocity. Understanding, to Heidegger, is neither a method of reading nor the outcome of a carefully conducted procedure of critical reflection. The

understanding of our world is limited by the manner in which we orient ourselves in it.

Heidegger argued, understanding of the world cannot be achieved by simply gathering a collection of facts. Through the synthesizing activity of understanding, the world is disclosed as a totality of meaning. The world is defined by self-interpretive endeavors (Agosta, 2010; Gadamer, 1960; Heidegger 1962). The timeline of Minnesota two-year college faculty union activities is incomplete without the narratives of those who experienced the activities.

Data triangulation, complementarity, and expansion are inherent components of the interpretive paradigm and will be utilized in this project (Greene et al., 1989). Data triangulation denotes the data obtained from one source can act as a check on data obtained from another source. Comparing data from different sources enhances the confidence of the researcher that the concept was accurately measured (Glogowska, 2011). Data triangulation seeks stronger evidence for conclusions through convergence and corroboration of data from different sources (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Johnson & Christensen, 2013; Patton, 2002). Data triangulation improves truthfulness of findings while minimizing bias (Greene et al., 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Seale, 1999; Stenbacka, 2001; Yin, 2003). When corroboration, convergence, or confirmation between data sources occurs, greater confidence in the data results (Moran Ellis et al., 2006; Morgan, 1998; Patton, 2002). The interpretation of the data is not subject to triangulation. Drawing from a vast collection of data sources ranging from national studies, primary union resources, and oral history narratives to discover possible convergence and corroboration is important to this project. The researcher recognizes the criticism raised by Morgan (1998) that interpretive research can be biased by attempts to identify “convergent findings” or failing to find adequate time and resources to discover “the same thing twice” (p. 365).

Complementarity “seeks elaboration, illustration, and clarification of the results” from one method with the results from another (Johnson & Christensen, 2013, p. 451).

Complementarity enhances the strengths and minimizes the weakness of individual methods (Greene et al., 1989). Expansion “extends the breadth and range of inquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components” (Johnson & Christensen, 2013, p. 451). Knowledge is viewed as being both constructed and based on the reality of the world we experience and live in (Johnson & Christensen, 2013). Minnesota two-year college union activities were explained through a variety of sources. When comparing information of a specific union activity from various resources, similar results demonstrated corroboration while variations may point to important differences in interpretation.

Trustworthiness

According to Merriam (1998), reliability and validity cannot be strictly applied to the qualitative paradigm, particularly when the researcher is more interested in questioning and understanding the meaning and interpretation of phenomena. The idea of discovering truth through measures of reliability and validity is replaced by the concept of trustworthiness (Mishler, 2000; Seale, 1999). Trustworthiness can be established by using four strategies: credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability, which can be viewed as analogous to the quantitative criteria of internal and external validity, reliability, and neutrality (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Creswell, 1998). If trustworthiness can be maximized, results are more “credible and defensible” (Johnson, 1997, p. 283).

Validity determines whether the research measures what it was intended to measure and how truthful the responses (Bashir, Afzal, & Azeem, 2008). In qualitative research, validity deals with description and explanation, and whether or not the given explanation fits a given

description (Kvale, 1989). Validity becomes the extent the data is plausible, credible, trustworthy, accurate, authentic, genuine, or sound (Salkind, 1997). The implementation of verification strategies and self-correcting methods utilized in interpretive research makes validity an inherent function (Bashir et al., 2008).

Reliability is a measure of consistency, stability, and predictability (Salkind, 1997). In qualitative studies, reliability has the purpose of “generating understanding” (Stenbacka, 2001, p. 551). Dependability is analogous to reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Reliability becomes problematic because human behavior is highly contextual and changes continuously with various influences (Merriam, 1998).

Credibility is the extent to which the data and analysis are believable. Credibility measures how research findings match reality and is analogous internal validity. Member checking is one method to increase credibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Research findings are transferable if they fit into new contexts outside the actual study context. Transferability is analogous to external validity (Maxwell, 1992). Confirmability is the degree to which the research findings can be confirmed or corroborated by others (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

McMillian and Schumacher (2006) identified several techniques designed to improve trustworthiness in qualitative research. The researcher utilized several of these techniques including prolonged and persistent field work, multi-method strategies, participant language verbatim accounts, mechanically recorded data, participant researcher, member checking, participant review, and negative or discrepant data (McMillian & Schumacher, 2006). Prolonged and persistent field work allows for data analysis and corroboration to ensure match between findings and participants reality. Multi-method strategies provides for data triangulation. Participant language verbatim accounts capture the literal statements of participants.

Mechanically recorded data uses tape recorders, photographs, and videotapes to memorialize actual events. Participant researcher utilizes participant recorded perceptions in scrapbooks and other records for potential corroboration. Member checking includes checking informally with participants for accuracy. Participant review allows participants to review researcher's synthesis of interviews with person for accuracy of representation. Negative or discrepant data actively search for record, analyze, and report negative or discrepant data that are an exception to patterns or that modify patterns found in data (McMillian & Schumacher, 2006). It is expected that these techniques will increase the truthfulness, and therefore the validity and reliability, of the data and analyses of this project.

Participants

The population available in this project included all Minnesota two-year college faculty union members past and present. Minnesota State Junior College Faculty Association (MJCFA), Minnesota Community College Faculty Association (MCCFA), United Technical College Educators (UTCE), and Minnesota State College Faculty (MSCF) members are considered part of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. Minnesota two-year college fair-share faculty, part-time or full-time, are not members of the union.

Sample

Oral history narrators were purposefully selected from past and present union officers including Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurers, as well as, members who able to provide insight into the pivotal activities of the faculty union. Written primary sources, used to establish the timeline of union activities and events, identified important union figures.

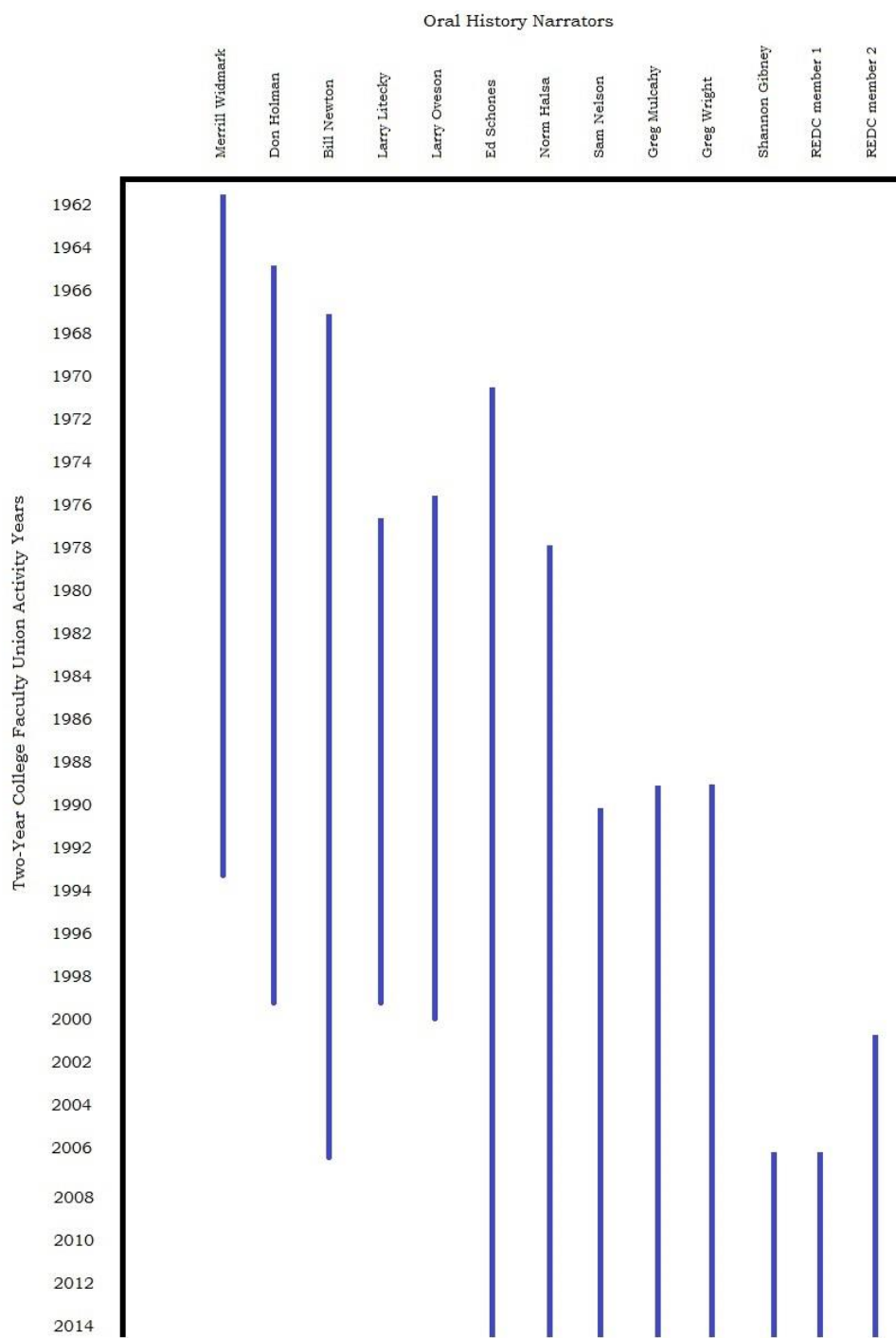
Champions and skeptics of union activities were identified. Eyewitnesses to the activities of the

union were selected to share their experiences and perspectives which may otherwise have been excluded from strictly leadership accounts (see Table 3.1). Narrators from across the entire timeline were identified (see Figure 3.2). State union leadership lists were public information and obtained with minimal effort. The researcher is a member of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union Board of Directors and created a list of participants through personal contacts. Once initial narrators were identified, the snowball was utilized to identify additional narrators.

Table 3.1. List of oral history narrators with position and/or expertise

Narrator	Position/Expertise
Merrill Widmark	MJCFA President-MJCFA/MCCFA Historian
Don Holman	MCCFA Governmental Relations Chair-EM Liaison
Bill Newton	MCCFA/MSCF Executive Director-Field Staff
Sam Nelson	MCCFA/MSCF Chapter President-Semester Conversion
Larry Litecky	MCCFA President
Larry Oveson	MCCFA/MSCF President
Ed Schones	UTCE/MSCF President
Greg Mulcahy	MSCF President
Norm Halsa	UTCE/MSCF Chapter President/MSCF Technical Vice-President
Shannon Gibney	MSCF Racial Equity and Diversity Committee (REDC) member
Gregg Wright	MSCF Secretary
REDC member 1	MSCF Racial Equity and Diversity Committee (REDC) member
REDC member 2	MSCF Racial Equity and Diversity Committee (REDC) member

Figure 3.2. List of oral history narrators with union activity years



Instrument(s) for Data Collection

An oral history narrator interview guide was developed outlining the topics and general questions to guide narratives (see Appendix C). A timeline of the major activities of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union, created from primary union documents, assisted in the formulation of questions for specific narrators (see Appendix B). A digital recorder was utilized to capture the oral history narratives. The oral history narratives were conducted in locations lacking interruptions and excessive ambient noise to ensure superior recordings. The IRB informed consent forms were signed at the beginning of the oral history narratives. The researcher used the contract analysis tool utilized by Kater and Levin (2005) to examine the *Faculty handbook of policies, regulations, and procedures: Willmar state junior college division of Willmar community college* (Willmar State Junior College, 1965) and the 2013-2015 Minnesota State College Faculty contract (see Appendix H).

Collection of Data

Primary union documents were obtained from the archives at MSCF headquarters in St. Paul, Minnesota and from the personal files of past and present union members. The scrapbooks utilized in this project were obtained from retired members without special request. Informal conversations about historic union activities and events revealed the scrapbooks, which were then shared by their owners. The scrapbooks contained personal reflections of union activities and events memorialized in time, unaltered by memory. Scrapbooks identified additional union activities and events which failed to be addressed in the other primary union documents. Two scrapbooks were donated to the MSCF for preservation by their owner, Merrill Widmark. A third scrapbook was returned to its owner, Larry Theyry. A partial listing of union newsletters were

initially obtained through the Minnesota Historical Society library in St. Paul, Minnesota. The complete list of union newsletters, Board of Director's minutes, Delegate Assembly minutes, and Executive Committee minutes were obtained from the Minnesota State College Faculty (MSCF) headquarters in St. Paul, Minnesota. All documents were digitally scanned. The researcher returned all primary documents and provided MSCF with a copy of the digital files for their records.

Oral history narrators were identified by elected position and/or contribution to the timeline of the union. Once identified, each narrator received an invitation letter outlining the nature of project. The IRB informed consent form and biographical information form accompanied the letter (see Appendix D). Narrators who agreed to the process were contacted by email or phone to arrange a recording place and time. Topics of the narratives were shared, but specific questions were not. Recording equipment was tested before each oral history narrative. The organization of multiple narratives was mediated through standardized forms (see Appendix D). Whitman (2004) produced the standardized forms utilized in this project. Oral histories were transcribed verbatim and returned to the narrators for member checking. Narrators edited transcripts and returned edited transcripts with signed member checking forms.

Analysis

Thomas Lee (1998), author of *Using Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*, suggested data analysis should follow a three step procession, from data condensation to data categorization and finally data interpretation. However, these steps do not occur in progression. The analysis of existing and emerging data was continuous and interwoven. During

data collection, coding, and analysis, interpretation remained a fluid concept. The use of figures, graphs, boxes and tables were common methods to illustrate and enhance data interpretation.

Primary Documents

Union, system-wide, and personal primary sources were coded, analyzed for common themes, and sorted by historic period. Significant union persons, activities, and events from the defined time periods were identified in the primary union documents. Additional themes were identified through the coding process and categorized into the appropriate time period. The significant union persons, activities, events, and additional themes identified through coding were the primary topics utilized in the oral history narratives.

Oral History Narratives

A reconstructive cross analysis of the oral history narratives was performed. “The oral evidence is will be treated as a quarry from which to construct an argument about patterns of behaviors or events in the past” (Thompson, 2000, p. 271). The data triangulation analysis compared narrative evidence from multiple narrators with other types of data. Reconstructive cross analysis and the resulting fuller narratives are essential for any systematic development of the interpretation of history (Thompson, 2000). The critical approach to oral history research includes analysis of consistency in testimony with the reliability, validity, and accuracy in relating factual information (Yow, 2005). Narrators who “tend to mythologize or to produce stereotyped generalizations” create narrations with questionable truthfulness (Thompson, 2000). The narrators were able to accurately recall significant union persons, activities, and events of the timeline without hesitation. Likewise, persons, activities, and events not included in the initial timeline recalled by the narrators, appeared in primary documents. The narrators were

deemed reliable and their narratives valid and accurate. The interpretation of the persons, activities, and events were not subjected to data triangulation analysis.

The transcribed oral history narratives were coded. Coding is a useful tool for managing large amounts of data. “Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56). A variety of strategies can be applied to generate meaning, including the use of themes, forming clusters of like information and making metaphors, as well as making comparison and contrasts of the data. The process of data analysis with any qualitative study requires constant attention to emerging themes which assists in the generation of meaning from the data. Forming clusters of like information and making metaphors, as well as making comparison and contrasts of the data, can reveal new meanings. Miles and Huberman (1994) supported the use of emerging themes “to pull a mass of facts and findings into a wide-ranging, coherent set of generalizations” (p. 17). Attention was placed on the historic period after themes were identified and compared with primary sources of identical themes. The narratives enhanced the initial timeline themes and created in new themes.

Interpretive Process

Primary printed documents were collected and coded for topics and themes, such as internal activities (constitutions, committees, contracts, negotiations, affiliations, internal issues (membership, dues, communications, conferences, elections), academic issues, legislative issues, legal Issues, and mergers. The data was additionally coded by time periods. The primary document data was examined with secondary sources for context, which led to new insights. The oral history narrations were conducted and coded for topics and themes, followed by time periods. The narrations were examined with secondary sources for context. New perspectives

were gained through the examination. Oral history narratives were combined with primary printed documents by common themes and time periods. The combined data was examined with additional secondary sources. The continual revisiting of data sets with new data sets was important to interpretive paradigm analysis (see Figure 3.3).

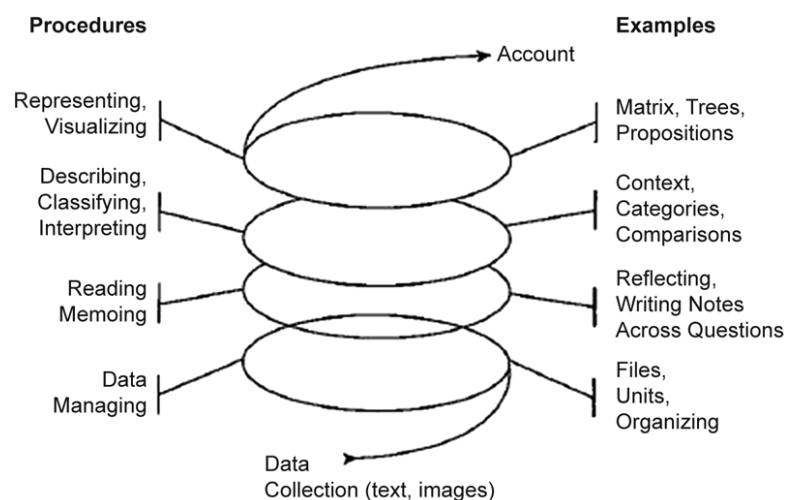


Figure 3.3. Interpretive analysis process. Adapted from Creswell (2007).

Human Subject Approval

In an effort to ensure the rights and welfare of subjects participating in this project, all requirements of the St. Cloud State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) were strictly adhered to. Several past and present union members and officers participated in oral history narratives. The narrators shared their recollections of union activities and recalled external and internal union influences. Further, narrators were asked to reflect on the levels of academic, governance, and working condition factor satisfaction with the profession and mitigation of satisfaction by the union. Narrators were invited to participate by mail. They were given an informed consent notification which was signed and returned to the researcher if willing to

participate. Interviews were scheduled for one and one half to two hours at locations and times convenient for narrators. Narrators were free to refuse to answer any questions and stop the interview at any time. Elected union leadership retained identifiers. Anonymity was maintained for all other narrators. All narrators were at least eighteen years old. Narrators provided written permission to be audio recorded. Several narrators were over sixty-five years old and classified as vulnerable. The researcher was careful not to be critical of misstatements. Narrators shared the stories they wished to share. The audio recorded narrations were transcribed and returned to the narrators during member checking. Narrators were able to make changes to the transcript and return to the researcher with a signed member checking form. Reflections were coded by theme and time period. Participants retained no identifiers regarding campus assignment, age, discipline, or other information that may reveal identity. Transcripts of non-elected union members used pseudonyms to protect their identities. Little or no potential risks were identified with participation in this project. The digitally recorded oral histories and transcripts were stored on a password protected computer during the duration of the research project. The recordings and transcripts of narrators were deleted upon receipt of the researcher's doctoral degree. An elected union leader oral history narration was retained by the Minnesota two-year college faculty union headquarters in St. Paul, Minnesota if a signed legal release from the narrator was obtained. The IRB granted approval of this project on June 1, 2106 and expired on May 31, 2017 (see Appendix D).

Procedures and Timeline

The idea for this dissertation was born in fall 2013 during the first course, U.S. Higher Education, in the St. Cloud State University Higher Education Administration program.

Although primary and secondary sources were compiled beginning in fall of 2013, research efforts intensified during the second year of the program. The research topics focused on 1) the history of national higher education unions (NEA, AFT, and AAUP); 2) the history of general United States and Minnesota labor unions; 3) nationwide two-year college faculty satisfaction survey studies; 4) national reasons for unionization and collective bargaining studies; and 5) national collective bargaining contract examination studies. The researcher participated in the Higher Education Administration qualifying exam during the fall term of 2015. By the end of spring semester of the third year of the program, a draft of chapters one, two, and three was completed. The dissertation chair and committee members were identified in April 2016. The researcher participated in the proposal defense in May 2016. Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was secured in June 2016. A timeline of Minnesota two-year college union history was created for the formation of specific narrator questions (see Appendix B). An interview guide for oral history narratives was created (see Appendix C). Oral history narrators were identified, contacted, and interviews conducted during June, July, and August in 2016. The researcher believed current and retired faculty narrators had additional free time to participate in this project during the summer months. Primary union sources were collected, coded, and organized by theme and historic period during fall semester 2016. The oral history narratives were transcribed and coded from September to November of 2016.

The writing of chapters four and five began in the winter of 2016. Results were compiled and analyzed. Conclusions were drafted. A draft of the dissertation was presented to the advisor in January 2017. After advisor comments were addressed, the researcher prepared for the final defense. The researcher participated in the final dissertation defense during spring semester of 2017.

Summary

Chapter three addressed the unique nature of oral history narratives. The qualitative research design and the interpretive paradigm was explained. Participant sampling and instruments for the oral history narratives were explained. The processes used for data collection and analysis were explored. Human subject approval, procedures, and timeline concluded the chapter. The data results of the primary union document examination and oral history narratives were coded by theme and historic period and placed into chapter four. A discussion of the results occurred in chapter five.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

*Don't scab for the bosses
Don't listen to their lies
Us poor folks haven't got a chance
Unless we organize*

“Which side are you on?” – Florence Patton Reece (1931)

A timeline of union activities and events was created through an examination of primary union sources. Initial reasons for unionization and collective bargaining by Minnesota two-year college faculty were captured in primary source union documents. Oral history narratives provided additional insight into these events and augmented the timeline.

Archival documents have the advantage of not being influenced by later events or otherwise changing over time, as an oral history narrator might, documents are sometimes incomplete, inaccurate, and deceiving (Ritchie, 2003, p. 26).

The value of oral histories under this circumstance became apparent. Additional insight into why events in Minnesota may have occurred was provided by the literature review of national education labor union activities and faculty satisfaction.

1869-1913 Two-Year College Conceptualization

One of the most important contributors to the concept of the junior college and its implementation was William Watts Folwell (Gerber, 1971; see Appendix K for photo). William Watts Folwell was from Romulus, New York, and came to Minnesota prior to the opening of the University of Minnesota in 1869. Folwell was inaugurated as the first University of Minnesota President on December 22, 1869 (Gerber, 1971). Folwell advocated a new concept of the four-year university (Blegen, 1963). He suggested a federation of small four-year institutions discontinue their last two years of instruction and concentrate solely on the freshman and

sophomore years. Folwell regarded the freshman and sophomore college years as strictly preparatory for the rigors of discipline study during the last two years of college. The freshman and sophomore years of college work were seen as extensions of secondary education. The specialized and professional training of junior, senior, and graduate years were seen as collegiate (see Figure 4.1). Folwell believed two-year colleges should function in high schools until students were prepared to advance to the University of Minnesota (Blegen, 1963). Folwell developed his proposal into what he called the “Minnesota Plan,” and it was adopted by the University of Minnesota regents in 1870 (Blegen, 1963; Gerber, 1971). William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago, Henry Tappan of the University of Michigan, Dean Alexis Lange of the University of California, Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University, Andrew D. White of Cornell University, Daniel C. Gilman of John Hopkins University, and Edmund James of the University of Illinois were active supporters of Folwell’s plan (Butts & Cremin, 1953; Keller et al., 1958). In 1875, Folwell presented his “Minnesota Plan” before the NEA,

This substance of the plan was to detach the first two years of college work and merge them with the two years of preparatory work into a so-called collegiate department. In this day the better term ‘junior college’ would be used (p. 52).

William Rainey Harper was credited with coining the term “junior college” (Gerber, 1971; see Appendix K for photo). At the end of the junior college period of study, a degree would not be conferred. Instead, a student would receive a certificate that confirmed their ability to advance to university study (Gerber, 1971). Folwell, Harper, Tappan, Lange, Eliot, White, Gilman, and James advocated the return of the first two years of university study to the secondary school or to a separate junior college division within the university. Senior college addressed the last two years of study (see Figure 4.1). The purpose of senior college was to strengthen the research

function and graduate education within the university (Butts & Cremin, 1953; Keller et al., 1958). The lack of well-developed high schools coupled with fierce opposition by a handful of University of Minnesota faculty members stopped implementation of the Minnesota Plan. Faculty voiced their objections to the University of Minnesota regents in March 1872. Their principal objections were 1) the plan was not in harmony with the established American system of education; and 2) Minnesota high schools would be unable to provide instruction equivalent to the first two-years of college. They believed the Minnesota Plan was a “vain and illusory hope” (Folwell, 1921, pp. 70). A hearing of the Minnesota Plan was held on July 16, 1872.

On the motion of General Sibley a resolution was adopted that, after full consideration, it was the judgment of the board that it was ‘not expedient to make any radical change or modification in the settled policy of the university’ (Folwell, 1921, p. 71).

The regents withdrew their support for the plan. The Minnesota Plan remained a recorded idea from 1871 to 1885. In 1884, Cyrus Northrop succeeded Folwell as University of Minnesota president and moved the university in a traditional direction of development, effectively scraping the junior college concept (Gerber, 1971). Folwell’s concept of the junior college was far ahead of its time.

The first actual separation of the junior college from the senior college came with the opening of the reorganized University of Chicago under President William Rainey Harper in 1892 (Butts & Cremin, 1953). He established the private community colleges of Lewis Institute in Chicago in 1896, and the Bradley Polytechnic Institute in Peoria in 1897 (Eby, 1927; Hillway, 1958; McDowell, 1919). President Harper wanted to establish the junior college as a recognized entity in American higher education (Angell, 1941). He believed the difference between the first and last two years of college was greater than between high school and college (Bergquist &

Pawlak, 2008). Harper believed the completion of junior college was identical to the completion of the work of the German Gymnasium for which German students completed before proceeding to university work. University work was discipline specific and led to professions that emphasized individualized work and resources (Angell, 1941). Harper encouraged Chicago area high schools to form “a new kind of school, a ‘junior college’ for students who did not have the time or money for four years of higher education” (Fretwell, 1954, p.12). Six high schools explored the establishment of junior colleges, but the only one was established. In 1902, Joliet, Illinois boasted the first public junior college in the United States (Eby & Arrowood, 1934). Because of his ability to successfully implement the first junior college, Fretwell (1954) credited Harper as being “the father of the junior college” (p.12).

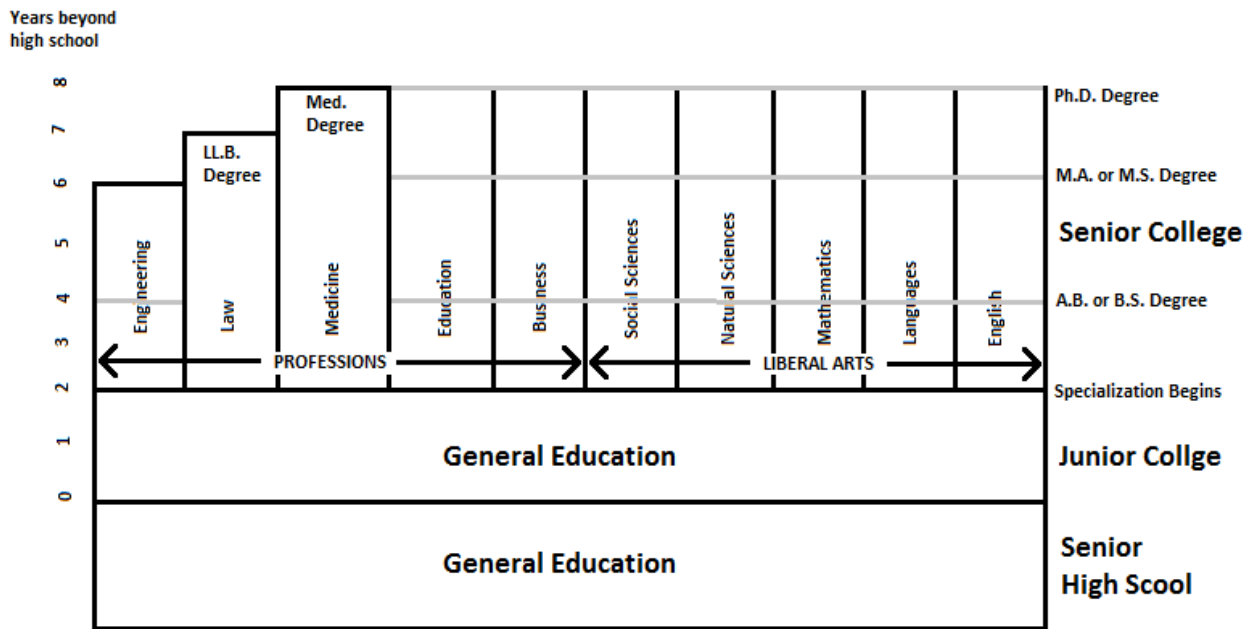


Figure 4.1. The Place of the Junior College in Higher Education. Adapted from Chadwick, R.D. (1934). Public junior colleges of Minnesota. *The Junior College Journal*, 5(7), p. 348.

Although Folwell was unable to establish junior colleges in Minnesota, he was able to solicit state aid for high schools students committed to study at the University of Minnesota in

1878 (Blegen, 1963). State aid of \$400 was given to every high school preparing students for the University of Minnesota. By 1899, funding levels increased to \$800 and all preparatory schools received state aid (Folwell, 1921). High schools received \$800 a year, graded schools \$200, semi-graded schools \$100, and rural schools \$75. The funding led David Jones of the University of California to proclaim in 1903,

To Minnesota belongs the distinction of being the first state in the union to provide free post-secondary instruction in public high schools for all qualified pupils in the state (Johnson, 1910, pp. 81-83).

Between 1860 and 1913, six normal schools were established in Minnesota with locations at Winona, Mankato, St. Cloud, Moorhead, Duluth, and Bemidji. For almost fifty years a statewide system was built around teacher training, first for elementary schools and later for high schools. By 1921 these schools were designated as state teachers' colleges, with four-year courses and the authority to confer bachelors' degrees. In 1957, normal schools shed their teacher college status and became public four-year colleges, with the exception of Duluth, which became part of the University of Minnesota. The four-year institutions continued to expand their programs, but continued to train educators for Minnesota schools. They raised standards in accordance with state requirements for granting of teachers' certificates (Blegen, 1963).

1914-1934 Minnesota Two-Year College Origins

The first junior colleges in Minnesota were realized under the leadership of University of Minnesota president, George E. Vincent (see Appendix K for photo). He believed junior colleges would bolster enrollment for the University of Minnesota (Helland, 1984). Vincent (1917) suggested Minnesota be divided into districts with regional junior colleges. He was interested in

creating a statewide campus (Meyer, 1956). Despite the establishment of junior colleges in 1914, Vincent's vision of a statewide campus would not be realized until 1963. In his six years at the University of Minnesota, 1911 to 1917, Vincent forwarded an aggressive junior college agenda despite opposition from University departments and the Minnesota Legislature (Ford, 1941). Ford (1941) believed Vincent's leadership was critical to the development of Minnesota junior colleges. Vincent advocated for the establishment of junior colleges in high schools (Meyer, 1956). On May 25, 1914, a University of Minnesota Senate meeting, chaired by Dean John F. Downey, passed "Regulations as to the Recognition of Credit in a School Giving a Partial College Course and the Admittance of Students From Such School to Advanced Standing in the University" (Senate minutes, 1914). These regulations allowed private academies, seminaries, and public high schools to supply one or two years of college instruction. The University of Minnesota evaluated and approved the junior college curriculum, but local public school districts were responsible for the operation of these colleges. Local school district superintendents served as junior college administrators and buildings were owned by the school district. (Helland, 1984). The State of Minnesota provided no financial assistance for junior college students (Helland, 1984).

As predicted by the research findings of Puyear (2001), Minnesota junior colleges emerged as University of Minnesota branch colleges, developed from high schools. Forty-five years after Folwell introduced the Minnesota Plan, the first Minnesota junior college was established in Cloquet in 1914 (Cloquet School Board Minutes, 1914). Perhaps it was coincidental, but President Vincent spoke in Cloquet on May 14, 1914 (Cloquet Pine Knot, 1914b), and the Cloquet School Board passed a resolution on August 1, 1914 for the establishment of a junior college (Cloquet School Board Minutes, 1914). On August 7, 1914, it

was reported that Cloquet high school was authorized to add a two year college program, and required six students to initiate the program. The announcement read,

This course will be identical with the first two years in the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts of the University of Minnesota, and anyone who is a graduate of an accredited high school may enter this college course. When this two year college course is completed, students may then go to the state university and be enrolled as a junior, completing university work in two years (Cloquet Pine Knot, 1914a, p. 1).

Cloquet Junior College began operations in 1915. On September 10, 1915, five students enrolled in the junior college (Cloquet Pine Knot, 1915). In 1916, student enrollment increased to fourteen and the first full-time junior college teacher, Mary E. Hartwell, was hired (Cloquet Pine Knot, 1916). Cloquet graduated thirty-eight high school students and the first junior college student in 1917. Ruth Logan was the first student to complete a junior college education in Minnesota (Cloquet Pine Knot, 1917). In the fall of 1918, a forest fire struck Cloquet. Nine hundred lives were lost in the natural disaster. The high school and junior college were destroyed. The fire ended the junior college, it never reopened (Cloquet Pine Knot, 1918a, 1918b).

Vincent lobbied for additional junior colleges across the state (Meyer, 1956). A motion made by Dr. Charles Mayo, Rochester School Board member, in August, 1915, called for a two year university program and the creation of Rochester Junior College (Jaycee Echo, 1940). The day after the meeting, eleven students enrolled into the university program and six additional students were added soon after (Rochester Daily, 1915a). On August 24, 1915, the college courses were adopted. Tuition was established at \$200 per student and three instructors were hired to teach history, English, science, mathematics, Latin, German, and French (Rochester

Daily, 1915b). Rochester Junior College became a charter member of the American Association of Junior Colleges (AAJC) in 1921 and was the first to be accredited by the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges in 1923 (Meyer, 1956). Rochester Community College remains the oldest operational two-year college in Minnesota.

When Vincent departed the University of Minnesota, he wrote an article that summarized his opinions on junior college roles. He said,

Junior college work properly conducted in connection with high schools is to be welcomed as a part of the American education system. There are two questions, however, of great importance. First, how are standards to be protected; and second, what is to be the method of support (Vincent, 1917, p. 4).

Vincent echoed Folwell's arguments that the first two years of a four-year education were for preparation and the last two years are for specialization. He believed junior colleges provided psychological and financial benefits for students who retained two additional years of family support. Many believed junior colleges would alleviate overcrowding at the University of Minnesota through the redistribution of students. However, junior colleges recruited students who attended local high schools and were unable to attend the University of Minnesota outright (Vincent, 1917).

The University of Minnesota developed regulations for junior college accreditation. A liaison between the University and junior colleges was needed. University of Minnesota Dean Johnston and his faculty, in conjunction with the Senate Committee on Relations of the University with Other Institutions, established junior college regulations and standards. Royal R. Shumway was appointed as the liaison in 1915 (Meyer, 1956; see Appendix K for photo). Shumway had instant credibility as one of the founders of the national AAJC (Meyer, 1956).

One of Johnston's primary goals was to limit enrollment at the University while improving student success. He worked to eliminate low ability student access into the University. He wanted junior colleges established in strategic locations throughout the state and to restrict enrollment only to students capable of completing University work. He saw Minnesota junior colleges as extensions of the University of Minnesota. Johnston believed the other junior colleges across the country provided general, vocational, and practical education, but failed to prepare students for senior college. He wanted nationwide junior colleges to adopt a more appropriate name, such as "higher technical schools" (Johnston, 1927). The Minnesota junior college curriculum mirrored the University of Minnesota in course content, title, and classification as required or elective. The rationale provided for curriculum decisions included, 1) the University of Minnesota was the accrediting agency for all of the junior colleges and the courses were designed as freshman and sophomore courses at the University, 2) a large portion of junior college students transfer to the University of Minnesota, and 3) the University of Minnesota College of Science, Literature, and Arts has two divisions called the Junior College and the Senior College. The University of Minnesota's Junior College name conferred prestige to junior college communities (Chadwick, 1934). On February 10, 1916, new accreditation standards for junior colleges were established (Meyer, 1956).

The University has had a profound effect upon the development of the junior colleges in Minnesota and each administrator in the junior college feels, with appreciation, the debt owed to the University for providing a liaison officer such as Shumway, who might well be called the 'patron saint' of the Minnesota junior colleges (Chadwick, 1934, p. 349). By the end of the twenties, Minnesota Junior Colleges were legalized and regular accreditation practices established. All seven public junior colleges were accredited by the University of

Minnesota and the Minnesota State Department of Education. The junior colleges at Hibbing, Virginia, Eveleth, and Duluth were accredited by the North Central Association (Meyer, 1956). With increased state involvement, a movement to change the restrictive mission of providing education only to students capable of doing University work was introduced. Chadwick (1934) proclaimed,

With its new General College it is within the realm of probably that the University will give a new orientation to the junior colleges of the state, and provide a leadership in a field in which the need is felt to be great, namely, in the field of terminal, general education for living, for citizenship, and for culture (p. 349).

Vincent advocated for state subsidies to supplement tuition and local taxes. He also cautioned that all accredited high schools should not become junior colleges. In Vincent opinion, restricting junior college expansion to a handful of regional centers was the only policy to be considered. He recommended the centers be established by a state board rather than the legislature, which could be influenced by local interest groups (Vincent, 1917).

In 1920, President of the University, M.L. Burton, stated junior colleges should take primary responsibility for the first two years of college education from the university.

If junior colleges could be established in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth, the situation would be wisely met for the present. We ought to look forward to the day when junior colleges will be established in various strategic centers throughout the state... This idea is not a new one. President Emeritus Folwell advocated the 'people's college' idea fifty years ago (President's Report, 1920, p. 85).

The main function of the junior colleges in the twenties was preparation for senior university work. These colleges, with a few exceptions, offered prerequisite courses for

advanced college courses (Meyer, 1956). As junior colleges addressed the first two-years of a four-year degree, Minnesota technical colleges continued to address the educational needs of students looking for the skills to secure immediate employment. Dr. Charles Allen Prosser was a key leader in the development and passage of the Vocational Education Act of 1917, commonly referred to as the Smith Hughes Act (Public Law 347, 64th Congress). The Smith Hughes Act was signed by President Wilson on February 23, 1917. The Smith-Hughes Act provided state funding for the promotion of vocational education and teacher training. The Act aimed to meet the needs of students over fourteen years of age who were preparing for an occupation after World War I (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). When the Minnesota legislature accepted the conditions of the Smith-Hughes Act (Special Laws of Minnesota 1916-17, Ch. 491, Senate File 946), the Vocational Education Division of the Department of Education was created. Through 1919 legislative action, the State High School Board became the State Board of Vocational Education. However, there was little coordination within the Minnesota system (Meyer, 1956; Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). After successful implementation of the Smith Hughes Act, Dr. Prosser came to Minnesota as the founding director of the Dunwoody Industrial Institute in Minneapolis (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

In 1921, Leonard V. Koos conducted the first comprehensive study of junior colleges; the two-year long project resulted in a two-volume publication of *The Junior College* published in 1924. Koos was a prolific junior college writer (see Appendix K for photo). He authored over fifty professional journal articles regarding junior colleges between 1920 and 1964 and edited the *Junior College Journal* from 1946 through 1949. He earned his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1916 and came to the University of Minnesota in 1919, where he served as a professor of secondary education for ten years. He returned to the University of Chicago, where

he remained until his retirement in 1946. (Conger & Schultz, 1970). Koos advanced the 6-4-4 plan, six years of elementary school, four-year junior high school, including grades seven through ten, and the first two years of college articulated with grades 11 and 12. He believed grades 11 through 14 were more educationally similar than any other possible groupings; the first two years of university work were essentially secondary in nature and should be articulated with grades 11 and 12 (Conger & Schultz, 1970). The 6-4-4 plan never gained broad support. Its peak of popularity was reached in 1946, with less than two dozen public and private institutions operating under this plan. Ten years later, only a handful of 6-4-4 junior colleges remained (Conger & Schultz, 1970).

University of Minnesota President Lotus D. Coffman changed statewide thinking about higher education in the twenties (see Appendix K for photo). He believed junior colleges were local community institutions. Unlike his predecessors, President Coffman advocated for an open door enrollment policy for junior colleges.

It is inconceivable that the state through legislative action or the university by fact will deny the privilege of a university education to any boy or girl who is prepared to profit from it (Coffman, 1920, p. 1).

Any proposed junior college required a three-fourths majority vote of local school district voters (Meyer, 1956). Several junior colleges were established around the state. Junior colleges were opened in Cloquet (1914), Rochester (1915), Faribault (1915), Hibbing (1916), Jackson (1916), Eveleth (1918), Pipestone (1919), Virginia (1921), Coleraine (1922), and Ely (1922). Many junior colleges closed quickly due to reasons ranging from lack of University accreditation, such as Faribault in 1918, to local superintendent departure, Jackson in 1918, or to natural disaster, Cloquet in 1918 (Helland, 1984). In most of early junior colleges, the

superintendents of local school districts provided leadership and school boards operated the colleges without financial assistance beyond their boundaries. Junior college facilities varied from town to town, but each was housed in a public school building (State Board for Community Colleges).

The Minnesota Legislature and Department of Education were of little importance in the establishment of junior colleges or the junior college system. During the 1925 session, eleven years after the establishment of the first junior college, the Minnesota Legislature finally legalized the junior colleges in existence and established regulations and guidelines for future junior colleges (S.F. 204, 1925). Although the state failed to provide financial support to junior colleges initially, it recognized new junior colleges needed sufficient financial backing to open. State leaders agreed a junior college should not be established unless it could enroll fifty students in the first year and 150 students by the fourth year of operation. The public school district supporting a junior college required an assessed valuation of \$3,000,000 free of outstanding debt and must have levied at least \$30,000 for junior college support (State Department of Education, 1925).

The State Department of Education displaced the University of Minnesota and assumed the supervisory position of Minnesota junior colleges. Local school districts retained direct control over junior college operations (Helland, 1984). A majority of junior college administrators and faculty were trained at the University of Minnesota. Despite the newly acquired legal power of the Minnesota Department of Education, the University of Minnesota continued to be the real power behind junior colleges, carrying out Folwell's "Minnesota Plan" (Meyer, 1956).

Duluth was the first junior college to be established after state legalization and provided a road map for others to follow (Helland, 1984). Inspired by the work of Koos, the Duluth Civic Council Committee built its case for a junior college in Duluth. The committee declared,

- 1) The teaching of one pupil in a junior college costs about \$125, if 200 students are enrolled;
 - 2) If other services besides teaching are provided the costs would be about \$200 to \$215 per student;
 - 3) The junior college must choose the pre-professional curricula carefully in order to keep the cost down;
 - 4) The smaller cities have a higher tax rate if they run a junior college;
 - 5) State aid is needed for a good junior college program
- (Graves, 1926, p. 1).

On August 7, 1926, a letter from George H. Spear interpreted State Law 1925, Chapter 103 for the committee as follows: “no department of junior college work may be established and maintained unless authorized by three-fourths majority vote of the district.” Spear believed Duluth could not charge tuition for resident pupils (Spear, 1926). In 1927, Representative C.E. Adams introduced a bill to authorize the school board of any school district in Minnesota, whose population is at least 50,000, to establish and maintain a junior college providing the first two years of college work and may charge tuition fees for instruction (Adams, 1927). The bill passed (Laws, 1927).

The people of Minnesota, especially its recent immigrants, identified higher education as a means of getting away from manual labor. The junior college seemed like the answer to higher education needs, particularly on the Iron Range, which was far from the university and had a large immigrant population. A sense of community spirit led to community competition rather than cooperation in the establishment of junior colleges (Meyer, 1956). By 1927, 325 public junior colleges were in operation in the United States (see Figure 4.2). Seven junior colleges

were in operation in Minnesota between 1927 and 1935 with six locations in the northeast meeting the educational needs of the large immigrant population of the Iron Range.

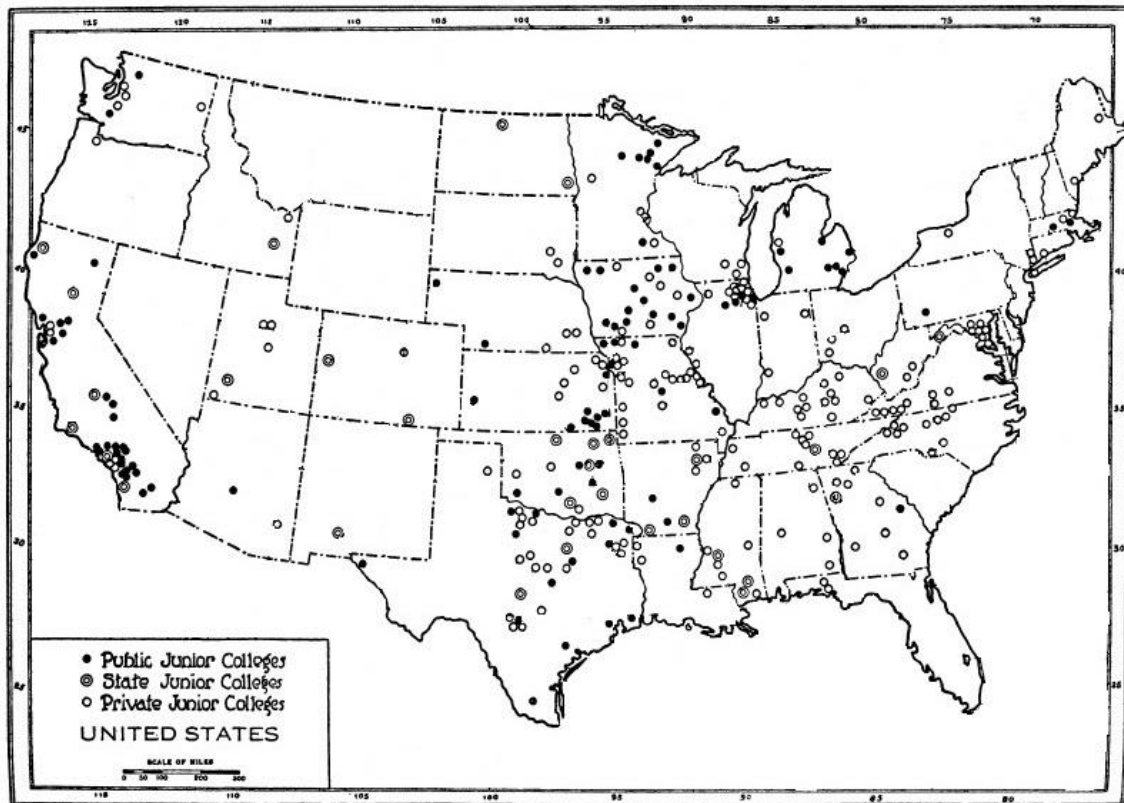


Figure 4.2. 1927 Location of the 325 Junior Colleges Operating in the U.S. Adapted from Chadwick, R.D. (1934). Public junior colleges of Minnesota. *The Junior College Journal*, 5(7), 342.

Junior college enrollments increased steadily from 938 students in 1927 to 2,170 students in 1931 (Meyer, 1956). Percentage increases were as follows: 1928 = 23.9 percent; 1929 = 35.4 percent; 1930 = 71.0 percent; 1931 = 131.3 percent. The Depression brought more students into junior colleges, but pre-professional programs were increasingly attractive to students. Many people in skilled trades were unemployed. The junior colleges lacked the resources to expand offerings into expensive trade education (Meyer, 1956). During this time period, 61 percent of junior college enrollment was male. Due to its large nursing program,

Rochester Junior College was the only junior college where women outnumbered men with 52 percent. Prior to 1933, Duluth State Teacher's College charged no tuition, while Duluth Junior College charged \$250 in 1927, \$200 in the three succeeding years, and \$100 in 1931. Rochester Junior College charged \$100 annually, but charged \$150 a year for their medical secretary program (Eckert, 1946). Until 1934, most junior colleges, except Rochester, Duluth, Itasca, and Coleraine, charged no tuition fees to students living within their district boundaries. At Hibbing, all students paid a \$5 registration fee per semester and minimal fees for laboratory courses. At Virginia, a \$5 per semester tuition fee was charged (Chadwick, 1934).

Table 4.1. Instructors in Minnesota Junior Colleges, 1931-32

	Total	Men	Women	% men	Jr. Col. Only	Both Jr. Col & HS	% Jr. Col. only
Rochester	16	8	8	50	9	7	56
Eveleth	19	14	5	74	14	5	74
Hibbing	32	17	15	53	17	15	53
Virginia	28	18	10	64	16	12	57
Itasca	21	13	8	62	3	18	14
Ely	9	5	4	56	3	6	33
Duluth	21	14	7	67	16	5	76
Total	146	89	57	61	78	68	53

Chadwick, R.D. (1934). Public junior colleges of Minnesota. *The Junior College Journal*, 5(7), p. 347.

The qualifications of junior college instructors were defined by the standards of the North Central Association because the association accredited five of the seven junior colleges. All Minnesota junior colleges were members of the AAJC (Chadwick, 1934). In 1931, 146 faculty worked across the seven junior colleges in Minnesota. The majority of faculty were male (61 percent) and a small majority were assigned exclusively at the junior college (53 percent). Many faculty were called upon to teach at both high schools and junior colleges (see Table 4.1).

The location and distribution of Minnesota public two-year colleges was influenced by economic and social influences. In 1934, six of the seven two-year colleges (Ely, Virginia, Eveleth, Hibbing, Duluth, and Coleraine) were located in the northeast corner of the state, concentrated on the Iron Range (see Figure 4.3). The revenues generated from the taconite mining industry provided the funds for junior colleges. Only one junior year college, Rochester, was found in the southeastern section of the state. The medical network of Rochester generated solid funding for the junior college. No two-year colleges were found in the western half of the state. Absolutely no colleges, of any type, were found in the southwestern part of Minnesota (Chadwick, 1934; see Figure 4.3). Rural agricultural communities lacked adequate funding to support junior colleges. The factors that determined junior college location included the location of private and state colleges and the development of natural resource extraction and resulting towns on the Iron Range in the northeastern part of the state (Chadwick, 1934). Dividing the state into four equal quadrants, southeastern Minnesota had twenty-eight counties with a population of 1,373,360; southwestern Minnesota had twenty-five counties and a population of 451,542; northeastern Minnesota had twelve counties and a population of 385,609; and northwestern Minnesota had twenty-two counties and a population of 352,442 (Chadwick, 1934). A picture of geographic inequity became clear. Minnesota needed to consider opening additional junior colleges, especially in the southeast and southwest parts of the state.

In 1932, R.R. Shumway discovered the failed Minnesota junior colleges were found in school districts with lower valuation than the seven surviving junior college districts (Chadwick, 1934). Cities with junior colleges that survived had a tax valuation sufficient to support them (Chadwick, 1934). The assessed valuation of the Coleraine district was \$14,245,330, and the valuation per capita was \$2,829. At the same time the valuation in Eveleth was \$14,437,158, in

Virginia was \$31,965,611, in Hibbing was \$99,215,084, in Ely was \$8,635,897, in Duluth was \$67,721,591, and in Rochester was \$11,946,791 (Chadwick, 1934; See Table 4.2). Junior college success was directly dependent upon the economic status of the community.



Figure 4.3. 1934 Minnesota junior college locations map

Table 4.2. Financial Ability of Junior College Cities and Towns in Minnesota, 1932

City	Taxable Valuation	School enrollment	Valuation per capita
Hibbing	\$99,215,084	6,807	\$4,504
Coleraine	14,245,330	2,075	2,829
Eveleth	14,437,158	2,830	1,731
Virginia	31,965,611	3,973	1,562
Ely	8,635,897	2,288	1,370
Duluth	67,721,591	21,532	667
Rochester	11,946,791	3,991	578

Adapted from Minnesota year book, League of Minnesota Municipalities, 1933, p. 238-239 & Chadwick, R.D. (1934). Public junior colleges of Minnesota. *The Junior College Journal*, 5(7), p. 343.

The Vocational Education Division continued to take on more responsibilities during the thirties with modifications to the Smith-Hughes Act. The George-Reed Act (1929) provided additional funding to agriculture, home economics and, in 1936, trade and industrial education. In 1937, the Minnesota Commissioner of Education became the Director of Vocational Education (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

Junior colleges waited for the legal right to charge tuition. The state legislature refused to provide state aid for junior colleges even though aid was provided for normal schools (Meyer, 1956). By the fifties, the junior colleges were desperate for additional financial support to remain viable (Meyer, 1956). Tuition discouraged student enrollment. Most communities were convinced state aid was needed for junior college survival (Meyer, 1956).

In 1934, Hibbing Junior College offered the most extensive and varied list of pre-professional curriculum found in Minnesota junior colleges. Hibbing's curriculum was founded in liberal arts. During the thirties, Hibbing was the largest junior college in Minnesota (Chadwick, 1934). Terminal education provided by Minnesota junior colleges was not a priority during their early years. The influence of the University of Minnesota directed curriculum towards standard college programs. Local school boards, with control of junior colleges, lacked the funds for terminal degree exploration. Minnesota junior colleges were also ill-equipped to find employment for students who completed vocational programs. Equipment costs for vocational programs remained a problem. The social and economic challenges faced by Minnesota junior college faculties made terminal degree discussions futile (Chadwick, 1934). The Dean of Rutgers University, Walter T. Marvin, summarized the sentiments felt by University of Minnesota leaders Folwell and Vincent,

My conviction is that the university should enroll only those students who intend to complete the full four years of training and, therefore, that the junior college should be confined to the large body of high-school students who can give less than four years to their education. This policy would enable the junior college to meet a great educational need. It would leave the junior college free to develop, as it were, from below, meeting great popular needs and not hampered by university traditions and requirements (Chadwick, 1934, p. 349).

The most important factors for the foundation and success of public junior colleges during these early years, 1914 to 1934, included: 1) interest of the University of Minnesota (U of M) was the critical initiating factor; 2) U of M accreditation; 3) U of M educated junior college deans and faculty; 4) local educational leaders and public relations; 5) community support; 6) high community valuation; 7) competition to establish junior colleges; 8) available building space; 9) state legalization of junior colleges; 10) ability to charge tuition; and 11) overcoming tradition of private education (Meyer, 1956).

1935-1962 Junior College Refinement

After the 1925 legalization, junior colleges were opened in Duluth (1927), Tracy (1936), Worthington (1936), Crosby (1937), Brainerd (1938), Albert Lea (1938), and Austin (1940). Thirteen junior colleges were operating in Minnesota in 1940 (see Figure 4.4). Closures of junior colleges in Albert Lea (1943), Tracy (1948), Crosby (1948), and Duluth (1950) left a total of nine junior colleges in operation in 1960 (Helland, 1984). Junior colleges continued to operate under the authority of the State Board of Education, but remained under local school district control (MJCFA, 1961).

A 1937 report entitled *Why University Branches? How the University Can Best Serve The People* listed arguments for the establishment of University of Minnesota branches, particularly in Duluth. A central point of the report was the need to put college facilities within commuting distance of all young people in Minnesota. The University of Minnesota Dean of the College of Education, M.E. Haggerty, proclaimed, “A plan should be developed to provide two years of education beyond high school in institutions located within commuting distance for all people” (University Branch, 1937, p. 3). The University of Minnesota was overcrowded, enrollment had increased 75 percent since 1921. The University of Minnesota budget rapidly increased. The report pointed out the savings to parents by having the students living at home while commuting to college.

Crosby-Ironton junior college was established in 1937 and T.W. Simons appointed dean. Simons believed the Minnesota junior colleges must 1) sponsor a study to show junior college education meets college standards; 2) oppose the explosive growth of junior colleges that occurred in Iowa; 3) have separate junior college faculty, buildings, and objectives; and 4) make plans for studying guidance for junior colleges with Shumway leading these initiatives (Crosby-Ironton, 1937). Minnesota junior colleges were on the brink of major changes.

The expansion of junior colleges across the country called for a clearinghouse for coordination. In 1940, AAJC under the leadership of Walter C. Eells, published a reference on junior colleges entitled, *American Junior Colleges*, which provided data on junior colleges including practices within each state (see Appendix K for photo). The AAJC published a directory of all junior colleges from 1930 to 1940 in the *Junior College Journal* (Meyer, 1956). Data-based decisions became commonplace.

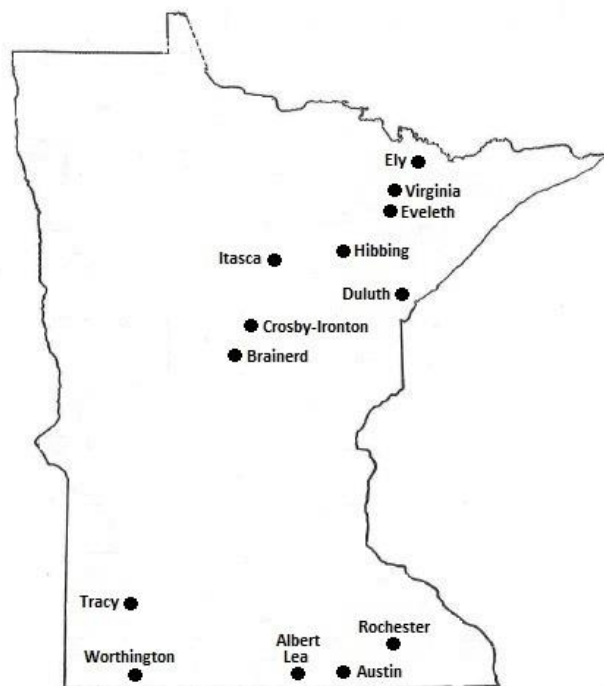


Figure 4.4. 1940 Minnesota junior college locations map

By 1939 there was a recognized need for the State Board to establish a separate position for the Director of Vocational Education (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). A State Plan for defense training in the Division of Vocational Education was approved by the State Board of Vocational Education on July 20, 1940 and funded by Executive Order of the Governor on August 12, 1940. The programs were called War Production Training and Food Production War Training (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). The 76th Congress passed Public Law 668, Chapter 437 in the spring of 1940 which provided funds for training aircraft mechanics, machinists, auto mechanics, sheet metal workers, welders, cabinet makers, pattern makers, electricians, and blacksmiths (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). The outset of World War II was a busy time for vocational educators in Minnesota and across the nation. Between 1940 and 1944, nearly \$4 million in Federal funds were spent to train almost 70,000

people in defense programs in the state. The War Production Training programs were offered in 187 centers across Minnesota by the end of 1943. The courses were either pre-employment or supplementary courses (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). According to the 1944 Minnesota Department of Education document, *Special Report to Minnesota House of Representatives: Interim Committee on State Administration*, funds were distributed to the states with no requirement for either state or local matching funds (p. 441). The program proved to be a powerful incentive to build and expand vocational programs with defense connections.

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, known as the G.I. Bill of Rights, was important to the development of Area Vocational Technical Institutions (AVTI). The bill provided military veterans "a year of education for 90 days' service, plus one month for each month of active duty, for a maximum of 48 months." Experts predicted 2.2 million of the 14 million eligible veterans would participate. However, 7.8 million veterans participated which had an enormous effect throughout higher education (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

In 1945, the Minnesota legislature passed the Area Vocational Technical School Enabling law (Laws, 1945). This legislation marked the beginning of what would become the Minnesota State Technical College System in 1989 (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). Between 1945 and 1955, the system grew from six programs housed in the Kline Garage in Mankato, Minnesota to hundreds of occupational programs across the state (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

Legislation established Area Vocational-Technical Schools in the Minnesota House by 45th District Representative Walter Rogosheske. The Minnesota postsecondary vocational technical system became a legal entity with the passage of the 1945 Area Vocational-Technical School legislation (Laws, 1945). The purpose of the legislation was to equalize educational

access to all students who are old enough to profit from occupational training. The first vocational programs focused on agriculture and secretarial careers. Most of the trade and technical training was concentrated in St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth. Higher education leaders and the Legislature realized that distance was a barrier for students pursuing occupational preparation outside the metropolitan area. Experts anticipated the development of six to twelve new vocational-technical schools following the 1945 legislation (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

The legislation authorized the Commissioner of Education, with the approval of the State Board for Vocational Education, to designate an area vocational-technical school. Once designated, the area vocational-technical school was under the administrative authority of the local school district (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). As predicted by Puyear (2001), the importance of occupational training programs after World War II caused the expansion of area vocational technical institutions (Ellis, 2011; Harris, 1968; Keller et al., 1958). In 1947, the first Minnesota area vocational-technical school was established at Mankato under the direction of Principal Harold M. Ostrem. The school served Blue Earth and surrounding counties. The new school hired eight instructors. Programs offered included communications, electronics, electrical machinery, machine shop, tool and die, and internal combustion engines (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). In 1950, agriculture was surpassed by manufacturing as the major contributor to state wealth (Keller et al., 1958). Area Vocational and Technical Institutes (AVTIs) were seen as the educational engine to move the state into a new future. AVTIs were designed to meet the needs of recent high school graduates, but when a new AVTI opened, high school drop-outs and adults monopolized the facilities. Students under the age of 21 were allowed to attend the AVTI without tuition charges. Funding was provided via

state reimbursement in the same way as high schools. Local districts had a responsibility to provide occupational preparation for the students who did not go on to college (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). Other AVTIs were established in St. Cloud (1948), Winona (1948), Thief River Falls (1949), Duluth (1950), Austin (1951), St. Paul (1952), and Minneapolis (1955). The facilities of these early schools were rented or shared facilities. With the return of men from military duty, interest in trade programs exploded (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

On the national level in 1946, the George-Barden Act was amended to include an increase for vocational education funding from \$14 million to \$29 million. New items funded by this legislation included salary and expenses of state directors of vocational education, vocational counselors, and purchase or rental of equipment and supplies for vocational instruction. Funding provided by this act for equipment and supplies was limited to only ten percent of total funding after June 30, 1951 (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). The amended George Baden Act proved to be a stimulus for Minnesota technical college development.

The inflation during and after World War II created difficulties for many communities. The high birth rate of the Baby Boom expanded elementary and high schools. Higher education made preparations for the inevitable expansion. But during the war years of 1940 to 1945, the junior colleges at Tracy and Albert Lea were closed, one temporarily and one permanently. Most Minnesota junior colleges experienced falling enrollments as more servicemen went overseas (Meyer, 1956). By the end of 1945, junior colleges at Austin, Brainerd, Crosby-Ironton, Duluth, Ely, Eveleth, Hibbing, Itasca, Rochester, Virginia, and Worthington remained operational. The junior colleges hoped that the G.I. Bill of Rights would bolster enrollments (Meyer, 1956). However, many veterans enrolled in four-year colleges where their tuition was covered (Meyer,

1956). Veterans were looking for training that would lead to immediate employment; most junior colleges were unable to provide the applied training.

When terminal programs were needed the most, only a few junior colleges expanded their offerings because of mission traditions and economic difficulties. Many of the early terminal programs offered by junior colleges focused on the war economy, such as aeronautical engineering, aviation mechanics, flight training, pattern making, welding, foundry, machine shop, pre-industrial and war industrial courses, orientation to war, summer school in typing and shorthand, meteorology, aircraft identification, radio and code, and American history and war (Meyer, 1956). In 1943, the University of Minnesota granted junior colleges permission for high school seniors to take junior college courses with their high school courses (Senate Minutes, 1941, 1942, 1943).

Though the population of the United States doubled from 1900 to 1950, college enrollments multiplied more than ten times. In Minnesota, the population fell short of doubling, but college enrollments increased more than five times (Keller et al., 1958). From 1940 to 1950, the Minnesota population grew 6.8 percent while employment increased 23 percent. Workers employed as clerks, craftsmen and machine operators increased over 50 percent, while workers employed as farm labor and household workers decreased by 30 percent. Emerging employment opportunities that required education beyond high school became commonplace. Sensing the critical need for improved planning, University of Minnesota President J.L. Morrill and Commissioner of Education Dean M. Schweickhard charged a committee to study the future needs of Minnesota college facilities. In 1945, the Statewide Committee on Minnesota's Needs for Post-High School Education was formed. Most of the survey work performed by the Committee on Educational Research was under the direction of University of Minnesota higher

education studies professor, Ruth E. Eckert (Minnesota Commission on Higher Education, 1950; see Appendix K for photo). The Committee concluded the state was not providing adequate higher education opportunities for students. Proximity to higher education institutions was cited as a major obstacle. The Committee found students were more likely to attend college if the institution was close to their home. Seven of the thirteen public junior colleges were concentrated in the northeast corner of the state, while there was almost a complete lack of facilities in the western part of the state. Ten of the 87 counties in Minnesota had a junior college within their borders. The Committee wanted to eliminate the proximity obstacle to attending college (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). Eckert stated,

While many sections of the state need junior colleges, the financial resources or educational vision required to develop them have been lacking in most parts of Minnesota (Eckert, 1946, p. 25).

The Committee wanted all Minnesota students to live within commuting distance of a junior college.

Studies conducted by Walter Eells and cited by Eckert (1946) found only 730 of 2,627 (28 percent) junior college students were enrolled in terminal degree programs in Minnesota, the national average was thirty-five percent. Dean Shumway responded to the finding,

In my judgment the terminal function of the junior college is by far its most important one. It seems to me that the junior college may fit exactly into that situation and give not merely terminal vocational training, but general cultural training as well (p. 64).

Many junior college leaders rejected Shumway's claims. Virginia Junior College Dean, Floyd Moe, believed colleges placed too much emphasis on terminal degrees. He was adamantly opposed to emphasizing terminal degree education (Virginia Junior, 1942).

A study by Nicholas Fattu showed University of Minnesota transfer students from junior colleges were more successful than regular students (Eckert, 1946).

Professor Eckert (1946) summarized the Minnesota junior college situation, Fully as critical a problem as that of local or state control is whether the junior college should strive to become literally a ‘people’s college’, attempting to meet the educational needs of all late adolescents who want education beyond the high school, or whether it should limit its task to young people of specified ability or career goals. Those who champion the latter view belong to two camps – the proponents of the college preparatory junior colleges and the proponents of the technical institute type (p. 80).

Professor Eckert (1946) reported on the development of Minnesota junior colleges. The development of junior colleges in Minnesota has not kept pace with the rest of the nation. In 1921, there were only five junior colleges in Minnesota with a total enrollment of 400 students, by 1940, the number had increased to thirteen colleges enrolling 3,311 students. These numbers included three private institutions, enrolling 255 students (Eckert, 1946).

University of Minnesota President, J.L. Morrill, appointed a statewide commission on higher education in 1946 to address concerns entitled, *Unfinished Business, Minnesota Needs in Higher Education* (see Appendix K for photo). Morrill recommended a commission be established by the legislature to study higher education in the state (Keller et al., 1958). In 1947, the state legislature followed the recommendation and provided resources for a Commission on Higher Education. The new role of the University of Minnesota was providing information through studies and surveys. In the spirit of its new role, the accreditation services provided to junior colleges by the University of Minnesota was discontinued (Meyer, 1956).

In 1950, the Minnesota Commission on Higher Education was appointed by the Commissioner of Education, Dean M. Schweickhard (Meyer, 1956). The Minnesota Commission on Higher Education defined the purposes of the Minnesota Junior Colleges as 1) providing general education for both traditional and non-traditional students at low cost; 2) providing readily accessible college education in a student's home community; 3) providing general education and terminal professional training; 4) serving as centers of cultural enrichment in their communities; 5) developing leadership and social maturity by offering extracurricular opportunities; and 6) serving as a transitional institution for students transferring to four-year institutions (MJCFA, 1961; State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). The Commission outlined processes for the establishment and discontinuance of junior colleges. To establish a junior college, a public school district made application to the State Board of Education. The Board evaluated the need for instruction and the ability of the school district to establish and maintain the junior college. To discontinue a junior college, a majority vote of the supervising local school board needed to be conducted before April 1 of any year for elimination the following fall (Meyer, 1956). The Commission recommended regionalization of junior colleges across district and county boundaries. The areas of Minnesota with the poorest coverage remained in the west, south-central, and northwest (see Appendix E). The Commission recommended the addition of six junior college in Alexandria, Fairmont, Fergus Falls, Montevideo, Thief River Falls, and Willmar (Minnesota Commission on Higher Education, 1950; see Appendix F). Population remained sparse across greater Minnesota, one-third of the population lived in metro area. Keller, Lokken, and Meyer (1958) outlined a plan for a state-wide system of junior colleges in Minnesota. The plan involved establishing junior colleges on a regional basis with the limitation on the commuting distance to colleges rather than present

school district boundaries (see Appendix F). The establishment of these new junior colleges would put 75 percent of all Minnesota students within twenty-five miles of a junior college, rather than 65 percent. If the range was increased to thirty-five miles, the percentage rose to 89 percent (Minnesota Commission on Higher Education, 1950). The Minnesota Commission on Higher Education released its findings in a 1950 report called *Higher Education in Minnesota*. Despite the recommendation of twenty-eight junior colleges, ten junior colleges were in operation in Minnesota in 1955 (see Figure 4.5).

The Commission reported its findings to the 1951 and 1953 legislatures (Keller et al., 1958). Junior college officials approached the Legislature and stressed junior colleges provided a state service by enrolling students from outside their districts. Therefore, junior colleges requested state funding for facilities and operating costs. In Governor Freeman's 1955 Inaugural address he declared,

At present, our junior colleges receive no assistance from the state. If our junior colleges are to handle more students, then we must decide how they are to be fitted into the total educational picture (Freeman, 1955, p. 8; see Appendix K for photo).

In 1955, two bills were introduced in the Minnesota Legislature that requested state aid for junior colleges (Journal of the House, 1955; Journal of the Senate, 1955a). Original language established aid at \$150 per pupil in average attendance, but was revised to not to exceed fifteen percent of maintenance cost per pupil in average daily attendance (Journal of the Senate, 1955b). The bill failed to gain Senate support. The Governor proposed dividing the state into thirty regional junior college districts (see Appendix E) and proposed new colleges in regions which lacked an existing junior college (see Appendix F).

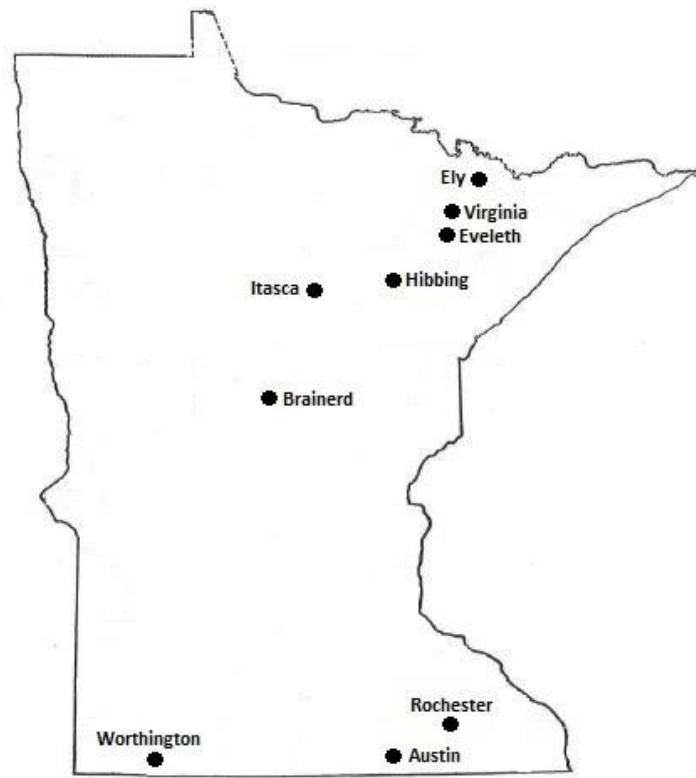


Figure 4.5. 1955 Minnesota junior college locations map

The plan would place every Minnesotan within a short commute to a junior college. The plan was never realized. In 1956, Governor Freeman appointed a Governor's Committee on Higher Education to probe higher education problems. The Committee produced the 1956 report, *Minnesota's Stake in the Future*. The role of junior colleges in higher education was subject of great importance. The Committee was directed to work in cooperation with the State Department of Education and explore the issues and problems of Minnesota junior colleges (Keller et al., 1958). The Committee reported that despite ample opportunities, one-third of the top performing high school graduates did not attend college. The Committee reported that one of the major barriers to college attendance was proximity to the college. Statistics showed students who lived in rural areas without a regional college enrolled in lower numbers. Despite modern

transportation, distance remained an important barrier to college attendance. It was more expensive to attend college when coupled with relocation expenses. Western Minnesota was the area where distance from higher education institutions was most pronounced. All reports concluded state appropriations for higher education needed to increase. In 1957, two states authorized new junior college systems and six states increased financial support for their junior colleges. The Minnesota Legislature's Interim Commission on Higher Education recommended more junior colleges in Minnesota. Five percent of college students attended junior colleges in 1957, which was a 25 percent increase from 1956. Predicting the growth of junior college enrollment, twenty-two Minnesota communities, including two Twin Cities' suburbs, presented their cases for new junior colleges (Freeman, 1958). State Representative Karl Grittner reiterated the Committee's call for the expansion of junior colleges and establishment of state aid for these junior colleges. A formal proposal was presented on April 10, 1956 at a legislative forum of the Minnesota Council of Churches at Hamline University. State higher education aid ranged between \$45 and \$380 per student across the nation. In Minnesota there were no state dollars for junior colleges (Minneapolis Star, 1956). Political efforts were rewarded in 1957 when the Legislature recognized junior colleges provided a state service which justified state aid (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983).

Post-World War II prosperity allowed Minnesota to provide junior college funding of \$200 per student, one-third of the total education cost (Helland, 1984; Widmark, 1993). Local school districts paid one-third and the student paid one-third of their education costs. The new state funding led to increased state oversight of junior colleges. In 1959, the State Board of Education became the supervisor of all junior colleges. Every junior college was required to file annual reports with the Commissioner of Education (MJCFA, 1961). Junior colleges provided

instruction in approved disciplines, maintained proper facilities, hired qualified faculty and administrators, and planned a 36 week academic year with 50 minute class periods (MJCFA, 1961). These changes increased system creditability. In 1960, the State Department of Education and the University of Minnesota extended accreditation to junior colleges. The North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges started granting accreditation to Minnesota's Junior Colleges in 1961 (MJCFA, 1961).

The National Defense Education Act and the Health Amendment Act of 1956 caused the expansion of technical occupation programs in AVTIs. The Health Amendment Act provided funding for practical nursing education and created several new health-related programs (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). When Russia launched Sputnik in 1957, the space race began. The American public reacted to the scientific breakthrough with alarm. Local school systems were blamed for allowing the United States to fall behind Russian technology. A new era of federal support for higher education began (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). The National Defense Education Act of 1958 provided \$15 million annually for four years to train students for national defense occupations (Leighbody, 1972). The National Science Foundation (NSF) was established at this time. The NSF made money available for education with a priority placed on science and math education (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 targeted depressed areas with high unemployment and poverty levels. The program attempted to attract new industries and jobs to these areas. The Act was under-funded, but laid the foundation for future legislation (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). The Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962 addressed worker rights, employment opportunities, and job skills. Participants were paid

unemployment compensation during their training. Arthur E. Vadnais, former State Supervisor of Manpower Development and Training, reported that 18,000 people completed MDTA training in Minnesota between 1962 and 1972. Training was provided under MDTA in 28 Minnesota AVTIs. The MDTA provided support for new programs, student services, instructor training, and educational delivery models (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

Leonard Koos identified the splintered local school district organization in Minnesota as a major obstacle to progress (Koos, 1956). In 1958, large areas of Minnesota remained without higher education institutions within commuting distance (Keller et al., 1958). Legislative appropriations for state aid increased with costs, but the lack of facilities was a growing problem. School boards asked the Legislature to assist with building construction costs (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983).

The need for increased state aid and additional facilities continued into the sixties. Experts predicted the enrollment of 47,000 students in Minnesota higher education institutions in 1956 would rise to over 70,000 by 1970. The economic resources needed to accommodate this expansion was a considerable problem (Kleeman, 1956). A junior college without sufficient resources cannot provide adequate building space for expansion or supply expensive vocational programs (Meyer, 1956). Changing labor market pressured junior colleges to broaden their liberal arts curriculum to include career programs (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983).

With the expected explosion of students on the horizon, junior colleges focused on curriculum development. All junior college courses were expected to be transferable. If new curriculum was developed it needed to be done thoughtfully. High school teachers worked well in junior colleges, but the next generation of junior college faculty needed to be trained for

vocational and general education instruction. The University of Minnesota started training for joint technical-transfer programs (Meyer, 1956).

The Minnesota population grew, distribution changed, average student age increased, occupational trends changed, mobility increased, and the time needed to complete a college education increased. These factors contributed to the function, number, and location of Minnesota junior colleges (Keller et al., 1958). The expected doubling of enrollment by 1970 seemed a conservative estimate in 1958. In Virginia, 75 percent of the high school graduates continued their education at the local junior college. Many freshman reported better transitions from high school to college in junior colleges over large four-year institutions (Eckert & Stedman, 1960b). Minnesota lacked adequate numbers of institutions to accommodate the increased enrollment. Minnesota faced potential denial of admission to large numbers of students or expansion of higher education institutions to accommodate these students (Keller et al., 1958). In 1962, Minnesota ten-year projections placed college enrollment at 116,000 in 1972; 8,721 students in junior colleges (Blegen, 1963). Pressures grew to convert some colleges into four-year institutions, with the high costs associated with university instruction; junior college education was less cost prohibited (Blegen, 1963). The enrollment projections coupled with educational costs confirmed additional junior colleges needed to be established. The State Department of Education established standards for junior college education to verify the quality of junior college education, despite its lower cost (Eckert & Stedman, 1960b).

In 1960, Austin, Brainerd, Coleraine, Ely, Eveleth, Hibbing, Rochester, Virginia, and Worthington operated and controlled junior colleges under the standards established by the State Department of Education (see Figure 4.6). All of these institutions were accredited by the University of Minnesota, and three held membership in the North Central Association of

Colleges and Secondary Schools. In the fall of 1957, student enrollment ranged from 86 students at Eveleth to 432 at Hibbing Junior College. All junior colleges operated under the direction of local school boards and were housed in school district buildings. State aid of \$200 per year for every student provided by 1957 state legislation, defrayed about forty percent of operating expenses. A proportion of instructional costs and all capital expenses were the responsibility of the local school district. Student tuition and fees covered the remaining twenty percent of operating expenses (Eckert & Stedman, 1960b). Minnesota public junior college enrollment increased 43 percent between 1954 and 1960. Junior colleges were filling an increasingly important role in the state's higher education program. The role transcended the traditional classroom experience and included educating adults in part-time classes, at a rate of three times the headcount of regular daytime students (Eckert and Stedman, 1960b).

The Minnesota Legislature passed a statute in 1961 that redefined the process to establish new junior colleges and set operational standards for supervision, tuition, transportation, and facilities (Minn. Stat. § 130, 1961). The first junior colleges established after these reforms were Fergus Falls in 1960 and Willmar in 1962 (Helland, 1984).

Junior colleges provided students with preliminary college training. More than two-thirds of junior college graduates transferred to four-year institutions (Eckert & Stedman, 1960b). By 1960, all Minnesota junior colleges provided terminal degrees, many combined liberal arts education with vocational training. Between twenty and thirty percent of Minnesota's junior college students enrolled in terminal degree programs, primarily secretarial, business, and engineering fields.

In addition to coursework, junior college students experienced a full range of extracurricular activities (Eckert & Stedman, 1960b). Junior colleges became important

intellectual and cultural centers in their communities. Students secured the first years of a four-year college education, acquired job skills, obtained assistance on practical matters such as home-building and child care, or widened their perspectives on national and world problems. Minnesota junior colleges became genuine “community” colleges (Eckert & Stedman, 1960b). State funded construction initiatives allowed construction of junior college buildings and improved administration and educational services.

Keller, Lokkem, and Meyer (1958) in *The junior college in Minnesota: A study prepared jointly by the Governor’s Committee on Higher Education and the State Department of Education* found 12 percent of U.S. college students enrolled in junior colleges. Junior colleges remained small averaging 183 full-time students. Minnesota junior college enrollment, public and private, was 1,968 students, or four percent of state college enrollment in 1956 (Keller et al., 1958; Meyer, 1956). To improve retention, junior colleges employed a faculty advisor system. The system proved effective with the close contact between instructor and student on junior college campuses (Meyer, 1956). Success rates also improved when first- and second-year students had contact with competent and enthusiastic instructors (Chadwick, 1934).

A difficult problem facing junior colleges was recruitment and retention of qualified faculty. In the fifties, Minnesota junior college faculty who taught academic subjects required bacheloreate degrees. Nearly all junior college faculty held Master degrees and a handful Ph.D. degrees in 1956, which provided creditability to the quality of junior college education. Junior college faculty wages ranged from a low of \$3,400 to a high of \$7,300 per year, with most at the \$5,000 to \$6,000 level. The salary range compared favorably with the average pay for an assistant professor at the University of Minnesota (Minneapolis Tribune, 1956). Similar to the findings of Chadwick (1934), most faculty worked at both the local high school and the affiliated

junior college. In fact, almost all junior college instructors had some high school teaching experience (Stecklein & Eckert, 1958).

Faculty Satisfaction Survey 1956

Three Minnesota two-year college faculty satisfaction surveys were conducted by University of Minnesota researchers and provided valuable insight into faculty satisfaction levels in 1956, 1972, and 1980. Faculty satisfaction surveys provided demographics of Minnesota two-year college faculty (Eckert & Williams, 1972; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; Stecklein & Willie, 1982). The methodology employed by the three survey studies were similar. The population of the studies included all full-time teaching faculty teaching in Minnesota's accredited public and private, non-theological, institutions of higher education. The number of institutions that participated in the studies varied with to the expansion of Minnesota two-year colleges. All surveys addressed the following questions, 1) What are Minnesota community college faculty like?; 2) When did they make decisions which led them into the career?; 3) In what professional activities do they spend their time?; 4) Are they satisfied with their careers?; and 5) Would they reaffirm their career decisions at this time in their lives?

Stecklein and Eckert (1958) were not directly interested in junior college faculty satisfaction levels. The researchers responded to the growing concern of college faculty preparation and recruitment to meet the needs of the predicted student explosion of the seventies. Stecklein and Eckert developed a 4-page questionnaire which covered five areas: 1) people, events, and conditions which influenced the respondents in their selection of teaching as a career; 2) education and previous experience; 3) activities in their current positions; 4) satisfaction and dissatisfactions with college teaching as a career; and 5) personal information. Stecklein and Eckert conducted one-hour long interviews were designed to validate the survey data (Eckert &

Stecklein, 1961). The data collected from the interviews were never published. The sample included college faculty from state public and private four-year universities, the University of Minnesota, and state public and private junior colleges. The data for each faculty group was separated throughout the study, so extraction of the junior college faculty survey results was not difficult. The statistical study analysis of the 1956 data included computation of measures of central tendency, tests for statistical significance of percentage differences, and chi-square tests of relationships between variables. Computation of central tendency to determine averages, tests for statistical significance of percentage differences, and Chi square to test apparent relationships between variables were performed. Relationships that exceeded $p < .01$ were considered significant (Stecklein & Eckert, 1958). Some findings satisfied the $p < .05$ criterion and were reported as different, but not significant (Eckert & Stecklein, 1961). The Stecklein and Eckert surveys lacked basic information to allow for statistical analyses such as ANOVA, correlation, independent t-tests, and regression. Frequencies and n values were provided for most questions, but standard deviation values were absent, limiting statistical analyses (Field, 2014). Chi-square statistical analysis was referenced in Stecklein and Eckert (1958), but no calculations were presented. Significant responses to survey questions were defined as significant at $p < .01$ and $p < .05$, but no calculated values are presented. The researchers claimed the sample was representative of the total sample with respect to rank, sex, subject field, and type of college, but no statistical measure was explained. There is no published evidence to substantiate the validity and reliability of the questionnaire used by Stecklein & Eckert (1958). Two advisory committees, one with representatives from each type of institution in the study and one from the University of Minnesota, assisted in the development of the survey (Stecklein & Eckert, 1958).

Minnesota two-year college faculty were neither unionized nor engaged in collective bargaining in 1956, so the results of the survey provided a baseline analysis of faculty satisfaction. The final portions of the instrument measure faculty satisfactions and dissatisfactions towards teaching and work activities (see Appendix T). A census sample of junior college faculty from the nine public junior colleges (Austin, Brainerd, Ely, Eveleth, Hibbing, Itasca, Rochester, Virginia, and Worthington) and two private community colleges (Bethany-Lutheran and Concordia) were included in the 1956 study. Public and private junior colleges were combined in the study results. Private junior colleges were not dependent upon the State of Minnesota for their funding and have a different experience than public junior colleges. An impressive 93.9 percent return rate (N=130) was obtained from the mailed survey (Eckert & Stecklein, 1959, 1961; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958).

The reasons cited for selecting a teaching job at a Minnesota two-year college included a position was available (35.4 percent), salary (14.6 percent), and location (10.7 percent) (Eckert & Stecklein, 1959, 1961; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958). Faculty were satisfied with their work. Faculty spent the majority of their time on teaching activities (64 percent) and many (30.8 percent) wanted to dedicate even more time to teaching. Seventy-seven percent of faculty reported spending time participating in committee and administrative duties (up to 19 percent of their time) and 36.2 percent wanted to devote less time to these activities (see Appendix T). The results of this early study revealed a high level of faculty satisfaction towards academic factors. Open-ended responses to the sources of satisfaction were divided into the categories of nature of the work, working conditions, appreciations, and rewards. Satisfaction with the nature of the work included student-related categories (87 percent) and teaching-related categories (28.2 percent). The top responses in the working condition sources of satisfaction include intellectual

stimulation (26.9 percent), good students (22.3 percent), independence (15.4 percent), and colleagues (13.8 percent). Only 26 percent of faculty had any satisfaction statements in the appreciations and reward category (Eckert & Stecklein, 1959, 1961; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; see Appendix T). It was evident that teaching was its own reward to 1956 junior college faculty.

Open-ended responses to demands of work dissatisfaction include work outside of the classroom (20 percent), administration (9.2 percent), and heavy class load (9.2 percent) (see Appendix T). Working condition dissatisfaction included poor students (14 percent), poor facilities (3.8 percent), and no policy making by faculty (3.8 percent). The dissatisfaction towards reward and appreciation was entirely focused on poor salary (43.9 percent) (Eckert & Stecklein, 1959, 1961; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; see Appendix T). These results suggested an early picture of faculty dissatisfaction towards working conditions and governance factors. Most studies of faculty attitudes towards pre-collective bargaining revealed high levels of dissatisfaction with working condition factors (Castro, 2000; Graf et al., 1994). Salary and benefits were the most cited sources of dissatisfaction leading to collective bargaining in higher education institutions (Allen & Keavey, 1981; Balkin, 1989; Bigoness, 1978; Brett, 1980; Carr & Van Eyck, 1973; Garbarino & Aussieker, 1975; Keaveny & Allen, 1979; Keim, 1988; Lindeman, 1973; Milosheff, 1990; Rassuli et al., 1999; Schriesheim, 1978; Schultz, 1975; Woolston, 1976). A few studies identified salary as a positive source of faculty satisfaction (Ambrose et al., 2005; Toutkoushian & Bellas, 2003). Minnesota junior college faculty were satisfied with teaching (30.8 percent very satisfied, 55.4 percent satisfied, 4.6 percent indifferent, 2.3 percent dissatisfied, and 4.6 percent very dissatisfied) (Eckert & Stecklein, 1959, 1961; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; see Appendix T). Before unionization, satisfaction with academic factors was high, working condition factors satisfaction was low, and governance factor satisfaction was mixed.

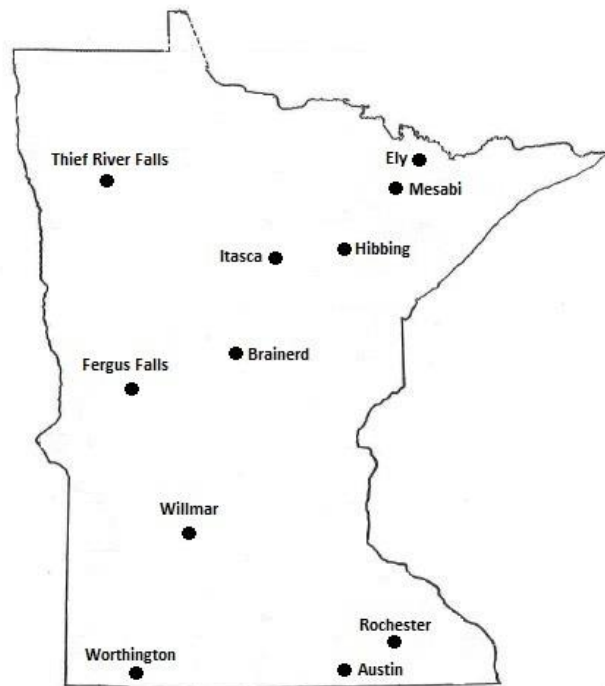


Figure 4.6. 1962 Minnesota junior college locations map

Summary

Important factors in the development and maintenance of junior colleges during the period from 1935 to 1962 included 1) the limited interchange of information between institutions; 2) junior college studies conducted by the University of Minnesota and nationwide studies of junior colleges conducted by L.V. Koos; 3) the University of Minnesota stifled the branch college movement and kept the junior colleges, local institutions; 4) University surveys of higher education emphasized the importance of junior colleges; 5) studies of junior college students and curriculum increased respect; 6) splintered regional organization slowed Minnesota junior college development, but prompted consolidation; 7) state law allowed districts to combine in forming a junior college, but was not realized; 8) state regulations restricted low valuation districts from establishing junior colleges and no state aid was provided to equalize the

ability of a community to provide a junior college; 9) area vocational-technical institutions were legalized and given aid, but their role remained undefined; 10) a branch of the University of Minnesota was established at Duluth; 11) people fought to keep their junior colleges open; 12) The Depression brought many students into junior colleges; 13) WWII reduced junior college enrollment which caused closures; 14) junior college curriculum changes and additional functions resulted in consistent enrollment; and 15) junior colleges were reluctant to accept a combination of vocational and liberal arts education (Meyer, 1956). The need for state aid became more apparent when the state attempted through per capita tax limitations and checking assessed valuations to equalize tax incomes in local areas (Meyer, 1956).

1963-1970 Formalization of Junior College System and Birth of the Union

System Origin

The increased size and complexity of the system necessitated restructuring for improved coordination (Reid, 1977). The authors and files which established the Minnesota Junior College System in the 1963 legislature were Senate File 833 written by Robert Dunlap, Gordon Rosenmeier, and Donald Sinclair and House File 950 written by Harvey Sathre, Donald Fisher, Wallace Gustafson, and Ernie Jacobsen. The files were incorporated in the Education Appropriations Bill, as Section 29, sponsored by Senator Robert Dunlap of Plainview and Representative Harvey Sathre of Adams (Widmark scrapbook, 2016). Merrill Widmark, MJCFA Historian, recalled the bill,

The idea that the State could assume control of the colleges was tossed into the legislative mill without expectation that it would be enacted. However, destiny intervened and the bill was a bargaining chip in a dispute over an oleo margin tax. In exchange for a bill to

allow colored margarine in Minnesota, before the bill you could not have colored margarine in the state, I assume because of the dairy lobby, the Legislature allowed the junior colleges to be run by the state (Widmark, 2016).

The bill passed and formalized the Junior College System and established the Junior College Board (H.F. 1937, 1963). The bill was approved by Governor Karl Rolvaag on May 23, 1963 (Widmark scrapbook, 2016; see Appendix K for photo). The law provided for a State Junior College Board of five members appointed by the Governor with the authority to set up a system of state junior colleges (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). Governor Karl Rolvaag appointed members to the Junior College Board in the fall of 1963 (Helland, 1984). The inaugural members of the State Junior College Board were Frederick L. Deming (Chair), Ben M. Wichterman, Raymond A. Crippen, Rt. Rev. Msgr. James P. Shannon, and E.A. Jyring (Widmark scrapbook, 2016). The State Junior College Board established the job description for the Executive Secretary position. Applicants were not required to hold an educational administration credential, but a doctorate degree was preferred. The salary was set at \$17,000 (Gilje, 1963). Phillip Helland became the Executive Secretary of the Junior College Board in 1964, later the title of Chancellor was adopted (Widmark, 2003). Prior to this appointment, Helland served as Superintendent of Schools in Willmar and as President of Willmar Community College. He held the position of Chancellor for nineteen years, before his retirement in 1983 (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983).

Prior to the new legislation, the eleven Junior Colleges were governed by local school districts and partially funded by the state. Many junior college campuses were running quite effectively before turning control over to the State. Merrill Widmark, Hibbing Junior College math instructor, reflected on operations before the formation of the State System,

Operations at Hibbing Junior College before unionization ran smoothly. The college had been successfully operating for several years before. Faculty had a major voice in the operation of the college before unionization. Faculty and administration worked together as a team. Working conditions were pretty good. The administration provided us with the things we needed and we worked together quite well with them (Widmark, 2016).

Don Holman, chemistry instructor (see Appendix K for photo), explained the operations of Willmar Junior College before the System,

The President of the College was also the Chair of the Faculty when I went to Willmar Junior College. We were faculty and administration running the college under a constitution that was developed together. It felt like we were all working together in the best interests of the students and college. The college President ran the meetings with the faculty and other administrators. The State Junior College System formed just two years earlier. Everything was new, everything was experimental. We had one faculty member who had taught at a university, Ben Thoma, who helped us adapt our model of governance to theirs. We did not look at the college President as calling all the shots. We had committees that would recommend to faculty and the President. Each of the discipline areas had a chair that met as a cabinet with the college President. We all felt we were part of the system. The state association was just starting to gel. We had not been an organization that long. The MCCFA had a Board of Directors, but all 220 teachers from the junior college system met once a year and voted on bylaws changes and made other decisions for the entire group. As we got bigger and created Anoka Ramsey, North Hennepin, and Normandale colleges, the size of the group got too big to accommodate the mass meetings (Holman, 2016).

There was a tradition of limited coordination, cooperation, or communication among Minnesota junior colleges (Moen & Stave, 1968). The system was supported by student fees and legislative appropriations (Moen & Stave, 1968). The Board assumed management of all junior colleges on July 1, 1964 and established the Junior College System (Widmark, 1993). Five of the junior colleges were located on the Iron Range, a sixth at Brainerd, and five more in southern and western Minnesota, served the regional needs of students (Blegen, 1963). State law allowed communities to turn over control of their junior colleges to the state. It was obvious that local school boards would seize the opportunity to cut expenditures and allow the state to operate their colleges. In the fall 1964, the State Junior College Board responded to requests from local school boards and all the junior colleges became state institutions (Helland, 1984). Once the system was formed, junior college faculty dealt with one statewide board, not multitudes of local school districts (Whaley, 1990). As defined by Minnesota Junior College Law, Session Laws 1963, Chapter 837, Section 29, Subdivision 4, Article 2 (see Appendix Q), the Minnesota State Junior College Board prescribed the courses of study, including undergraduate academic programs, training in semi-professional and technical fields, and adult education (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). Junior colleges were defined as comprehensive institutions with a community-oriented approach, and among their offerings were short courses, institutes, conferences, clinics, forums, concerts, exhibits, studies, basic college work, vocational-technical work, and continuing education, all related to community needs (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983).

Association Origin

The establishment of multi-campus systems was cited as a primary reason for faculty unionism (Carr & Van Eyck, 1973; Duryea et al., 1973; Garbarino, 1975; Kemerer & Baldrige,

1975). In Minnesota, the response of the unified Junior College System and the Junior College Board was the creation of the Minnesota Junior College Faculty Association (MJCFA) in 1963 (Whaley, 1990). The passage of the bill stirred up interest on nearly every campus and conjured up the advisability and feasibility of organizing a group of ‘feather nesters’ to get the jump on the named members of the Junior College Board. Impetus was given to the faculty to organize (Widmark scrapbook, 2016). Faculty wanted to express their concerns to the new Junior College Board (Helland, 1984). They desired voice. Merrill Widmark recalled the origin of MJCFA,

The foundation of the Association was the most important activity in its history.

Essentially, the formation of the System called for the formation of the Association. We simply pursued our own interests. We wanted to save our own necks. There was no opposition to the formation of the Association (Widmark, 2016).

A telephone call from Hibbing Junior College to Rochester Junior College was instrumental in the creation of what was to become MJCFA. Don Lavine, Rochester, and Jim Bressler and Merrill Widmark, Hibbing, sought support among northern colleges to establish a statewide organization. The preliminary meeting of twenty faculty occurred on Monday, June 24, 1963 at 3:15 pm in room 242 in MacLean Hall at a Junior College Workshop held at Moorhead State University (Widmark scrapbook, 2016; see Appendix R). Junior college faculty received organization information from the IFO at the meeting. Merrill Widmark was elected temporary chairman and set up the organizational Association meeting (Widmark, 1983; see Appendix K for photo).

The first MJCFA meeting was held on September 21, 1963 in Hibbing with two representatives from each of the eleven campuses, and the creation of a constitution was its primary charge. The group hammered out a draft of a constitution and elected interim officers of

the fledgling organization. Don Lavine, Rochester, was elected President, and Merrill Widmark, Hibbing, elected Vice-President (Widmark scrapbook, 2016). Delegates suggested several constitution modifications, including a name change of the association from the United Minnesota Junior College Faculties (UMJCF) to Minnesota Junior College Faculty Association (MJCFA) (MJCFA Constitution, 1963). The draft constitution was presented to the entire membership on September 23, 1963 and tentatively ratified in October (Widmark scrapbook, 2016). The final draft was submitted to the Delegate Assembly on Saturday, November 16 and ratified by the general membership on November 22 with an 89.5 percent approval (Widmark, 1993, 2003; Widmark scrapbook, 2016). The 1963 MJCFA membership was 212 full members and 22 associate members (Widmark, 1983, 2003).

The MJCFA Welfare Committee surveyed prospective members before the State of Minnesota assumed control of the junior colleges (see Appendix S). Faculty were asked questions under ten general working condition headers to gauge their priorities for the new Association. Faculty supported probation for new instructors only. They supported the liberal accumulation of sick leave and severance pay. Faculty wanted health insurance through Blue Cross Blue Shield. A retirement plan was highly desirable. A vast majority of faculty wanted to be removed from local school district salary schedules and placed on a system salary schedule without influence from other state schedules. Extra assignments were conceded to local administration. The calendar was of some importance. Faculty wanted autonomy in setting their own campus calendar, but conceded the authority to local administration. A course load of fifteen hours per week was preferred. Summer school and night teaching were preferred to be under administrative control. The autonomous nature of the responses was reversed in response to the scheduling of the school day. Faculty wanted control of scheduling (MJCFA Survey, 1963;

see Appendix S). Faculty ranked the issues in order of importance, placing salary, class load, and tenure as the top three. The benefit issues, sick leave, health insurance, and retirement, followed. Summer and night school scheduling and extra assignments were least important (MJCFA Survey, 1963).

MJCFA Constitution

The MJCFA Constitution detailed traditional and professional union goals for MJCFA including the consolidation of faculty efforts to improve junior college education, advocating for faculty welfare, and engaging in genuine shared governance with decision makers to improve faculty welfare and quality of education (MJCFA, 1967b; Widmark, 1993, 2003). The preamble read,

We, the Minnesota junior college faculties, believing in the unique contribution of our junior colleges to American education, have organized to strengthen and secure this type of education for those who desire additional education beyond high school, for those who would be deprived of this education if it were not readily accessible, and for those who wish a more individual orientation to higher education. Because we so believe, the junior college faculties have formed into this organization, the Minnesota Junior College Faculty Association, to enable us to make our views felt in the determination of the policies to be followed in the colleges and all other groups concerned with education, so that our views may be made an integral part of the educational program of junior college students (MJCFA Constitution, 1963, p. 1).

According to the Constitution,

The primary purpose of the MJCFA was to consolidate the efforts of the faculties in maintaining and improving junior college education. The organization shall advocate

such policies as are most conducive to the welfare of the instructional staffs of its member colleges. The organization shall attempt to achieve the above purposes through study and discussion, leading to warranted conclusions, of any issue involving the educational program, or the welfare of the faculties, and by presenting these conclusions to those who are involved in policy making for the junior colleges in Minnesota (MJCFA Constitution, 1963, p. 2).

From its inception, MJCFA was identified as a legitimate union formed in a state with a high tolerance for organized labor and lacked Right-to-Work laws. The rich industrial union history of Minnesota was ideal for the upstart Association. Mining, timber, and trucker unions had fought and won several important union battles in Minnesota. The instant legitimacy granted the MJCFA was primarily due to the longevity of junior colleges in Minnesota. Many parts of the public sector believed the MJCFA was necessary to protect the standards and conditions of higher education (Reilly, 1988). In January 1965, the Junior College Board designated the MJCFA as the official representative of faculty in all Minnesota junior colleges (Helland, 1984). Official unionization, lacking collective bargaining, reached Minnesota junior colleges.

The organizational structure of the Association was defined in the constitution. The MJCFA statewide officers were President, President-Elect, Secretary, and Treasurer. The four executive officers composed the Executive Committee. The responsibilities of the President included presiding at all meetings of the Board of Directors, Delegate Assembly (DA), and entire membership. The President-Elect presided in the absence of the President. The Secretary kept the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors, DA, and entire membership. The Treasurer was responsible for the collections, deposits, and disbursements of the organization (MJCFA Constitution, 1963). The Board of Directors was composed of the executive officers and one

delegate selected from the DA with no more than one member from any one chapter. The Board of Directors conducted organization business between meetings of the DA and the entire membership (MJCFA Constitution, 1963). The DA was composed of two delegates from each chapter, preferably the local President and President-Elect. The DA defined policies and carried out the will of the membership (MJCFA Constitution, 1963). The standing committees included the Educational Advisory Committee, Legislative Committee, Membership Committee, Public Relations Committee, Welfare Committee, and Nominating Committee (MJCFA Constitution, 1963, p. 6). The DA membership included two delegates from each local chapter, but was changed to a representative structure based on the number of faculty members per campus in 1969. Additionally, the Constitution was amended to provide for two-year presidential terms and unlimited terms for other officers (MJCFA, 1967b, 1969).

The MJCFA held its first General Assembly meeting on April 11, 1964 (Widmark scrapbook, 2016). The 1964 MJCFA DA met in April, September, and October. Delegates were allowed one night hotel stay and an evening meal at MJCFA expense (1964b). State Junior College Executive Director Philip Helland delivered the address entitled “The New State Junior College System” to the first MJCFA DA (MJCFA DA, 1964a; Widmark scrapbook, 2016). During the 1963-64 DA, MJCFA President Lavine gave high praise to the delegates from the inaugural year, “Thanks to their imagination, dedication, and sense of high purpose, we have succeeded in becoming an effective voice for all junior college faculty members.” Senator and Education Committee Chairman, Robert Dunlap, State Junior College Board Member, Monsignor James Shannon, and State Junior College Executive Director, Philip Helland addressed the delegates (Widmark scrapbook, 2016). During the November 5, 1965 General Assembly, Governor Karl Rolvaag and State Junior College Executive Director, Philip Helland

addressed the faculty (Widmark scrapbook, 2016). It remained customary for administrators and legislators to address the MJCFA Delegate Assembly throughout the sixties.

The MJCFA President represented faculty at Junior College Board meetings, and the MJCFA Welfare Committee met with the Chancellor to prepare recommendations to the Junior College Board and Legislature regarding salaries and working conditions. The MJCFA desired equality for all its membership regarding salary and conditions of employment (Helland, 1975). Faculty salaries were determined utilizing a K-12 inspired model which combined years of experience with education. System-wide policies were created by the Junior College Board and local institution policies were the prerogative of each college President (Florin, 1975). Meetings between the MJCFA, Junior College Board, and Chancellor Helland started in the fall of 1964 and focused on welfare matters (MJCFA DA, 1964b). The Junior College Board expressed their desire to schedule faculty free of credit restrictions, relying on merit instead. The Board wanted to avoid tenure (MJCFA DA, 1964c). The Junior College Board wished to exclude all extra-curricular activities from the salary schedule and incorporated these activities as part of a regular workload. The Board also wanted summer school teaching be paid on a pro rata basis (MJCFA DA, 1965b). The Junior College System Central Office advocated for supplemental retirement of five percent matched by the State (MJCFA DA, 1966b). The salary range of junior college faculty in 1966-67 was \$5,800 to \$9,700, while the range of metro K-12 school districts was \$5,700 to \$11,130 (see Appendix P). The Master's degree requirement made the recruitment and retention of junior college instructors difficult. Don Holman reflected on these early welfare matters,

Before PELRA there were no real or binding negotiations with the school board or State Board for Junior Colleges. At the end, the Board could say take it or leave it. If you wanted to work, you took it. You are not negotiating (Holman, 2016).

The cornerstones of the MJCFA were the well-being of students, overall quality of education, and representation of faculty positions to administration through shared governance, a balance of traditional and professional union goals (MJCFA, 1967a). The MJCFA advocated an open-door admissions policy, where no one was denied the chance to receive a comprehensive education. Faculty attempted to increase legislator awareness of the need to provide quality instruction at reasonable cost (MJCFA, 1967a). Teaching loads were heavy, and few colleges provided funds for travel to professional meetings or made arrangements for sabbaticals (Moen & Stave, 1968).

Committees

Early committees were active. The Public Relations Committee suggested faculty participate in high school career days to increase enrollment. The Educational Advisory Committee reaffirmed its stance that lab equivalent hours be adjusted from two hours for one credit to one hour for one credit to ensure quality instruction (MJCFA DA, 1965b). At the fall 1965 DA, members focused on working condition issues. Members adopted the Welfare Committee suggestions for improved working conditions which included 1) faculty transferability within the system; 2) provisions for out of state travel to professional meetings; 3) choice of pay periods; 4) improved fringe benefits; 5) defined grievance procedures; 6) definition of load; 7) sabbatical leave programs; 8) retirement annuities deducted from salaries by legislative act; 9) notification of job vacancies within the system; 10) average teacher pay of \$7,200 based on entire system; and 11) establishment of overload pay rate (MJCFA DA, 1965b).

The initial enrollments of the system colleges revealed great growth potential: Austin Junior College - 596, Brainerd Junior College - 258, Ely Junior College - 166, Eveleth Junior College - 131, Fergus Falls Junior College - 300, Hibbing Junior College - 634, Itasca Junior College - 283, Rochester Junior College - 1,154 (with night students), Virginia Junior College - 478, and Worthington Junior College - 479 (Widmark scrapbook, 2016). The MJCFA did not significantly impact junior college operations in its infancy. "There was very little change on campuses after the Association and State system formed" (Widmark, 2016). The Junior College Board, Chancellor Helland, and MJCFA Welfare Committee continued discussions. The Welfare Committee recommended a 36 week calendar and overload pay for loads over 45 credits. The system wide salary proposal represented a 23 percent increase (MJCFA DA, 1965a). The 1966 spring DA moved part-time faculty teaching one course be paid \$150 per credit hour. The Junior College Board established salary values for extracurricular activities and set summer school pay at \$125 per credit, not pro rata (MJCFA DA, 1965a). The MJCFA argued for implementation of a Supplemental Retirement Plan to the Legislature (MJCFA DA, 1966a). The DA failed to support a motion to move science lab hours to one credit for one hour. The MJCFA supported the pursuit of improved fringe benefits, specifically state funded health and medical insurance. Concerns were raised regarding the dismissal of probationary teachers without charges or with unsubstantial charges (MJCFA DA, 1966a). The Educational Advisory Committee moved that more diversified and efficient methods of instruction, such as audio-tutorial systems, be investigated and incorporated into the classroom (MJCFA DA, 1966a). The 1970 spring DA focused on internal restructuring. The election of MJCFA officers were to held on odd numbered years beginning next year 1971, resulting in two year terms (MJCFA DA, 1970a). The MJCFA Nominating Committee recommended no more than one candidate be nominated from any one

chapter. The Committee recommended at least two candidates for each office (MJCFA DA, 1967b). Contested races were desirable. The 1967 fall DA created several ad hoc committees to examine 1) coordination of vocational and junior college education; 2) competition among all Minnesota higher education institutions; and 3) ultimate control of higher education in Minnesota (MJCFA DA, 1967b). The MJCFA Board of Directors secured an attorney to represent its members in actions before the Minnesota Junior College Board and its Executive Director when needed (MJCFA DA, 1967a). The MJCFA Public Relations Committee forwarded the following objectives: 1) improving communication with members through a newsletter); 2) encouraging new membership through a brochure outlining benefits; 3) selling the MJCFA to the public through a series of news releases from each chapter; and 4) publicizing MJCFA decisions (MJCFA DA, 1967a).

Negotiations

The Junior College Board made several decisions that directly impacted working conditions. The decisions included first year salary increases dropped from 20 to 16 percent, a five column salary schedule adopted (MJCFA advocated Ph.D. faculty placed in a sixth column), no money earmarked for sabbaticals, summer work reimbursement set at 75 percent of normal salary (MJCFA advocated for 100 percent), \$125 per credit hour paid for overload work (MJCFA advocated for \$160), \$100 per faculty for travel allowances per biennium, and insurance benefits the same as classified employees (MJCFA DA, 1966b). An appeal procedure was established in January 1969. Faculty with grievances went directly to the college President or asked the local MJCFA chapter to represent them. If satisfaction was not reached with the President, the matter went to the Chancellor by the President and the faculty involved. If satisfaction was not achieved with the Chancellor, the matter went to the Junior College Board

by the Chancellor, President, and faculty involved. The action of the Junior College Board was final (Jottings, 1973b). The MJCFA Board of Directors passed a resolution in October 17, 1970 which stated,

MJCFA is very disappointed with the Minnesota State Junior College Board's salary recommendation for several reasons, two of which are 1) Recommending a nine percent salary increase which includes the step increase is deceptive and misleading to the general public, legislature, and the faculty-at-large; and 2) The real increase of four percent is grossly inadequate in that it is not enough to cover the cost of living increase of 5.5 or six percent in the nation's economy this year. What we really have in this proposal is a one to two percent decrease in real personal income (Green Sheet, 1970a, p. 2).

Negotiations of a system wide salary schedule were completed in the fall of 1965 (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983; Widmark scrapbook, 2016). Bill Newton, who worked for MEA at the time, recalled MJCFA negotiations,

The State Junior College System merged all of the individual K-12 school district junior college contracts into one. They didn't have to, but they wisely went that route. Their philosophy was wonderful. You should not earn less because you live in International Falls than if you live in Minneapolis. I helped put together a negotiations council study because a lot of rural K-12 schools lacked the salary schedules of the Twin Cities, Rochester, or Mankato. The thought was the cost of living was more to live in the Cities. The research showed the opposite. It cost more to live outstate, if you have any interest in art of any form. Groceries, day to day living items, electricity, everything made it more expensive to live outstate, except housing. Being treated like K-12 teachers was a major source of dissatisfaction for junior college faculty. The requirement of being in the

building for 40 hours a week created dissatisfaction. Teaching credit hours instead of five courses of high school math back to back was a difficult adjustment. The differences between colleges were huge. For example, Hibbing paid much more than International Falls. So forming the statewide union was paramount. Many faculty disliked how they were being treated by college Presidents (Newton, 2016).

Contract Analysis

The researcher used the contract analysis tool utilized by Kater and Levin (2005) to examine the *Faculty handbook of policies, regulations, and procedures: Willmar state junior college division of Willmar community college* (Willmar State Junior College, 1965; see Appendix H). Willmar State Junior College was new to the Minnesota junior college system and the document was one of the earliest examples of a junior college faculty contract before collective bargaining. Junior College Board Chancellor Phillip Helland was the Willmar School District Superintendent and Willmar Junior College President two years prior to the contract examined, it was assumed the content of the contract was a model of most junior college contracts utilized before unionization and collective bargaining. The contract analysis of the 1965 Willmar Junior College revealed a contract with governance ranging between management rights and silent (see Appendix H). It was apparent the early junior college governance was not collegial or shared. The contract was silent regarding faculty discipline, grievances, harassment, retrenchment, and sabbatical. Budget, calendar, faculty evaluation, general problems, management hiring, new positions, and professional development were scored as management. Faculty were not consulted with management items. Strangely, administration selected and assigned faculty to attend conferences. Faculty participation could be pursued by management in areas regarding tenure, program changes, and faculty hiring. The only area with possible joint

action was curriculum. However, administration selected faculty textbooks and retained ultimate decision-making authority over curricular issues (Willmar State Junior College, 1965).

Internal Issues

By the second year of its existence, MJCFA membership grew to 213 full members and 29 associate members, which represented 90 percent of all junior college faculty. The percentage would have been 97 percent if Willmar Junior College technical faculty, who were ineligible for membership as K-12 employees, were excluded (MJCFA DA, 1965a). By the end of 1967, membership increased to 323 full members and 43 associate members (MJCFA DA, 1967a). The MJCFA resolved that each local chapter be formally chartered and submit a constitution (MJCFA DA, 1966b). Vermillion, Lakewood, Austin, and Rainy River junior colleges became the first MJCFA chartered members in 1967 (MJCFA DA, 1967b). Willmar, Fergus Falls, and Worthington junior colleges became chartered members a year later (MJCFA DA, 1968). Membership levels increased by 100 during 1968 and finished at 424 full members and 40 associate members (MJCFA DA, 1968). By the end of the 1969 academic year, 594 full members and 36 associate members were among the ranks of the MJCFA (MJCFA DA, 1970a). The MJCFA President, Neil Sands, responded to the early membership trends of the Association,

The progress of the Association has been gratifying. Membership has increased significantly over the last year. There are currently over 660 full time active members and memberships continue to trickle in. Our Association has gained in national stature and respect (Green Sheet, 1970c, p. 2).

Association dues were established in the original constitution at 1/10 of one percent of annual salary to nearest whole number (MJCFA Constitution, 1963), but were changed shortly after ratification to a \$7 flat rate for full members and \$4 for associate members (Widmark

scrapbook, 2016). The DA increased dues to \$10 for full members and \$5 for associate members (1964b). The growing expense of the DA resulted a dues increase to \$25 for full members and \$10 for associate members in 1966 (MJCFA DA, 1966a). In efforts to increase membership, the MJCFA allowed half loaded faculty to pay half dues (MJCFA DA, 1970b). By 1970, dues rose to \$70 for full members and \$25 for associate members (MJCFA DA, 1970a). After collective bargaining was adopted the two-tiered membership classification, full and associate membership, was eliminated.

The 1964 MJCFA DA approved the creation of an informal publication to disseminate information the membership (MJCFA DA, 1964b). Leon Knight, Public Relations Committee chair, recommended the development of a MJCFA newsletter (see Appendix K for photo). The Public Relations Committee was assigned newsletter responsibility (MJCFA, 1966a). Knight served as the editor of newsletter, the first issue was created at a cost of \$29.56 (MJCFA DA, 1966b). The first MJCFA *Green Sheet* was distributed on October 19, 1970 (Green Sheet, 1970a). The origin of the name of the newsletter remained a mystery among the membership through the years. “The newsletter was printed on green paper so faculty could find it quickly among the white papers in their mailboxes. The *Green Sheet* seemed a suitable name” (Widmark, 2016). “Members knew it was coming from the union. We had to pick a color and green stands for money, it had nothing to do with the green movement” (Newton, 2016). The MJCFA encouraged Chancellor Helland to create a weekly bulletin to improve communication between faculties, administrators, and the central office (MJCFA DA, 1967b). The first Junior College System newsletter, *The Bulletin*, debuted on January 14, 1970. The newsletter was renamed *Community College Jottings* by the end of 1970 (MJCFA DA, 1970a).

Legislative Issues

The MJCFA Legislative Committee recommended the preparation of a public relations pamphlet and adoption of resolution endorsing an open door policy (MJCFA DA, 1968). The MJCFA desired a more significant role in hiring college Presidents (MJCFA DA, 1968). The 1968 MJCFA DA passed a resolution in opposition to all merit pay policies for instructors (MJCFA DA, 1968). The MJCFA Welfare and Legislative Committees merged and recommended the faculty to student ratio of 1:20 be lowered to 1:18 to improve the education of students, implementation of an annual \$100 travel allowance per faculty, and one fully paid sabbatical per college per year (MJCFA DA, 1968). The MJCFA recommended guidelines for the Junior College System Board to improve representation by ethnic groups, liberal, moderate, and conservative groups, labor, business, industry, and higher education academic community (MJCFA DA, 1970a). The MJCFA formulated an official position regarding community service programs which included 1) concerns over quality and control; 2) faculty consultation in the development of programs, descriptions, and outlines; 3) faculty review of academic qualifications of those involved in community service programs; and 4) policy changes to define faculty compensation as part of load or above load with pro rata pay (MJCFA DA, 1970b). The 1970 MJCFA DA supported telephones in each faculty office (Green Sheet, 1970b). President Norman requested drawer filing cabinets and a typewriter for the MJCFA office in 1973 (MJCFA EC, 1973c). The MJCFA initially proposed 21 percent first year and 18 percent second year for salaries, but modified their proposal to 14 and 14 percent through the course of discussions. The MJCFA President, Neil Sands, responded to the state board offer,

We are both hurt and angered by what now appears to have been a lack of good faith on the part of the Board in our salary discussions. They were apparently talking quality and

high standards with no intent of requesting adequate funding for such quality and standards. It is testimony to the weakness of the present negotiation law. MJCFA will request improvement in the law by the Legislature (Green Sheet, 1970a, p. 1).

The 1969 MJCFA DA focused on professional issues. The MJCFA agreed all faculty teaching transfer courses should have at minimum a Master's degree. Further, hiring new faculty should be done in accordance with the MJCFA Constitution. Faculty should participate in preparation and adoption of all college-related budgets. All colleges needed to adopt faculty handbooks. All junior colleges were advised to develop written grievance procedures for resolving internal problems. Faculty Senates were considered policy-making bodies whose actions may not be overruled by the President unless he states his reasons in writing. The MJCFA, again, endorsed the premise that Minnesota Junior Colleges served all students, regardless of ability. The MJCFA recommended Chancellor Helland visit each campus at least once per year to discuss problems (MJCFA DA, 1969). Most of these recommendations were promptly dismissed.

The Junior College Board and MJFCA shared common goals in the 1965 and 1967 legislative sessions. Both the Board and MJCFA wanted 1) to secure adequate funding for the new system of state junior colleges, and 2) to raise faculty compensation to a competitive level. Typically, legislators responded favorably to the requests of the Board and the MJCFA for improvements in faculty compensation. Salary increases were minimal. Personnel policies were jointly developed by the MJCFA Welfare Committee and the Chancellor and approved by the Junior College Board (Helland, 1974).

In 1967, legislation was passed relative to employer-employee relations in elementary and secondary education. The law, known as the Meet and Confer law, covered all elementary and secondary personnel, except the Superintendent (Stark, 1974). The law served as a template

of how meet and confer processes could work on junior college campuses. Stark (1974) argued a good negotiation law clearly delineates who was to negotiate with whom and about what. The 1967 law failed to answer those basic questions.

Metro Junior Colleges

During the 1965 Legislative sessions, legislation to expand the Minnesota Junior College System from 15 to 18 colleges was introduced through HF 1641 and SF 1534. Bills passed to permit junior colleges in Worthington (HF 1043 and SF 940) and Austin (HF 1265 and SF 1132) (MJCFA DA, 1965a). The sixties were growth years both for the Association and the System. By the fall of 1965, new colleges were proposed at Thief River Falls and Metro-Central (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983).

The establishment of junior colleges in the metro area remained a major difficulty through the sixties. During the 1957 legislative session, interest in junior college expansion became so great the University of Minnesota shelved a plan to develop University-operated extension centers as junior colleges (Wenberg, 1968). The University did not want to confuse the debate about how Minnesota should provide junior college education. The development of junior colleges was stimulated by state subsidies to each student attending a junior college. The subsidies were increased in consecutive legislative sessions, so school districts found it increasingly attractive to establish junior colleges. The problem of establishing junior colleges in the Twin Cities metro area remained unsolved until the system made the financial status of a school district immaterial to the decision to establish a junior college (Wenberg, 1968). The decision opened the development of junior colleges in the Twin Cities metropolitan area (Wenberg, 1968). The junior college expansion had a direct impact on the University of Minnesota. The University of Minnesota refined its mission and increased attention to upper-

division, graduate, and professional education. However, the University did not completely withdraw from freshman and sophomore education. Freshman and sophomore enrollment on the Twin Cities campuses adjusted to a smaller proportion, 35 to 45 percent, instead of the traditional 50 percent. The University of Minnesota explored ways to incorporate its work with junior colleges. All higher education systems became increasingly aware of one another's programs (Wenberg, 1968). In 1965, Chancellor Helland reported high numbers of low ability students applied to the proposed Twin Cities junior colleges (MJCFA DA, 1965a). In 1968, sixteen public and six private junior colleges enrolled 11,000 students, 12 percent, of all the students registered in Minnesota higher education institutions. A time of prosperity began. New junior colleges were established, enrollments grew, the public was interested, and societal needs offered increased opportunities (Moen & Stave, 1968). Don Holman recalled the difficulties experienced on the new metro campuses,

When the Junior College System started it was made up of smaller out state campuses.

When the larger Anoka Ramsey, North Hennepin, Inver Hills, and Normandale campuses opened, they lacked the camaraderie of the smaller faulty campuses. When we started, the President was just one of the faculty under our local constitution. There was a lack of collegiality between administration and faculty at the metro colleges in the beginning.

Staff at those colleges did not know each other (Holman, 2016).

In fall of 1968, faculty at one of the metro junior colleges challenged the MJCFA to represent faculty at all junior colleges. They petitioned the State Director of Mediation Services to rule that faculty on their campus may deal separately with the Junior College Board. Four hearings were held and representatives of the Board and the MJCFA argued for a statewide unit. The Director of Mediation Services ruled on unit designation in May 1969. The MJCFA asked

the Board for formal recognition as the exclusive bargaining agent for all faculty members. The recognition was granted (Helland, 1974).

Junior College Conferences

Junior college faculty were excited about their new Association and wanted to connect with their colleagues across the state. There was a strong desire for collaboration (Moen & Stave, 1968; Widmark, 2016). The Junior College Foundation granted funds to conduct a series of three conferences during the 1967 academic year for faculty representatives from all Minnesota public and private junior colleges. The objectives of these conferences were 1) to foster a sense of unity and identity among junior college instructors; 2) to encourage idea generation among faculties about junior college functions; 3) to promote and coordinate efforts; 4) to acquaint the University of Minnesota and other agencies with junior college problems to connect resources to needs; and 5) to establish annual conferences devoted to academic policies. The grant covered the 1967 academic year, but it was renewed for 1968 (Moen & Stave, 1968). When the grant was awarded, an advisory committee of junior college and University of Minnesota personnel, under the direction of Chancellor Helland, planned the conferences. Themes were suggested, planning subcommittees appointed, and main speakers selected (Moen & Stave, 1968). The results of these conferences indicated that Minnesota junior college faculties were interested in curriculum, instruction, students, counseling, and administration (Moen & Stave, 1968).

Academic factors were of the utmost importance to two-year college faculty. Faculty exhibited high levels of satisfaction from participation in their components. Two-year colleges emphasized teaching (Smith, 1968). During a 1968 faculty interest conference held in Minneapolis, junior college humanities instructors reached consensus regarding teaching and learning. Faculty agreed teaching effectiveness was determined through the direct observation of

student growth. Student growth was not simply testing and compiling grades, but involved an understanding of changes in attitudes, values, and responses. Faculty agreed that knowing how to ask proper questions was valuable in determining teaching effectiveness. The Socratic method of proper questioning was deemed essential in teaching humanities (LaVine & AmEnd, 1968). The faculty reached consensus on the methods of determining proper preparation for junior college faculty. Faculty agreed professional education courses did not meet the needs of junior college instructors; greater emphasis needed to be placed on practical application. Faculty wanted a MJCFA-controlled internship program to introduce prospective faculty to the philosophy and problems of junior colleges. The faculty explored extension of MJCFA membership to private community colleges and University of Minnesota General College without success (LaVine & AmEnd, 1968).

A major challenge to the early MJCFA was keeping all educators engaged and connected so problems could be addressed collectively. Faculty saw the creation of a Junior College Center as a solution. The Center would draw University of Minnesota and junior college faculty together to explore common problems and strengthen the education of Minnesota students (Smith, 1968). Most believed the Center must be a service organization, not a policy-making agency (Moen & Stave, 1968). The MJCFA faculty did not want the Center to be an arm of the University of Minnesota or a State University. The Center would be more than a training center for junior college faculty, it would be a clearinghouse for new ideas and best practices for junior college faculty. The Center would assist in college strategic planning (Hinsverk & Hunter, 1968). Location was a concern. Some faculty thought the University of Minnesota campus was a logical source, while others believed it should be located at one of the junior colleges in the Twin Cities (Harris & Dearden, 1968). Despite the energy generated from the conference and the potential

partnerships between the various Minnesota higher education systems, the Junior College Center was never realized. However, the concept exhibited the willingness of junior college faculty to collaborate around academic factors.

The roles of junior college faculty were discussed at the conferences and consensus was reached. The conferences revealed working conditions and governance factor dissatisfaction (Harris & Dearden, 1968; Hinsverk & Hunter, 1968; Smith, 1968). Faculty wanted to be consulted in the hiring of new staff. Faculty schedules and teaching assignments needed to be flexible to attract specialists. Part-time faculty were important in areas that required specialists, but the majority of the faculty needed to be full-time (Hinsverk & Hunter, 1968). Junior college faculty were unified in their desire for administration to establish educational conferences and reimburse faculty expenses (Harris & Dearden, 1968). Faculty wanted to explore collaborative efforts to improve teaching and learning effectiveness. Faculty felt they were unable to initiate system-wide curriculum changes (Smith, 1968).

Moen and Stave (1968) predicted engaged junior college faculty strive to continuously improve teaching and learning. During another conference, junior college natural science and occupational education faculty reached consensus regarding the demands of the profession. They agreed junior college faculty must 1) make their disciplines meaningful to students of different academic abilities; 2) plan new courses and work as a team to provide interdisciplinary experiences for students; 3) make use of new media to encourage students to learn outside the classroom; 4) work against the artificial hierarchical ranking of subjects and programs; 5) maintain awareness of the importance of guidance and counseling programs; and 6) participate in continuous curriculum development (Harris, 1968). Faculty were interested to learn new ways to motivate and reach students of various abilities. Faculty were concerned with the education of all

students, from gifted to remedial (Moen & Stave, 1968). Faculty expressed interest in course preparation, orientation, and evaluation. They explored in-service training, classroom effectiveness, and professional development (Moen & Stave, 1968).

Many faculty at the conferences examined junior college mission and reached several conclusions. Faculty concluded the junior college system lacked an explicit statement of purpose. One report contains this statement:

The group soon agreed that, to our knowledge, neither the Legislature nor the Junior College Board had made clear what the aims and goals of this system were. We decided that perhaps it was at least partially up to us as faculty to help determine what they should be. In addition, most of us thought that students also should be consulted on this question (Moen & Stave, 1968, p. 39).

Another report states,

We cannot assess our role until we have determined the actual goals of the junior college in general and of each institution in particular, and until we have a better understanding with the Junior College Board about financing programs (Moen & Stave, 1968, p. 41).

Many faculty believed system wide patterns must be avoided. They believed individual junior colleges must resist being molded by central agencies. Junior colleges must develop along the lines which best meet the educational needs of their communities (Moen & Stave, 1968).

Most junior college faculty were more comfortable talking about transfer students and curriculum than occupational, technical programs (Harris & Dearden, 1968). However, the participants were interested in vocational education and acknowledged the importance of AVTIs. The first discussion regarding the merger of junior colleges and AVTIs were initiated by faculty. Most believed junior colleges and AVTIs should not be separate institutions. Faculty

knew merger needed to be initiated by the State Legislature. School districts were reluctant to relinquish the federal funds they received for the AVTIs if they merged with junior colleges (Harris & Dearden, 1968). The 1970 MJCFA DA discussed the possible merger of junior college and vocational-technical systems, but failed to formulate a position (MJCFA DA, 1970b). Many faculty saw the obstacles to merger as insurmountable and recommended the two systems coordinate their activities, share faculty and facilities where feasible, survey community needs to develop programs, and avoid the waste of resources from unrestricted competition (Moen & Stave, 1968).

Several faculty felt restricted in their attempts at curriculum innovation. As one report puts it,

Concern was expressed over the conflict between the desire to be creative in developing local curriculums and the traditional standards of the colleges to which students transfer. The group agreed that senior institutions should determine eligibility for transfer, but that this procedure coerces the junior college teacher who would like to fit his course to the student (Moen & Stave, 1968, p. 43).

Moen & Stave (1968) surveyed Minnesota junior college faculty regarding hiring practices. They found faculty "wished to have a controlling voice concerning the preparation of new members entering their profession" (Moen & Stave, 1968, p. 45). They cautioned faculty "should not resign their responsibilities for the educational preparation of junior college teachers to an agency totally outside their control" (Moen & Stave, 1968, p. 46). Governance dissatisfaction continued to grow. Faculty representatives proclaimed,

Education of the elite cannot be the sole preoccupation of colleges and universities in a democratic society, whose welfare rests upon informed and participating citizens. And

humane ideals cannot be lost in the race for technical expertise (Moen & Stave, 1968, p. 7).

A working mission for Minnesota Junior Colleges appeared in *Proposals for Progress* by Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission (1969),

The State Junior Colleges should continue to provide comprehensive commuting opportunities and to offer two years of work applicable to the baccalaureate degree, technical programs leading to the associate degree, vocational programs leading to the vocational certificate, continuing education for adults, and community service providing, within the commuting area of each college, approximately equal distribution between terminal occupational programs and programs which provide the first two years of study which may be applied to meeting requirements for a baccalaureate degree in a four-year institution. As a commuter institution, junior colleges should develop general admissions policies which give priority to high school graduates whose place of residence is within 35 miles of the junior college (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983).

AVTIs

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 contributed to the continued rise of the AVTIs during the late sixties. The MDTA and Vocational Education Act dealt with the problem of unemployment (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). The major aim of the Vocational Education Act was to develop a system to prepare individuals for gainful employment.

Agriculture, trades, and industries were no longer targeted with restricted funds. Rather, vocational education was viewed as a unified program and funds were used to prepare students for employment requiring less than a four year degree. Especially important under Act was the authorization of construction of AVTI facilities (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

Any local school district designated by the State Board of Vocational Education as an AVTI applied for Minnesota allotted funds under the Vocational Education Act. The Act earmarked funds for site acquisition, architect fees, new building construction, and remodeling of existing AVTI buildings. Procedures stipulated the State Board established AVTIs at the request of a local school district. The State Director had authority to approve programs, courses, and facility plans. The Minnesota State Plan defined the process for application. The application to the State Board included evidence of the community's ability to provide facilities, surveys of prospective students, and evidence of adequate school district resources and indebtedness. The State Board met with the local school board and community leaders to consider the application. When a local school board gained permission to develop an AVTI, the State Board established a time limit for authorization of bonds for building construction and a time limit for opening the institution (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). The State Plan included a targeted number of potential students, a distance requirement of at least 35 miles from other AVTIs, and an adequate amount of space and equipment to meet program requirements (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). By 1965, seventeen AVTIs were in operation and three more were under construction. An estimated 80 percent of the state population had access to the new AVTIs. The new AVTIs were operated in accordance with the standards of the State Board of Education. Supervision of the schools was the responsibility of the State Vocational Section. The Director of the Vocational Education Section and state staff worked closely with business, industry and labor to design appropriate technical programs. Individuals from program professions in the community served on advisory committees at the state and local level helped decide what skills were taught. Students from any school district in the state could attend any AVTI if at least sixteen years of age, in or out of high school. This was a departure from long-standing public

school policy that restricted student attendance to the school district of their residence. Tuition at AVTIs was free for all Minnesota high school graduates under the age of 21. High school graduation was not a prerequisite for attendance. The AVTIs did not offer academic degrees. Vocational educators measured student accomplishment in reference to acquiring the training and skills that made students employable by business and industry (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). Financing for the new AVTIs began at the local level through the action of the local school board. School bonds were issued to build and equip the facilities. By 1965, Minnesota communities had invested \$17 million in buildings and \$8 million in equipment for technical education. Federal and state aid covered 50 to 75 percent of instructor salaries. Foundation State Aid was paid to the AVTI for each resident student under age 21. The AVTI received full cost of tuition for all students under 21. All students over age 21 paid their own tuition (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). From 1966 to 1982, the State Board of Education continued as the authority for providing technical education and was designated as the State Board for Vocational Education for purposes of administration of federal vocational funds. The position of State Director of Vocational Education was directly responsible for leadership and management of issues, strategies, and staff related to vocational-technical education (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

System Expansion

The Minnesota Junior College system continued to expand. By 1970, the junior college at Eveleth merged with Virginia and the remaining ten original junior colleges were moved to new campuses built by the state. New colleges were built at Thief River Falls, International Falls, Bloomington, Brooklyn Park, Coon Rapids, Inver Grove Heights, White Bear Lake and Minneapolis (Helland, 1984). The eighteen junior colleges in operation in 1970 included

Rochester (1915), Hibbing (1918), Mesabi (Virginia 1921 and Eveleth 1918 merged in 1966), Vermilion (1922), Itasca (1922), Worthington (1936), Brainerd (1938), Austin (1940), Fergus Falls (1960), Willmar (1962), Anoka-Ramsey (1965), Northland (1965), Minneapolis (1965) North Hennepin (1966), Rainy River (1967), Lakewood (1967), Normandale (1968), and Inver Hills (1970) (Helland, 1984). Expecting continued expansion of the junior college system, Chancellor Helland proposed a two-year college plan in 1970. The plan divided Minnesota into forty-six regions, each served by a higher education institution (see Appendix G). The entire plan was never implemented, but it served as a template for future development of the Minnesota higher education system. The system experienced rapid expansion of occupational programs and student activities (see Appendix O). The expansion of intercollegiate sports resulted in the creation of junior college colors and mascots (see Appendix M). In many ways, Minnesota junior colleges successfully mirrored the State University experience.

With the proposition of collective bargaining for public employees on the horizon, the 1970 MJCFA DA opted to incorporate under the laws of the State of Minnesota (MJCFA DA, 1970b). The decision allowed MJCFA to serve as the exclusive collective bargaining representative for Minnesota junior college faculty, if the Legislature allowed public employee collective bargaining.

Faculty Satisfaction Survey 1968

Two-year college faculty were pressured to develop a wider range of programs and advanced facilities to meet the needs of increased student numbers, pressure for research, and off-campus consultation. Eckert and Williams (1972) replicated their faculty satisfaction survey under these conditions (see Appendix U). The modified survey included additional questions about collective bargaining attitudes, types of loans or grants used to fund faculty education, and

work activities, such as professional writing, consulting, and travel. The survey measured the attitudes of unionized junior college faculty prior to the influence of collective bargaining.

The 1968 survey used a census sample of junior college faculty due to small sample size. An 82.4 percent return rate (N=375) was obtained via mail. The sixteen public junior colleges participated in the survey. Statistical analysis was limited to measures of central tendency and tests of significance of percentage differences (Eckert & Williams, 1972).

The 1968 survey found 62 percent of faculty found collective bargaining highly desirable or desirable. Academic factors remained the source of the highest faculty satisfaction, 87 percent of faculty were satisfied or very satisfied with their career choice and 82 percent would reaffirm the career choice. Faculty spent over 85 percent of their time teaching, 10 percent counseling, and four percent involved in committee and administrative duties (Eckert & Williams, 1972).

Junior college faculty selected their positions because of the opportunity to work with college-aged students, institution background, and additional reasons pertaining to the job (see Appendix U). Salaries were not attracting faculty to Minnesota junior colleges, only 7.8 percent cited salaries as an attractant. Faculty desired more time to teach (33.9 percent), participate in research and writing (24.3 percent), and engage in counseling activities (21.1 percent). Many faculty desired no change in the distribution of their time (22.4 percent) (see Appendix U). Only four percent of faculty desired more time to dedicate to committee and administrative work. It was clear faculty were unhappy with the amount of time dedicated to committee and administrative work; the majority of faculty respondents desired less time dedicated to these activities (40.3 percent, up from 34.6 percent in 1956). A handful of faculty found the teaching load excessive and desired less time teaching (11.5 percent, down from 14.5 percent in 1956). Additional evidence of a growing workload problem was gleaned from the results of the survey

question which solicited recommendations to improve junior college faculty recruitment and retention (Eckert & Williams, 1972).

Reduced workloads (14.4 percent, up from 9.2 percent in 1956) and improved work conditions (14.4 percent, up from 7.0 percent in 1956) were identified to improve junior college faculty recruitment (see Appendix U). Further verification can be found in the examination of factors to improve junior college retention. Lighter workloads (24.5 percent, up from 17.7 percent in 1956) were identified as the second most important factor to retain Minnesota junior college faculty (see Appendix U). Salaries appeared to be an area of concern as well. The majority of faculty respondents believed higher salaries would improve recruitment (54.7 percent, down from 60 percent in 1956) and retention (46.4 percent, down from 71.6 percent) (see Appendix U). The salary concerns remained significant, but were trending in a positive direction for junior college faculty. The beginnings of governance factor dissatisfaction were identified in the survey results. Measures to improve faculty retention included sustained academic freedom (11.5 percent, up from 7.7 percent in 1956), increased policy-making authority (10.7 percent, up from 0.8 percent in 1956), and improved cooperative or competent administration (4.8 percent, up from 0.8 percent in 1956) (see Appendix U).

Summary

The Minnesota junior college system was established quietly through legislative action. The Minnesota two-year college faculty union was established under equally humble beginnings. Junior college faculty wanted to improve working condition and governance factors. The early years of the union were spent on organization endeavors such as establishing a constitution, forming committees, and recruiting and retaining membership. Junior college faculty were satisfied with academic factors and eagerly shared best practices across the state during

conferences. The relationships between faculty, administrators, and the Legislature were being formed. The difficulties of these relationships were most visible during negotiations. Technical and vocational institutes continued to expand with federal funding, but remained under the control of local school districts. Technical institute faculty remained unorganized. The Junior College System continued to expand with the growing number of students. New junior colleges were finally established in the metro area, spreading the availability of two-year college education to a wider number of Minnesota students.

1971-1978 Collective Bargaining Begins

A vast amount of construction occurred on the seventeen campuses of the Minnesota Junior College System. A total of 32 educational buildings were added to system campuses as a result of 1971 legislation. Another \$22,053,420 was appropriated to further additions which included funds to develop campuses at Fairmont and Cambridge (Jottings, 1971).

PELRA

The Public Employee Negotiations bill sponsored and passed by Senator Ashbach restructured negotiations law in Minnesota (Green Sheet, 1971b; see Appendix K for photo). The MJCFA President Neil Sands, laid out the arguments for adopting collective bargaining to the MJCFA membership in the May 13, 1971 issue of the *Green Sheet* (Sands, 1971).

Our actions on faculty senates and other similar committees of faculty are too often vetoed, revoked, rebuked or forgotten. Such negative response often persists without the knowledge, consultation, or approval of all elements of the college community. Senate actions are simply not enforceable. We recognize that our system of organized college governance is at the pleasure of a centralized board and various local college

administrative officers. Such centralization of power, must meet with an equally centralized and strong force and voice of the faculty. Such a voice involves collective negotiations – both local and statewide. Why turn to collective bargaining? 1) The rapid growth of our colleges and the rise of a managerial force necessitates the input of faculty decisions to insure the academic quality of the colleges' programs. The improvement of instruction and all factors influencing good instruction; 2) The wave of student radicalism on campuses has shown faculty that they have too long ignored their responsibility to improve the environment in which relevant learning can take place; 3) The inflationary economy and financial stress on our profession requires more unified effort to protect our economic interests; 4) Finally, state legislators are now planning to relieve taxpayers 'pain and suffering' by draining the 'fat' out of the budget. Some think you are the 'fat.' The attack the weakest link, 'The Professors'. They have forgotten that if they destroy us by ruining a career salary schedule they also destroy the high quality of programs and teaching competence. We must bargain collectively to show the taxpayer and his legislator the error of this course. The Master Agreement and Contract is the charter of real democracy in higher education (Sands, 1971, p. 6).

PELRA allowed Minnesota public employees to receive the same collective bargaining rights as the private sector (Florin, 1975; Flygare, 1984; Minn. Stat. § 179.61, 1971; Swift, 1979). PELRA called for the creation of a Bureau of Mediation Services and a Public Employment Relations Board. Master contracts, binding arbitration agreements, grievance procedures, and legalized strikes were highlighted in the legislation (Minn. Stat. § 179.61, 1971; Swift, 1979). The Act was amended by the 1973 legislature. The amended version of the law dealt directly with problems manifested in the 1967 Meet and Confer Law. The main features of PELRA included 1)

provision for exclusive representation, instead of proportional recognition; 2) creation of a Bureau of Mediation Services for unit determination, election supervision, and mediation services; 3) creation of a Public Employment Relations Board to provide arbitration services; 4) separation of “meet and negotiate” issues from “meet and confer” issues; 5) clear statements of unfair labor practices; 6) inclusion of all public employees with only minor exceptions; 7) mandated written master contracts; 8) binding arbitration; 9) binding grievance procedures; and 10) legal strikes under certain circumstances (Stark, 1974). Minnesota believed it created a workable law. Neither employers nor employees lost sight that the purpose of this law was the resolution of disputes. It was no longer necessary to be docile on the one hand or dominant on the other. A good faith effort from both employers and employees was essential for success (Stark, 1974).

Across the nation, state collective bargaining laws were often cited as a major contribution for the expansion of faculty collective bargaining (Carr & Van Eyck, 1973; Duryea et al., 1973; Garbarino, 1975; Kemerer & Baldrige, 1975). Minnesota followed the trend. The MJCFA became the exclusive collective bargaining representative for all Minnesota junior college faculty in 1971 after the Director of Mediation Services ruled in favor of a statewide unit (Helland, 1974). The Junior College Board and MJCFA established meet-and-confer requirements, set forth in PELRA, for discussing matters related to employment. Local MJCFA chapters and college administrators created local meet-and-confer processes (Flygare, 1984). Merrill Widmark reflected on decision by MJCFA to begin collective bargaining,

There was not much acrimony when we adopted collective bargaining. There were always some conservative groups, such as Fergus Falls, that were not used to collective

bargaining and were unsure. That was the only junior college, there were individuals here and there, opposed to collective bargaining (Widmark, 2016).

Don Holman shared comments regarding PELRA,

Once PELRA passed, the Board had to listen to you. They can still do what they want, but you can file a grievance and take it to court. You can go on strike. We had the first statewide strike in Minnesota. They Legislators told us it was going to be the dumbest thing we ever would do, take what you can get. There was no opposition to going to collective bargaining at Willmar (Holman, 2016).

He continued,

After PELRA, the attitude of being a team at the college morphed into an attitude of us versus them. That was a changing time. We still met together with the administration as the faculty, but we were the faculty. Ben Thoma was the first chair at Willmar Junior College. He tried to run the Association meetings, but the college President was sitting there. An issue would be raised at a faculty meeting and the members would defer to the President instead of the faculty chair. Not a good situation. It did not work out all that well. That is when things changed quickly. The MCCFA needed to change its structure to comply with the rules in PELRA. The Executive Board was the negotiation team to work with the Community College State Board to develop our first statewide contract. John Almquist was MJCFA Secretary from Willmar Junior College at that time and served on negotiations. John was always on the road. I covered his courses a lot during that time. We got our first contract, but we did not have the right to strike yet. We still had the mass meeting, but fewer faculty attended because the Board, the President, and Executive Committee were calling the shots. We had the Board of Directors, where two faculty

from each campuses attended, and we had our Delegate Assembly were attendance was apportioned to campus size. That was a big meeting that was held once a year (Holman, 2016).

The Minnesota Federation of Teachers (MFT) petitioned the Minnesota Bureau for Mediations Services on November 12, 1968 for a unit designation at Anoka Ramsey State Junior College. The Director of Mediation Services, Vern Buck, decided that the MJCFA was recognized by the State Board as the representative for several years and would remain. President Sands responded to the decision, “This was crucial to the future of MJCFA. Any other decision would have meant diffusion of resources and effort. It would have been inefficient at best, chaos at worst” (Green Sheet, 1971a, p. 2).

The adoption of collective bargaining displayed a degree of governance and working condition dissatisfaction. However, it was unclear if dissatisfaction was already high enough before PELRA to ensure a successful collective bargaining vote or whether PELRA prompted the MJCFA to pursue collective bargaining in hopes to accentuate faculty satisfaction. Regardless, collective bargaining officially arrived in Minnesota junior colleges. Bill Newton commented on the adoption of collective bargaining,

We started bargaining in 1971 because that is when the collective bargaining law passed and was implemented. The statewide unit had to, by law, have a contract with its employees. They had to form a contract with MCCFA. It was a matter of do the faculty just allow management to impose a contract or were you going to try to get stuff for your faculty. The decision was we were going to try to get a lot of stuff for our faculty (Newton, 2016).

Agency Fees

Faculty members were not required to join the union, but were made to pay an agency fee to the collective bargaining agents through the agency clause. The agency clause was permissible under PELRA legislation (Ernst, 1975). Non-union faculty were designated fair share (MSCF, 2011). It was argued that non-union faculty received the benefits of unionized faculty and were assessed for the service. In 1974, a group of Normandale faculty attempted to establish the Normandale Campus as a separate bargaining unit, but were denied. Twenty faculty members from North Hennepin, Normandale, and Anoka-Ramsey filed suit in Federal Court which challenged the collection of fair share fees and the broader issue of constitutionality of PELRA. The lawsuit was financed by the National Right-to-Work Committee (Green Sheet, 1975a). There were nine similar pending lawsuits regarding fair share dues across Minnesota (MCCFA EC, 1975d). U.S. District Judge Charles Richey ruled on January 26 that the legal arm of the National Right-to-Work Committee operated as a front for employers who were trying to weaken unions. The judge said that among the organization's financial contributors were "employers who have concrete interest" in lawsuits that the committee's Legal Defense and Education Fund supported against unions (Green Sheet, 1976b; MCCFA EC, 1975c). The high court decision suggested that future challenges to MCCFA's exclusive bargaining rights were to be made on a statewide basis (Green Sheet, 1975g). With the legal challenges of fair share dues, an escrow account was established for agency fees. The Fair Share escrow account reached \$20,714 of collected dues in 1974 (MCCFA EC, 1974d), \$30,000 by 1975, and grew to \$65,857 in 1977 (MCCFA DA, 1977). The MEA and NEA directed MCCFA to charge 100 percent fair share dues for 1975-76 (MCCFA EC, 1975f). The 100 percent fair share dues were justified by deficit MCCFA spending (MCCFA EC, 1975e). The union explored different investment

opportunities with the funds. Fair share faculty rose to 200 (MCCFA DA, 1974). A court challenge of fair share agency fees cost the challenger more than \$15,000 (MCCFA DA, 1974). The threshold of 35 percent full load per quarter was used to classify part-time and fair share dues paying faculty (MCCFA EC, 1974b). The 1976 State Legislature established fair share at 85 percent and MCCFA complied (Green Sheet, 1976e; MCCFA DA, 1976; MCCFA EC, 1976b). The MEA supported the 85 percent fair share threshold (MCCFA DA, 1976). Fair share dollars continued in escrow until a U.S. Supreme Court determination was made (MCCFA DA, 1976). The case would not be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court until 1984 (Flygare, 1984). Bill Newton offered a contradictory position regarding the 85 percent fair share decision,

The decision to make fair share dues 85 percent of full member dues was made before I` was hired to work with MCCFA. I was on the MEA Board of Directors when the decision was made. I still believe the former Executive Director of MEA, Bud Gallop, made a stupid legislative deal with the Republicans in order to gain the right to strike, and agreed to limit the amount of fair share dues. I believe if he would have just kept out of it we could have had, if you want to be employed at a community college, you had to join the union. We could have had a closed shop. It would have been 100 percent membership and dues. But, we did not get that (Newton, 2016).

MEA-NEA Affiliation

The MJCFA explored affiliation with a national education union, such as NEA, AFT, or AAUP in its infancy (MJCFA DA, 1964a). The MJCFA entered into an affiliation agreement with MEA-NEA on May 9, 1970 (Green Sheet, 1970b); 23 voted in favor and 15 against (MJCFA DA, 1970a). The decision to form MEA-NEA affiliation was reached because of 1) the political power gained from being in a larger unit in state and national legislative matters; 2) the

growing need for having legal services and associated costs; 3) the need for professional and secretarial staff to perform organization tasks; 4) the need for negotiate improved insurance, travel, and purchase power; and 5) the need for negotiation expertise (Green Sheet, 1973c). The MEA-NEA was described as “pivotal” by Merrill Widmark. But vote totals demonstrated, not all faculty were supportive,

I was opposed to the merger with MEA. As a founder of our own group, I thought we could go it alone. It turned out that we really couldn't. We didn't have enough people. There was interest, but it would have cost us a lot of money as a junior college union. A benefit of the affiliation with MEA was their influence in the state. Even though I was initially opposed to the MEA affiliation, there were too many benefits to working with a big group that had much more influence than we did. We did not have much influence at that time (Widmark, 2016).

Bill Newton explained the ramifications of the decision of MEA-NEA affiliation,

The first major event in the history of the two-year college association was the bargaining election that took place, because there were a whole bunch of people who wanted to belong to the MFT, a whole bunch who wanted to belong to MEA, and those who did not want to belong to anyone. They went through that process. It was interesting that the elected leaders were divided on that. In fact, one of the former MJCFA presidents was irate over the results to go with MEA/NEA, he wanted the MFT. He became somewhat famous later because under the fair share laws, he challenged the fair share fees that were levied against non-members. His name was Leon Knight (Newton, 2016).

Don Holman provided comments about the benefits of affiliation,

We did not have a grievance process before PELRA. We had collective bargaining.

Administration controlled the grievance process. During the Neil Sands term as MCCFA President, we were a completely separate union. We needed a larger organization to assist us with the cost and time of processing grievances and protecting faculty rights. We negotiated a deal with MEA-NEA to join their organization as a separate individual unit. We had a few members that viewed NEA as K-12 and did not want to be associated with them, but we needed the security and the legal backup. The cost of lawyers during the grievance process would bankrupt us. By going with the NEA-MEA we got legal services, faculty liability insurance and access to a strike funds, if needed. Dan Molarity was negotiating on the MEA-NEA side and I was working with Neil Sands on the MCCFA side, since I was MCCFA representative on the MEA Board of Directors. The biggest strength of the union was having someone with you when a grievance was filed. Ralph Chesebrough and Bill Newton were the MEA-MCCFA staff doing the leg work for the union. NEA and MEA were able to assist with obtaining the data to back up the negotiation team. They had the strike fund, political clout and the staff to lobby the Legislature who had to vote on our contract. When we lobbied as community colleges before affiliation, legislators did not care. You were only 1,000 teachers. Now, you have 40,000 teachers and a bank account. You were also a part of IMPACE that supported candidates that supported public education (Holman, 2016).

The affiliation with MEA-NEA gained the MJCFA a voting member on the MEA Board of Directors and membership on the Minnesota Political Action Committee for Education (IMPACE). IMPACE was a political fund raising organization with direct ties to MEA which contributed sizable amounts of money to political campaigns and made endorsements of pro-

education candidates (Green Sheet, 1971e). Don Holman discussed the origins of MEA and IMPACE,

The MEA was formed under corporate rules which prohibited the use of dues money for political activities. IMPACE was established as a separate organization to collect voluntary donations from teachers to contribute to legislators that supported public education. The IMPACE staff with the help of the committee ran fundraisers to build our fund. We could support both state and national election while under the union rules our funds could only support persons running for state office. The corporate organization still exists and became our economic services department. I presented this idea to the MEA Board of sixty people and with the help of Ken Bresin, MEA Government Relations Staff, convinced them to make the change. I turned down the lights in the room, used an overhead projector, with a microphone in my hand we started the debate. We got it passed by the MEA Board then on to the Representative Assembly (RA) where it was also passed. That was probably the biggest thing I was personally involved during my tenure with the MEA (Holman, 2016).

Bill Newton recalled,

Governmental Relations was one of the seven standing committees of the MEA. The MCCFA had the same basic committee structure. The titles were not the same. The MCCFA had Field Services, the MEA had Membership Chairs, but they were the same. IMPACE was MEA's governmental relations equivalent. It was their way of collecting monies for political candidates. Don Holman and Rick Whaley were on the MEA IMPACE committee. Governmental relations was separate from IMPACE, because

IMPACE donations were voluntary. Candidates were interviewed and determined worthy of support. They tried to elect candidate that supported our issues (Newton, 2016).

Don Holman added additional comments about IMPACE,

IMPACE was set up under the old MEA structure, because it had to be completely separate from the MEA. It was a separate organization to collect voluntary contributions to be distributed to different political candidates that support educational positions. We ran fundraisers to get contributions. It was not part of your dues. Even after the restructuring and incorporation as a labor union, MEA could not contribute to national campaigns. The MEA could contribute to state races. But IMPACE could give to national races (Holman, 2016).

IMPACE supported 188 candidates in the 1972 election with a success rate of 82 percent (Green Sheet, 1974b).

The DA moved that all future affiliations required an affirmative two-thirds vote of the full members voting (MJCFA DA, 1970a). The MJCFA hired a full-time Executive Director, Ralph Chesebrough, on August 10, 1970 made possible through the MEA-NEA affiliation (Green Sheet, 1970a; see Appendix K for photo). Full member union dues increased to \$75, MEA-NEA dues were paid from the total (MJCFA DA, 1971a). The MJCFA voted to re-affiliate with MEA-NEA in 1973. The final percentage of affirmative votes exceeded 85 percent, an increase from the 75 percent reached in the original affiliation in 1970 (Green Sheet, 1973d). The MEA-NEA affiliation provided DuShane emergency funds for several cases of nonrenewal. The MEA provided legal services to MJCFA attempts to insure due process to each faculty member notified of non-reappointment or dismissal (Florin, 1975; Green Sheet, 1973c; MJCFA, 1973). Despite IMPACE involvement, the MCCFA lacked representation on the IMPACE Executive

Committee. A request for membership was officially filed and granted in 1974 (MCCFA DA, 1974). The MCCFA needed a fulltime secretary and made it a requirement of new MEA-NEA affiliation (MCCFA EC, 1974c, 1974e). The Minnesota Community College Board granted a MCCFA request for thirteen members to attend the MEA DA (Green Sheet, 1975e). The NEA-NEA subsidized MCCFA operations. The NEA provided cash subsidies and MEA paid the salary, fringe benefits, and expenses of the MCCFA Executive Director and Office Secretary, as well as office and printing expenses. The MCCFA Office Secretary helped produce the *Green Sheet* (MCCFA DA, 1975). The MEA offered \$500,000 Educators Employment Liability Insurance, legal counsel, convention resources and support, staff assistance and consultation, general research, specific research on request, lobbying, crisis fund, and publications. Don Holman summarized the benefits of MEA-NEA affiliation,

The biggest strength of the union was having someone with you when you file a grievance. You had Ralph Chesebrough or Bill Newton. Without them doing the leg work, you were awash with whatever the administration wants to do. I think that was the biggest plus. NEA did not do the negotiations, they were the backup. They had the strike fund; they had political lobbying. When we lobbied as community colleges before affiliation, legislators did not care. You were only 1,000 teachers. Now, you have 40,000 teachers and a bank account. You were also a part of IMPACE, the political action committee (Holman, 2016).

The NEA offered federal lobbying, DuShane Legal Defense Fund, convention and workshop resource persons, higher education research, special staff assistance and consultation, and publications (Green Sheet, 1977a). With all of the meetings and the additional expenses, the

Executive Committee explored the purchase of a permanent meeting location, Don Holman shared,

I worked very close with Neil Sands when he was MJCFA president. At that time we were looking for a permanent, retreat location for the MJCFA. An island resort on Rainy Lake was up for sale for under \$50,000 with all of the amenities to make it a great place for our union meeting and a place to hold Association workshops, with the ability to rent it to other groups for conferences. Neil and I spent a weekend evaluating the properties potential and meeting with the owner. He then developed a proposal for the MCCFA Board which was rejected. I wanted to go buy the island, but was unable to obtain the financing. In today's market the property is worth several millions dollars. Before we departed on Sunday the owner flew us around the area in his plane to look at other islands connected to the resort. We could have bought an island resort (Holman, 2016).

The NEA offered \$750,000 professional liability insurance and \$1000 Accidental Death and Dismemberment insurance to MCCFA members from dues paid (Green Sheet, 1979e).

Internal Activities (Elections, Membership, Dues, & Grievances)

In the 1971 MJCFA election, Jerald Larson was elected President, Audrey Fay, Vice-President, Richard Portmann, Secretary, and Jim Durham, Treasurer (Green Sheet, 1971f). The election of officers in 1971 marked a new era for MJCFA. The election fully implemented the 1969 Constitution provision which provided two year terms for Association officers (Green Sheet, 1971a). The MJCFA had contested races for all offices (Green Sheet, 1971c). Merrill Widmark was named MJCFA Historian (Green Sheet, 1971j) and Ralph Chesebrough named the official lobbyist for the MJCFA (Green Sheet, 1971e). The MJCFA Board recommended and DA unanimously reaffirmed MJCFA Executive Director Ralph Chesebrough every year during

the seventies (MJCFA DA, 1972a; Green Sheet, 1972c; Green Sheet, 1974a; Green Sheet, 1975d; MCCFA EC, 1975b; MCCFA EC, 1976a). The MJCFA officers visited all campuses to assist in the transition to exchange of views processes, mandated by PELRA (Green Sheet, 1973f). The MJCFA officer candidates Jim Norman, President, Jim Durham, Vice-President, Bob Bell, Secretary, and Cal Minke, Treasurer were elected in 1973. (Green Sheet, 1973d). Jim Durham was re-elected President in the 1975 election, Wayne Moen, Vice-President, Gerald Strawmatt, Secretary, and Cal Minke, Treasurer (Green Sheet, 1975g). The results of the 1977 election were Jim Durham, President, Gerald Strawmatt, Vice-President, Gretchen Murphy, Secretary, and Cal Minke, Treasurer (Green Sheet, 1977c). Bill Newton fondly recalled Cal Minke,

The tennis instructor from Willmar, Cal Minke (see Appendix K for photo), was in charge of dealing with the hotels where the state meetings would be held. Cal always made sure we had really good food. There was never any cutting back on food costs. It was not unusual to go to the Friday night dinner and find T-bone steaks (Newton, 2016).

Newton also discussed the importance of Wayne Moen,

Wayne Moen was the only person the union formed a regional Grievance Representative for, because the Arrowhead was this unit of governance between the local campus and the state system. So you had this Phil Anderson type, who was head of the Arrowhead, so there was a President there and then you had quasi-Presidents or Provosts at each of the colleges. We wanted to make sure that the contract language was followed, they had a special MOU that was attached to the contract, so we created this special area Grievance Representative, the only one we ever had. We bought at least half time release time for him to go around and meet with each of the local Grievance Representatives and go

through each of the contract and hiring issues to make sure they were not hiding anything. Wayne was on the original bargaining team also (Newton, 2016).

The MCCFA President release time increased from 50 percent to over 60 percent because of increased workload (Green Sheet, 1977c; MCCFA EC, 1977b, 1977e). Among the ranks of MJCFA, union power shifted from the Executive Committee to the MJCFA President and shifted focus from professional union issues toward more traditional union issues in 1972. The MJCFA Resolutions Committee reported eleven professional union resolutions and twelve traditional union resolutions from the 1972 Delegate Assembly (MJCFA, 1972a).

Total MJCFA membership reached 720 in 1971 (MJCFA DA, 1971b), 733 in 1973 (Green Sheet, 1973g), 837 in 1974, Rochester was the largest chapter with 103 members, (Green Sheet, 1974i; MCCFA DA, 1974; MCCFA EC, 1974f), 838 members and 140 fair share in 1975 (MCCFA EC, 1975f), and 904 members and 152 fair share faculty in 1977 (MCCFA, 1977c). Membership numbers climbed at a constant rate, but so did fair share faculty numbers. The MJCFA Board adopted the State Junior College Board meal allowances for expense claims. MJCFA paid for two delegates to the NEA convention (Green Sheet, 1971f) and for two campus leaders from each junior college to attend three workshops designed to build more effective means of meeting the needs of members (Green Sheet, 1972a). The MCCFA membership desired an increased frequency of the *Green Sheet* to improve communications (MCCFA DA, 1974). President Norman commented, “The Association has made the transition from parental to contractual status with relatively few withdrawal pains” (MCCFA DA, 1974, p. 3).

The MJCFA member dues were set at \$86 in 1972 (MJCFA DA, 1972a; Green Sheet, 1972d), \$100 in 1973 (MJCFA DA, 1973), \$121 (MCCFA \$30, NEA \$25, MEA \$66) in 1974 (Green Sheet, 1974c; MCCFA DA, 1974), and \$139.00 in 1975 (Green Sheet, 1975d). The 1979

dues were established at \$204 (Green Sheet, 1979c). The MCCFA Board approved meal allowances at breakfast \$2.50, lunch \$4.00, and dinner \$7.50 (MCCFA EC, 1976d; Green Sheet, 1977a). The MCCFA mileage reimbursement increased from \$0.12 to \$0.14 per mile in 1975 (MCCFA EC, 1975f), \$0.14 to \$0.16 per mile in 1977 (MCCFA EC, 1977b), and from \$0.16 to \$0.18 per mile in 1978 (MCCFA EC, 1978e). The MCCFA DA reimbursement improved to one car per campus for up to four delegates and two cars for over four delegates, plus \$0.02 per mile for each additional delegate rider, beyond the driver (MCCFA EC, 1978b).

Metropolitan Community College elected a part-time faculty, Larry Olds, as local Chapter President, the first time in MCCFA history. Worthington Community College agriculture faculty, Martin Aaser, became first UPT instructor in the system (Green Sheet, 1977d, p. 2). The Executive Committee expressed difficulties with publication of the *Green Sheet* including editorship, writing, contents, and responsibilities (MCCFA EC, 1978c).

The grievance process worked well (MCCFA DA, 1974). During the first nine years of the contract, 265 grievances were handled at the system level. Of those, 237 were completed at the Chancellor level, 20 were completed at the Board level, and eight went to arbitration. Of the eight that went to arbitration, six were decided in favor of administration and two were decided in favor of the MCCFA (Communicator, 1982). The cost to bring a grievance to arbitration increased to \$500 in 1974 (MCCFA EC, 1974a; see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3. MCCFA Grievance Status, 1973-1981

Year	Total Grievances	Chancellor		Board		Arbitrator	
		Settled	Answer Accepted	Settled	Answer Accepted	MCCS	MCCFA
1973-74	58	19	30	1	6	1	1
1974-75	16	3	10	1	1	1	0
1975-76	35	19	15	0	1	0	0

1976-77	17	6	10	1	0	0	0
1977-78	29	8	18	3	0	0	0
1978-79	27	8	16	1	0	1	1
1979-80	36	10	22	1	2	1	0
1980-81	15	3	10	1	1	0	0
1981-82	40	9 (3 pen.)	21	NA	NA	2	0
Totals	265	85	152	9	11	6	2

Adapted from Communicator. (1982). The Minnesota Community College System Communicator, 19(8), November 12, MCCS, St. Paul, MN, p. 2.

Ashbach-Scherer Bill (Four-Year College Merger)

The first attempt to merge junior colleges with state universities occurred in 1971. Ralph Chesebrough reported on the status of Senate Bill 494, the Ashbach-Scherer Bill (MJCFA DA, 1971b). The MJCFA opposed the elimination of the State Junior College Board and replacement under the State College Board, the four-year state university system. The MJCFA officers pointed out the systems have different philosophies, goals, programs, student needs and responsibilities to students, localities, state and to faculties as well as administrators. The absorption of the Junior College System by the State College System, it was contended, would be disruptive and destructive to one or both systems (Green Sheet, 1971c). The bill was ultimately defeated with help of the MCCFA (MCCFA DA, 1974).

Two-Year College Merger

Fearing merger with state universities the junior colleges explored merger with AVTIs. During the 1972 DA, the MJCFA supported the merger of AVTIs and junior colleges into one comprehensive system (MJCFA DA, 1972b). The MCCFA Vo-Tech Dialogue Committee was formed to study merger possibilities. In 1975, the Committee was charged to 1) keep current with legislation relative to merger; 2) be cognizant of similar merged systems operating in other states; 3) be available for dialogue with existing vo-tech faculty associations; 4) take advantage of any opportunities to testify before HECC, legislative committees, or any other body discussing the merger of the two systems; 5) be prepared to act as advisory consultant to

IMPACE and/or any political arm of the association relative to a proposed merger of the state systems; and 6) prepare a written position paper for the Association relative to a merged state system (Green Sheet, 1975f). Although interest existed, there were no formal attempts to merge the two-year colleges in the seventies.

Academic Freedom - Bomb Bill

The first test of academic freedom for junior colleges occurred in 1971. The MJCFA and MEA defended academic freedom against Senate Bill 29, the “Bomb Bill” proposed by Senator Hansen which would have made it a felony to teach another to make a bomb for any purpose except lawful commercial manufacture. The MJCFA argued the bill was an infringement on the academic prerogative of instructors in the entire science area. Executive Director Chesebrough pointed out that as much as two-thirds of college chemistry courses addressed chemical reaction processes which may be explosive (Green Sheet, 1971c). The Bomb Bill was defeated with enthusiastic action from the MJCFA.

Renaming

In 1973, Senator Jerome Huges of Maplewood, encouraged by feedback from junior college advisory committees and the State Board, introduced a bill to change the name of the Minnesota State Junior College Board to the State Board for Minnesota Community Colleges. The change recognized these colleges ceased to be merely the first two years of four-year programs and developed extensive programs of community service (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). All junior colleges were renamed community colleges on August 1, 1973 (Jottings, 1973c). The MJCFA became the Minnesota Community College Faculty Association (MCCFA) (Minn. Stat. § 136.603, 1973). The MJCFA Executive Committee proposed constitutional amendments to the preamble and bylaws (MJCFA EC, 1973b) and recommended

changes to the remainder of the constitution to reflect the name change to community colleges (MJCFA EC, 1973a).

Contract Negotiations

The Junior College Board employed brinkmanship tactics during initial contract negotiations by refusing to recognize MJCFA as a political partner and proposed an opening financial offer that capped faculty salaries at exceptionally low levels. These actions pushed the MJCFA down the path of traditional unionism and caused the union to solely negotiate on working condition factors (MJCFA, 1972b). Castro (2000) explained the early objective of unions was to maintain job security, characteristic of industrial unionism, mature unions shifted attention towards academic values, characteristic of professional unionism. Traditional bargaining goals focused on governance and working condition factors. Professional bargaining goals focused on academic factors. Excessive traditional unionism created deficiencies in professional unionism goals. Extended periods of time without balance between traditional and professional goals leads to increased conflict. If higher education faculty want to maintain their status as professionals, higher educational unions must exhibit a combination of craft and industrial union priorities. If the faculty want a voice in the academic direction of the college, they must be prepared to look beyond their perspective of discipline-specific educators. Faculty must be willing to spend time and energy on committee work and institutional activities with limited connection with their discipline, program, or department (Garrison, 1968). If working conditions and governance factor dissatisfaction are properly mediated and political pressures are lessened, this is possible.

The objective of the MJCFA was to promote the development of a superior quality education within the junior college system. The MJCFA was aware of the increasing numbers of

young people beginning their education at junior colleges. The MJCFA was encouraged by the long-range planning of the Junior College Board and the legislative acceptance of those plans which concern buildings and facilities. The MJCFA was actively involved in the development of curriculum designed to meet the economic and social needs of the State. Central to education is competence and effectiveness of instruction. Superior education can be developed if attention is given to the professional development of the faculty. The foundation of a professional faculty was a salary that allowed instructors to live with limited financial stress. Therefore, junior college salary schedules needed to be competitive to similar professions. The faculty required time to participate in college development and its curriculum. It was important for faculty to develop and improve through continued study and participation in professional organizations. Attention to these areas by the Legislature continued the development of quality education in junior colleges. If the Legislature supported continued professional development confidence in the education system would increase. Junior colleges could recruit, retain, and develop superior faculties and administration (MJCFA Facts, 1971). The MJCFA believed the freedom to teach and learn implied both rights and responsibilities. The MJCFA supported the protection of the right of the instructor to teach and of the instructor and students to study without coercion, censorship, or other forms of restrictive interference. Further, the MJCFA encouraged its members not to abdicate these rights and responsibilities in their professional conduct (MJCFA DA, 1972a; Green Sheet, 1973d). The MJCFA believed the political action of its membership was paramount in furthering the cause of public education (Green Sheet, 1973b).

The collective bargaining concept was foreign to both Minnesota faculty and administrators. While faculty accepted the concept and petitioned for the process, administration was resistant. The administration appeared threatened by the process and little progress was

made for months. The Junior College Board appeared determined to restrict contract salaries, fringe benefits, and tenure. The Board also wanted to establish a forty-hour work week. The MCCFA made clear that they did not wish to take over the functions of the Board and as the process was clarified, negotiations increased. The Junior College Board was reassured that a contract was similar to other contracts which required compliance of both parties (Chesebrough, 1974). “The early Association was good at communications with each other and contract negotiations” (Widmark, 2016).

During the seventies, several concerns intensified interest in collective bargaining, including a general authority crises across higher education. An absence of common goals and shared sense of purpose were identified as concerns. The desire to increase control of working conditions placed faculty at odds with existing decision-makers. Traditional power structures fragmented and a new struggle for power ensued. The expansion of middle management, bureaucratization, student power, and administrative contempt for tradition contributed to the collective bargaining movement. Additional factors that contributed to the expansion of collective bargaining included activist governing boards, increased external influence of state agencies and legislatures, slow rising salaries, difficulties in securing budgetary support for faculty interests, static or declining enrollments, mounting competition for the tax dollars, and increased public concern about student behavior. Collective bargaining ushered third parties into decision-making processes and formalized the involvement of union leaders in institutional decision-making under the protection of state law (Julius & DiGiovanni, 2013a). Governance and working condition factors generated faculty dissatisfaction. Collective bargaining was seen as the means to mitigate dissatisfaction. Faculty remained highly satisfied with academic factors

so sought voice, through collective bargaining, which demonstrated loyalty towards the profession and Minnesota Community Colleges.

Joining the increased external pressures were tightened resources for higher education. The cost and time needed to educate the next generation continued to rise. Personal relationships between faculty and administrators were increasingly strained which resulted in increased conflict around decision-making authority, salaries, and fringe benefits (Chesebrough, 1974). Carr and Van Eyck (1973) discovered faculty dissatisfaction with governance systems in higher education institutions during the seventies was the major cause of the rapid expansion of collective bargaining. Several studies have found similar results (Boyd, 1971; Blikre, 1974; Garbarino & Aussieker, 1975; Garbarino et al., 1977; Keaveny & Allen, 1979; Lindeman, 1973; Rassuli et al., 1999). When governance factors were cited as the major source of faculty dissatisfaction leading to collective bargaining, bureaucratic governance was the model most often employed (Hendrickson et al., 2013). Faculty desired a greater voice in managing the institutions in which they carried out their work. Many community college faculty utilized collective bargaining as a way to manage the political aspects of governance (Fryer & Lovas, 1990; Levin, 2000; Kater & Levin, 2003).

The success of public K-12 school teachers in negotiations stimulated college faculty to consider the merits of collective bargaining as a viable option to economic justice and improved involvement. Community college faculty negotiated contracts in several states. Many four-year institutions embraced collective bargaining establishing its credibility for all of higher education (Chesebrough, 1974).

The expansion of higher education enrollment and facilities required additional financial resources and a renewed focus on administration. This focus replaced a personal process with

one more concerned with logistics, buildings, parking, registration, housing, and grants. Presidents were no longer colleagues, but managers, administrators, and supervisors (Chesebrough, 1974). Garrison (1968) classified community colleges as administrator institutions, where all major decisions were made by administrators. Much of this top-down management was identified from the intellectual and operational habits of former school principals and superintendents who often became community college Presidents and Deans. Autocratic administration and the expected faculty dissatisfaction was the most cited failure of shared governance and the reason identified as the most frequent cause for faculty collective bargaining pursuits (Boyd, 1971; Brett, 1980; Ernst, 1975; Herman & Skinner, 1975; Ladd & Lipset, 1973; Neumann, 1980; Rassuli, Karim, & Roy, 1999; Thaxter & Graham, 1999).

Negotiations for the 1973-75 biennium began in January 1972. The MCCFA team consisted of six faculty and the Executive Director. The team spent 33 days bargaining with the Board team of two Board members, two college Presidents, Chancellor, Assistant to the Chancellor for Personnel Affairs, and the State Labor Negotiator (Helland, 1974). After eighteen months of difficult negotiations, the first statewide contract was ratified by the MJCFA membership and formalized on April 17, 1973, by representatives of the Minnesota State Junior College Board (Florin, 1975; MJCFA, 1973; Swift, 1979). The precedent-setting contract covered faculty from the eighteen of Minnesota community colleges (Chesebrough, 1974; Helland, 1974). The MCCFA became the exclusive collective bargaining representative for all community college instructors, counselors, and librarians who work more than fourteen hours per week and more than 100 days per year (Helland, 1974). Don Holman recalled the process of shielding MCCFA from MEA intrusion during contract negotiations,

I was on the MEA Board as a representative of MCCFA. We helped negotiate the first contract after PELRA. We were a year ahead of K-12. While NEA was discussing their negotiation philosophy, I was making a hundred motions exempting the community colleges from their policy. My main task on the Board, because MCCFA already completed its negotiations, was to exempt MCCFA from compliance (Holman, 2016).

State Board rights and authority were protected in matters of educational policy, assignment, direction of employees, scheduling of working hours, approving goods or services for purchased, making and enforcing reasonable rules and regulations affecting terms and conditions of employment, and establishing, modifying, or eliminating terms or conditions of employment not specifically established by the contract (Helland, 1974). The MCCFA rights were protected in matters as exclusivity, protection of the bargaining process, and protection of the unit. The Board agreed that 1) during the life of the contract it would not meet and negotiate or meet and confer relative to terms and conditions of employment with any employee covered by the contract, except through the MCCFA; 2) faculty members, not included in the bargaining unit, will not receive any term more advantageous than those contained in the contract; 3) it will not attempt to remove faculty members from MCCFA by changing title, unless the State Director of Mediation Services makes the recommendation; 4) MCCFA members would not be assigned administrative duties; and 5) MCCFA members would not be supervise other members of the unit (Helland, 1974). The contract prohibited lockouts by the State Board and strikes by the MCCFA. Provisions were made for regular meet and confer meetings between MCCFA and the Junior College Board on matters of statewide concern not covered by the contract (Helland, 1974).

Procedures for faculty involvement on campuses were memorialized in the contract (Helland, 1974). The administration retained the authority to make rules and regulations, but needed to obtain faculty advice in the process. Faculty expertise must be available and considered by those who make administrative decisions. Faculty had an opportunity for grievance when policies, rules, or regulations were deemed unreasonable or were not uniformly enforced. Faculty and administrators were free to work together in carrying out their assigned duties, as long as the rights of MCCFA as exclusive representative were not circumvented (Helland, 1974). The grievance process began with the college President. If unsettled, grievances moved to the Chancellor, then to the State Board, and finally to binding arbitration (Helland, 1974).

Faculty were guaranteed that disciplinary actions were limited to 1) oral reprimand; 2) written reprimand; 3) dismissal for cause; and 4) suspension and discharge. Any disciplined faculty member had the right to MCCFA representation during the disciplinary action. If an oral reprimand was given, it was to be given in such a manner not to embarrass the faculty member before other employees, students, or the public. Initial minor infractions, irregularities, or deficiencies were to be brought to the attention of the employee privately, and if corrected were not to be entered into the faculty's record. If a written reprimand was given, the faculty member was guaranteed an opportunity to respond in writing and to have the response entered into the personnel record along with the reprimand (Helland, 1974).

An important section of the contract dealt with faculty assignment (Chesebrough, 1974; Helland, 1974). The negotiation process was difficult in the area of workload. Numerous tables and sliding scales were introduced, but none adequately defined an equitable faculty load. The problem revolved around the fact that there were many diverse approaches to instruction that the

12 to 15 credits guideline seemed inadequate. There were lecture classes, lecture-lab classes, tutorial-lab classes, lab only classes, activity classes, combined classes running concurrently, large classes, small classes, many preparations, and few preparations. The compromise language in the contract provided for 25 hours to be scheduled including lab, lectures, office hours, committees, etc. It also provided that such assignments were equitable. An additional limitation provided that a faculty member's average day must not exceed six hours of lapse time. Not provided for in the contract, but agreed to by the parties, were task forces to study loads for librarians, counselors, and teaching faculty that made recommendations to the negotiating teams prior to the negotiations on a new contract (Chesebrough, 1974). The 25 hours included time for travel to off-campus assignments and committee work. Teaching loads were assigned by the administration in an equitable manner, and schedules for each instructor were developed by the administration following consultation with the instructor (Helland, 1974).

An experience-training salary schedule was included in the contract with a provision for cost of living adjustments. Provisions for leaves and fringe benefits were delineated. The MCCFA was guaranteed involvement in planning the academic calendar. Statements were included relative to MCCFA operations, such as meeting time provisions, dues collection, facilities and services usage, provisions for officials, access to information, and bulletin board access. Faculty members were guaranteed the right of textbook selection, freedom of community activities, and student information confidentiality (Helland, 1974). Chancellor Helland (1974) summarized his opinion of the MCCFA contract,

The main advantages of the contract are that it spells out in a concise manner a firm agreement between the board and the faculty association as to most terms and conditions of employment, that it provides a clear grievance procedure, and that it clarifies the roles

of administration and faculty. The main disadvantage of the contract is that it does away with the all-college council system of governance which was in effect at many colleges, and has caused anxieties in the minds of students as to their role. It is expected that students and administrators will develop procedures for communication which are similar to those spelled out for faculty members and administrators (p. 17).

The most discussed aspects of the MCCFA contract were due process and dismissals. Unlimited, full-time employees had permanent status from the time they are hired. Faculty were dismissed only for just cause and were afforded due process procedures outlined in the contract. Administrators and faculty were pleased to be rid of tenure committees and the politics of tenure decision-making. Procedures were prescribed for the elimination of positions or reductions in workforce. All full-time faculty were given timely notice if there was any intention to terminate their services. If termination was for any reason other than reduction in workforce or position elimination, a hearing was mandated to the faculty member (Chesebrough, 1974). If a position was to be abolished at the end of an academic year, the faculty member must be notified by September 15 of that year. If a faculty member was to be affected by reduction in workforce, notice must be provided by December 15. In either case, if the position was reinstated within two years, the faculty member had the right to claim it (Helland, 1974). It was the responsibility of the college President to establish just cause for termination during the hearing, with the opportunity for the faculty member to cross-examine, enter evidence, and present witnesses. If the finding was unfavorable to the faculty member, an appeal could be made to an impartial outside arbitrator (Chesebrough, 1974).

Those concerned about tenure believed the faculty lost an earned right and were concerned about faculty serving mandatory probation to gain full-time status (Chesebrough,

1974). The first concern was alleviated when it was revealed that the new procedure provided greater protection and a better hearing process than tenure policies. The second concern was more difficult because it tended to be more emotional. The MCCFA believed any faculty under administration attack was entitled to due process. Some faculty tenure committees failed to provide that support. Ultimately, the due process clauses were widely supported because they provided employment security and faculty did not fear their employment would be terminated on a whim. Due process protected academic freedom of all fulltime faculty. There was an academic freedom section in the contract and when combined with the due process language made academic issues the domain of the faculty (Chesebrough, 1974). Academic freedom remained a central value of higher education faculty (DeCew, 2003). Faculty believe academic freedom supported their ability to speak, teach, research, and publish (Wolf, 1988). Whenever academic freedom was threatened, faculty consider unionization as a means of protecting it. It is unclear if academic freedom was threatened at Minnesota two-year colleges before unionization. However, research conducted by Boyd (1971), DeCew (2003), Julius and DiGiovanni (2013a), and Rotella (1996) predicted MCCFA would memorialized academic freedom in their contract.

The contract mandated the MCCFA assign each of the following topics to a committee with the authority to present the views of the Association in meetings with the college administration: 1) personnel; 2) student affairs; 3) curriculum; 4) facilities; 5) fiscal matters, and 6) general matters (Helland, 1974). The contract provided that MCCFA establish a committee structure to meet with the administration to exchange views and provide faculty input. Exchange of view meetings were initiated by either MCCFA or administration provided an agreeable time and two week notice. Agenda items were submitted by either group a week in advance of the meeting (Helland, 1974). The Faculty Senate was eliminated and faculty positions were

generated by faculty-only bodies. The faculty expected the contract to increase faculty teaching freedom and improve job security, while committee assignments and meeting time would decrease. It was believed the contract would simplify administration and improve faculty and administrator morale (Chesebrough, 1974).

The management assertion of rights to all decision-making authority challenged faculty participation in shared governance (Maitland & Rhoades, 2001). Unionization and collective bargaining did not guarantee shared governance; over half of the collective bargaining contracts do not address this right. Some contracts establish exclusive management rights to make decisions. But other union contracts provide for faculty participation in academic decision-making, and even in fiscal and strategic policy-making (Maitland & Rhoades, 2001). The MCCFA contract provided for managerial rights and shared governance. The management rights section of the contract was lifted directly from the PELRA law. Bill Newton commented, “It is right in the collective bargaining law. It never changes because they have never changed the law. Sometimes their interpretation of pieces of that is different than ours” (Newton, 2016). Local MCCFA chapters were able to appeal to a State Joint Labor Committee if shared governance was not utilized. MCCFA President Jim Durham was not optimistic about shared governance,

For most faculty and most institutions most of the time real shared governance is as mythical as a fable. And, with a few exceptions, the liberal arts colleges are fiefdoms of Presidents who, with the acquiesce of docile trustees, may call the shots, hire and fire the faculty, and decide what the color the new dorm curtains will be (Green Sheet, 1984a, p. 1).

The 1971-72 salary schedule was adopted by the MJCFA Board, but a smaller five percent legislative appropriation resulted in \$180 increase at the top of column IV. Newly elected MJCFA President, Jerry Larson, responded,

I believe that this appropriation very clearly signifies the attitude of many of our legislators toward junior college instructors. Either we have not earned a cost of living increase or else they deny the premise that an additional year's experience is worth a pay raise. Never has the evidence been clearer that our entire destiny is in the hands of a few powerful lawmakers (Green Sheet, 1971g, p. 1).

During the 1971 fall DA, faculty continued to endorse an optional supplemental retirement (MJCFA DA, 1071b). The Negotiations Committee advocated for full family medical and dental coverage and tuition free education in the system for members and their immediate family (MJCFA DA, 1971a). The Chancellor suggested MJCFA President, Jerry Larson, needed no release time. All MJCFA Presidents since 1968 were granted release time. The Chancellor also believed faculty should work 40 hours per week with 30 hours assigned by the college President, and grievance denial authority should be given to the college President and Chancellor (Green Sheet, 1971h). The MJCFA Board supported the right of each campus to select its own calendar, abolished the Publications Committee, formulated a grievance policy, and lobbied against a strict 40 hour work week (Green Sheet, 1971b; Green Sheet, 1971h). The 1971 spring DA adopted a position paper which prescribed the manner and procedures of approving a collective bargaining agreement with the State Board (Green Sheet, 1971e). The MJCFA believed junior college faculty should be hired based upon the strength of their mastery of the subject matter and teaching ability (Green Sheet, 1972e). The DA moved its members have the option of participating in the supplemental retirement program at levels of one, three, or five percent

(MJCFA DA, 1972b; Green Sheet, 1972f). The MJCFA supported evaluation of all professional personnel, both full-time and part-time, to improve the quality of education in the System (Green Sheet, 1972g). Negotiation problems arose in 1972 with a regressive System proposal which included 1) elimination of tenure rights during termination with just cause; 2) sabbatical leaves only granted when the Board wishes and a mandatory three year return; 3) twelve additional work days added to the academic year without additional compensation; 4) minimal salary adjustments not to exceed four percent each year; 5) no seniority for transfer, if termination was based on low enrollment; 6) no sick leave banks; and 7) the Board shall direct the affairs of the colleges in all of its various aspects (Green Sheet, 1972g). The DA merged the Negotiations Committee with Meet and Confer (Green Sheet, 1972f). Chancellor Helland presented a new governance proposal to the Board in February 1972. One statement from the proposal illustrated a lack of good faith related to the negotiation process, "The Board shall set the rates of compensation and conditions of employment for all college employees" (Green Sheet, 1972c, p. 2). The proposal shifted exclusive representation and diluted faculty strength with other groups. The proposal was not implemented. Statewide implementation of campus exchange of views process moved forward and MJCFA President Norman and Chancellor Helland traveled to several campuses to discuss the future. After the meetings Norman commented,

The most important task facing the six exchange of views committees on each campus is developing a set of local policies acceptable to most faculty and the administration and consistent with the terms of the Professional Staff Contract (Green Sheet, 1973h, p. 2).

The MJCFA Board moved to terminate the MOU between the State Board and the MJCFA regarding exchange of views. The MJCFA Board notified the Junior College Board that MJCFA

continued to adhere to the PELRA provisions concerning Meet and Confer enforced upon termination of the MOU regarding exchange of views (Green Sheet, 1973a).

A December 1973 NEA *Reporter* newsletter described the MJCFA contract as "precedent setting" because it substituted strong, comprehensive employment security provisions with due process guaranteed in place of the tenure concept. The *Reporter* stated,

The MJCFA contract is the first in the nation to guarantee continuous full-time employment from day one to all unlimited full time faculty unless economic conditions necessitate staff reductions or it is established through comprehensive due process procedures that there is other just cause for termination (Green Sheet, 1973i, p. 1).

The MJCFA DA created a Professional Growth Committee to promote individual and institutional excellence (Green Sheet, 1973j). The MCCFA proposed faculty and student inclusion in presidential searches and faculty involvement in the hiring of faculty as well. The 1973 DA supported a \$25,000 life insurance policy for faculty funded by the state, full family health and dental insurance covered by state, severance pay at 100 percent of total accumulated regular sick leave, sabbatical pay funded at full salary, and salaries with cost of living adjustments (MJCFA DA, 1973). The MCCFA advocated use of weighted units to determine teaching loads over 25 contact hours (Green Sheet, 1974f). The faculty explained that college promotion and student recruitment was part of faculty's responsibility (Green Sheet, 1974j). The MCCFA adopted a traditional union model focused upon negotiations and political action.

Summer school pay determination was based upon a load formula applied during the academic year. The contract language was "summer school teaching, if full-time, shall be paid at 1/6th of the employee's scheduled salary for the previous academic year" (Green Sheet, 1974g, p. 3). The 1974 MCCFA goals included efficient membership processing, a fulltime Office

Secretary, merger bills alerts, enhanced relations with the legislature, and an effective exchange of views process (MCCFA DA, 1974). The MCCFA continued to advocate for each campus the right to set its own calendar (Green Sheet, 1974c). The Negotiations Committee compared the State System workload formula, maximum of 18 credits per quarter or 48 credits per year, with the MCCFA proposed formula, maximum of 15 credits per quarter or 42 credits per year (MCCFA EC, 1974d). Two additional State Board appointments were made without MCCFA representatives and input (MCCFA DA, 1974). Negotiations went well, but the NEA sent a representative to assist. Don Holman remembered the visit,

The negotiating team was notified that a higher education staff member from NEA was coming out to help the team. They were at a pivotal time in the negotiations and didn't know how they were going to use him. He came up with the idea that I could take him around to the different campuses. Since I was one of the NEA directors from Minnesota on the NEA Board and not involved in the MCCFA leadership negotiations, I could help. It was decided that the Vice-President, the NEA Staff Person and myself shuttle him to a rally on each of the campuses. I had a budget to work with from NEA. So I rented a plane from Willmar and hired a pilot. We flew to Minneapolis and picked up Jerry Strawmatt, MCCFA Vice-President (see Appendix K for photo) and the NEA staff person. We flew to Rochester, Austin, Worthington, Fergus Falls, and Thief River Falls. On each campus we met with the local faculty strike teams. Some had planned meetings over lunches and in Thief River Falls we had a pot luck dinner and rally. It was 10 at night and we are flying from Thief River Falls to St. Paul to drop off the VP and NEA Staff then head back to Willmar. I started out at 6:00 am that morning and got home around two in the

morning. Jim [Durham] just wanted to keep the NEA staffer out of the team's hair (Holman, 2016).

The 1975 MCCFA priorities included 1) COLA; 2) PELRA changes; 3) eliminate grievance delays; 4) integrate with MEA in outstate Minnesota; 5) strengthen political ties; and 6) settle fair share (MCCFA EC, 1975e). Chancellor Helland requested more detailed sabbatical requests and summer session ratios of 20:1 student to faculty (Green Sheet, 1975e). The MCCFA Negotiations Committee announced a tentative agreement on all non-economic contract matters, workload was 18 credits with a 45 maximum per year or a maximum of 20 contact hours per quarter, 60 per year. (MCCFA EC, 1975a). Contract negotiations reached an impasse and went to arbitration. The State Board and MCCFA Negotiations Committee accepted the arbitrators' awards (Green Sheet, 1975h). Negotiations were frustrating for the Executive Committee. James Durham responded to the negotiations,

We are shocked and puzzled at some of the regressive proposals by the Board's team.

These proposals seem to reflect a lack of respect for the faculty and unconcern for the difficult financial situation in which faculty members find themselves as a result of recent inflation and no salary increases this year. Faculty members should be assured that we will not agree to any losses in benefits or conditions of employment, and will in fact fight to improve our current contract (Green Sheet, 1976f, p. 1).

The 1977-79 contract negotiations began in 1976. The MCCFA 1976 priorities included, 1) negotiate a good contract, 2) increase member involvement in legislative campaigns, 3) work on public image; and 4) strengthen MEA involvement (MCCFA EC, 1976d). The MCCFA proposals included workload, salary, fringe benefits and governance. Sabbatical leave provisions were proposed (Green Sheet, 1976e). The MCCFA advocated for parental leave granted on a

basis similar to maternity leave (MCCFA DA, 1976). The System Office pushed for a 40 hour work week and all instructors paid at the lowest step for summer school assignments (MCCFA EC, 1976d). Many, 63.6 percent, of MCCFA members replied to a negotiations questionnaire. A majority, 69.6 percent, would strike over salary issues, 53.8 percent over workload issues, and 26.5 percent over fringe benefit issues. Three-quarters of MCCFA members, 75.1 percent, would strike on one or more of the issues (MCCFA EC, 1976e). Contract negotiations returned to arbitration. An arbitration salary award of 7.5 and 5.0 percent, plus steps, was issued in 1977. The Legislature approved a maximum of a 12 percent budget increase, but the contract cost 18 percent (Durham, 1977). The 1977-79 contract provided for UPT when employee had been "employed continuously both for at least three years and for at least 36 percent of a full load...and it is to the mutual advantage of the employee and the college." The State Board proposed minimum qualifications of 23 graduate credits in assigned fields, plus three credits from a short list of electives, applied to new hires (Green Sheet, 1977d). The MCCFA President Jim Norman, commented on mediation,

A major factor causing impasse is the Association's belief, especially in the area of salary and fringe benefits, that the state wants to lump us in with the other 23,000 state employees, rather than bargaining with us as an individual unit. This has the effect of forcing us to bargain with or for others outside our unit-- a condition that we don't think was intended by PELRA (Green Sheet, 1975a, p. 1).

The MCCFA assessed the status of one quarter sabbaticals, of the 22 requested, three were granted (MCCFA EC, 1978a).

Legislative Issues

The legislation which attempted to remove librarians and counselors from MJCFA, the "Bomb Bill" infringement on academic freedom, tenure denials, and faculty dismissals were viewed as an anti-faculty movement. The MJCFA hosted its first Legislature buffet dinner and reception at North Hennepin Junior College on February 18, 1971. The dinner was designed to improve relations with legislators and other external stakeholders (Green Sheet, 1971d).

During the 1974 DA, the MCCFA passed eleven professional resolutions related to quality of education and twenty-three traditional union resolutions (MCCFA, 1974). The MCCFA legislative goals included competitive wages, collective bargaining laws, due process, retirement benefits, and insurance benefits (MCCFA, 1974). The State Commissioner of Administration, Richard Brubacher, advised Chancellor Helland that the number of fulltime positions in the system must be reduced by five percent by June 30, 1974 (Green Sheet, 1974b). The MCCFA Legislative Committee recommended the establishment of Legislative Liaisons on each campus (MCCFA EC, 1975e).

Academic Issues

The DA recommended supplies and equipment budgets be substantially increased. The MCCFA believed community service programs and personnel selection should be instituted in the same manner and by the same procedures as regular college programs. The MCCFA believed unlimited fulltime faculty have preference for all faculty openings in the System for which they were qualified, and a new faculty member should not be hired if there is a qualified System faculty member. The MCCFA believed that each Community College in the system, regardless of size, should have a minimum of one full-time counselor (Green Sheet, 1974d; MCCFA DA, 1974) and one full time librarian (MCCFA DA, 1978). At the 1974 DA, faculty passed a resolution that emphasized professional growth,

Opportunities and financial support should be provided to faculty to improve their teaching skills by means of sabbatical leaves, summer workshops on the state and national level, conferences, and conventions, in-services education and visitation to other institutions. Retraining of faculty members whose positions may be abolished is included (Green Sheet, 1974e, p.1).

Task forces on instruction, counseling, and force of learning resources formed by joint recommendation of MJCFA and the State Board (Green Sheet, 1973f). The MCCFA believed liberal arts education must be maintained as the core of Minnesota Community College education (MCCFA DA, 1978). Willmar Community College became the first community college to establish class maximums as described in the 1977-79 Professional Staff Contract (Green Sheet, 1978a).

Internal Issues

In 1973, the MJCFA Executive Committee defined its priorities as, 1) making local meet and confer work; 2) implementing fair-share equitably; 3) IMPACE and endorsement of candidates; 4) improving membership processing; 5) establishing liaison with state student government leaders; 6) seeking rescission of community college board late fee policy; 7) improving MJCFA profile in public press; and 8) changing FTE definition from 15 to 12 for funding purposes (MJCFA EC, 1973c). MJCFA appointed a committee to study retirement policies (Green Sheet, 1972b).

The MCCFA 1974-75 additional priorities included 1) collect, codify, and publish MCCFA rules and regulations; 2) develop and implement statewide transfer policy; 3) staff development; 4) resolution of part-time membership questions through BMS; 5) professional growth movement; 6) amend by laws to include additional assessment language; 7) encourage

and promote political activities of MCCFA members; 8) provide liaison to student government leaders; 9) obtain NEA actuarial services operating for MCCFA members; 10) negotiate new contract; and 11) improved grievance processing (MCCFA EC, 1974d). The increasingly complicated nature of politics and negotiations paved the way for increased release time extended for the MCCFA President (Whaley, 1990).

The MCCFA membership discussed whether to abolish the DA and vest all policy making authority in the Board of Directors was presented by the North Hennepin Community College Chapter (Green Sheet, 1975e). The proposal was rejected. The MCCFA believed four year colleges should not offer freshman and sophomore courses in a community college's area without the community college's approval (MCCFA DA, 1975). The State System classified Nursing Directors as administrators and Financial Aid Personnel as faculty (MCCFA EC, 1975e). Inver Hills Community College submitted a plan for an alternative governance model (MCCFA EC, 1975e). The 1976 DA passed a motion that required all local grievance representatives to release periodic reports on all grievances brought to step II level (Green Sheet, 1976d). The 1975 MCCFA Affirmative Action task force was charged with "making recommendations and suggest organizational policies which will insure an increase in the percentage of minority groups in local and state governance of the MCCFA to more closely approximate their representative numbers in the general membership" and resulted in a drastic increase in women serving on statewide MCCFA committees (MCCFA DA, 1976, p. 3). Over 37 percent of state committee members were women in 1976, compared to 13 percent in 1975 (MCCFA DA, 1976). The Affirmative Action task force was discontinued in 1977 (Green Sheet, 1977c). A Summer Leadership Conference was held at the College of St. Benedict's in August 1976 to prepare new leaders and potential leaders in local associations (MCCFA DA, 1976). The

MCCFA Board of Directors continued to support accreditation by North Central and requested the administration encourage that support by providing equated credits for faculty members with major responsibilities or extended time commitments (Green Sheet, 1976a). The MCCFA Political Action Workshop at discussed Chancellor Helland's proposal for grievances, class maximums, and minimum qualifications for hiring (Green Sheet, 1977f). The MCCFA pushed for evaluation of administrators (Green Sheet, 1973e).

President Durham spoke at National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education at Baruch College, CUNY during their sixth annual conference (Green Sheet, 1978b). The topic was "The College Professor as Employee - Workload and Productivity." He blamed the business management model of cost-efficiency for a growing faculty workload and a corresponding decrease in quality education. He blasted management for acquiescing to efficiency pressures and failing to speak out for quality. Collective bargaining alone was not enough to insure adequate funds for protection of quality. Faculty and administration must join in the political process to influence those who make the funding decisions (Green Sheet, 1978b).

The System Office proposed a joint committee of MCCFA members and administration to develop plan for staff development (MCCFA EC, 1975c). The DA vetoed establishment of the Professional Growth Coordinator position (Green Sheet, 1974c). The MCCFA Professional Growth Committee met with the State Board to form a joint committee on staff development. The committee determined how to distribute the staff development dollars (Green Sheet, 1975j). The Legislature requested information on how the \$100,000 was to be spent. The joint committee set up the criteria for distributing staff development funds and granting money for projects (Green Sheet, 1975c). MCCFA Professional Growth Committee recommended guidelines for the use of funds and allowances for locals to determine how to utilize funds

(MCCFA DA, 1976). A Staff Development Liaison was named on each campus (MCCFA DA, 1978). At least one duty day was used for all campus activities, a majority of campuses planned group staff development activities (MCCFA DA, 1978).

The 1979 MCCFA statewide committees included Meet and Confer, Legislative, Professional Growth, and Resolutions (Green Sheet, 1979b). The MCCFA Board increased the Legislative committee from five to nine members (Green Sheet, 1979e). The MCCFA recognized, supported, and facilitated the formation of a Women's Caucus for the purpose of addressing common concerns (MCCFA DA, 1979). The MCCFA Women's Caucus held its first meeting on December 1 (Green Sheet, 1979d). The MCCFA DA directed negotiations to focus on part-time faculty.

Legal Actions

The denial of tenure by system administration caused the MJCFA to file suit in the U.S. District Court-MN 4th Division (Green Sheet, 1971i). The case involved the non-reappointment of a Metropolitan Junior College instructor after the faculty Tenure Committee recommended reappointment, but the college President denied tenure. An effort for a review by the Central Office or State Board was stopped by the Chancellor. The suit demanded damages in the amount of \$30,000. Two other non-reappointment cases were referred to Legal Council (Green Sheet, 1971i). The Junior College Board appealed the decision of Federal Judge Miles Lord in the case of the non-reappointed Metropolitan State Junior College instructor. The case was heard in St. Louis, Missouri before the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals. The DuShane Fund covered half the legal fees for the litigation (Green Sheet, 1973a).

Minnesota Supreme Court Justice Todd accepted the MCCFA position and rejected the State of Minnesota ruling that two part-time faculty at Metropolitan were not eligible for

unemployment compensation during the 1977 academic year. Larry Olds and Larry Litecky collected \$1,000 each. They were represented by MEA attorneys (Green Sheet, 1979a).

External Social and Political Support

During the seventies, the MCCFA adopted leftist positions on social and political questions, heightened membership attention to issues beyond educational concerns, and linked organizational thinking to external developments (MJCFA, 1972a). The MJCFA supported the ratification by the Minnesota Legislature of the Equal Rights Amendment (MJCFA DA, 1972b). The MJCFA supported immediate and complete withdrawal of all U.S. personnel from Southeast Asia, the repeal of Minnesota Abortion Laws, and the prudent management of natural resources (Green Sheet, 1971f; MJCFA DA, 1972a). The 1975 DA urged the Minnesota Legislature to pass legislation to protect agricultural workers' right to strike and choose by democratic process their union representatives. The DA also endorsed the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO primary boycott of non-UFW head lettuce and grapes and Guild, Gallo, and Franzia wines to assist the UFW to achieve fair unionization elections (Green Sheet, 1975c, 1975f; MCCFA DA, 1975). The boycott on lettuce and grapes was discontinued in 1978 when UFW workers reached satisfactory agreements (MCCFA DA, 1978).

AVTIs

Before the establishment of the state system each AVTI was part of the local school district and was represented by either MEA or AFT. Norm Halsa recounted his memories of early union representation under MEA.

The Thief River Falls school district was represented by MEA in 1978. There was an old welding instructor who came around with union membership cards, you signed, and were in. There was no questions or discussions about fair share, you were just in. I was

unaware how other AVTIs were operating. We bargained a joint contract with K-12, but adopted our own 45-credit quarter collegiate model. We had the same lane and column pay schedule as K-12. We had a seat at the bargaining table. We did not have a lot of grievances in the K-12 system. The rules were you arrived a half hour before students showed up, left a half hour after students were done, got them jobs, and everybody was happy. I recall I had ten students in class and the district was still happy. There was money coming in, so administration was not worried about numbers. There were 40 technical faculty out of 270 involved with School District #564, we were small potatoes. We did not have equal votes. We were voted out, and often sold out. I was on the bargaining team for the last two contracts with K-12. In the eleventh hour, whenever there was something to be sold out, it was always at the AVTI. There was nothing we could say about it. One time when K-12 was shutting down vocational centers, the strand law was introduced. Stranding was where K-12 teachers who held post-secondary licensure could bump our technical college faculty. One of our auto body instructors got bumped by a high school instructor because he had a post-secondary license and was stranded into our system. Regional seniority lists came with the state system. Faculty had the ability to move across the system. It helped retain full time positions. We went on strike in 1981 and the MEA President, Bob Astrup, flew up and gave the rah-rah. 'If you expect more, you have to be willing to go on strike.' All K-12 and technical faculty in district #564 went on strike over wage disputes. We felt we were far behind the rest in the State. We were out for 23 days. We bargained eleven days back, so we lost twelve days of pay. However, the negotiated pay raises were a clear positive and improved retirement dollars. There was a lot of animosity from people living in the area who thought faculty

should work no matter the conditions or pay. We had two faculty who did not join us on the picket line, but stayed out. We had one who stayed in for 'religious reasons.' We never communicated with him, he was a loner. We pushed back against K-12 teachers on the strike issue. They howled about staying out longer and we had enough and threatened to go back in. Several school districts used metro law offices to negotiate their contracts (Halsa, 2016).

Former UTCE President and electrician program instructor, Ed Schones, graduated from Macalester College in 1974. He pursued a pre-law degree. But after getting married and having a child, he explored opportunities to secure gainful employment in a field he liked. He recalled the education he received at an AVTI in the seventies,

I went to St. Paul Area Vocational and Technical Institute, which now called St. Paul College, and pursued an electrician diploma. It was a go at your own pace program, a lousy education. Coming from Macalester College and a wonderful liberal arts education to St. Paul College and a packet system was not much of an education. There were 26-28 packets in the electronics program. It was canned curriculum. It was an independent study program. The direct current theory course would include a tutorial on paper. You would read assigned chapters in the book, answer specific book problems, and take a test. Then you progressed to the alternating currents theory course and repeated the process. Then you proceeded to the motors course and so on. It served my purposes and I got out early. I subsequently became an apprentice electrician. During my apprenticeship, I got involved heavily with the politics of IBEW Local #10. I was a journeyman electrician when the opportunity to teach at St. Paul AVTI opened up. At that time, I went to the University of Minnesota and got a Master's degree in Vocational-Technical

Education or CTE education. We were with Local #28 at the time, an active AFT K-12 local (Schones, 2016).

The education Ed Schones received from St. Paul AVTI was typical of the time period (Schones, 2016). Norm Halsa, MSCF Technical Vice-President, described his preparation to teach at an AVTI.

I went to the auto mechanics program at Thief Rivers Falls Technical College which was administered by the school district. After 6,000 hours in the field and the two years of training in the auto mechanics program I was hired to teach in 1978. We had six required teacher educational sequence (TES) courses at that time, which included a state approved human relations course (Halsa, 2016).

Ed Schones reflected on the impact of early AVTI affiliation with AFT,

I remember George Latimer standing in front of a group of teachers at 360 Colborne Street, St. Paul city school's headquarters, and we were shouting, jumping, and demanding. We were very involved. We were involved with politics, students, parents, and teaching. We were a well-run union. We had a solid foundation of who we were and what we were. It was energizing. We affiliated with AFT. We were the old, hard hat union. The AFT and NEA came from far different ideologies; different schools of thought. When we wanted something, we demanded it. We never went on strike, but we were not afraid to go. We brought in trades and labor. We brought in the St. Paul Labor Council. We used political muscle to move our agenda. We eventually merged with NEA. The ladies who ran the local AFT and NEA were great and the merger worked (Schones, 2016).

As result of 1976 legislation, all vocational education was changed from funding on a reimbursement basis to a current funding basis. The change to current funding required the submission of budget requests by the AVTIs for the succeeding school year, development of processes for the approval of funding levels, establishment of payment schedules and the stipulation of reporting standards for financial transactions through a Uniform Financial Accounting and Report System (UFARS). Tuition charged to adult AVTI students was at the discretion of the school district boards, including a differential rate for district residents and non-residents (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). The tuition policy, which resulted in a charge of \$2 per day or \$360 per academic year in 1977, was incrementally increased to \$3.20 per day or \$777 per academic year by 1983. In 1984, the tuition expectation for the AVTIs was 25 percent of the costs of operation. The remaining 75 percent was provided through legislative appropriation. The tuition expectation grew to 27 percent by 1995. Tuition rates in 1995 were \$38.50 per credit or \$1,733 per academic year (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

Pre-Strike Actions (COLA, Arbitration Awards, & Lawsuits)

The MOU which defined college operations during negotiations between Chancellor Helland and MJCFA Executive Director Chesebrough was terminated by MJCFA. The MOU required MJCFA to operate under existing Constitutions and Bylaws until a contract was implemented, named a Meet and Confer Committee on each campus, and the college President could not alter the terms and conditions of employment during negotiations. The process of meet and confer on campuses was terminated. The only meet and confer sessions were held between the State Board and MJCFA leadership (Jottings, 1973a). State-appointed negotiator, Larkin McLellin, the Community College Board's chief spokesperson was primarily concerned about management rights. Negotiations stalled over MCCFA language proposals which were presented

and quickly dismissed. The MCCFA proposals included, 1) faculty attend professional meetings with adequate funding provided by the State; 2) faculty enroll tuition-free at the community college where assigned; 3) required attendance at community college functions at no cost to the employee; 4) employees not given assignments which endanger the employee's life or physical well-being; 5) employees not given assignments for which they are unqualified; and 6) first-class mail addressed to employees not be opened prior to delivery to the employee. All of these proposals were rejected (Green Sheet, 1974h). Minnesota statutes explained when contract agreements were negotiated, the Legislature had three available options. The Legislature could approve the entire contract, return the contract back to the bargaining table, or modify parts the contract (Helland, 1975; MCCFA 1976). The Minnesota Senate Finance Education division approved salary improvements of 5.1 percent in 1973-74 and 5.1 percent in 1974-75. House Appropriations Education division approved five and five percent without COLA adjustments. The denial of the COLA adjustments sparked a two-year battle between MCCFA and the Legislature called the "COLA Wars." Both legislative bodies ignored the PELRA eighteen month negotiation period required for the second year of a contract (MJCFA DA, 1973). Ralph Chesebrough requested arbitration from BMS after failure to find agreement on economic issues. Faculty were unable to vote on the final arbitrated contract (Green Sheet, 1975d). The 1974-75 salaries included a step and a cost of living adjustment which represented a 4.4 percent increase (Green Sheet, 1974i, 1977b). The MCCFA contract with the State Board provided for two COLA in scheduled salaries during 1974-75. The adjustments were based upon the Consumer Price Index (CPI) for the Minneapolis-St. Paul area as published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor (Green Sheet, 1974a). The MEA was committed to the COLA campaign, supported by Don Hill, Bud Gallop, and Roger Erskine (Green Sheet,

1975i). The final State Board economic proposal was five percent in July 1975, plus a COLA the following April and two COLA during the second year of the biennium. MCCFA projected the need for 12.2 percent in salary on July 1, 1975, plus a cost-of-living formula that paid the full cost of living for both years of the biennium (Green Sheet, 1975b). The negotiated COLA was a major part of the 1975-77 MCCFA contract settlement. The COLA extended a two percent automatic pay increase for every four percent increase in the Consumer Price Index (CPI). The Legislature passed the MCCFA contract without the COLA provision, depriving community college faculty negotiated remuneration (MCCFA, 1975b). The COLA were rejected because MCCFA remuneration would have surpassed IFO salary increases. Legislative subcommittees believed the University of Minnesota needed to receive the highest average salary, followed by the state college faculty, and community college faculty the lowest (Green Sheet, 1975h). The MCCFA President, Jim Norman, addressed the Minnesota Community College Advisory Committee in early December 1974,

Perhaps we tended to ignore you during education's golden 60s, Now we're in the suffering 70s, but I trust it is not just adversity that is bringing us together. I believe faculty have a genuine desire to reach into the community and to make 'community college' more than just a name (Green Sheet, 1974k. p. 1).

The MCCFA objectives approved at the 1976 DA included: 1) organizing for and accomplishing a good contract settlement and gaining legislative approval for that settlement; 2) increasing political involvement of membership; 3) gaining a larger voice in MEA; and 4) improving public image with students and community (MCCFA, 1976). The MCCFA 1976 legislative objectives included 1) introducing a bill to make the State Board the employer for purposes of negotiation, 2) removing amend as an option for contracts in PELRA language, leave

the legislature with the option to accept or reject a complete contract, and 3) removing the 35 percent of full load requirement for association membership and allowing all part-time faculty into the union (MCCFA EC, 1976e). The MCCFA lobbied the Legislature to abandon its right to amend or modify negotiated settlements with state employees. A bill was introduced in 1975 to modify PELRA so the Legislature could not amend contract agreements, but it was defeated (MCCFA EC, 1975e). The State Board offered support for COLA adjustments (Green Sheet, 1976c). The MCCFA Executive Committee recommended that legislators who voted in favor of the COLA bill received full IMPACE funding, those who voted against received none, DFL House Majority Caucus received no funds, the House Minority Caucus received funding, and Governor Anderson received reduced IMPACE support (MCCFA EC, 1976c). The Community College COLA Bill, House file 1987, was introduced in 1976 (Green Sheet, 1976b). COLA support grew in Senate and House, but getting bills out of committee proved a difficult task (MCCFA DA, 1976). Despite weeks of lobbying, the Community College COLA bill died on March 23, 1976 (Green Sheet, 1976d). The MEA IMPACE funded 17 of the 70 members who did not support MCCFA arbitration award, in direct opposition to President Durham and the MEA Board (MCCFA EC, 1978e).

The MCCFA Negotiation Committee set its 1977 goals which included, 1) a board insurance plan; 2) breaking the pattern of following AFSCME benefits; 3) possibility of Legislature not going to arbitration; 4) joint meetings of negotiations teams after input from local faculties; and 5) building communications with Council 6 (MCCFA EC, 1977d). Dental insurance started on July 1, 1977 for employees and half dependent coverage on July 1, 1978. The System offered three and three percent salary increases (MCCFA EC, 1976e). The MCCFA Board rejected the State offer and proceeded to arbitration. The unresolved issues were salary

and acceptance of a non-strike clause. The MCCFA proposed a salary increase of 10.7 and five percent, the state countered with three and three percent. The right to strike was considered a statutory right. The System proposed its final informal offer of seven percent across the board in year one, with no steps, and four percent to the schedule in year two. The MCCFA countered with 9.5 and four percent. With the mistrust created by the COLA elimination in the previous negotiations, MCCFA wanted assurances the State would not alter the contract through legislative action (Durham, 1977a). The assurances were never provided. According to MCCFA statistics, the COLA provisions would have cost the state \$2.23 million in 1977 alone (MCCFA, 1975a). The MCCFA protested and tried to reverse the decision. The MCCFA Executive Committee recommended arbitration for the third straight contract (MCCFA EC, 1977a). On May 5, 1977, an arbitrator granted MCCFA an 18 percent increase in salary over two years. Governor Rudy Perpich sent the award to the Legislature for consideration. On May 10, the State Community College Board signed the arbitrated contract. On May 13, 1977, a House-Senate Conference Committee modified the MCCFA arbitration award by reduction. Even with the legislative cuts MCCFA gained a salary increase of 14 percent over two years (MCCFA, 1977a).

The MCCFA demonstrated its frustration by filing an Unfair Labor Practice Suit vs. State of Minnesota served September 23, 1977 to Joan Growe, Secretary of State (Green Sheet, 1977e). The MCCFA-MEA lawsuit was filed on November 28 in Ramsey District Court (Durham, 1977b; MCCFA EC, 1978f). The lawsuit claimed the Legislature exceeded its authority under PELRA by modifying the arbitration award (Durham, 1977b). PELRA granted the Legislature the right to modify negotiated agreements of state employees, but it did not give the Legislature the right to modify an arbitration award. MEA President, Don Hill, offered support for the MCCFA,

We contend that the more than 1,000 faculty members in the community colleges have been unfairly, and illegally, discriminated against. We believe that the State exceeded its authority (Green Sheet, 1977d, p. 1).

Jim Durham commented on the lawsuit,

We have been denied the most basic right of collective bargaining - the right to a contract which cannot be unilaterally changed by the employer. We have sought legislative redress and that was not successful. Now we must turn to the courts (Green Sheet, 1977d, p. 2).

At the 1977 MEA conference, Jim Durham discussed the MEA lawsuit filed on behalf of MCCFA. MEA President Don Hill asked MCCFA faculty to rise and be recognized, after the applause, thousands of K-12 teachers stood in solidarity (see Appendix R for photo). Governor Perpich spoke in support of the bargained contracts. Jim Durham blamed the DFL leadership in the House and Senate for the modification of the arbitrated awards (Green Sheet, 1977f). The Educational Division of the Senate Finance Committee decided to award the University of Minnesota faculty five and five percent, but no figure was given for MCCFA or IFO (MCCFA DA, 1977). Jim Durham said,

This support is especially meaningful during a time in which we are struggling so hard for fair treatment by state government. The other officers and I pledge our best efforts to leading the Association during the perhaps very difficult two years ahead (Green Sheet, 1977c, p. 1).

The Board recommendation to remove the word amend from PELRA, leaving the Legislative options to accept or reject an employee contract, was ignored (Green Sheet, 1977a). The

MCCFA members lost \$1,400 of negotiated salary, significant when considering a pay scale ranging from \$10,500 to \$25,000 (Durham, 1977b).

Judge Sidney Abramson upheld the MCCFA position that an arbitrator's decision was not a negotiated contract settlement.

This court questions the propriety of legislation which in effect says to all public employees that their use of bargaining and submission to the expedited process of arbitration may be a hopeless charade which an ill-motivated legislature can decide arbitrarily to avoid (Durham, 1978, p. 1).

The decision granted the MCCFA position legal standing. A trial would determine if the legislative action represented an unfair labor practice (Durham, 1978).

Some legislators were upset with MCCFA's political clout. They did not like MCCFA, a group of mere community college academicians, challenging legislative decisions (Whaley, 1990). The consensus of Minnesota public opinion sided with the MCCFA. The Legislature's insistence on maintaining a salary hierarchy between the University of Minnesota, State University, and Community College faculty seemed to hide the legislature's unfairness in dealing with public employees (Whaley, 1990). The Legislature grew increasingly frustrated with the MCCFA. Larry Litecky explained,

The Legislature had a formula they used, Minnesota community colleges got a \$1, then the state universities received \$2, and the University of Minnesota got \$3. That was the core funding mechanism. We were teaching more students than the other two systems. We were teaching the less advantaged. Chancellor Helland went crazy at me during a meeting because I accused him of institutional racism and institutional classism for being a party to this stuff. And for being so meek and accepting these budgets without standing

up for the students. He was so mad. He said, 'You talk to me like that one more time and I am going to turn your college into a community learning center' (Litecky, 2016).

The COLA clause had a huge impact on remuneration (MCCFA, 1978). By the end of the contract, community college teachers found themselves earning more than teachers at the four-year state universities. The community college faculty upset the educational pecking order. The University of Minnesota came in first in the hierarchy, followed by the state university system, and last the community college. President Durham made no apologies for the bargained gains,

We carry heavier teaching loads than the university teachers. Our graduates do a better job in the classroom when they go to the four-year schools to finish their education than the people those schools have had for four years, said Durham. (Nelson & Lahammer, 1979, p. 1).

The State Community College Board opened the 1978 bargaining sessions with a K-12 inspired idea of faculty working on eight hour days, instead of working on credit loads. The proposal increased workloads and deprived faculty due process. Administration requested the authority to lay off faculty for any reason and abolish unlimited, fulltime status. Administration wanted to end statewide seniority and desired the ability to carry out reprisals for faculty grievances. Additionally, community college faculty received no wage increases over the life of the contract (MCCFA, 1978). The obvious act of brinkmanship by the State Board painted the MCCFA into a corner and the young union came out swinging. A mediator was requested at negotiations (MCCFA EC, 1978f). The MCCFA formed a Central Negotiations Action Committee with representatives from each campus. The Executive Committee covered meeting expenses (MCCFA EC, 1978f).

The unfair labor practice lawsuit was heard by Judge Edward Mulhally on September 18-21. On September 23, 1978, the MCCFA Board of Directors established a Central Action Committee charged with organizing for a possible strike (MCCFA, 1978). At the end of 1978, the State Board offered four and 4.5 percent over two years which was interpreted as an insult to MCCFA (MCCFA, 1978). Shortly after the minimal offer, promising news arrived on January 30, 1979 when Judge Mulhally ordered the State of Minnesota to restore the lost arbitration awards to MCCFA, but that the State appealed the decision (Green Sheet, 1978e; Nelson, 1979). Another State decision that flamed the fires of discontent for the MCCFA.

James Durham and the MCCFA Board supported the Negotiations Team in the form of \$7,000.

I am very pleased with the very strong commitment of our Board members to demonstrate our solidarity and determination. Now, as never before, the Negotiations Team needs the visible support of all members as we stand against the oppressive power of the State (Green Sheet, 1978e, p. 3).

James Durham commented,

The chief state negotiator, Charles Swanson, had screamed several times that the State will not go to arbitration with us. This appears to be an ultimatum to either surrender or strike. He may be bluffing. If not, you will have to determine our response. I will never advocate surrender (Green Sheet, 1978d, p. 2).

The MCCFA requested arbitration on August 31 on Article VI, Association Rights, Sec 5, Exchange of Views (EOV) process. The issue was how much influence were the faculty guaranteed in local policy and procedure making. The faculty wanted more influence, the administration refused. The State wanted to eliminate faculty rights to take grievances over EOV

to arbitration. The State claimed the current EOV provision inhibited, to an intolerable degree, administration's ability to manage the college. The MCCFA argued local faculty members have more knowledge, experience, expertise, and wisdom about the affairs of the colleges than do the handful of administrators (Green Sheet, 1978d). MCCFA President Jim Durham at 1978 MCCFA convention, "I want a negotiated contract settlement, not a strike. However, if the State pushes us into a corner, I will advocate a strike" (Green Sheet, 1978f, p. 1). The MEA President Don Hill at 1978 MCCFA Convention,

We must not allow teachers to become the soft spot in the economy...I pledge the full support of MEA to community college faculty. It's hard to direct the band if you have both hands covering your rear (Green Sheet, 1978f, p. 3).

Ralph Chesebrough commented at 1978 MCCFA Convention, "The question may eventually become not whether we can afford to strike, but whether we can afford not to strike" (Green Sheet, 1978f, p. 3). State negotiator, Charlie Swanson, continued to be reluctant to negotiate with MCCFA (MCCFA EC, 1978d). Ralph Chesebrough offered the ominous comments,

It's ridiculous that we had to go to court just to get the State Negotiator to even meet us. However, this incident is typical of the lack of respect the State has for both its employees and the bargaining process. It is becoming increasingly apparent that we will be forced to strike at some point before the State will take us seriously (Green Sheet, 1978c, p. 1).

The MCCFA prepared its membership for difficult times. Inver Hills Community College offered a course in arbitration in fall of 1979 designed for union officers, agents, stewards and members who wished to become familiar with the arbitration process. *Collective bargaining: Labor Arbitration* was intended to assist participants to prepare and present labor arbitrations.

The course was taught by Steve Gordan. Inver Hills offered a Labor Studies Program coordinated by Dennis A. Anderson. Metropolitan Community College offered courses in *Labor Law*, *Labor History*, and *Labor Economics* (Union advocate, 1979).

Summary

Traditional unionism occupied the efforts of the union in the seventies. Collective bargaining came to the Minnesota two-year college faculty union in 1971 with the passage of PELRA. The PELRA law established agency fees for fair-share faculty and resulted in increased revenues to fund a union executive director. Union membership and dues increased throughout the seventies. The union entered into an affiliation agreement with MEA-NEA after a difficult debate. The first collective bargaining contract was difficult, but yielded marked improvements, such as medical insurance, grievance processes, and meet and confer guarantees. President Jim Durham led the union for the majority of the seventies and exhibited success for realizing traditional unions. The AVTIs were represented by either the MEA or AFT, but remained under the control of local school districts. The difficulties of the early seventies were amplified by a series of legislative contract take backs, called the COLA wars. The union had negotiated a series of salary improvements which would have surpassed state university faculty, a violation of an expected hierarchy. The Legislature unilaterally vetoed the increases. The union successfully pursued legal actions to restore the vetoed increases, which were promptly appealed by the Legislature. The scene was set for a strike action.

1979 Strike

The 1979 MCCFA elected officers were, Jim Durham, President, John Winkelman, Vice-President, Gretchen Murphy, Secretary, and Calvin Minke, Treasurer (Green Sheet, 1979b).

Delegates entertained a no-confidence vote in Chancellor Helland, but it was defeated (Green Sheet, 1979c; MCCFA DA, 1979). The MCCFA and MEA appealed the Minnesota Supreme Court decision that the Legislature did not violate State statute and that there was not a violation of equal protection because there was a rational basis for treating state employees differently. The suit charged the Legislature violated the law in modifying an arbitration award. If not, the provision that allowed the Legislature to modify a state employee arbitration award was a violation of State and U.S. Constitutions. It denies equal protection of the law to state employees by treating them differently than other public employees (Green Sheet, 1979e). Merrill Widmark recalled the arbitrated awards,

The 1977 Legislature awarded an amount of money that went to arbitration. The arbiter sided with the college faculty. A legislator, Robert Dunlop, refused to honor the arbitration award. The next contract, 1979, returned to arbitration and we won. Again, the same legislator, Dunlop, refused to honor the arbitration award. The law allowed the legislature to change the contract but not arbitrated awards. When they violated the law, it incensed the Association (Widmark, 2016).

Barbara Sundquist, State Personnel Commissioner, refused binding arbitration with the MCCFA which allowed the 22-member MCCFA Board of Directors and Executive Committee to vote on authorization of a strike (Duluth News Tribune, 1979). "Nobody wants to strike, but we are committed. All we want to do is enter arbitration," said Wayne Moen, Mesabi Community College instructor and a MCCFA strike coordinator. Moen said the issue had switched from salary to collective bargaining. "If the state refuses to honor the bargaining process we might as well negotiate by mail. We could sign our proposals. And they could just throw ours in the garbage when they got it" (St. Paul UPI, 1979a).

Larry Litecky recalled the strike,

I ended up in 1979 coming in ten minutes late to a faculty meeting to talk about the strike authorization vote on our campus. I had attended meetings, but did not hold local office on the campus. A personal friend of mine, Michael McShane, had been the local President and a negotiation team member of the early contracts, was just finishing a speech when I walked into the meeting. My name came up twice as I walked through the door. I had no idea what was going on. I walk in and the room applauded, and he says, ‘All in favor of making Larry Litecky the Strike Captain of the MCC signify by saying aye,’ and the room erupts into overwhelming applause. Think of this, I have a daughter who is two and half and another who is on the way shortly, I am a temporary faculty member, and they want me to be the strike captain. I gave this real quick thought, this could real be the best thing that has happened to me or the worst. My wife said, ‘What are you doing?’ I believed there was a lot of enthusiasm for the strike action on the campus and if this worked out, we settled, and everything is fine, I may get unlimited status, which is exactly what happened to me. I thought I did a terrific job at it. We were a place where nobody crossed the picket line. We rented a place a half block from the college. We had very active pickets in downtown Minneapolis on Hennepin Avenue. A group of six of us went up to North Hennepin to encourage people who had gone out and were talking about going back in after two weeks. This began a legendary ‘goon squad’ kind of thing. It all worked out for the best for me. I ended up getting unlimited status later in 1979 (Litecky, 2016).

On February 12 an impasse was certified by Kenneth Tro, the BMS acting director, which stated, “I have determined that further mediation efforts would serve no purpose and that

an impasse exists.” On February 27, the State refused further arbitration (Green Sheet, 1989, p. 1). On March 10, 1979, the MCCFA Executive Board voted in favor of strike authorization (MCCFA, 1979b). The faculty strike vote was taken on March 7 and results released on March 10; 834 yes and 100 no. The highest campus favorable vote total was 98 percent and the lowest was 66 percent (Thiery scrapbook, 1998). More than 90 percent of the 934 who voted approved calling a strike. At Willmar Community College, strike headquarters were secured, signs made, and telephone lines connected on March 14 (Thiery scrapbook, 1998). The reason cited for the affirmative strike vote was the refusal of the State of Minnesota to bargain in good faith, specifically the loss of 26.1 percent salary increases in 1975 and the salary reduction by the legislature in 1977 (Green Sheet, 1999a). The strike began at 7:00 am, March 20, when 1,039 MCCFA members at the eighteen Minnesota community colleges formed picket lines (Hennes, 1979; Johnson, 1979). The MCCFA successfully closed all community college campuses (see Appendix J for photos; see Figure 4.7). Dr. Ralph Doty, Vermillion Community College President, said “We’ll see Tuesday if we can continue to hold classes. My guess is that virtually every person here who is eligible, is a member of the association, so I pretty well believe there’ll be no one on board to teach Tuesday” (Johnson, 1979, p. 1). Chancellor Helland expected the strike to be effective, “I expect it will be pretty complete, there may be a few defectors, but I don’t expect many” (St. Paul UPI, 1979b, p. 1). The MCCFA leadership indicated only eight faculty members crossed the picket lines on the first day of the strike (St. Paul UPI, 1979c). Many Hibbing Community College students joined the pickets. A teacher said “the students have shown support for us and that helps us remain optimistic” (Leschak, 1979a, p. 5). Rainy River Community College President Ralph Anderson said no students or teachers came to classes Tuesday and a dozen or more students joined teachers on the picket lines. At Hibbing

Community College only one of 34 full-time teachers reported to work. Two of 30 full-time faculty crossed the lines at Vermilion Community College. Only one of 30 full-time teachers reported to work at Itasca Community College (Breining, 1979). The MCCFA established picket lines around the Capitol, System Board Office and Office of the Commissioner of Personnel (MCCFA, 1979c; see Appendix J for photos).

Larry Litecky provided a detailed account of the strike,

I was the campus strike coordinator in 1979. Everything was new for us. This is pre-internet, so we had telephone trees and face-to-face meetings. I went to a bunch of meetings with MEA. Don Hill was MEA President, a good friend of Jim Durham. The MEA supported us fabulously. Durham was smart, he reached out to the Teamsters and AFSCME and gained their support. We had 'to do' lists every time we left strike coordinator meetings. I had a funny local telephone tree guy, Rick Twaddle, Anoka-Ramsey math faculty. He would whisper on the phone. I asked if he thought our phones were tapped. He whispered back, Larry, it is possible. I said, do you think whispering is going to make them not hear you? My colleagues at Minneapolis were great. There were lots of roles for faculty to fill. We needed volunteers to make picket signs, take stuff to the printer, attend the office, answer the telephone, organize our local telephone tree, writing to legislators, etc. and we got them. A lot of people have theories on how the strike ended, but it was the nurses who sat in Ashbach's office. The Senate was willing to undo this \$1, \$2, and \$3 formula between systems. The Republicans hated the idea of a strike on principle and did not want to deal with us. The nursing students from all over the state sat in his office and explained they were planning on graduating and taking the state boards. The state nursing board people did not care about the strike and faculty

were not going to give grades until we finished our coursework, so if the strike is not settled by Monday, we will not be able to take state boards. Their parents were calling him. People on his campaign had students in the nursing program. Minneapolis Community College had such eccentric faculty, yet the feeling of solidarity was tremendous. It was so unanimous and so joyful to see. Everybody believed they were in the right. There was no ambivalence. I was a poster child for the movement. I told legislators that I had five years of teaching experience, a PhD, and was making under \$15,000 per year. They did not believe me. I had my appointment letter in my pocket and would pull it out. They would respond with how awful it was. And I would say, 'That is why we are out on strike.' I felt I had more persuasion than somebody who had worked in the system for many years and was at the top of the schedule. I think the PhD was the big argument, because they would ask if many faculty were in column four and Durham said yes, but it wasn't true (Litecky, 2016).

He elaborated on daily strike activities,

We had pickets all over that were unique due to the setting of the college. At Minneapolis Community College, we set our strike headquarters a half block from the Lorins Café, which became the Nature Food Health Place. We rented it from the Wheelock Whitney family. I went to Irene Whitney and rented this space. It was a great space. You could go in there and hang out for the daily briefing at 10:30 that I gave everybody and I gave out assignments for the last day and commented on the previous day's activity. I felt like I was a teacher in this place. We had a portable blackboard and I would take comments and questions they had for Durham. He was willing to come and talk to people locally. He would come and talk about Teamsters, legislators, and others. Not only were we a half a

block from the college, but we were one block from being in front of the college on Hennepin Avenue. So we walked up and down the sidewalk on Hennepin Avenue with the picket signs. I called the City Council and list stuff off like do I need a permit, etc. and they were very helpful. In looking back and asking what has been a big deal since 1979 that is not discussed, I answer the age demographics of the faculty. All of the Twin Cities institutions started between 1965 and 1970. The faculty were a massive amount of guys who were there for draft classification to avoid Vietnam. Record numbers of people with Master's degrees coming out at that time were the founding faculty at those six institutions. By the time of the strike, a teacher with a Master's who started at 32 were in their mid-forties by the time of the strike. The newer faculty were even younger. So there were a lot of faculty with little kids. We had a deal where you could bring your child to strike headquarters. I had my daughter in a backpack on the picket line. There were pictures in the Minneapolis newspaper of all these little kids on the strike line. We had a 'Help us feed our families' campaign. There was no question we won the public relations war. Where were there more people than going into downtown Minneapolis, so we were out there from 7:00-10:00, go back into headquarters for our meeting, people would return from 11:00-1:30, and back out there from 4:00-6:00. We kept the strike headquarters open until 10:00 pm for whomever wanted just wanted to discuss issues. Some brought in beer or a bottle of booze in the evening. I locked up. I lived twelve minutes away. It was a very upbeat and euphoric deal. The strike did not end until the end of the third week. During the first two weeks nobody is wavering. During the third week we have people saying they can't pay their mortgage if they don't go back to work. It was not about crossing picket lines, it was more like the U of M wants me to teach spring

term and I am going to take it. Some of that was going on. Economically some were fine holding out for two weeks, but the toll was huge. Many were huge supporters, but the economics became too much. Minneapolis did not have anybody cross the line. To their credit, the people who were in leadership, Bill Oatley, one of the first community college faculty Presidents, was our Academic Dean and Curt Johnson was the President. They came into my office. People had wrote these profane things about administrators. They stuck these limericks under their windows every morning about 7:00 am. The administrators were really angry. This was when we were still teaching in advance of going out. So here I am, a temporary faculty member, and the President and Dean of Instruction come into my office, close the door, and sit down. I asked, ‘Gentlemen, to what do I owe this honor?’ The President was really pissed over the stuff under his window. He showed me and said he wants to know who is doing this and we intend to discipline that person and make an example of them by putting them on leave without pay. The Dean added they are well within their rights to do this, they’d read the contract. This hinged on me identifying who did it. They added that I was a temporary faculty member. This was my worst nightmare. I said, ‘What do you think would happen if I gave you this guy’s name or if I didn’t give you the guy’s name, but I called Jim Durham as soon as you leave? He is in a Senate office in St. Paul and gives a press conference about management intimidation and names you two guys. I think you guys have been watching too many detective films. Let’s call this a day. You go back to your offices and we forget about this conversation. What would happen to me if I give you those names? I am going to be the Strike Coordinator.’ They looked at each other and walked out (Litecky, 2016).

Bill Newton reflected on the strike,

The strike was hectic, but all the other unions in the State of Minnesota and quite a few nationally were supportive. I remember one night the Teamsters were going to cross the picket lines at the Capital to deliver fuel and there were activists that went down there with baseball bats and stopped a couple of truckers. Some of them really wanted to cross, but they did not. That action and Don Hill's relationship with the president of the Minnesota Teamsters really helped bring the strike to an end. The got Governor Quie involved to settle it. He was an 'I can and you can't' guy, so it was unusual (Newton, 2016).

Don Holman shared strike memories from Willmar Community College,

Our campus was basically in the country. Our picket line covered the two entrances to campus. It was winter. We were supposed to be standing outside, but it was 10°F and below. One time the wind was blowing so hard, I was sitting in the car with our sides showing out the windows. The stop sign was waving back and forth, and snapped right off in front of us! There was very little activity because nobody was coming or going. You were just sitting and talking. The faculty met in the headquarters in downtown Willmar in the morning and ate donuts before going to the line. We were able to draw money from the salary reserves held for faculty receiving their pay over twelve months, plus we got \$250 a month from the NEA strike fund. The strike ended before we exhausted the summer wage reserve. The Teamsters supported us, so their drivers would not cross our picket lines. That was big. They would not cross with delivery services. Mary Etta Johnson, Willmar librarian, would not stand on the picket line, but she baked,

cooked, and brought everything out. She was one of the strongest supporters. We got retroactive pay back to July 1 (Holman, 2016).

The 1979 MCCFA strike was the first in the nation by a statewide higher education union. It was also the first and only higher education faculty strike in Minnesota history. The strike had a serious impact on the community college system and its roughly 31,000 students. The MCCFA garnered public support, seen as a victim of tactics by an unethical State of Minnesota that exhibited an open disregard for fairly negotiated contracts (Whaley, 1990). The Legislature wanted to teach public employee unions what happened when a union defied the pattern bargaining they had grown accustomed. The strike taught the MCCFA about trust and unity. Students at the time said, "If faculty don't go on strike, they deserve exactly what the State gives them" (Green Sheet, 1999a, p. 1).

Community college students showed the strain of the strike (Brown, 1979). If the quarter was canceled, students were not able to graduate or complete occupation certificate courses in spring. Nursing students would be unable to take qualifying examinations in July (Brown, 1979). Officials of the MCCFA said 35 of the approximately 1,100 teachers in the system crossed the picket lines and went to work on day five of the strike (Kimball, 1979). At Willmar Community College, two faculty crossed the picket line on April 3, just two days before the strike ended (Thiery scrapbook, 1998). Striking faculty members were scheduled to receive \$100 per week strike benefits from MEA beginning the third week of the strike. They were eligible for interest-free loans of \$150 a week from the NEA. When they were working, the teachers make an average of about \$17,000 per year. A spokesman said they should be making about \$19,000 under the previous arbitration awards plus the current raises (Leschak, 1979b). Bill Newton recalled the strike from a MEA perspective,

The strike was very important. I was not an employee at the time, but as an MEA and NEA Board member, I was on the Crisis Fund committee. That was very important because the two year college faculty union was completely dependent upon MEA and all of its affiliates. They needed money. They needed operating space. They needed rent, local shops for supplies. The Crisis Fund made all of it possible. My opinion was if we needed to pay the full salaries, and their full health insurance premiums, to keep the strike going until a settlement we were willing to do that. We could borrow a lot of money, we had over \$1 million in the Fund (Newton, 2016).

On April 3, two bills were introduced in the Legislature to amend PELRA and strip the State Legislature of its power to modify negotiated agreements with public employees. The legislation passed during the 1979 session and permitted only legislative acceptance or rejection of a contract, not modification (Hennes, 1979). This was a major victory, not only for MCCFA, but for all labor unions in Minnesota.

Newly elected Governor Al Quie refused to approve any salary settlements that provided restitution of the lost awards of 1975 and 1977 (MCCFA, 1979a). “Al Quie was Governor during the strike, serving in his first year. He just stood back and did not do much” (Widmark, 2016). Despite the position taken by the Governor, Republican Senator Ashbach assembled a negotiation team and presented a 13.2 percent increase over two years and restored three of the four percent legislated away in 1977 (Dawson, 1979). Ratification of the Aschbach settlement on April 6, with a 95 percent approval vote, 808 to 41, ending the 17-day strike (MCCFA, 1979d).

A combination of power decisions taken by the Legislature and a lack of leadership by Chancellor Helland, State Board, and Governor Quie fueled a combative spirit in MCCFA and created the sense that the only way to deal with the State was from a position of strength and

power (Whaley, 1990). The successful strike resulted in significant economic gains for members of MCCFA and increased the political power of the young bargaining unit. The resulting contract provided 19 percent increases or \$3,500 average per instructor (Green Sheet, 1989). Traditional unionism appeared more effective than professional unionism.

Classes resumed on April 9. The strike resulted in 11 lost days, faculty made up 8. Many faculty who crossed the picket line were shunned by their colleagues. A directive from administration on how winter quarter grades were to be determined drew grievance processes into action which was quickly settled (Thiery scrapbook, 1998). The 1979 DA celebrated the successful strike and subsequent changes in PELRA (MCCFA DA, 1979). Each campus Strike Coordinator discussed their campus experience (MCCFA DA, 1979). The DA honored Strike Coordinators and initiated limited suspension of Association members who did not honor the strike (Green Sheet, 1979c). An ad hoc Discipline Committee recommended a one-year suspension of membership for those who did not honor the strike (Green Sheet, 1980d; Green Sheet, 1980e). The MCCFA contract was fully funded without modification (Green Sheet, 1979b). President Durham spoke at the MCCFA Convention,

We learned at least three important lessons from our successful strike: the power we have when united, the strength of our MEA affiliation, and the importance of organizational vision (Green Sheet, 1979d, p. 1).

Merrill Widmark reflected on the strike,

It was kind of exciting during the strike. It was something that nobody really had done before. Everything was new. I was really pro-union. We were unified. It was cold on the line. It was a miserable March. It was amazing that the whole state came out and supported our position. That is what caused it to settle. They granted the arbitration

awards and gave a good salary increase on top of that. It was successful. Hibbing was in the upper half of junior colleges with number of faculty. We did not have a lot of physical support from the community, but the local paper and most other newspapers in the State covered the strike and were on our side most of the time. It was unprecedented. There was always some anti-union sentiment, but it was nothing like it is now. There were people who did not believe in union. We gained great unity among all of the colleges from the strike. Relations changed with the Legislature after the strike, they knew they should not mess with those people. They know what to do (Widmark, 2016).

Larry Litecky commented on the strike,

Faculty were somewhat satisfied after the strike. Nobody lost money because of the strike. They got their money back. It wasn't a great settlement, but it took off the appropriation caps. For people who could connect the dots, when we received the 10.5 and seven percent contract in 1987 because of the strike. It was a delay, but was a result. Truth be told, it was the formulas that sent us on strike. Changes in the formula treated us better as opposed to the Legislature giving us more money (Litecky, 2016).

Larry Oveson offered commentary on additional reasons for the strike,

The public reasons of the 1979 strike are matters of fact and history. A major behind the scenes driver was the leadership's perceived need for the union to progress, mature, and become a more equal partner with the administration. The Chancellor was a former public school Superintendent who was highly patriarchal, and thought he seemed to like the trappings of higher education, could not bring himself to fully accept the faculty as leaders in the institutions. The strike brought the disparate campus faculties together and

showed a new face to the administration. A double win on a side of the strike not obvious to many (Oveson, 2016).

Many years later Durham reflected on the strike,

The strike definitely strengthened our sense of accomplishment. We were able to achieve many contract gains. We strengthened faculty morale, and demonstrated the power of collective action. And we had more status and respect in subsequent bargaining sessions (Green Sheet, 1986d, p. 2).

Twenty year reflections of the strike were shared in March 1999 *Green Sheet*,

To go on strike is never easy. There are mortgages to pay, kids to feed, creditor to satisfy. But you must never rule out the option of a strike. We must always be able to act from a position of strength and power. To paraphrase a current MCCFA leader, 'We must never be supplicant.' Indeed, the salubrious effects of the strike of '79 are still with us. The employer realizes that of all the state units, the MCCFA is the one that can muster a strike. And will muster a strike, if the conditions warrant it (Green Sheet, 1999a, p. 3).

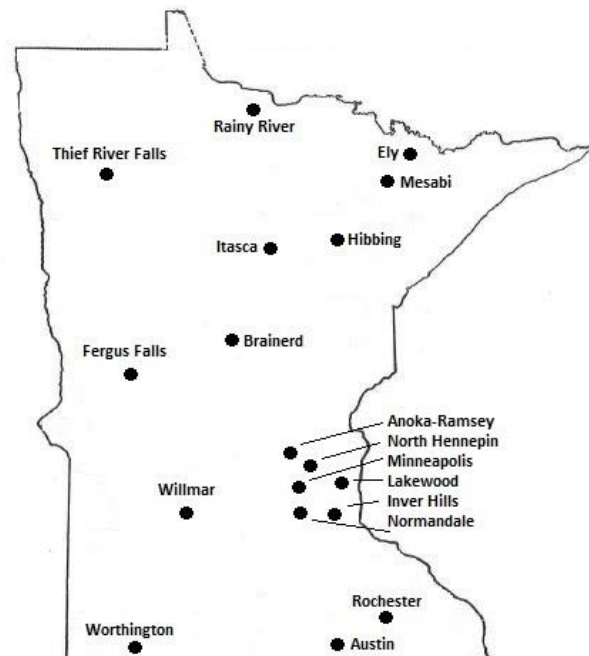


Figure 4.7. 1979 Minnesota Community College Locations Map

Summary

The dissatisfied union voted overwhelmingly to strike and remained on the picket line for seventeen days. The strike was the first statewide higher education system in the nation and the first, and only, higher education faculty strike in Minnesota. The strike was the most significant event in the history of the union. Faculty recalled their memories of the strike with an absolute sense of pride and accomplishment. President Durham guided the union through the strike with skill. The union gained significant salary improvements and helped amend the PELRA law. The Legislature was no longer able to unilaterally alter a contract; unaltered contracts were approved or declined in their entirety.

1980-1989 Recognized Potential

After the 1979 strike, the MCCFA drifted away from a traditional union, member-welfare organization to a white-collar, professional union (Whaley, 1990). However, the memories of broken deals with the Minnesota Legislature resulted in increased monetary donations to IMPACE for the support of political lobbying efforts (Enockson, 1980). Traditional union issues lingered in the background.

Several challenges faced the Minnesota Community College System in the eighties including 1) a diminished pool of traditional college-aged students; 2) increased operational costs which outpaced enrollment revenues; 3) a competitive labor market which demanded highly technically-skilled workers faster than education provided; 4) advanced instructional technologies and educational providers not tied to traditional delivery methods; and 5) increased competition with other public policy areas for unpredictable state and federal funding (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). Recognizing Minnesota higher education was on the threshold of major changes, Governor Perpich established the Commission on the Future of Post-Secondary Education, chaired by former Governor Elmer L. Andersen (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983).

PELRA Changes

PELRA announced a reduction of units from 115 to 16. The decision threatened the existence of public higher education units because MCCFA, IFO, and SRSEA (State Residential School Faculty) were separate units. Many believed unit elimination and/or merger was inevitable (MCCFA DA, 1980). However, all three units remained separate. PELRA was modified. Supervisors were exempted from bargaining. Legal strikes were only possible when current contracts expired. Both parties needed to apply for arbitration for unresolved issues. The

Legislature was no longer able to modify a negotiated contract. (Green Sheet, 1980a; Green Sheet, 1980d). The MCCFA strike served as the catalyst for the PELRA changes.

Internal Activities (Elections, Memberships, Dues, & Grievances)

The 1986 MCCFA officer candidates provided responses to questions. MCCFA President Simpson wanted to see salary improvement, a no-layoff clause, tuition free courses at state universities, and reduced workload. He saw the State Board as weak, insensitive, and uninformed about faculty issues. (Green Sheet, 1986b; see Appendix K for photo). President Simpson, Vice-President Hauff, Secretary Whaley, and Treasurer Carlson were elected (MCCFA NOW, 1989; see Appendix K for photo). The MCCFA Board of Directors renewed Bill Newton by unanimous vote (MCCFA NOW, 1989). “Jennings relied a lot on Bill to bargain the contracts. Bill, as a staff person, was very important to the union” (Litecky, 2016). MCCFA elected the same Executive Committee, Simpson, Hauff, Carlson, and Whaley, for second term (MCCFA NOW, 1988). The MCCFA President honorarium was increased to 20 percent overload to compensate the position to a level equal to a full year (MCCFA BOD, 1988a).

In 1983, Minnesota community college enrollment reached 24,562. The average age of a student was 27, 50 percent part-time, and 58 percent women (Green Sheet, 1983b). Tuition averaged \$850 per year; the national average was \$480. The Governor introduced a plan to increase tuition to \$985 in 1983-84 and \$1009 in 1984-85; the national average rose \$511 and \$659 (Green Sheet, 1983b). Minnesota community colleges needed to demonstrate their value.

The *Green Sheet* was joined by *MCCFA NOW* (MCCFA DA, 1985). *MCCFA NOW* was published bi-weekly and contained short and timely news items. The *Green Sheet* contained more in-depth news articles and was printed at least once each quarter (MCCFA NOW, 1984a). The *Green Sheet* appeared on white paper for the first time, but retained its name. Past

association Presidents were honored at a banquet in October 1984. Don Lavine, Merrill Widmark, Jay Scholtus, Bill Oatley, Charles Blackstad, Neil Sands, Jerald Larson, and Jim Norman were present (MCCFA NOW, 1984d; see Appendix K for photo). Don Lavine was present at the DA honoring past Presidents and commented,

The MCCFA has muscle and is a model for educational associations nationwide. To keep it that way, we have to do a good job representing the interests and concerns of our grassroots members (Green Sheet, 1985c, p. 9; see Appendix K for photo).

The 1979 MCCFA dues were \$214, 1980 were \$224, 1981 were \$249, 1982 were \$277, 1983 were \$285, 1984 were \$345, 1985 were \$370, 1986 were \$400, 1987 were \$420, 1988 were \$444, and 1989 were \$457 (Green Sheet, 1980d; MCCFA DA, 1981; Green Sheet, 1983b; Green Sheet, 1985c; MCCFA DA, 1985; MCCFA BOD, 1986a; MCCFA BOD, 1987a; Green Sheet, 1988c; MCCFA DA, 1989). The ten year increase of dues from \$224 in 1980 to \$457 in 1989 represents a \$23 dues increase per year. The 1981 MCCFA DA decided members employed 25 percent of full time paid 25 percent of full dues, members up to 50 percent of full time paid 50 percent dues (MCCFA DA, 1981). The members who worked 50 percent or greater workloads paid full dues or 85 percent of full dues for fair share, 25 to 50 percent workloads paid half dues or 85 percent of half dues for fair share, less than 25 percent workloads paid 25 percent of the full dues or 85 percent of quarter dues for fair share (MCCFA BOD, 1983a).

In 1982, 46 grievances from 60 faculty on 14 campuses were submitted. The majority of the grievances addressed denial of sabbatical leaves (16) and misunderstanding contract language dealing with temporary versus full time vacancies (20) (Green Sheet, 1982b). Robert Tonra, MCCFA Administrative Assistant, reported 22 layoff notices and 11 new grievances filed in 1984 (MCCFA BOD, 1984b; see Appendix K for photo). A computer system for the

grievance history was purchased and installed in the MCCFA office (Green Sheet, 1985d; MCCFA BOD, 1985a). The grievance database and email network project was realized in 1986, the MEA contributed \$5,000 toward the project (MCCFA BOD, 1986c). Since the 1985 DA, 38 grievances were processed at Level II. The three grievances which moved to arbitration addressed part-time claiming, sub-contracting, and early retirement benefits (Green Sheet, 1985b). A total of 25 layoffs notices were issued in 1985 (MCCFA NOW, 1985b). There were 40 fewer grievances handled at Level II in 1987, however, more grievances moved to arbitration (MCCFA BOD, 1987b).

Faculty and administration roles were clearly defined. Dedicated faculties emphasized teaching. Strong administrators guided their institutions in fulfilling the missions of community colleges. Local advisory committees kept colleges responsive to the needs of their communities. The State Board increased to nine members and continued to be a committed policy-making body (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983).

The significant trends in the external environment for the remainder of the eighties were 1) sustained population growth in Minnesota; 2) major shifts in the distribution of age groups in the population, particularly a decline of college-age youth and young adults with growth among the middle-aged and elderly; 3) increased student dependence on financial aid; 4) increased numbers of educationally-disadvantaged students; 5) heightened competition from employers for college-age youth and young adults due to a shortage of young, entry-level workers in the workforce; 6) increased tendency for students to attend college part-time; 7) increased competition from other educational providers with new delivery methods; 8) continued shifts toward technological service industries which require new curriculum; 9) serious imbalance between an expanding high tech economy in the Twin Cities and a stagnant economy in the rest

of the state; and 10) increased indications of a social dichotomy with small, well-paid, highly-educated, technologically-oriented elite class and a large, poorly-paid, undereducated service class (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983).

MCCFA v. State of Minnesota (TRA)

Larry Litecky provided a narrative of a lawsuit filed against the State of Minnesota after attempts to move monies from TRA funds.

Earl Bowman was a terrible President. He gave twenty-six faculty layoffs in the early eighties. The State of Minnesota tried to raid TRA to balance the budget, they tried to take \$200,000. I read about this while on vacation and I was so flabbergasted. I called Durham. I was with my mom, dad, and family. I called Durham from a lake place outside of Alexandria and told him to sue the son-of-a-bitch. I told him he was on the MEA Board. The next day he made the motion, we sued and we won unanimously in the Minnesota Supreme Court to restore all the money to the pension fund. The results of the cuts to the colleges were significant. I went and met with the Chancellor about Earl on several occasions. Chancellor Helland called me up one time in my office and said what are you doing the rest of the morning. I told him I had a class to teach in ten minutes. He asked if I had classes after the next class. I told him I didn't, but I had office hours. He said to hell with the office hours, when are you done with classes. I said twelve, and he replied be in my office by 12:15. When I walked into his office, he said, 'Yes or no, should I fire Earl Bowman today.' I said, 'Chancellor, they pay you four times more than they pay me, it's not my job to fire people. That is what you get to do. I am happy to have a conversation about it with you and how bad things are on the campus. You have to

figure out what the implications are from that.’ He said, ‘OK.’ Helland called Earl and threatened him. Earl hung on by his fingernails until he retired in 1990 (Litecky, 2016).

Jim Durham

Jim Durham did not seek reelection and took sabbatical leave in 1985 (MCCFA BOD, 1985f; see Appendix L). Durham led MCCFA during the strike and was an active participant at all levels of the nine-year Knight case (Green Sheet, 1983c). Jim Durham served eleven years as President and two as Vice-President (see Appendix K for photo). He was the first MCCFA President to be elected twice, first to lead a strike, first President to take an issue to the U.S. Supreme Court, and first to file an unfair labor practice suit against the State (Green Sheet, 1986a). The 1986 MCCFA DA passed the following statement regarding outgoing president Jim Durham,

Jim Durham has established an outstanding reputation in the system. He has always acted with honesty and integrity. Few faculty can match his dedication. He has walked the walk as well as talked the talk. He has stood in the gap and delivered our agenda. He has our respect and support as the chief spokesperson for our Association during the final months of his last term of office. We are indebted to his service. He will leave office and move onto new endeavors knowing he has prepared us well to deal with the issues that lie before us. His vision challenges us all and calls us to vigilance and action (MCCFA NOW, 1986a, p. 1).

The motion passed unanimously with a standing ovation. Bill Newton described Jim Durham as “the Czar of the community college faculty because he was President for so many terms,” he continued, he was especially important in the beginning of the Association. He had a brilliant mind. Some of the language he came up with still is in the current contract. (Newton, 2016).

Larry Litecky commented, “He was a sharp as they come. He was in leadership as a young man and was fabulous as the face of the strike. He was eloquent, composed, and resolute” (Litecky, 2016). Don Holman provided additional reflections about Jim Durham,

When Jim Durham decided to step down as President, he was told he would be unemployed back at Minneapolis Community and Technical College, since the school was cutting back in his field. He started doing other things, but it never was the same. When I talked to Jim a couple of years ago, at lunch down in Fort Myers, Florida, he commented that it was a time with the greatest cohesion of the faculty since the start of the system. The faculty worked together as a unified team, not as separate departments. It was somewhat like before PELRA. We all had the same goals (Holman, 2016).

President Larry Oveson provided further comment, “Jim Durham was a strong, creative President who brought the union from its formation to maturity. He established our unique relationship with MEA and left the union prepared for the future” (Oveson, 2016).

Administrative Assistant Transitions

Ralph Chesebrough resigned in January 1982 (Green Sheet, 1981). Robert Tonra replaced eleven-year veteran Ralph Chesebrough as MCCFA Administrative Assistant. His main responsibilities were processing grievances and arbitrations (Green Sheet, 1982b). President Durham was elected to unprecedented fifth term on April 3. Cal Minke was elected Treasurer, Jennings Simpson elected Vice-President, and Judy Rosetta was elected Secretary (Green Sheet, 1983c). Administrative Assistant Tonra left for another position in MEA after a brief term with MCCFA. The MCCFA began the process of finding a replacement. Bob Tonra remained until the position was filled (MCCFA NOW, 1984e). Don Holman recalled the hiring of Bill Newton,

Bill Newton was an NEA Director with me. So Jim Durham called me and asked ‘What do you know about Bill? Should we take him?’ Bill Newton was a good friend of mine. Bill was a Type A worker. He put 100 percent into everything he does. We talked for an hour and he hired Bill Newton (Holman, 2016).

Bill Newton also recollected his hiring,

I was in the Capital UniServ (Cottage Grove, Newport, St. Paul Park, and Woodbury) unit of MEA and made it on the Negotiations Council. MEA allocated my unit a half time release position every two years to address bargaining elections because of MFT intrusions. I held that position. As a member of the Board of Directors, I got to know Jim Durham. The person who preceded me transferred to a different position within MEA so they posted the job as Director of Labor Relations for the MCCFA. I applied for the job. I had also processed on my own several grievances, including two arbitrations, before I applied for the job. The job required a lot of work with grievances and arbitrations. I went through the interview process and got hired. I was an MEA staffer assigned fulltime to the MCCFA as the Director of Labor Relations (Newton, 2016).

Bill Newton was hired in January 1985 (MCCFA DA, 1985; see Appendix K for photo). His first task was placing MCCFA grievance history into a database (Green Sheet, 1985a). Bill Newton was introduced at the January Board of Directors meeting (MCCFA BOD, 1985a). Bill Newton talked about his early assignments with MCCFA,

When I was hired, the MCCFA was in the middle of negotiations for the next contract. Negotiating with the State of Minnesota was a whole lot different than negotiating with local school boards. Basically it was no good to start negotiating until after the Legislature set the budget. Management would almost beg not to meet until that took

place, but we would always have one or two meetings before hand, the happy handshake and the exchange of proposals, followed by the declaration of war. I also inherited a pile of grievances that had not been resolved. I would say there were about thirty that were unresolved. Some of them did not make any sense that they were not resolved. I remember Jim Durham said when I got hired, 'Bill, the main reason you are getting this job is your negotiation skills, even though I am the Chief Negotiator. You need to be able to negotiate reasonable settlements. We cannot afford to arbitrate every one of these grievances as an Association, the State System can.' The administration appeared to want to ignore the contract whenever possible and if they did not get caught it was just fine. A lot of the early grievances had to do with placement of the salary schedule, where the system would dispute the educational background of the faculty, and/or years of experience, the system did not want to credit faculty one for one years of experience. There were always layoffs to deal with. We did not have very good layoff language back in 1985. A big issue was there were two pieces of language that required administration to combine part-time work into a fulltime jobs when certain criteria were met. The other one was to limit part-timers as much as possible. The problem was the language was iffy. Management would find many different ways to say the language did not apply in this circumstance because of this or that, such as sabbatical replacements, release time replacements, or requiring more than one field of expertise, those were big grievances (Newton, 2016).

Arrowhead College

Chancellor Helland combined Hibbing, Itasca, Mesabi, Rainey River, and Vermillion community colleges into the Arrowhead College. Phil Anderson was named Arrowhead

President and Gil Staupe Arrowhead Vice-President. These positions were expected to become permanent in October 1981 (Green Sheet, 1981). The completion of the Arrowhead College was planned for July 1, 1982. In April, EOV at the Arrowhead College was eliminated with no further meetings were planned with the administration. In October, the election for local and state meet and confer occurred, so the EOV process resumed. Chancellor Helland planned another regional merger of Willmar, Fergus, Brainerd, and Rainy River, similar to Arrowhead College. After pressure from local advising boards to the State Board, Chancellor Helland pulled back the idea. Chancellor Helland announced his retirement for June 30, 1983 (Thiery scrapbook, 1998). The MCCFA Board of Directors delayed the full implementation of the Arrowhead College merger. Chancellor Helland told the *Minneapolis Tribune* in August, "The chances are greater of it happening than not" (Green Sheet, 1982d, p. 1). The MCCFA DA voted unanimously in opposition of the Arrowhead Community College concept. Faculty supported maintaining the individual campuses, but advocated for only one Dean at each campus which would result in a saving of \$200,000 (Green Sheet, 1982a). The MCCFA position was realized.

Contract Negotiations

A tentative contract agreement was reached between the State and MCCFA on December 20, 1983. James Durham, MCCFA President, and Lance Teachworth, Chief Labor Negotiator for the State announced the agreement on January 2, 1984. The settlement covered 1983 to 1985. The agreement was approved by the MCCFA Executive Board on January 6 and later by the membership by ratification vote. The agreement affected 1,300 faculty from eighteen community colleges (Union advocate, 1984).

Contracts often included the academic factors of course content, course materials, teaching methodology, course syllabi, testing, and grading (Boyd, 1971; Swift, 1979; Thaxter &

Graham, 1999). Few studies have found collective bargaining led to an increased number of academic factors addressed in contract agreements. Lee (1979) found collective bargaining led to increased voice and satisfaction regarding academic policy and degree requirement decisions. Collective bargaining preserved the academic factors which provided greatest faculty satisfaction. There was no evidence that increased numbers of academic issues were memorialized in the MCCFA contract, but Minnesota two-year faculty did participate in more academic initiatives beginning in the eighties.

The MCCFA Board established the Faculty Rights Committee which was charged with contract and legal rights enforcement (MCCFA DA, 1980). The 1980 DA moved to reduce a full time load from 45 to 36 credits and reaffirmed equal opportunity hiring practices. Contract enforcement was a central charge of the Faculty Rights Committee. Bruce Anderson, math instructor from Rainy River and head of the Faculty Rights Committee, was fond of saying, “It doesn’t matter if the faculty wants their rights or not, it is our job to make sure they take them.” Remember it’s not about you (Newton, 2016).

Contract enforcement is bargaining. Every time you enforce the contract, either you are continuing bargaining or you are setting up the next round of bargaining. When you get lax in enforcement, you hurt bargaining. Not only do you erode the contract and your posture as a faculty member with rights rather than a Wal-Mart employee, also hurt any gains we may get in the future. I think that is a point well worth emphasizing, stated Greg Mulcahy (Mulcahy, 2016).

The Negotiations Committee sent out an open ended survey to gauge reactions to previous contract (Green Sheet, 1980b). The MCCFA Board changed the Legislative Committee to Governmental Relations Committee (Green Sheet, 1980a). Insurance coverage was added to

MCCFA fringe benefits (MCCFA DA, 1980). Bill Newton offered recollections about early insurance negotiations,

When I was hired MCCFA tried to separate itself from the rest of the state units and single bargaining for all insurance packages because AFSCME and MAPE did not care about our issues. We were paying way too much for life insurance. Health insurance was going up by leaps and bounds. Dental insurance was a cruddy policy. Everything was so minimal, we put a proposal on the table to put out for bid just for dental insurance and long term disability insurance; management said no. We would send members to Legislative meetings all the time, but they did not care. The leadership of MAPE and AFSCME were very good at bargaining insurance. They knew they could get their membership's support for contracts if they protected their insurance. That was where those people were at. Health insurance first. I still think it was a rotten deal because I don't think the state of Minnesota should be able to change your benefits just to keep the price down. You should be able to go to the bargaining table and bargain how much you are willing to pay for that better insurance (Newton, 2016).

The early retirement incentive program debuted in the 1982 contract (Green Sheet, 1982a). The MCCFA positions for the 1983 contract negotiations included, 1) support of \$3 million appropriation to community colleges for computer equipment and faculty training; 2) allocations for curriculum research and development curriculum; 3) change professional title from instructor to professor; 4) one for one lab hours; 5) financial support for faculty development activities and statewide discipline meetings; 6) reduce service obligation after sabbatical leave; 7) establish smoking and non-smoking areas at the DA; and 8) grant release time for local presidents and grievance members (Green Sheet, 1983d). The major language changes of the 1984 contract

agreement included 1) work year reduced from 170 to 168 days; 2) one credit for two hours of science laboratory; 3) three to five years for leaves without pay; 4) severance pay from 35 to 40 percent of unused sick leave up to 112 days; 5) faculty development increased from \$100 per faculty to \$175; and 6) local faculty development to be controlled by faculty (Green Sheet, 1984b). Don Maher, MCCFA Treasurer, proclaimed, "Our contract is one of the strongest in the nation for higher education faculty. If your rights are violated, grieve!" (MCCFA NOW, 1984c, p. 1).

Don Holman recalled the change in science credit language,

The contract load for a faculty member was fifteen credits which caused some problem for those with multi hour lab or activity courses. Some instructors would have over thirty contact hour to reach their fifteen credit load. An Organic Chemistry instructor received one credit for running a four hour lab. Others were two or three hour labs with the same problem. We were finally able to get the ratio down change so that for every two hours of lab you would get credit for one hour of class work (Holman, 2016).

Bill Newton provided additional comment regarding the science credit language,

The national average at the time was three for one. The negotiation team got Helland to agree to two for one, against the national average. There is a logical explanation of why it could even be four to one. At the university, the professor doesn't teach the lab; teaching assistants teach the labs (Newton, 2016).

The MCCFA contract salary negotiations position regarding column re-examination was to retain the existing four columns and making it easier to reach the top by eliminating steps. The schedule could provide career increments for training and experience beyond the schedule (Green Sheet, 1985a). The 1985 contract negotiations went to arbitration. The MCCFA

leadership was directed not to accept final offer arbitration with the State (MCCFA BOD, 1985f). The MCCFA Board of Directors rejected the system salary offer of four and 4.5 percent (Green Sheet, 1985d). A strike authorization vote was approved for January 8, if the Chancellor refused the MCCFA request for arbitration (Green Sheet, 1985f). Several arbitration issues remained unresolved, including 1) salaries; 2) early retirement incentive; 3) tuition waiver; and 4) composition of the state faculty development committee (Green Sheet, 1985f). During an October 14 State System Budget and Priorities meeting, Chancellor Christenson instructed the faculty, "Now shut up and listen!" (Green Sheet, 1985e). The State System pushed for 1) extending the school year from 168 to 170 days; 2) increased rate of MCCFA purchased release; 3) increased flexibility in hiring part-time faculty; and 4) re-evaluation of column five credentials (Green Sheet, 1986c). President Durham was interviewed and was asked, as chief negotiator for five contracts, what accomplishments did he consider most significant? He replied,

We've achieved close to a two-year layoff notice for retrenched faculty, as well as full transfer claiming rights. An instructor who has been retrenched on one campus has the right to claim any other vacant position in his or her field. Our contract provides one year's full pay for retrenched faculty and retraining for faculty who receive layoff notices. We've achieved full pay for a quarter's sabbatical and two-thirds pay for a full year. We have an early retirement incentive, which provides a full year's pay for faculty who retire between the ages of 55 and 60. We've increased faculty development money, gained full control of its use at the campus level. At the state level control is shared by faculty and the administration. We've achieved a tuition waiver for faculty and their families who attend our institutions. The state shares the cost of long-term disability and dental insurance. We've increased the rights and benefits of part-time faculty. We have

an automatic sabbatical for the president after he or she leaves office. We have won an inclusive non-discrimination clause, allowing such charges to go to arbitration (MCCFA BOD, 1987c, p. 2).

The 1987 contract negotiations proceeded like 1985. The MCCFA moved if the Legislative Commission on Employee Relations rejected the contract on August 25, the Association would immediately file for mediation with the BMS with the intent of taking a strike vote after the 45 day mediation period (MCCFA BOD, 1987c). Negotiations quickly moved in a more positive direction. The 1987 tentative contract agreement represented the highest monetary gain in MCCFA history. The settlement ranked among the best on the nation. It was the first MCCFA contract settled before the academic year. The contract achieved an average increase of \$9,186 per faculty, faculty at top realize an \$8,814 increase (Green Sheet, 1987d). The MCCFA supported full family health and dental insurance and disability insurance over comparable salary increases (MCCFA BOD, 1988a). MCCFA moved to increase the overload maximum from 20 to 33.3 percent (MCCFA BOD, 1988a). The MCCFA moved to pursue short and long term disability (MCCFA DA, 1988). Larry Oveson recalled the events which led to a monumental 1987 contract settlement,

We came very close to another strike in 1985 and 1987. There was talk of merging the two units. Our President at the time went to a Legislator and cut a deal in a back room for \$3 million of appropriation targeted to community college faculty bargaining salaries, we would endorse a merger of two-year college faculty. We got the \$3 million and the state system just wanted to roll it over into their general fund, so we came close to striking that year. We wound up getting 10 percent the first year and five percent the second in salary

alone. It was a landmark year, but it was driven by the deal and the threat to strike (Oveson, 2016).

Academic Issues

With resolution of several traditional union issues, the professional arm of the MCCFA developed during the mid-eighties (Litecky, 2016). Bush grants funded activities that blossomed across the community college system. The MCCFA lobbied to have the funds for the Minnesota scholarship and grants program allocated to the community college system as recommended by the Anderson Commission (MCCFA DA, 1984). The MCCFA submitted a proposal entitled, “Updating and Upgrading: Enriching Student Learning Through Faculty and Curriculum Development” to the Bush Foundation and requested \$938,406 to support five projects over the 3-year period from 1985 through 1988 (MCCFA DA, 1985). An award was granted for three areas 1) Writing Across the Curriculum; 2) Computer-Assisted Instruction; and 3) Small grants (Sabbatical supplements, summer grants, and Program Review) (Green Sheet, 1987e; Murphy, 1987a). Writing Across the Curriculum was a project that expanded a core of trained faculty who created a network of communication and support that operated to heighten faculty awareness, developed faculty skills, and sharpened and focused faculty effectiveness in a cross disciplinary approach to teaching writing. Sabbatical – Plus Grants provided opportunities for faculty eligible for sabbatical leaves to have a more enriching experience as they expanded and updated their professional skills, modified the curriculum, and improved the effectiveness of teaching. Computing in Instruction enabled faculty to learn basic computer skills and to upgrade student learning by using computers in instructional activities. The Business Residency Project invited business persons with needed expertise to act as consultants to faculty and to serve as guest lecturers in order to assist the teaching of students. The Program Review was structured to

promote self-study of the curriculum by faculty and to establish external reviews of programs in order to strengthen the quality of existing programs and to identify new curriculum needs (MCCFA NOW, 1984e). The Writing Across the Curriculum grant recruited local leaders. The grant promoted interdisciplinary activities (Green Sheet, 1985c). The MCCFA recommended stipends received from the Bush grant workshop not count against contract loading (MCCFA BOD, 1985c).

The MCCFA ad hoc Salary Schedule Goals Committee was appointed with the duties to 1) study long term effects of our salary schedule; 2) study other salary schedules in both higher education and K-12 schools; 3) compare the long term effects of our salary schedule and other salary schedules; 4) identify several options for long range salary schedule goals; and 5) make recommendations to MCCFA Board (MCCFA DA, 1984). The MCCFA Executive Committee claimed committee appointments reflected the diversity of the membership. Of the 86 appointments, 53 percent were from the Metro with 47 percent from Greater Minnesota, 37 percent were female and 63 percent male, and 48 percent were carry over members on existing committees and 52 percent were new on existing committees (MCCFA NOW, 1984b). Community college faculty wanted to be addressed as Professor or Associate Professor instead of instructor (MCCFA DA, 1985). MSCF President, Greg Mulcahy, addressed the title of Professor in two-year colleges,

We do not have the titles of four-year institutions. We are all instructors regardless of credentials. A two-year college faculty member with a PhD is an instructor, not an Assistant Professor. You can call yourself an Assistant Professor, it is fine with me, but it is like me calling myself a Colonel in the Air Force. Since I am neither a Colonel or in the Air Force. I do not think many people will find it meaningful (Mulcahy, 2016).

The MCCFA investigated an annual party to celebrate retiring members (MCCFA BOD, 1989b). The initiation of the annual Outstanding Faculty Banquet program started in 1987 (MCCFA, 1988). A sexual harassment seminar was held at MCCFA Fall Convention (Green Sheet, 1982c). The Governor considered a merger of Southwest State University with Worthington Community College, but it never happened (Green Sheet, 1984a). The 1986 DA passed a resolution that administrators needed to be on campus no less than two-thirds of the time and be available to staff and students. Further, delegates supported limiting the number of administrators and administrative assistants in the System Office (MCCFA DA, 1986). The MCCFA allowed a \$500 reimbursement for campaign expenses for MCCFA President candidates and up to \$300 reimbursement for campaign expenses of candidates for MCCFA Vice-President, Treasurer, and Secretary (MCCFA BOD, 1984c; MCCFA BOD, 1986a). The MCCFA Bylaws were changed to allow retired members, who served at least ten years, to be eligible to serve on committees, but not run for elected offices (MCCFA BOD, 1986a). The MCCFA did not collect fair share dues for faculty teaching one or two credits (MCCFA BOD, 1986b). The MCCFA Finance Committee was formed (MCCFA BOD, 1986c). Larry Litecky recalled the Finance Committee appointment,

In 1986, I ended up talking to the Board about how stupid it was that we bargained a contract, but did not have the slightest idea about how much money the system had.

Nobody had ever done anything to understand appropriations, allocations. I had half time release to be the Finance Chair of the newly formed Finance Committee. I was also hired as a faculty lobbyist to be at the Legislature paying attention to appropriations. I did that until 1990 (Litecky, 2016).

The Board of Directors developed an Affirmative Action policy for the 1988 DA (MCCFA BOD, 1988c). Non-discrimination language was added to the MCCFA Constitution (MCCFA

DA, 1989). The MCCFA restricted union dollars for alcohol expenses exceeding meal allowances (MCCFA DA, 1989). Personal phone calls, movie rentals, room service, or similar charges incurred by MCCFA members on official business were the responsibility of the member, unless specifically approved by MCCFA Treasurer or President (MCCFA BOD, 1989a). The MCCFA increased funded delegates to DA from three to six (MCCFA BOD, 1989b).

Part-Time Faculty

The MCCFA received a \$45,000 grant to gather information addressing part-time faculty members (MCCFA BOD, 1987d). President Simpson expressed a strong position regarding part-time faculty,

The misuse and abuse of part-time and temporary faculty appointments, driven mainly by a motivation to save money, constitutes one of the most serious problems confronting American higher education. Academic freedom, job security, and educational quality were undermined by the excessive use of part-time faculty. Part-time faculty taught 28 percent of the courses (FTE) in the Minnesota community college system and constitute 65 percent of the faculty head count. These faculty were expected to work for substandard compensation and without job security, therefore, they were less likely to exercise their rights as community college faculty. Hiring excess part-time faculty constituted a false economy (Green Sheet, 1987e, p. 3).

Mission Delineation Proposal

The State Community College Board approved a Mission Delineation Proposal which led to the creation of Associate of Applied Science (A.A.S.) degree. The A.A.S. degree revealed the possibility of a community college and AVTI program merger (Murphy, 1987b; Simpson, 1986).

The Minnesota Community College System rejected the proposed mission delineation statement in October 1985 (MCCFA NOW, 1986b). The MCCFA agreed with a modified mission delineation statement. The MCCFA planned to monitor its implementation and, if after two years, determined the community college system was disadvantaged, would publically recommend merger as described in the May 1986 proposal (MCCFA BOD, 1986e). President Simpson met with AVTI President Darrel Schwartz and Senator Jim Pehler on Mission Delineation (MCCFA BOD, 1986e). Senator Gene Waldorf believed mission delineation was a mistake (see Appendix K for photo). Instead of differentiating missions, he believed Minnesota two-year colleges should merge missions (Green Sheet, 1987a). AVTI Faculty Association President, Jim Fremstad, discussed the proposed merger between AVTIs and community colleges (MCCFA DA, 1987). The 1987 DA supported merger under the following conditions 1) a new contract was negotiated prior to the merger; 2) the MCCFA contract was the base document for negotiations; 3) adoption of a mid to high salary schedule; 4) no faculty layoffs occurred; 5) no campus were closed; 6) pension transfer was non-punitive; 7) adequate funds for instructional and support services needs were provided; and 8) faculty were involved in implementation and review process (Green Sheet, 1987b). The MCCFA Mission Delineation Task Force presented the community college/AVTI Mission Delineation Agreement guide which outlined program planning for new A.A.S. programs. A.A.S. programs were offered by both community colleges and AVTIs, 22 paired sites were identified. With the A.A.S. degree, all liberal arts courses (30+ credits) were the responsibility of community colleges while all technical credits (60+) were the responsibility of area technical institutes (MCCFA BOD, 1987d). AVTIs quickly negotiated their curriculum because they were not system mandated; community colleges lagged behind (MCCFA BOD, 1987d).

Waldorf-Haukoos Bill

Senator Gene Waldorf spoke to the MCCFA about Senate File 44, the Community College/AVTI merger bill, co-sponsored by Senator Haukoos. He addressed problems with school district budgets and services, staffing, licensure, bargaining, tuition policy, protection of the vocational component, and intermediate school districts (MCCFA BOD, 1987a). The MCCFA established a task force in response to the Waldorf-Haukoos bill which researched the nineteen states with merged systems (MCCFA BOD, 1987a). The MCCFA moved that the merged system should be called Community College System of Minnesota (MCCFA BOD, 1987a). The Waldorf-Haukoos Bill failed (Simpson, 1987b). However, the merger of community colleges and Technical Institutes seemed inevitable (Simpson, 1987a). In 1987, the AVTIs were renamed Technical Institutes (Minnesota Statutes, 1987); and in 1989, the Technical Institutes were renamed Technical Colleges (Minnesota Statutes, 1989; Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

Legislative Issues

The concerns of the 1980 MCCFA membership included its significance in MEA, PELRA changes, staffing changes in higher education, rapport with K-12 units, and operations with other interest groups (MCCFA DA, 1980). Ralph Chesebrough announced the MCCFA needed a tax increase to realize salary increases (MCCFA DA, 1981). The 1983 State System priorities included yearly tuition limits and developmental/remedial program expansion (Green Sheet, 1983c). The 1985 MCCFA legislative objectives included 1) restoration of funding to levels before cuts several years ago; 2) restoration of the financial stability to the teacher retirement system through elimination of unfunded liability; 3) demanded HEB turn over policy analysis to the community colleges with the requirement of full faculty participation by the

MCCFA; 4) strengthen enforcement of Fair Campaign Practices Act; 5) inclusion of student as a protected class in the state anti-discrimination statute; 6) full funding for all current enrollments in the community college system, including the enrollment bulge and summer school enrollment; and 7) remedy the disparity in the relative percentage of student aid going to private sector institutions (MCCFA BOD, 1984b). The MCCFA and MCCA co-hosted the Legislative dinner. President Durham and Chancellor Christenson presented a united front of the dire financial conditions facing the System (Green Sheet, 1985b). Minnesota House leadership cut \$100 million from Governor's budget request for higher education. President Durham commented, "This meat-ax approach to higher education funding is unconscionable and would spell disaster for the community colleges and our faculty" (MCCFA NOW, 1985c, p. 2). On March 29, between 400 and 500 MCCFA members rallied at the capital opposed to the deep budget cuts (Green Sheet, 1985c). Assistant Majority leader Don Frerichs pledged full bulge funding to support the enrollment bulge (Green Sheet, 1985c).

Mike Olkives, President of Minnesota Community College Student Association (MCCSA), appeared before the MCCFA Board of Directors and requested support for a student voter registration drive. The MCCFA endorsed the voter registration drive and encouraged faculty to allow class time for voter registration (MCCFA BOD, 1984a).

The MCCFA-MEA Legislative Dinner held at the Radisson St. Paul continued to draw big crowds in 1985 and 1986 (MCCFA DA, 1985; MCCFA BOD, 1985b; MCCFA BOD, 1986e). The MCCFA passed a resolution that counselors be retrained in the bargaining unit as faculty / unclassified personnel (MCCFA BOD, 1983a). The MCCFA opposed the expansion of the PSEO Act into the private sector (MCCFA BOD, 1986a). The MCCFA Advanced Placement Task Force met to discuss rationale, mission, and goals as outlined in the Post-Secondary

Enrollment Options Act (MCCFA BOD, 1986d). Several athletic activities proposed equivalent change of credits for coordination (MCCFA DA, 1988).

Don Holman discussed his government relations role with MCCFA,

I was appointed as the Government Relations Director of the MCCFA by Jennings Simpson and reappointed by Larry Litecky. As the chair, I was responsible for setting the Legislative objectives of the organization, but some goals are negotiations. First you meet with the President because you are their chair. Some Presidents do not have any goals, others do, so you go from there. Then you bring in the committee. You have to be organized. The committee had ten people on it. You would go out for dinner and come back the next day. You voted on each goal and made modifications as needed. You looked at the goals of previous years and the new goals. As the chair, I am not an island. I am part of a team. Once you are completed with your work, you bring it to the MCCFA Board. Then you explained to the Board why the goals and priorities are good for the organization. The Board has control. After they vote, we place the finalized goals and objectives into the *Green Sheet* (Holman, 2016).

The 1987 MCCFA and MEA legislative goals included approving the bonding bill, increasing average cost funding, reversing the sales tax, and pension reform (MCCFA BOD, 1987d). The 1988 legislative goals included 1) reducing class size; 2) increasing faculty position allocation; 3) adopting the Carnegie Report on part-time instruction; 4) increasing classified positions; 5) faculty pension reform; 6) passage of another large building bill for higher education institutions; 7) funding of the enrollment growth at community colleges; and 8) repeal of the sales tax on higher institutions (Green Sheet, 1988a; MCCFA BOD, 1987e). The MCCFA added a second lobbyist to work with Russ Stanton for 1988 legislative session (Green Sheet, 1988c; see

Appendix K for photo). The 1988 Legislature passed the largest bonding bill in state history with MCCS projects as a major beneficiary with over \$35 million in new capital improvements (Green Sheet, 1988a). Don Holman identified an important advocate for MCCFA,

Dean Johnson, Willmar area Republican Senator, was called ‘Bricks’ Johnson by Jim Durham because he voted for every building project we had (see Appendix K for photo). He was a good friend to the community colleges. It was Dean Johnson’s goal, before Roger Moe, to merge the community and technical colleges. He thought it was wasteful to have them separate (Holman, 2016).

The 2,000 members of MCCFA supported the 1989 MCCFA legislative priorities which included 1) supporting stabilizing tuition and improving student aid, Minnesota tuition ranked 11th highest in the nation and 50 percent of student aid went to private college students; 2) support pension reform, increase TRA service credit from one percent to 1.5 percent per year for each of the first ten years of service; 3) support a capital bonding program, a 34 percent increase in student numbers in past four years; and 4) support budget reform to bring per student funding up to the national average (MCCFA Legislative, 1989). The MCCFA wanted to create more 2+2 arrangements between the State Universities and the Community Colleges, review the financing the State of Minnesota Health Care Plan to help stabilize the program, support a statewide Technical Institute Governance System, support open access policy for the MCCS and special funding for developmental education programs, and support a system-controlled and administered quality assessment program (MCCFA Legislative, 1989).

Chancellor Helland Retirement

Chancellor Phillip Helland retired in 1983 (see Appendix K for photo; see Appendix L). “I liked Chancellor Phil Helland. He was good. He had a kind personality. He was just a great

guy. He was very thoughtful and got along with just about everybody,” recalled Merrill Widmark (Widmark, 2016). Bill Newton had remembered,

Phil Helland was actually supportive of the college faculty union. If Phil Helland was anything, he was forthright, dedicated, he really believed in the statewide system. A lot of those big campuses today were built under his leadership. He was a gentleman too. He would never swear like some of the others would (Newton, 2016).

Don Holman recalled Chancellor Helland,

I volunteered to represent the MCCFA on the MEA Board. I was seated next to Chancellor Helland for the meeting, because we were both from Willmar. We had a lot of discussions. He was very conservative. He was a graduate of Gustavus Adolphus and his wife served on their board. He was an autocrat. When a budget came from the community college system the Legislature knew it was not fluff. He cut our campus request to the bare bones before it ever got to the Legislature. When he hired his administrative staff at the state level he wanted you to be able to ski. He was a great skier. He would do interviews on the ski slope. Faculty would go to the Nobel Conferences at Gustavus Adolphus, funded by a grant from the Community College System. We held our statewide chemistry meetings while attending the Nobel Conference. Dr.

Helland would attend our chemistry meetings and Nobel Conferences (Holman, 2016).

President Durham served on the new Chancellor search committee. Durham shared his opinion of the search,

The most important attribute that must be considered in a new Chancellor is the knowledge and skill to deal with the legislative process. We must have someone who will fight for the system- not just a manager (Green Sheet, 1983a, p. 1).

Chancellor Gerald Christenson

On July 1, 1983, Dr. Gerald W. Christenson assumed the position as Chancellor of the Community College System (see Appendix K for photo; see Appendix L). He had served previously as Legislative Auditor, Chief of Staff to Senator Roger Moe, Vice President of Metropolitan State University, Commissioner of Finance, and State Planning Director (Green Sheet, 1983d; State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). Chancellor Christenson was introduced to the MCCFA Board of Directors (MCCFA BOD, 1983b; MCCFA DA, 1984). Chancellor Christenson was met with instant opposition. The MCCFA Board of Directors recommended each campus conduct a no confidence vote in Chancellor Christenson (MCCFA BOD, 1985e). Seventeen of the eighteen community colleges took votes of no confidence in Chancellor Christenson because of 1) his failure to bargain in good faith; 2) minimal involvement of faculty in development of priorities and budget allocations; 3) his arbitrarily larger salary increases for administrators in advance of faculty salary settlement; 4) his lack of sensitivity to the needs and problems of the system, faculty, and staff; and 5) his inability to understand the statistics and complexities of the bargaining process (Green Sheet, 1985f). The MCCFA believed the system should not hire any community college administrators who do not have some type of appropriate collegiate educational background or experience (MCCFA DA, 1985). The MCCFA requested the Chancellor tender his resignation immediately and sent a copy of the request to the Chancellor and Governor (MCCFA NOW, 1986a). Nineteen community colleges were in operation across the state in 1983 (see Figure 4.8). The original plan of developing community colleges in all quadrants of the state was realized.

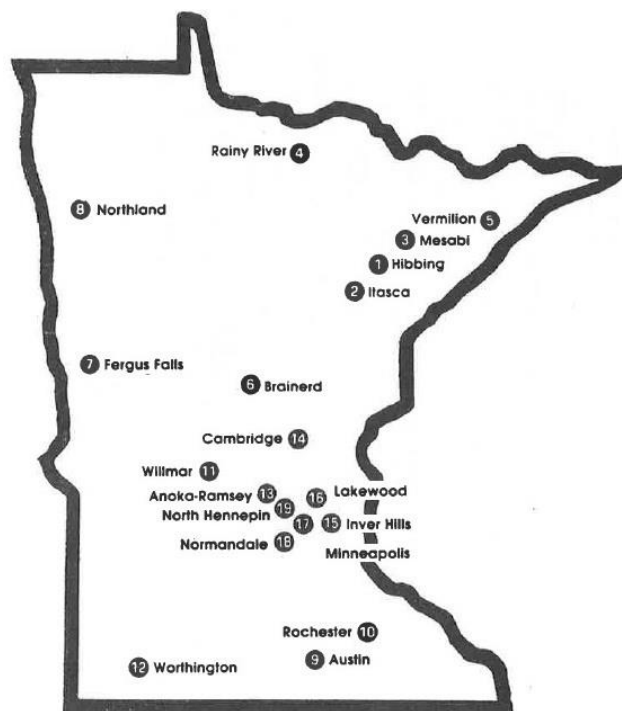


Figure 4.8. 1983 Minnesota Community College Locations Map

Minnesota community college enrollment had grown from less than 4,000 in 1964 to more than 58,000 in 1983. All community colleges were accredited by the Commission on Colleges and Universities of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983).

Legal Actions

The U.S. Supreme Court dismissed the MCCFA/MEA appeal of the unfair labor practice suit (Green Sheet, 1980). Durham responded to the decision,

Two things are clear. First, we would never have recovered any part of the lost arbitration awards without the strike. Second, even though we must use the court system when appropriate, we cannot rely on the courts to force fair treatment of state employees by state government. History teaches us that employees gain fair treatment only through strong, unified, collective action (Green Sheet, 1980c, p. 2).

Jim Durham testified in a lawsuit brought by MEA and other unions which attempted to halt the payment of an additional two percent of salary into pension funds. The unions contended the legislative action violated provisions of the U.S. and Minnesota Constitutions where no state may impair the obligation of contract. A three judge panel ruled that the Legislature acted appropriately in mandating public employees pay an additional two percent of their salaries into their retirement funds, MEA unsuccessfully appealed to the Minnesota Supreme Court (Green Sheet, 1983a).

Minnesota State Board for Community Colleges v. Knight

The 1980 MCCFA DA heard an update of the Knight lawsuit (MCCFA DA, 1980). The MCCFA and State of Minnesota reached agreement to resume meet and confer while the Knight case moved through the federal court system (Green Sheet, 1982b). The U.S. Supreme Court considered one portion of the opinion issued in 1981 by a three judge federal panel in the nine year old Knight case, the portion appealed by MCCFA. The court rejected an appeal by the National Right-to-Work Committee to the panel's major ruling which upheld the constitutionality of collective bargaining, MCCFA's role as exclusive representative, and its right to collect agency or fair share fees from non-members (Green Sheet, 1983d). The U.S. Supreme Court hears about five percent of cases appealed to it (Green Sheet, 1983d). Don Holman recalled the case,

Leon Knight was a friend of mine. He and I were among the 'the young rebels' on the MCCFA Board. We had progressive ideas. Leon Knight and two others resigned from the union and didn't think that they needed to pay fair share for the benefits that they received from the negotiated contract. Two of the individuals missed their flight to the NEA convention and the MCCFA Board thought that they should repay the Association

for the tickets that had been purchased. They became upset and started a long series of court appearances which with the help of the National Right-to-Work group after many appeals made it to the US Supreme Court. A second case was about the use of dues money for political involvement was also challenged and eventually made to the highest court in the land. I think that Eric Miller was the attorney that represented us at the court. President Don Hill was MEA's representative on the NEA PAC Board which made the endorsements for the upcoming national elections. If Don was unable to attend and I was already in DC, I would be our representative for that meeting. One day a federal marshal came into my chemistry class to deliver a subpoena. I asked him to show the students his badge. An attorney from the Right-to-Work group had us come to the federal building in Minneapolis to give our deposition. I was advised to just answer the question and not elaborate or make assumptions (Holman, 2016).

In 1984 the U.S. Supreme Court heard the 1975 Minnesota case filed by fair-share faculty from Normandale Community College. This lawsuit was the first of its kind regarding faculty union representation (Semas, 1975). The claimants filed a lawsuit in U.S. district court which alleged that exclusive union representation during meet-and-confer sessions violated the 1st and 14th Amendment rights of faculty who opted to not join the MCCFA. The district court held that, by granting MCCFA the right to select faculty representatives and by permitting the MCCFA to select only from its membership, Minnesota law, PELRA, unconstitutionally deprived non-union faculty a fair opportunity to participate in the academic governance of community colleges. The MCCFA appealed the meet and confer ruling to U.S. Supreme Court, Knight appealed the ruling regarding on constitutionality of public employee collective bargaining, and the right of MCCFA to serve as exclusive representative (Green Sheet, 1984a). Attorneys for MCCFA argued the

lower court argument requiring cumulative voting means the First amendment requires proportional representational voting for members vs. non-members. Nothing in the Constitution mandates proportional representational voting (Green Sheet, 1984a).

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the Knight case on February 21 (Flygare, 1984). It was constitutional for MCCFA to have only association representatives in Exchange of View and exclusive representation (MCCFA DA, 1984). *Minnesota State Board for Community Colleges v. Knight* (Supreme Court of the United States, 1984; 465 U.S. 271, 104 S. Ct. 1058) found academic freedom does not imply a constitutional right to shared governance, nor does the first amendment require that college officials must listen to faculty. Justice O'Connor delivered the opinion of the Court.

The State of Minnesota authorizes its public employees to bargain collectively over terms and conditions of employment. It also requires public employees to engage in official exchanges of views with their professional employees on policy questions relating to employment but outside the scope of mandatory bargaining. If professional employees forming an appropriate bargaining unit have selected an exclusive representative for mandatory bargaining, their employer may exchange views on non-mandatory subjects only with the exclusive representative. The question presented in this case is whether this restriction on participation in the non-mandatory-subject exchange process violates the constitutional rights of professional employees within the bargaining unit who are not members of the exclusive representative and who may disagree with its views. We hold it does not (Alexander, 2011, para. 1).

The decision continued and addressed concerns over communication and representation,

Not every instructor in the bargaining unit is a member of MCCFA, and MCCFA has selected only its members to represent it on meet and confer committees. Accordingly, all faculty have been free to communicate to the State Board and to local administrations their views on questions within the coverage of the statutory meet and confer provision. They have frequently done so. Indeed, both the Board and the local administrations have regularly made efforts to supplement the official advice with other, unofficial communications. Prior to each on-campus Board meeting, the Board has made itself available to persons who wish to express their views individually or in groups. Individual faculty members have not been impeded by either MCCFA or college administrators in the communication of their views on policy questions. Nor has PELRA ever been construed to impede such communication (Alexander, 2011, para. 8).

The decision also addressed the accusation that PELRA unconstitutionally denied representation, Appellees are twenty Minnesota community college faculty instructors who are not members of MCCFA. In December 1974, they filed suit in U.S. District Court for the District of Minnesota, challenging the constitutionality of MCCFA's exclusive representation of community college faculty in both the meet and negotiate and meet and confer processes. The Court held, PELRA unconstitutionally deprives non-MCCFA instructors of a fair opportunity to participate in the selection of governance representatives. We now reverse the District Court's holding that the meet and confer provisions of deprive appellees of their constitutional rights (Alexander, 2011, para. 9). Appellees have no constitutional right to force the government to listen to their views. They have no such right as members of the public, as government employees, or as instructors in an institution of higher education. The Constitution does not grant to

members of the public generally a right to be heard by public bodies making decisions of policy (Alexander, 2011, para. 24; Green Sheet, 1984a).

The lower court erred in its assumption of a tradition of faculty governance in community colleges and that the meet and confer process involved academic freedom issues. Prior to the adoption of PELRA, most state colleges did not even have pretensions about faculty involvement in the decision-making process. The supplemental district court order which required cumulative voting to be used in the meet and confer process was unprecedented and exceeded its authority. These arguments were presented by MCCFA at the U.S. Supreme Court, backed by MEA and NEA, amicus briefs were filed by AFL-CIO and AAUP, all attempted to invalidate federal district court rulings which allowed non-union members to select and serve as meet and confer representatives (Green Sheet, 1984a). Chief Justice Warren Burger, Justices Byron White, Harry Blackmun, and William Rehnquist concurred with O'Connor's opinion. Thurgood Marshall voted with the majority, but issued a separate opinion. Dissenting opinions were offered by John Paul Stevens, William Brennan, and Lewis Powell (Green Sheet, 1984b). The MCCFA was not be assessed the twenty percent costs of the trial which overturned the lower court ruling (Green Sheet, 1984b). Two fair share faculty, including Leon Knight, were selected to serve on meet and confer while the case moved through the courts. After the court ruling, the fair share faculty were invited to join the union to maintain their positions. If not, they were removed (Green Sheet, 1984b).

In 1968-69, Knight served as President of the faculty association at North Hennepin Community College. He supported the right of everyone to join and participate in labor unions, but drew the line at compulsory affiliation. "The big difference," he said, "between the faculty association I headed up and the union there now is the issue of voluntary versus compulsory"

(CEAFU, 1972, para. 3). When the faculty association became an affiliate of the NEA, the association backed legislation requiring compulsory union fees for public employees. Once passed, all faculty members had to pay a fee to keep their jobs. Knight's liberal philosophy did allow him to go along. "The idea of academic freedom," he explained, "the idea of the dissident person, the idea of a person who marches to a different drum, is very precious. And yet unionism is coming in and saying I must march to that drum" (CEAFU, 1972, para. 5). Leon Knight went to court to protect his Constitutional rights. With the help of the National Right-to-Work Legal Defense Foundation, he and 19 other members of the Minnesota Community College system brought suit against the NEA, MEA, and MCCFA. The suit challenged the forced representation and compulsory fee provisions of PELRA (CEAFU, 1972). After the 1984 *Minnesota State Board for Community Colleges v. Knight* decision, the PELRA meet and confer provisions were upheld. The appropriateness of fair share dues for non-union members was validated (Ernst, 1975). Jim Durham responded,

We are gratified that the majority opinion leaned so heavily upon arguments presented by MCCFA/MEA/NEA attorneys. However, the ruling has a much broader impact on public employee collective bargaining, because it clearly establishes, beyond any doubt, the constitutionality of exclusive representation in the public employee bargaining process (Green Sheet, 1984b, p. 1).

The decision was a major victory for MCCFA and unions across the United States. Bill Newton reflected on the U.S. Supreme Court cases,

The U.S. Supreme Court dealt with two cases, both initiated by Leon Knight. He was able to get the Right-to-Work people and Human Rights people to cosponsor and hire a MFT attorney to sponsor his lawsuit against MJCFA, MEA, and NEA. The case kept

getting delayed and delayed until finally decided, then they would lose and appeal. The two cases that went before the U.S. Supreme Court were the right to collect fair share fees in accordance with the Minnesota statute and the labor laws within the United States. The second one had to do with the right of the exclusive representative to name all persons who could serve on committees. The court decided, and I believe rightfully so, you had to be a member to be on any committee, even at the local level. All the faculty named at North Hennepin for example, where Leon Knight taught, on exchange of views committee and the other committees were named by the exclusive representative, the union. They refused to appoint anyone who did not pay full dues. Those two decisions went to the U.S. Supreme Court and during all of those years, all the fair share money had to be put into escrow. It built up and became a ton of money. The MEA and NEA kept subsidizing the association. The members who were paying full dues kept increasing their own dues in order to operate at the best possible level (Newton, 2016).

External Social and Political Support

As seen in previous years, the MCCFA continued to support progressive political positions and other unions through the eighties. The MCCFA sent \$200 to striking Hormel workers (MCCFA BOD, 1985d) and supported a boycott of Hormel Products until striking local P-9 members withdrew their request for such a boycott (MCCFA BOD, 1986a). The MCCFA was resolved against discrimination in hiring, training, assigning, promoting, transferring, disciplining, on basis of sexual preference (MCCFA DA, 1981). The MCCFA advocated for the separation of church and state (MCCFA DA, 1981). The MCCFA supported legislation to provide a tobacco-free environment in community colleges (MCCFA BOD, 1987e). The

MCCFA boycotted green table grapes at all MCCFA purchased meals (MCCFA DA, 1987) and contributed \$50 towards UFW struggle (MCCFA BOD, 1989b).

Increased personnel costs created a fiscal dilemma for community colleges. Most faculty were middle-aged, accrued seniority, held advanced graduate degrees, and were expected to remain with the system for the remainder of the century (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). Nearly 73 percent of all full-time faculty were at the top of the salary schedule, and the annual turnover rate was less than one percent. The lack of an expanding resource base coupled with uncertain enrollments presented serious financial constraints for the community college system (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983).

AVTIs

From 1966 to 1982 the population growth in Minnesota caused the authorization and development of fifteen new technical college campuses. The fulltime equivalent enrollment in AVTIs doubled, from 16,000 to 31,000 (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). A rapid demographic, technological, economic, and social changes emphasized the potential for change in higher education and provided the context for long range planning at the beginning of the eighties. A long range plan and mission statement was developed by vocational technical education representatives for the State Board, The plan focused on the need for a competent, technologically competent, workforce for Minnesota. It established the goal of providing equal education access to prepare occupations in all fields which required less than a baccalaureate degree (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). The long range plan emphasized four key areas for technical colleges to focus on for the next decade which included 1) providing equal access; 2) preparing individuals for satisfying work roles; 3) responding to employment market

needs for dynamic, competent workers; and 4) maximizing efficiency and return on investment (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

The 1983 Laws of Minnesota, Chapter 258, created the State Board for AVTIs and established parameters regarding membership and powers, and authorized the Board to assume full responsibility on January 1, 1984 (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). The State Board was granted the governance of AVTIs including 1) appointment of a State Director; 2) approval and coordination of instructional programs; 3) preparation and submission of biennial budgets; 4) allocation of state and federal funds; 5) establishment of tuition and fees; 6) facilities planning and oversight; 7) licensure of teaching, support, and supervisory personnel; 8) sole state agency for administration of federal vocational funds; and 9) responsibility for long range planning and direction of post-secondary vocational education. The law clarified the powers and duties of local school boards that operated technical colleges including employment of personnel, preparation and submission of budgets to the State Board, approval of operating expenditures, conduct of instructional programs, and the provision of recommendations to the State Board concerning employment needs, operation and maintenance of facilities and equipment (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). Merrill Widmark recalled technical colleges in the eighties,

School districts were running the technical colleges. If you had a good school district, things ran well. The MCCFA always got along well with the technical colleges. The community college ran several technical programs, such as the nursing and law enforcement programs (Widmark, 2016).

The authorizing law specified the first State Director would be appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the senate. Subsequent State Director for the State

Board of Vocational Technical Education, Joseph P. Graba was appointed by Governor Rudy Perpich and assumed the responsibilities of the State Director in July of 1983 (see Appendix K for photo). The State Director and members of the first State Board of Vocational Technical Education planned in conjunction with the Commissioner of Education and State Board of Education for the change in leadership and management responsibilities related to post-secondary and adult vocational technical education. Efforts of the State Board and its first State Director, Joseph P. Graba (1983-1990) and its first Chancellor, Carole M. Johnson (1990-1995) enhanced and expanded the services of the institutions to Minnesota students based on the system mission (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995).

Before the formation of the state system, the oversight of technical education was the responsibility of the Department for Technical Education. Norm Halsa (2016) explained the some of the relationships with limited state oversight.

There was a Department for Technical Education with a State Board of Vocational Education before the creation of MnSCU and UTCE. We had State Supervisors within the different trade areas and divisions. Transportation had its own State Supervisor. Monies were fenced by divisions. Equipment and supply monies were fenced. College Directors or Presidents could not play with those monies too much. If they did, you would call the State Supervisor and say you were getting cheated. The Supervisor would contact the College Director and remind them of fenced dollars. There was no meet and confer relationship with the State Board. When we were regionalized our President tried to mess with faculty with cross assignments by making outside duties part of your work assignment. If tasks were not related to teaching and learning we filed a grievance. Grievances were handled on the local level. I had thirteen grievances going one fall with

the crap our President was pulling. Joe Stafki, MFT Staff Representative, visited with me with an AFT attorney to discuss the grievances when he visited. We all sat down with the college President. He was going to have an electronics instructor set up a bunch of satellite dishes for trailers as part of his assignment. Previous faculty were compensated for these tasks. I was standing behind the attorney while he quietly doodled on a pad. The President explained the plan and asked the attorney what he thought. He said, 'Do you think you can have these people mow your lawn too?' That was the end of the discussion and the college paid for the installations (Halsa, 2016).

Affiliation Difficulties

The five state employee bargaining units affiliated with MEA, numbered 9,000 to 10,000, met in a coalition chaired by Jim Durham (Green Sheet, 1981). The MEA aligned with other unions which raised affiliation cost concerns for MCCFA (MCCFA DA, 1981). The MCCFA received \$29,525 for extraordinary negotiations under the MEA affiliation (MCCFA DA, 1987). The MCCFA moved to send no monies to NEA or MEA until affiliation negotiations were complete (MCCFA BOD, 1988b). Disaffiliation language of the MCCFA constitution that required a two-thirds affirmative result of the voting membership (MCCFA DA, 1989). In April, disaffiliation from MEA, appeared inevitable. The 1988 DA voted April 25-26 to move forward with the NEA-MEA disaffiliation vote (MCCFA DA, 1988). The MCCFA Executive Committee was directed to find office space to rent, not to exceed \$20,000 per year (MCCFA BOD, 1988b; MCCFA DA, 1988). MEA President, Bob Astrup, reminded the DA of the assistance provided by MEA in the past and the problems associated with re-affiliation negotiations (MCCFA DA, 1988). The MCCFA leadership identified Bob Astrup as a major obstacle to MCCFA progress (Thiery scrapbook, 1998). On May 9-10, the disaffiliation vote was taken statewide, Willmar

Community College voted 44-6 in favor of disaffiliation (Thiery scrapbook, 1998). The vote results were not announced at state level which created statewide anxiety. Results were eventually shared by the end of May, showing 63 percent of MCCFA voting members voted in favor of disaffiliation (MCCFA DA, 1988). The vote failed to garner the necessary 66 percent necessary for a disaffiliation vote. Bob Astrup responded to the MCCFA membership,

After eighteen years, the MJCFA and MEA have a successful relationship. In 1977-79, the NEA, MEA, and MCCFA went to the mat with the Minnesota Legislature. Outside legal fees reached over \$74,000. The MEA expended a large amount of political capital. In March 1979, the MJCFA stages a three week strike with the total support and commitment of the MEA in terms of staff and dollars. The MEA Crisis Fund provided financial support in excess of \$180,000 (Astrup, 1988, p. 1-2).

Astrup quoted MCCFA past President Durham, "We were the first higher education group to affiliate with the MEA and we've never regretted it" (Astrup, 1988, p. 2). Astrup met with Simpson about MEA strike support in the summer of 1987 and visited regarding a potential MJCFA strike. The \$2 million MEA crisis fund and statewide staff support was assured. Over the last 19 months, the MEA provided funding near \$100,000 in direct funds, equipment, office space, and staff time. MEA-NEA remained committed to developing a fair affiliation agreement. MEA-NEA provided safety net services in areas such as individual legal protection, unit litigation costs, crisis support, and government and community representation on critical and ongoing concerns. Astrup argued the services MEA-NEA provided were valuable to MCCFA faculty (Astrup, 1988). The MEA-MJCFA agreement stated the MJCFA received financial support for administration, policy making, contract welfare improvement, conventions, membership training workshop elections, and other program activities. Beginning in 1974-75,

MJCFA was provided with one fulltime secretary. The MCCFA received legal assistance in connection with negotiations and enforcement of a collective bargaining agreements. The NEA DuShane Emergency Fund provided legal assistance, subsistence grants, and interest-free loans to members when professional, civil, and human rights were threatened or violated. Affiliation provided insurance protection, liability and accident coverage, for organizational activities. The MEA facilities were available for printing and mailing publications. The MJCFA was entitled to standard office space, furniture, and equipment. The MEA affiliation entitled MCCFA members to \$250,000 professional liability, group life insurance, income protection plans, auto insurance, accident insurance, homeowner policies, mortgage insurance, Credit Union, auto leasing, and travel programs. A MEA staff member was designated as the MCCFA Executive Director (Astrup, 1988). In August, the MCCFA voted again and the 1988-91 NEA-MEA affiliation contract was ratified, with a 95 percent affirmative vote (Green Sheet, 1988b, 1988c). Larry Litecky recounted the difficulties of continuing with the affiliation after the attempted disaffiliation,

Jennings took a vote and I inherited the craziness and the aftermath. He signed a contract without asking the Board about moving out of the MEA space. The vote he took was his last Board meeting and DA in the spring of 1990. He talked about MEA and NEA being dedicated to K-12 teachers and the voice of higher education in either group was minimal. He thought we ought to disaffiliate. He thought we could do just fine on our own. I am sure he thought, if I can't make my mark with a strike, I do it with disaffiliation. It seemed like he was looking for redemption. He argued that we had resources, voice, and knowledge and what was the value added with this sort of thing. Truth is we didn't think we needed them in the Legislature anymore. We didn't need

them in bargaining. We felt we could pay the staff, negotiate a new contract with the staff. Of course, we did not know they were representing MCCFA in five lawsuits. It would have been awful for us. It would have decimated us to have paid out those lawsuits. We did not know about the lawsuits when we were voting. 63 percent voted to leave, 37 stay. Right away somebody raises a point of order, are we in or are we out? We had a parliamentarian, Roger Jenson. He said you have nowhere in your motions where it requires vote totals, so according to Robert's Rules of Order, if your constitution is silent on the matter it requires a two-thirds affirmative vote. It did not pass, so we are pissed. We leave and it is strange with MEA. We were at war with MEA, but we were still affiliated I thought this was a great time to re-evaluate the economics of the relationship with MEA-NEA. We should try to get more voice with both of them. This is a great example of how upset we are (Litecky, 2016).

Strike Authorization

In November, MCCFA organized for a contract settlement that may have led to a strike. In December, the MCCFA requested arbitration from the State (Thiery scrapbook, 1998). The State rejected conventional arbitration which allowed compromise, final offer arbitration was selected. Both sides submitted their last, best offers in writing and the arbitrator simply selected one of the offers without modification. Chief Negotiator, Jim Durham, viewed final offer arbitration like throwing dice and stated the MCCFA does not gamble with faculty salaries. The MCCFA Board of Directors authorized a strike vote on January 8 (Green Sheet, 1986a). On January 8, Chancellor Christenson was forced to come to negotiations table. The State decided to offer conventional arbitration. Larry Thiery wrote, "The Legislature could still screw us as they

did in 1979, but probably not. It looks acceptable. We have come down from 13 percent over two years to around 10 percent” (Thiery scrapbook, 1998).

Bill Newton offered insight into negotiations and striking,

Negotiations traditionally take a long time. It seems management doesn't care, but the reason is negotiations cost them nothing. They can delay getting an agreement when they already have their money from the Legislature. They bank the money or start spending it. There is no incentive to negotiate, except to avoid a strike. Nothing forces management to deal. In fact, the law is clear that there are rights to bargain and to strike. The law does not compel management to reach an agreement. Nobody wants to touch that law.

Management believes two year faculty will strike (Newton, 2016).

Negotiations Survey

After the difficulties of the 1986 contract negotiations, the Negotiations team surveyed the membership to gauge priorities. A Negotiations questionnaire was returned by 351 MCCFA faculty representing the twenty community colleges in Minnesota. The results directed the negotiations team. The majority, 51 percent, of faculty supported statewide claiming rights, 36 percent were opposed. Most faculty, 63 percent, supported full insurance coverage, even with reduced salary increases. The vast majority, 77 percent, of faculty supported increased credit equivalency for art and music activities. Faculty supported putting larger salary increases at the top of the schedule, but rejected bonuses for terminal degrees. The shortening the salary schedule was desirable. Most, 75 percent, agreed that current unlimited faculty should have the right of first refusal before part-time faculty were hired (MCCFA Negotiations, 1989).

Greg Mulcahy commented on part-time faculty hiring,

Under PELRA, the college President has the absolute right to hire. So this recurring event occurred when a President named a hiring committee. The hiring committee recommended the best candidate and ranked finalists. The President refused the ranking and sometimes the President threw out the committee's recommendation and created all kinds of bad blood and bad feelings. The President can do all of this stuff as long as he/she doesn't violate the law or discriminate. We had a lot of long time part-timers who were obviously qualified because they had been doing the work, but we could not guarantee them work. We were looking for a mechanism where we could say this candidate gets this job on the union side, rather than letting management short circuit it. All I did was to say pick from our list. That got us half way to where we wanted to go, not all the way. You are never going to get everything in negotiations (Mulcahy, 2016).

Faculty Satisfaction Survey 1980

In the late seventies, academic retrenchment, inflation, unemployment, collective bargaining, and shifts in student demands for new programs suggested a replication of the 1956 and 1968 faculty satisfaction surveys (Stecklein & Willie, 1982; Willie & Stecklein, 1982). The survey was modified by Willie and Stecklein (1982) and expanded to six pages. Several questions which failed to provide impactful data in earlier surveys were discarded. Questions deemed useful in earlier surveys were retained. New questions addressed types of loans or grants used to pay for college, sabbatical leaves, research funding, sources of current income, salary level, and attitudes towards retirement. The 1980 statistical analysis included measures of central tendency and tests of statistical significance of relationships among variables were applied to selected frequency distributions and cross-tabulations. Chi-square tests showed the respondents were representative of the total faculty sampled with regards to gender and subject field

(Stecklein & Willie, 1982). Minnesota two-year college faculty began collective bargaining in 1971 (Widmark, 1993). This survey represented the first post-collective bargaining satisfaction survey. The high level of faculty satisfaction towards collective bargaining (76 percent) may be a residual result of the successful strike conducted in 1979 (see Appendix V).

A 25 percent random sample was drawn from each community college due to large faculty numbers. All nineteen community colleges participated and a 66.8 percent return rate (N=134) was obtained. Survey respondents were representative of the total sample according to sex, rank, and college type. Survey demographics collected in 1956, 1968, and 1980 included gender, degree, and age which allowed a longitudinal examination. The majority of Minnesota community college faculty were male (75.4 percent, up from 70.0 percent in 1956 and 74.1 percent in 1968). More faculty were earning doctorate degrees (6.7 percent, up from 3.8 in 1956 and 1.9 percent in 1968). The majority of a faculty were between 35 and 49 years old (70.1 percent, up from 36.9 in 1956). There were lower numbers of faculty between 25 and 34 (10.4 percent, down from 22.3 in 1956) and between 50 and 64 (17.9 percent, down from 33.8 percent in 1956) (Stecklein & Willie, 1982; see Appendix V).

Eighty percent of faculty time was spent of teaching, five percent lower than 1968, but six percent higher than 1956 (see Appendix V). Despite the high percentage of time spent teaching, nearly 90 percent of faculty indicated they were highly satisfied or satisfied with their career choice. The high percentage of satisfaction has stayed consistent over the span of these studies, 1956-1980. Academic factors remain a major source of faculty satisfaction. But the percentage of dissatisfied faculty increased to 9.0 percent, up from 6.9 percent in 1956 and 4.8 percent in 1968 (Stecklein & Willie, 1982; see Appendix V).

The external factors which influenced community college faculty from entering the profession were obscured in the 1980 survey, only 23 of the 134 respondents answered the question (Stecklein & Willie, 1982). The most frequent response identified the job offer as the prime factor that influenced the decision to teach at the community college, 39 percent, down from 48.5 in 1956 and up from 36.5 percent in 1968 (see Appendix V). The survey questions which addressed the internal factors that influenced faculty from entering teaching also had a poor response rate, 47 percent. The respondents who answered the internal factor questions revealed four important factors with significant decreases, working with students (12.7 percent, down from 72.3 percent in 1956 and 64.0 percent in 1968), liked working conditions (9.0 percent, down from 44.6 percent in 1956 and 62.7 percent in 1968), being part of academia (0.7 percent, down from 18.5 percent in 1956 and 28.0 percent in 1968), and intellectual challenge (5.2 percent, down from 45.4 percent in 1956 and 45.1 in 1968). It remained unclear if the results were influenced by the strike of 1979 or if the collection of “no response” or classification of “other” responses would have changed the values (Willie & Stecklein, 1982; see Appendix V).

Minnesota community college faculty attitudes towards their academic career and collective bargaining revealed positive responses. The vast majority of community college faculty were satisfied or very satisfied with their career choice (88.1 percent, up from 86.2 percent in 1956 and 86.7 percent in 1968). However, overall satisfaction at undesirable or very undesirable also increased, 9.0 percent (up from 6.9 percent in 1956 and 4.8 percent in 1968). Faculty were not ambiguous in articulating their total satisfaction. A large majority of faculty would reaffirm their career choice (70.9 percent, up from 69.2 percent in 1956 and down from 82.1 percent in 1968). Faculty attitudes towards collective bargaining were mostly desirable or

highly desirable (75.4 percent, up from 61.9 percent) (Willie & Stecklein, 1982; see Appendix V).

The sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction remained consistent with the sources identified in the 1956 and 1968 surveys (Stecklein & Willie, 1982). The areas generating the greatest satisfaction were students (46 percent), work characteristics (18 percent), and the nature of work (13 percent) (see Appendix V). “Work characteristics” and “nature of work” were broad categories which included a combination of working conditions, governance, and academic factors. The areas of dissatisfaction included salary (46 percent), working conditions (34 percent), and administration (25 percent). Unionization and collective bargaining appeared to have a temporary positive impact on salary which diminished. This result was characteristic of several national studies. The growing level of dissatisfaction with administration was an indication of continued dissatisfaction with governance factors (see Appendix V). A troubling result from the survey was only 71 percent of faculty indicated that they would choose the same career if they had it to do over, down from 82 percent in 1968. Faculty continued to report high academic satisfaction, but working conditions and governance factor satisfaction declined. Faculty attitudes toward collective bargaining ranked as desirable to highly desirable at 62 percent in 1968, but jumped to 76 percent in 1980. Minnesota community college faculty devoted the majority of their time to instruction. Faculty dedicated some time towards student services, counseling activities, and administrative activities. Research and off-campus services were minor activities for Minnesota community college faculty (Willie & Stecklein, 1982; see Appendix V).

The 1980 survey provided insight into faculty satisfaction including 1) community college faculty sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction were similar across all survey years,

1956, 1968, and 1980; 2) community college faculty satisfaction was derived from teaching college-aged students, the independence of the teaching profession, and flexibility of schedule; 3) dissatisfaction stemmed from inadequate salaries, poor working conditions caused by overload, excessive paperwork, and insufficient time to prepare, and from inept administration; 4) general satisfaction remained around 90 percent; 5) community college faculty had favorable attitudes towards collective bargaining, which increased from 62 percent in 1968 to 76 percent in 1980; and 6) about 80 percent of community college faculty time was spent on activities associated with teaching (Stecklein & Willie, 1982). The figure decreased five percent since the 1968 study, but increased six percent compared to 1956 (Stecklein & Willie, 1982; see Appendix V).

Self-Assessment and Strategic Planning

The MCCFA sought improvement in the efficiency of its organization and participated in a self-assessment and strategic planning project in 1986. The membership called for 1) less negative, destructive self-criticism; 2) less disregard for collective decisions; and 3) less circumvention of information exchange which led to divisiveness (Murphy, 1986). Short and long term goals of the plan included 1) more emphasis placed on positive images and identity, both internal and external; 2) increased clarification of mission and focus on vision, unifying professionalism and unionism; and 3) improved communications to maintain and promote member involvement (Green Sheet, 1986e; Murphy, 1986). The MCCFA membership were satisfied with their strong union leadership, competent staff, contract, contract enforcement (grievance process), governance structure, negotiations team, lobbying efforts, committee structure, holding on to contractual gains, and dedication, commitment, and courage (Murphy, 1986).

Faculty desired increased: 1) support for reduced workload; 2) communication; 3) stress on quality instruction; 4) better rank and file communication; 5) long range planning and research; 6) educational professionalism; 7) mission/vision; 8) faculty participation; 9) positive image; and 10) incentives (retirement insurance, salary, retraining, faculty development). Faculty wanted decreased: 1) negative self-destructive criticism; 2) centralization of participation; 3) focus on negotiations as primary function; 4) hostile criticism of people working on committees; 5) railroading (positions being established prior to discussions); 6) relying on the same people; 7) dues; 8) paper; 9) circumvention of collective decision-making; and 10) blacklisting. Faculty wanted to maintain: 1) continued strong leadership; 2) competent staff; 3) contract; 4) contract enforcement; 5) structure for governance; 6) negotiations team; 7) lobby to stay effective with legislature; 8) involvement with MEA; 9) openness to ideas and change; 10) development of greater participation; 11) committee structure; 12) involvement of all people from all campuses no matter what size; 13) holding on to gains made; and 14) dedication, commitment, courage (Green Sheet, 1986e).

At 1986 fall convention, President Simpson requested an extensive internal assessment of MCCFA strengths and weaknesses, member concerns, and degree to which professional and traditional unionism could be accommodated (Green Sheet, 1987c). The Internal Assessment Survey was conducted in 1987 (MCCFA DA, 1987; Green Sheet, 1987c). Results showed faculty were satisfied with the state and local union. Faculty were satisfied with communications efforts, viewed the organizational structure favorably, felt a degree of ownership in the Association, and demonstrated a high degree of professionalism in their responses (MCCFA NOW, 1987; see Appendix W).

Over 575 community college faculty returned the faculty satisfaction survey portion of the 1987 Internal Assessment Project. The 84 statement survey asked faculty to rate statements as strongly agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or strongly disagree (MCCFA Satisfaction, 1987). The top academic factor statements receiving the highest agreement ratings were: Instructors treat students with respect (96.9 percent); Instructors have adequate representation in curriculum development groups (85.4 percent); and Instructors in this college feel their work is important (88.2 percent) (MCCFA Satisfaction, 1987; see Appendix W). The lack of disagreement with the range of academic factor statements supported a high level of satisfaction.

The top working condition factor statements receiving the highest agreement ratings were: The administrative and support staff are friendly and cordial (89.4 percent); Instructors in this college are quick to help each other (82.3); and Instructors at this college can disagree on issues but still remain friends (81.4 percent). Of particular interest was the agreement response to: I have an excessive teaching load (44.8 percent) (MCCFA Satisfaction, 1987; see Appendix W). The lack of disagreement with the range of working condition factors demonstrates a high level of satisfaction. However, the acknowledgement of excessive teaching loads may indicate potential dissatisfaction.

The top governance factor statements receiving the highest agreement ratings were: Instructors in this college willingly speak up and defend their point of view (83.3 percent); and Faculty input should be increased in planning course offerings (80.9 percent). Of particular interest was the agreement response to: The administration welcomes faculty opinion (57.8 percent); and The Shared Governance system is working well (52.8 percent) (MCCFA Satisfaction, 1987; see Appendix W). These responses ranked the lowest in the survey and indicate a level of dissatisfaction with governance factors.

The top overall satisfaction statements revealed concerns: My morale is good (77 percent); Faculty morale in this college is good (58.4 percent); and Instructors are kept in the dark about many things they should know (58.7 percent). It appears the majority of faculty do not have good morale and feel uninformed in their positions (MCCFA Satisfaction, 1987; see Appendix W). Considering the survey results for the individual factors, these overall results may further point to governance factor dissatisfaction.

The membership displayed satisfaction with local MCCFA representation. The vast majority strongly agreed with the statements: I have confidence in the Local Faculty Association officers (81.4 percent); and Faculty Association meetings are devoted mainly to the interest and needs of the faculty (86 percent) (MCCFA Satisfaction, 1987). The majority were satisfied with: credibility of local level MCCFA communication with faculty (82 percent); and reports from local representative to MCCFA Board of Directors about board issues (81 percent) (Green Sheet, 1987c, 3). The reactions to state MCCFA representation were positive. The majority were satisfied with the statements: The way faculty interests and complaints are handled at the state level (72 percent); credibility of state level MCCFA communication with faculty (72 percent); and accessibility of state level MCCFA leadership to faculty (79 percent) (Green Sheet, 1987c). Faculty graded state MCCFA performance. The state MCCFA grades were A (18 percent), B (44 percent), C (18 percent), D (7 percent), and F (3 percent) (Green Sheet, 1987c, p. 1).

Faculty responded to the usage of various MCCFA publications, *Green Sheet*, *NOW*, *Negotiations Report*, and *Committee Report*. The most thoroughly read publication was the *Negotiation Report* (62 percent), followed by the *Green Sheet* (53 percent), *NOW* (34 percent), and *Committee Report* (22 percent). When coupled with the at least read responses, the *Green Sheet* pulled even with the *Negotiation Report*. When adding sometimes read, rarely to never

read, and don't know the publication it was clear the *Committee Report* (23 percent) and *NOW* (18 percent) were not as effective (Green Sheet, 1987). Faculty were asked to rank their satisfaction with the quality of information provided by the MCCFA on selected topics. The topics with the highest satisfaction were general issues affecting faculty (36 percent), election information regarding candidates for MCCFA offices (34 percent), on-going negotiations process (32 percent), state level faculty development activities (32 percent), and state level meet and confer issues (20 percent) (Green Sheet, 1987c). Faculty were also asked to rank their satisfaction with selected aspects of the MCCFA organizational structure. The membership was satisfied with the organizational structure statements: the current two-year length of office for MCCFA officers (91 percent), the focus on negotiations as a primary function of MCCFA (74 percent), and the MCCFA's affiliation with MEA (55 percent) (Green Sheet, 1987c).

Community college faculty were more interested in merging with vocational technical institutions (32 percent) over state universities (13 percent). However, faculty desired to increase cooperation with the state university (47 percent) over vocational technical institutions (38 percent) (Green Sheet, 1987c). Faculty wanted more time for seminars/staff development activities designed to improve expertise in their field (62 percent), money available for attending conferences/conventions (58 percent), money made available for acquiring books and journals in their field (54 percent), release time for academic research (46 percent), seminars/staff development activities designed to improve teaching skills (42 percent), informal meetings with other faculty from their campuses to share ideas, experiences, techniques, etc. (35 percent), and personal leave days per year (31 percent). Faculty would like less required number of credits taught per quarter (42 percent), required contact hours with students (22 percent), and

seminars/staff development activities made available for faculty as a whole on their campus (18 percent) (Green Sheet, 1987c).

Internal Breakdown

Negotiations appeared to break down in 1989. The MCCFA Executive Committee was authorized to establishment a strike headquarters (MCCFA BOD, 1989c). Strike coordinators were identified (MCCFA BOD, 1989d). The Executive Committee was authorized to call a strike (MCCFA BOD, 1989d). In October, the MCCFA conducted strike vote after a 3.1 and 4.1 percent increase offer from the State Board with no steps. Seventy percent of faculty supported a strike with about 85 percent of the total membership voted. After the strike vote, the State returned with five and five percent with supplemental retirement increased to \$1,000 the second year. The State indicated a willingness to shut down winter quarter, if MCCFA didn't agree. President Litecky commented on the contract proposal, "The negotiations team did the best that they could do at the table and the likelihood for improving the settlement in other arenas in not compelling" (MCCFA BOD, 1989e, p. 1). Larry Litecky recalled the difficulties of economic negotiations,

The late eighties and early nineties were a challenge for the Association. It was period with highs and lows occurring very close together. We got the biggest salary increases the year after I was doing the economics of this because we had so much growth in the system. There was a lot of growth, but there was a lag in the funding of how the formulas work. This was all based on formulas. The formulas drove \$20 million undesignated dollars into the system. I did all this research with the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems in Boulder which was the only place doing fiscal analysis per student funding. We were 41st in the country and had all this money. I went

with Jennings a lot and testified. The Legislature gave us signals that they were fine with us catching up with the salary schedule because of this study. We ended up getting 10.5 percent in year one and seven percent in year two. Jennings decided we should have a strike the next year, because five and five was inadequate (Litecky, 2016).

Bill Newton shared commented on the monumental contract settlement,

The contract where we got huge salary increases was very important. In the previous year we had gone to arbitration and the arbitrator screwed us. We had gone to the Legislature and got huge increases that were sent to the system for salary increases for faculty. The 10.5 and 7.5 percent, plus steps was huge. But our starting salaries were terrible, they did not compare to the local high schools. I did a survey and put it into arbitration, but the arbitrator said it doesn't matter. He said this is what the state average had been and this is what you are going to get. We brought faculty into the modern era of salaries with that settlement. The hiring practices, layoff language, and retraining are the big three advances in the contract (Newton, 2016).

Larry Litecky provided major revelations into the internal strife experienced in the MCCFA Executive Committee during the negotiations,

I am being paid to be the faculty lobbyist and Jennings is the President. We just got the big settlement of 10.5 percent and seven percent. Jennings worshipped Durham and saw the strike as a signature event for the president of the MCCFA. Even if a strike was not called for, it seemed like a really good idea. This is what I came to believe. So we get to the next bargaining and there is still a lot of dollars on the table for the 1989-1991 contract. Most bargaining is going on before the November deadline in 1988. Jennings instructed me as the coordinator of all MCCFA deals to go talk to all of the key

Legislators about the impasse reached in bargaining. He believed the five and five on the table is completely inadequate. It was the biggest settlement of everyone else in the state that year. This also included movement on the schedule, so many members were reaching the top of the schedule. Faculty were making much more money than ever before. I went and talked to the usual suspects, Lynn Carlson, Gene Waldorf (Chair of the Senate Higher Education Committee), Roger Moe, Bob Vanasek, Senate Majority Leader, Speaker of the House, Heads of the Higher Education Committees, and told them that faculty leadership believed the propose was completely inadequate because we still have a lot of catch up to do. They simply said it was hard to categorize management's positions as unfair when they placed more money on the table than any other state employee group and they were not asking for any language take backs. They told me to go back and tell the leadership there is no way in the world we will support you and we will characterize you are greedy is what Waldorf said. I went back and told Jennings; he doesn't like it and said it was bullshit. Then we have the end of October Board meeting for the strike authorization deadline and I thought what is Jennings going to do with this. He comes into the meeting and proceeds to basically lie. He told the Board, plus Wayne Moen as Faculty Rights Chair, Bruce Anderson in another Committee role, Oveson, JoAnne, Don, and Bill. All of the individuals mentioned are in his camp. It is the negotiations team. This team knows nothing about the Financial Committee. They don't care about the lobbying, just about the bargaining. Jennings says he has spoken to all of the members of the Legislature and they are with us if we go out on strike. I am a loyal guy but if those in authority are being too deceitful, you have to be honest. I was as terrified as I have ever been in my life as I raised my hand. My voice was shaking, 'I feel

obliged as the faculty lobbyist to repeat what four leaders have said to me. I said I cannot comment on President Simpson's meetings with these people. I do not know when they took place. All I can tell you is what happened when I met with these legislators on these days and at these times.' When I finished speaking the room was dead quiet. I spoke seventh, after the other six individual I mentioned all spoke in favor of authorizing a strike. Jennings replied, 'Is the Board ready to vote or are there any other comments, other than Larry's?' Nobody raised their hands. People were afraid of Jennings. He had started punitive actions to opposition. He finished, 'Are there any more comments before we take the vote.' I raised my hand, 'I call for a white ballot, and it's a paper vote and doesn't require second and is automatically to be done upon the motion being made.' They passed the ballots out. I added, 'I would also ask that Mike Ackerman count the ballots along with President Simpson.' I played racket ball with Jennings and Mike for years. Somebody seconded the motion and it passed. The vote totals showed those on the negotiations team voted for it, seven votes, and the rest of the Board voted with me. It was 15-7 not to take the strike authorization vote. Jennings and Moen were pissed (Litecky, 2016).

The negotiation team did not inform the membership of the System Office offer for several weeks. "Our own Association seems to also keep us in the dark, not much communication going on," wrote Willmar Community College instructor, Larry Thiery (Thiery scrapbook, 1998). Once the deal was shared, there was immediate division within the MCCFA membership. "We were screwed again, this time by our own state Association, ten years ago by the Legislature, so what's new! Those with step increases did just fine, those at the top went down" (Thiery scrapbook, 1998). The MCCFA Board voted to recommend ratification of the contract.

The MCCFA Vice-President Elaine Hauff tendered her resignation at the May 20, Board of Directors meeting, effective June 29 (see Appendix K for photo). She was removed from the negotiations team by President Simpson for advocating minority viewpoints. She sent a letter to the MCCFA membership explaining her decision to resign,

An ethical leader should have a positive impact on the environment of the organization.

An environment should be fostered where issues can be discussed freely and where those in the minority can feel comfortable expressing their opinion without fear of reprisal.

Ethical leadership means honesty and keeping faculty fully informed about relevant events and available options. It means fighting the good fight even when the outcome seems a foregone conclusion. It means thinking through each decision with the consequences to the greater good outweighing the consequences to one's political future (Hauff, 1988, para. 4).

Community college faculty saw the MEA affiliation vote, system contract offer delay, and the Hauff resignation as indications of internal problems. Larry Thiery, Willmar Community College instructor, documented his thoughts in a scrapbook, "After the MEA affiliation vote snafu and Elaine's resignation, could Jennings be doing something wrong? I hope not" (Thiery scrapbook, 1998). President Litecky revealed,

At the DA, Cal Carlson, MCCFA Treasurer (see Appendix K for photo), made a report that the President's account was overspent by three times the amount of money. It turned out that a lot of the spending was alcohol. The Normandale delegates were yelling at Jennings at the assembly. He defended the spending. He claimed it was his purview to spend the money as he sees fit. He said paying for alcohol during meetings with legislators was fine, we were not the State of Minnesota. Somebody shouted out, 'But

this is six drinks a night!’ Another shouted, ‘Hookers? Are hookers next?’ It was pandemonium at the DA. Lorna was Jennings’ secretary, but he wanted to hire a younger woman, Kathy, to be his assistant. Lorna filed a complaint against MEA because of a lack of support while Jennings was trying to force her out so he could place Kathy in the position. We had an attorney, Marilee Abrams, who after six months decided to quit. Marilee Abrams filed against Jennings and Marilee also filed a suit against Bill Newton for sexual harassment. It was a mess. Somebody at the DA asked for a legal affairs update and what was going on in the office. Jennings said there was nothing to report. Greg McNehly, the MEA liaison, was in attendance and I went to talk to him about legal actions from his staff working with MCCFA. He said there was five law suits pending all against Jennings. They are all for sexual harassment or for breaking the MEA-MCCFA contract agreement. Jennings fired George Mischke, another Labor Relations Staff person, but missed the deadline by a day, so George filed a formal legal complaint and got his job back. I learned the depth of this on my first day in the office. Greg came over and told me. There were rumors everywhere. But the dishonesty over the authorization vote was the beginning of the end for Jennings. In meetings people were questioning the integrity of Judy Whaley and Elaine Hauff who had been in relationships with Jennings. Everything was about alcohol and sex. These were the topics in meetings, we were not talking about our futures anymore. It was not about faculty, it was about appetites. Unless you were on the Board, you didn’t not know much about what was going on. The Board knew all of this stuff. Jennings just stepped down and disappeared (Litecky, 2016).

Larry Litecky provided the possible source of the internal conflict,

Jim Durham had a drinking problem. I started to go to the Board meetings in 1980 and I saw five years of meetings where he would come with three glasses of double scotches and put them on the table at the meeting. The quality of the discussion just went to hell. I could not believe it. We had some decisions where the chair was the only problem. I don't want to get into any defaming, but that was an issue. Jennings followed in Durham's footsteps with the alcohol. He did not drink at the meetings, but clearly drinking in the bar before and after. He alienated people one by one (Litecky, 2016).

Larry Thiery's scrapbook revealed the internal conflict was more widely known,

By October, Bill Newton and Jennings Simpson have sexual harassment filed against them by our hired a female lawyer Marilee Abrums. And who is it that tells us to be careful, Fig Newton! In November, the law suit cost MCCFA \$40,000 buy off (Thiery scrapbook, 1998).

Larry Litecky offered candid comments about negotiations,

I was the big driver of all of the supplemental retirement monies. When they got stuck in the 10.5 and seven percent contract, Jennings was still upset about not getting a strike authorization vote. I went there with Radtke, the governmental relations guy, 'I don't know, Jennings is so pissed at me from the last meeting that I don't want my name anywhere on this.' I said, just go and tell the bargainers, we were bargaining with the system back then, if they go from \$450 to \$1,000 per year that Jennings will look at that as a victory and call it a day. It had been \$450 since the first contract. It went up \$550 and we had it in there each contract after that as part of bargaining. Salaries weren't doing anything. The militancy of the Association regarding the authorization vote was beyond the anger that led up to the strike. There was anger over the governance, the merger itself,

the perceived lack of respect by the labor relations board from the state and the system, wore me out (Litecky, 2016).

The MCCFA moved to pay legal fees for services provided by Clifford Green for Jennings Simpson and Bill Newton (MCCFA BOD, 1988c). President Simpson announced to the MCCFA Board that he will not be running for re-election and would take a one-year sabbatical (MCCFA BOD, 1989f).

President Litecky recounted,

We had seen the benefits of MEA affiliation through the lawsuits. People come out of the woodwork to sue us and we have a budget we need to balance so \$150,000 was peanuts compared to those things. So Jennings has a lawsuit against him for sexual harassment. I am planning to go buy insurance, so we are meeting as an Executive Committee. They said, 'Larry, go buy us insurance to protect us from these things.' I go to the insurance guy and explain these situations and he says, 'Larry, you can talk about how exposed you are, but sexual harassment is a crime! You cannot take out insurance for committing a crime.' We tried to leave and we can't even get out. It was like Hotel California. It obviously was to our benefit that we could not get out. Staring us in the face on the Executive Committee was the knowledge of how we settled the five lawsuits. These were five legitimate cases. We had to spend money to settle. People were shocked that our officers were involved in this stuff. After I was in for about a year, someone from Normandale in a group of three said, 'It was a great Delegate Assembly. Don't think it has gone unnoticed that you are the first President we have had in over a decade who hasn't been drunk during the Delegate Assembly...or isn't touching up the women.' I was learning that the affiliation in addition to the advocacy, it was the legal and financial

protection when we were exposed. No one, even in their wildest imagination, would have thought we would have these cases. Boy, was that a lucky break (Litecky, 2016).

Larry Litecky inherited an Association in a state of disarray. He reflected on his situation,

After the schism resulting from the Board meeting and the failed authorization vote and the realization of the sexual harassment. I had no idea what MEA was going to do about paying for these lawsuits. Jennings Simpson and the entire Executive Committee stepped down in 1990 over all kinds of internal conflict within the faculty association. An unbelievable rupture of the MCCFA. There were about two-thirds of the Board came to me after Jennings announced he was not going to run again, the other officers said they were not going to run either. Oveson came to me and asked if I would be willing to run for faculty President. I ran against Phil Lippert and got about two-thirds of the vote. The first day I was sitting in the office after being elected, I put my head on the desk and thought 'What are you doing? How did you get into this mess? This is horrid.' But then I thought regardless of how this turns out there are two people in this association that I need to become closer to than anyone else and I need them to think the same about me. I had a great relationship with these two before this Board meeting, Larry Oveson was one of them and Wayne Moen was the other. I was with Oveson all the time. He heard me talk about how I processed through all of these issues. I believed we could not survive with all the deceit, but Wayne saw me as disloyal. I called him on the phone and tried to get him to talk to me, but he would not. Finally I told him not to hang up, I got my car right outside of the MCCFA building and I am going to get into my car and come to your office at Mesabi or to your home. I am not coming back here until I talk to you face to face on this. It is this important not just to me. We cannot afford to not have you on board

as the faculty rights guy. We met at the Sawmill restaurant and talked. I told him that I am literally begging him to come back. He said he would think about it and let me know at the next Board meeting. I knew then he would do it (Litecky, 2016).

Larry Litecky and Jennings Simpson had one more dispute regarding the future of the MCCFA, I went to sell the 1991-93 contract to Inver Hills in November of 1990. I had been there for five months when we bargained this contract. We had unlimited part-time language for faculty who had worked over four years in a row at a certain level, but the contract lacked any language connecting unlimited part-time language to Durham's idea of having 45 or more credits meant you need to hire a permanent, full-time faculty. Management kept hiring more and more part-time and ignored the other language. We had over fifty cases pending arbitration. Bernadine Bryant, who was in charge of the community college system bargaining, was a very good, fair-minded, pro faculty, she had been a union organizer. She, Oveson, and I met and she said we do not want to go to arbitration over this issue. We want to settle this and want to know what you want to deal with the part-time issue. We don't want a union full of part-time people, we want unlimited fulltime people at the 70 percent language in the contract. The 70 percent was a big move in the 1991 contract. Jennings walked in about ten minutes after the meeting started and stood in the back of this big amphitheater at Inver Hills. He was in the back and I am on the stage. This is the first time he has seen me in a public setting since the Board meeting. This was his chance to get me back for the horse's ass treatment he felt I gave him. He talked about how this was a terrible piece of language. He had been all over the country talking about the unlimited part-time language and it was the most forwarded looking language in any contract in the United States. The union had Larry Litecky and his team

to thank for getting rid of the language. The new 70 percent language was not the union getting faculty the job. He sat down and the tension was electric. I was getting more and more steamed. I said, 'You done?' Then I just explained it was careless bargaining, leadership that did not understand how one thing leads to another, wouldn't it be great if fifteen years from now we could come back here and we had a bunch of people teaching 43 percent on their UPT status with no health benefits, no retirement, nice going Jennings, good idea. This idea at least secured a future for UFT and a return to something we have been dreaming about with the arbitrations that started under his leadership and now we were carrying it out. Now we can go down path A or B, and I do not know anyone, but you who want to go down B. I asked if he would like to go along to the other campuses. I said I would kick his ass every time with this argument. The whole place applauded. They did not like him. From then on he never went to another faculty meeting as far as I know. After the meeting a group of eight faculty came up and I was unsure of what they might say because I bordered on the edge of being uncivil. Mike Ackerson said, 'I think I speak for everyone here when I say none of us ever want to debate you in public' (Litecky, 2016; see Appendix K for photo).

President Litecky continued,

The MCCFA was really strengthened by having survived the mess that Jennings left us in. I went out of my way to write letters to the members and met with members who I knew were upset. I went to Normandale every two weeks for six weeks to talk to most pissed off people there. We talked about what good will it be for them to just be pissed at the organization. None of the people they were pissed at were there anymore. I told them

that I was devoted to telling them what is going on. I was the one who was getting beat up for the situation. That made us a much stronger voice (Litecky, 2016).

Summary

The first contracts after the strike were quickly negotiated, but negotiations became increasingly difficult through the eighties. Strike authorization votes were commonplace. Grievances increased every year. The *Knight* case was heard at the U.S. Supreme Court and the union prevailed. Agency fee collection and exclusive representation of the union was upheld. President Durham left in 1985 and was replaced with President Jennings Simpson. The AVTIs were represented by the State Board of Vocation Education, but maintained MEA and MFT affiliations with local school board control. The community college system and AVTI system worked together and created the A.A.S. The success of the mission delineation study caused serious consideration of merger in 1987, which failed to come to fruition. The predominance of traditional unionism began to move towards professional unionism in 1985. Academic initiatives, such as Writing Across the Curriculum and Computer-Assisted Instruction, were grant-funded programs supported by the union. The eighties concluded with a series of internal conflicts that threatened to fractionalize the union. These conflicts were realized during attempts to disaffiliation with MEA-NEA, a strike authorization vote, and a series of misconduct lawsuits. President Larry Litecky was elected and attempted to reunify the union.

1990-1999 Maturation

Center for Teaching and Learning (CTL)

The MCCFA experienced extensive growth on the professional union front during the nineties. The Center for Teaching and Learning (CTL) focused faculty attention on classroom

research, critical thinking, and active learning projects (Litecky, 1990a; Miller, 1999). President Litecky helped restructure Faculty Development into the CTL.

I was somebody who really loved teaching and I was really interested in teaching as a collective enterprise. That is how I became involved in the Center for Teaching and Learning when the first Writing Across the Curriculum grant came in (Litecky, 2016). He felt that the appropriate time to lobby for faculty development money from the system was during the legislative off years and the approach to use with the System office should be to stress the benefit to students of faculty development (MCCFA BOD, 1992b). President Litecky discussed the connections between faculty development and negotiations,

I always believed that being a legitimate advocate for teachers and quality teaching by the faculty and quality counseling by the counselors was a big feather in the cap of the Association when you came to negotiate or tried to implement the contract. I would not go so far as to say the contract is simply a means to end to make faculty better teachers so their students can be better learners, but if it is not a means to an end, it is one of the two primary goals of the contract. I was the third state president when I was elected, Durham or Jennings had not been part of faculty professional development at all. I was very active in that and the grants that came. As a teacher, I utilized Title III money to start new programs. I was a big believer that you could improve your teaching by talking to other teachers in a structured setting and that was what the grants allowed us to do across the state. I think there are a lot of people who don't have a bone to pick with the union, but they are not strong union activists. They got into this because they wanted to teach, that is why they became community college faculty. The union ought to recognize that and foster that as one of its aims, and to help those teachers as well. To me, the terms and

conditions are laid out in the contract in the most fundamental way, hiring and firing status, economic benefits, etc. But, I believe if you advocated for that professional stuff you would do better with the financial because management would recognize they want that too. It is an easier case to make for compensation when management just doesn't think your job is just to defend ten faculty who make up ninety percent of the grievances and arbitrations, that's the world they live in. I was a pretty predictable voice for getting the best teaching in the system (Litecky, 2016).

Sam Nelson, Ridgewater College history instructor and local union leader since 1990, confirmed Litecky's expectations of CTL,

The CTL was the place where we would come together as faculty and have the kinds of intellectual conversations that would have an impact on the classroom. We would go from there to our local CTL, faculty driven with money, and we would all embrace it. It was across the board, it did not matter what discipline. That is what gave it its vitality. That's what gave it its meaningful teaching and learning end product, better teachers for students (Nelson, 2016).

Bill Newton connected academics to unionization,

Faculty are motivated by academic issues. They all believe that individually they are good and sometimes at the expense of others. If the union was not active in disciplines across the state, meeting together and working on curriculum jointly rather than individually, members may become complaisant and forget our purpose. Any President that believes the faculty union only wants to work less and get paid more forget there is only one position on each campus that there are no rights for. They do not need to exist.

That is office of the President. The power is granted by the System Office (Newton, 2016).

The Center for Teaching and Learning had a positive impact on faculty development in 1990. Many faculty participated in Writing Across the Curriculum (448), computing in instruction (274), critical thinking (200), classroom assessment (175), discipline-based statewide workshops (735), and small grants for improving teaching (40) (MCCFA Legislative, 1992). Litecky spoke at Senate hearing and responded to Senator Moe's question of what the faculty were willing to sacrifice. He replied that MCCFA improved student learning through active learning strategies and utilized the CTL to infuse innovative, effective teaching pedagogies into curriculum and improve transferability and appropriateness of general education. Don Holman reacted to his experiences with CTL,

I served on the CTL Committee. I come in as the hard core union guy serving with Larry Litecky on some teaching and learning initiative. Many faculty just ignored it, they thought it was just the dumbest thing ever. We had great state conferences. There was a lot of good things that came out of that. I even wrote something on my sabbatical on visiting all the campuses to explore what they were doing with computers with chemistry and physics labs. I talked with science faculty at each campus. I had to choose between International Falls or Ely for my last visit, I went to Ely. I took all my data and brought in Ron Haraldson to show what he was doing in lab. I brought another in from Thief River Falls who was using some other programs. We had a whole day at Normandale, Wayne Haag from Century College got the funding from the state to do this. I even had an office in Normandale that year. Then they just quit doing it (Holman, 2016).

These activities increased accountability by assuring the goals and competencies of the Minnesota Transfer Curriculum (MnTC) were achieved, duplicative programs were eliminated, assessments were developed to determine college-level skills, students were guaranteed a time to degree completion, and increasing student education for improved employability (Green Sheet, 1995a). Sam Nelson fondly reflected on CTL activities,

Writing Across the Curriculum was my first exposure to CTL. I helped author a writing manual during my first teaching assignment. I still use a few pages from the manual today. Writing Across the Curriculum was really important. I remember my Dean, Colleen Thompson, conducted a survey that asked how often faculty employ student writing in their courses. All faculty indicated that writing was used in every course. It was not just lip service, we really thought writing was important. Many of the Ridgewater College faculty were involved in the statewide CTL activities presented by Connie Stack and Joel Peterson utilizing the FIRE Model. Many of us still use parts of that model today, especially how students learn, strengths, intellectual acumen, and what they need to do to develop. FIRE, the F for factual learning, I for insightful learning, R for rational learning, and E for emotional (evaluative) learning. Each learning style had a color assigned to it. I still reference students as red learners or blue learners. It paralleled or mirrored the transfer curriculum which was the beauty of it. It helped students understand that they were great at creative, but they were not a strong at rationale thinking, that is why we have math and science to develop that intellectual capacity. It encouraged the broad base of thinking skills. A Minnesota delegation attended a Community College conference in Austin, Texas where we all presented various parts and applications of the FIRE Model. The entire conference referenced us as the FIRE delegation, it was

important. The persistence of the FIRE Model speaks to the importance of the initiatives, the supports given to them, and the impact they had (Nelson, 2016).

The MCCS received a Bush grant of \$710,000. A Bush grant Project Director was hired (MCCFA BOD, 1990c). A statewide workshop was planned in April 1991 and addressed the topic of Teaching the Themes of Gender, Race, and Class (MCCFA BOD, 1991a). The MCCFA Faculty Development Committee proposed restructuring plan for the CTL which allowed for more faculty input and oversight (MCCFA BOD, 1993d). President Litecky attended meetings to secure a Bush grant site (MCCFA BOD, 1994a). The MCCFA supported the creation of lead campuses to manage and utilize faculty development and CTL dollars, North Hennepin was selected (Green Sheet, 1996a). The Bush grant expired in 1997, but \$983,000 remained available. A new round of Bush grant submissions were planned in 1996 (MCCFA BOD, 1996c; MCCFA DA, 1996). MnSCU submitted a planning grant to the Bush Foundation for faculty development (Green Sheet, 1996b). The MCCFA established three branches of faculty development including 1) Bush Grant; 2) Center for Teaching and Learning; and 3) Electronic Academy (MCCFA BOD, 1997d). Faculty development increased from \$0 under Chancellor Eaton to \$7 million under Chancellor Anderson (MCCFA BOD, 1997d). The second Bush grant initiative was *Learning by Doing* (MCCFA BOD, 1997a). The CTL mission statements included improved, 1) collaboration among the three higher education systems in faculty development efforts; 2) effectiveness in the teaching/learning process; and 3) opportunities for faculty development on each campus (MCCFA BOD, 1997a). The CTL relocated from North Hennepin to near the System Office and connected to MnSCU Academic Affairs (MCCFA BOD, 1997a). President Litecky reflected on the age of CTL,

I spent a lot of time with CTL. I met often with the funders of those initiatives. Bush founded most of those initiatives, well over \$2 million dollars. I chaired the state CTL committee for all of my eight years as President. I went with Walter Cullen to get the \$2 million for the each of three years. There was \$6 million for the six years of Writing Across the Curriculum. There was three years of Critical Thinking Across the Curriculum. Then there was the Learning by Doing grant that I worked with when MnSCU came into being. They all had the active learning component in one way or the other. It would be hard to argue that I was narrow minded and did not care about teaching and learning (Litecky, 2016).

The political benefits of faculty development initiatives was vast. These activities enhanced the professional arm of the union and allowed the expansion of traditional union benefits. Larry Litecky provided evidence to substantiate these claims,

We were a group who cared about our profession. The University had the community and service mission, ours was the teaching mission. That is what we were being paid for. It seemed very useful to be able to talk about faculty development during the period between contract negotiations. I made a point of going and talking to the Board about all the faculty development going on. I would bring in the faculty leading initiatives and the Board loved it. The only contract where we had a serious take back in language was the very first one after the merger in 1995. We got there and the first thing they told us they were going after things that were costing the system too much money and causing too much headache. They told us these things were non-negotiable. If we wanted to take these issues to the Legislature or the Board, go ahead. They pushed against our unbelievable layoff provision of 21 months notification. They hired Jeff Frumpkin from

Michigan State. He knew all of these databases. They claimed they could not find any other community colleges in the country that had pro rata pay for summer school, they wanted all pay to be per credit. We were knocked back. We had never experienced these positions from management. We were all sitting at Fern's afterwards. We were swearing, pounding the walls. Larry says, 'Alright. Let's get down to what we are going to get for doing some of this stuff.' The retraining language was introduced to agree to sunset the pro rata pay at the end of the contract. During negotiations in 1997, we both presented our five issues. One of their issues was sun setting the pro rata pay, but Chancellor Anderson agreed to no language changes. That caused Michael Gore to leave the system. He was so frustrated. When we got into a more mature MnSCU Board, I think the professional unionism helped. Oveson and Mulcahy saw it as extraneous. I continued to spend time in the Legislature. I went to hearings all of the time. I spoke at hearings, anytime the Chancellor spoke, I spoke. I could always say, look at what we are doing amidst this turbulence. We kept our eyes on the prize. When Vekich was chair of the Board he asked me to breakfast on a monthly basis. I went to breakfast with Morrie [Anderson] all the time. I think Larry and Greg would describe that as cozying up with the enemy. I think that was just silly. I had a relationship with Tony Kinkel which killed an attempt to decertify our union and revoke on our contract. There were times when we reached out not just with our professional unionism, but also to the non-union entities that can affect our union, like the Legislature. I spent four years in the Legislature before I became faculty President. I contend that I had been to more Board meetings than anyone else in the State of Minnesota. I went to all of the community college Board meetings, all the HEB meetings, and all of the MnSCU meetings (Litecky, 2016).

Internal Activities (Elections, Membership, Dues, & Grievances)

The 1992 elected MCCFA officers were President Larry Litecky, Vice-President Larry Oveson, Treasurer Don Maher, and Secretary JoAnn Cerar (MCCFA DA, 1992). These officers ran unopposed and were re-elected in 1994 and 1996 (MCCFA BOD, 1994a). The MCCFA President received an honorarium to reflect the full time nature of the position (MCCFA DA, 1992). The 1998 elected MCCFA officers were President Larry Oveson, Vice-President JoAnn Cerar, Secretary Cheryl Avenel-Navara, and Treasurer Don Maher (Green Sheet, 1998b; see Appendix K for photo). The MCCFA office staff transitioned to the new leadership team and adjusted to their style (MCCFA BOD, 1998b). President Oveson shared opening comments,

We are seeing in Minnesota the local application of a national movement that would force higher education into a corporate mold. We can hold out and hope it goes away, or we can engage it and use our considerable resources and talents to shape it. I want us to engage it (Green Sheet, 1998b, p. 1).

A successful no confidence vote in MCCFA leadership was taken on the Worthington campus in 1999 (MCCFA BOD, 1999a). New UTCE President, Ed Schones, and MCCFA President Oveson started meeting to discuss the future of the two unions (MCCFA BOD, 1999b). Don Maher, MCCFA Treasurer, died expectantly on October 15, 1999 (Green Sheet, 1999b; see Appendix K for photo). Don was missed by many. Greg Mulcahy shared an impactful metaphor that Don shared with him,

I want to explain the way to get something without paying for it. You have to remember the metaphor of the salami. They [administration] have the salami. We [faculty] want the salami. We are too small and weak to take the salami. They are too big and strong to give

up the salami. So we are going to take the salami from them one slice at a time (Mulcahy, 2016).

The MCCFA offered to pay release time only for Chapter Presidents and Grievance Representatives. Stipends were to be discontinued briefly in the nineties (MCCFA DA, 1994). Campuses with 75 UFT faculty or less received three credits of release time for Chapter Presidents and additional three credits for Grievance Representatives and campuses over 75 UFT members received four credits of release for Presidents and an additional four credits for Grievance Representatives (MCCFA BOD, 1998a). The MCCFA resolved to exercise all due diligence and vigilance to protect faculty, initiatives, originality, and academic freedom in all faculty development and research activities (Green Sheet, 1996a).

The Executive Officers served as the management arm of the MCCFA. They were directly responsible to the Board of Directors. They provided direction to the Board by recommending specific procedures and actions. The Executive Officers were responsible for appointing members to standing committees and selecting chairs of the standing committees subject to ratification by the Board of Directors (MCCFA Constitution, 1999).

The MCCFA membership reached 1,370 members and 659 fair share faculty in 1991 (MCCFA BOD, 1991a, 1991b). In 1992, the MCCFA membership increased to 1,400 members and 609 fair shares faculty (MCCFA BOD, 1992a). Twenty-three new fulltime positions were created as a result of a grievance with the State System regarding hiring practices (MCCFA BOD, 1992a). The MCCFA fell slightly to 1,366 members with 504 fair share faculty by 1993 (MCCFA BOD, 1993a). The MCCS had 75 percent UFT faculty in 1994 (MCCFA DA, 1994). Membership rebounded to 1,438 (MCCFA BOD, 1994a). Fair share dues were exempted for instructors teaching one credit courses up to three per year (MCCFA DA, 1994). The MCCFA

received an \$8,000 grant to address membership issues (MCCFA BOD, 1994c). Membership continued to oscillate and dropped to 1,296 in 1995 (MCCFA BOD, 1995d). In 1996, the MCCFA membership increased 20 members to 1,316 (MCCFA BOD, 1996d). In 1996, there were 38 layoffs, 26 UFT and 12 UPT, issued because of inadequate funding from Governor and Legislature, enrollment decline, merger fiscal decisions within MnSCU, and lack of management support (Green Sheet, 1996b). The MCCFA All-Member Survey was conducted with the intent of providing a vehicle to communicate with the Executive Committee. The survey indicated that 70 to 80 percent of the members were satisfied with the organization as a whole. About 400 of 1500 surveys were returned (MCCFA BOD, 1999b).

The MCCFA dues increased to \$479 in 1990, \$516 in 1992, \$526 in 1993, \$556 in 1994, \$574 in 1995; \$588 in 1996, \$605 in 1997, and \$620 in 1998 (MCCFA DA, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996; Green Sheet, 1994; MCCFA BOD, 1995a, 1997b, 1998a). The merger between AFT and MEA in 1998 caused a \$12 increase in dues to MCCFA members (MCCFA BOD, 1998b).

The MCCFA received 26 faculty layoffs by early October 1997, 13 were rescinded. The remaining 13 UFT layoffs pursued retraining or reassignment options without arbitration of their layoff notice (Green Sheet, 1997). Six layoff notices were issued to Law Enforcement (MCCFA BOD, 1997d).

Bill Newton commented on the most common grievances filed on behalf of the membership,

The number one contract violation was initial placement on the salary schedule. The administration seemed determined to piss off almost every single new hire. They have people evaluate credentials who have none. It is simply a bureaucratic job. Interpreting relevant previous experience was also an ongoing issue. If a faculty was teaching before

entering our system the teaching experience is relevant period, every single year. If you hired a nursing instructor who has working in a clinic or hospital it's relevant.

Management will almost always not grant what should be automatic. It has to be challenged through contract maintenance process. We actually proposed to go into competition with the system office in hiring and placement. We would form a union-controlled entity to gather credentials for potential applicants for every posting and send to every college with a position. We planned to find the names of five or six names applicants that meet the qualifications of their requirements. Instead of them spending all this money on national searches, we would offer one big pool. We would also send a recommendation of where they should be placed on the salary schedule based upon their experience. Management did not like our idea (Newton, 2016).

Larry Litecky

Larry Litecky, eight year MCCFA President, decided not to run in the 1998 election (Green Sheet, 1998a; see Appendix K for photo; see Appendix L).

I was reelected three times after that in '92, '94, and '96. I was never opposed in those elections. By the time I got to '98, I was really tired and truth be told, I found myself saying the same things over and over again in bargaining, legislative testimony, and campus visits. So I thought it was enough, and I was prepared to go back to teaching (Litecky, 2016).

According to Sam Nelson,

Larry Litecky was the most important figure in the history of the two-year college union. Larry Litecky was the most important one in terms of faculty teaching and learning. His tenure coincided with the zenith of CTL experiences at the state and local level.

Most of the initiatives occurred under his leadership. He was dedicated to making sure faculty had the support and opportunities to develop their professional skills as educators (Nelson, 2016).

President Litecky recalled the unity experienced during his presidency,

When I left the office in June 1998, I took all of the *Green Sheet* issues going back to my first Board meeting. I counted all of the motions made at eight years of Board meetings and Delegate Assemblies. We were under quarters for most of that time frame, so we had six or seven Board meetings a year. There were 274 motions made and 273 were unanimous. The one vote that was not was when Jim Russell from Rochester abstained on a vote. There was not a single vote of opposition to any motion during that time period. It was amazing to see that level of unification during that terrible time. The group I worked with was just awesome (Litecky, 2016).

After his departure as MCCFA President, Larry Litecky was quickly hired as Special Assistant to the MnSCU Chancellor (MCCFA BOD, 1998b).

Minnesota Transfer Curriculum (MnTC)

The 1991 Legislature instructed higher education systems to solve the transfer obstacles of student transfer (Green Sheet, 1992c). Academic standards were recognized through course goal areas and corresponding competencies. The shared standards termed the Minnesota Transfer Curriculum (MnTC) was the MCCS response to the Legislative request to improve student transfer (Litecky, 1994b). Ten goal areas of a liberal arts education were identified and competencies articulated for each goal area. A student who completed the MnTC at a community college was able to transfer to any MnSCU four-year university with a completed general education core. Transfer students were able to immediately enter into their program of

study. Sam Nelson, Ridgewater College faculty involved in MnTC implementation, commented on MnTC,

One of the most significant examples of respect extended to faculty professionalism was the implementation of the MnTC. Faculty were involved in shaping the MnTC at Ridgewater College in terms of goal areas, how classes would be divided, and what would be required in each of the ten goal areas. The MnTC is probably the best shining example where we had input. It was incorporated, it was respected, both locally and statewide. It was completely faculty driven. The change can be linked to administrative leadership (Nelson, 2016).

President Litecky shared memories of the MnTC,

The Transfer Curriculum was something I was very involved in. I was one of the presenters of this idea. Terry Dilley from Austin was also involved in a core group. Geraldine Evans, came in from Rochester (see Appendix K for photo), and became Chancellor and was there during the merger transition. Ron Williams came to work for her. He was a very smart, easy to work with. He became the point person for the system for the transfer curriculum. There was legislation to improve the transfer stuff before the merger happens. There were meetings I attended as the faculty union leader, Terry Dilley attended with me. Everybody on the committee signed off on the core document and your obligation as a participant was to go and talk about it; to put a good face on it. You were not to be ironic, or say parts were dumb. You were wedded to the document. I went out and sold the document. You can imagine how enthused the PE and Health faculty were over this. Computer science and foreign language were angry. My comment was consistently, 'Sometime you live with negotiated deals.' One deal was any one of the

systems could disagree with this and if they held to their disagreement after several discussions, they could veto things. I did argue against some of the distribution requirements, but other entities vetoed all three of our objections. They believed some of our areas were not consistent with what they had been accepting in their lower division liberal arts. They were too specialized or were outside the traditional of general education. Afterwards, many faculty would say they did not agree with the position but respected my integrity in advocating our position. The opposition never became a big block (Litecky, 2016).

Two class action grievances were filed by MCCFA regarding application of the MnTC. President Litecky emphasized all local MnTC discussions needed to occur at EOV because they were issues of academic freedom (MCCFA BOD, 1991b). Board members were instructed to notify MCCFA of possible violations of the rights of faculty members in the application of the MnTC (MCCFA BOD, 1991b). A MnTC ad hoc committee was formed to oversee the curriculum initiative (MCCFA BOD, 1993a). MnTC meetings continued for a few years across the state. Sam Nelson reflected on local MnTC implementation,

I was not involved in MnTC at the state level. I heard about the meetings held statewide. I remember the intellectual discussions defining a liberal arts education. Which courses compose a liberal arts education? At a local level it was how do we take our courses and fit them into this framework that ensures our students at Ridgewater College would have the breadth of a liberal arts education, taking courses across the ten goals areas. Our process preserved the integrity of the process employed at the state level. Our Curriculum Committee was key. Ivan Dusek was chair of the Curriculum Committee. Everything went through the Curriculum Committee, including the MnTC and Semester Conversion.

It was a completely faculty led and monitored process. The faculty process encouraged you to consider all possibilities. The Curriculum Committee maintained the big picture. They were able to show where your curriculum fit in the big picture. They wanted you to see the dual purpose of your curriculum, not just a narrow focus (Nelson, 2016).

The MCCFA supported the addition of a Wellness/Health/Physical Education component to the MnTC (MCCFA DA, 1993). MnTC grievances were filed where campuses bypassed EOV and infringed on academic freedom (MCCFA BOD, 1994a).

Academic Issues

Academic issues were commonplace during the nineties. Educational technology initiatives such as interactive television and telecommunications were developed (Cerar, 1990) and expanded with the creation of the Electronic Academy to include distance learning, electronic classrooms, and electronic services (Litecky, 1996b). Academic quality remained a priority as explored by the newly formed Academic Affairs task force (Cerar, 1991; MCCFA DA, 1992). The MCCFA allocated \$1,000 to the Academic Affairs task force (MCCFA BOD, 1999b). Assigned fields, minimum qualifications, and curriculum reviews for transfer students were important activities that validated community college quality education (Dilley, 1991; Knobel, 1991). Central to academic freedom, the MCCFA required faculty have the right to select their own methods of teaching and could refuse requests to teach prepackaged, interactive TV, or modem classes. Further, these courses must be assigned the same credits as traditionally delivered courses (MCCFA DA, 1990). Academic freedom and intellectual property rights were solidified in the 1995 contract (Litecky, 1995b). The MCCFA advocated any recordings and subsequent use of these recordings must be approved by the instructor (MCCFA DA, 1990). The MCCFA moved that students should not be required to pay a fee for non-copyrighted materials

distributed as part of a credit course (MCCFA DA, 1990). The MCCFA supported adding grade shading on a statewide basis (MCCFA BOD, 1991a). There were discussions of system's statewide grading proposal (MCCFA BOD, 1992a). A MOU concerning Alternate Delivery/Distance Learning covered definition, intent, ownership, and responsibility for equipment maintenance (MCCFA BOD, 1992d). Larry Oveson commented on the numerous MCCFA academic initiatives,

The union engaged in academic initiatives such as semester conversion, transfer curriculum, and classroom research because they directly affect our profession, our relationship with our students, and the efficacy of our efforts to maximize learning. We have always felt we should lead these matters, not just participate in them (Oveson, 2016).

Semester Conversion

The Legislature expressed concerns about administrative and student support costs in an educationally unsound quarter system where all books were written for semester systems (Green Sheet, 1995c). Senator Moe introduced a Semester Bill, "Minnesota public post-secondary institutions shall convert to the semester system by January 1, 1999. Students attending institutions that have not converted to the semester system by January 1, 1999, shall not be eligible for the state grant program or any other form of student financial aid provided by the state." Representative Tony Kinkel mandated a common semester calendar (see Appendix K for photo). The Legislature believed semesters would save money and improve ease of student transfer (Green Sheet, 1995c). Bill Newton reflected,

We were involved in semester conversion and transfer curriculum because the Legislature wanted those things. I don't think the system office cared one way or the

other, but when they got told they had to do it, they cared. The concerns were because the state universities were going to semesters and all of the private colleges were already on semesters. The University of Minnesota and the community and technical colleges were not on semesters. The Legislature more or less made a mandate. The illogical argument behind it was the students will only have to pay tuition twice a year. The mandates are usually not based on good information nor that make sense (Newton, 2016).

The MCCFA and MEA tabled the issue of semester conversion of the community college system until the 1993 DA (MCCFA DA, 1992). The Semester Conversion Task Force was formed. The 1996 DA passed a motion which expressed opposition to a three credit semester backbone and encouraged a four credit backbone (MCCFA DA, 1996; Green Sheet, 1996a). Bill Newton discussed the chaos that resulted,

Semester conversion discussion led to discussions to have all courses be three credit courses. It was a management idea proposed so they could assign more classes. To get to 15 credits all faculty would teach five courses. It completely ignored all lab courses. It was stupid and it still is. A lot of classes have actually changed from three to four credits. Assigned fields versus licensure was another big issue. I can't remember how many years the committee I was on met and we could make no progress. It was critical for nursing and business, it was asinine how they wanted to have a business course that would transfer to any university to be equal to another course that could not. The way to fix it in their eyes was to change the title (Newton, 2016).

The MnSCU Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs and Chairperson of Semester Conversion Advisory Task Force, Dr. Manuel Lopez, suggested a three credit backbone, which many interpreted as a mandate (Green Sheet, 1996b). The Semester Conversion task force delivered its

report (MCCFA DA, 1996). The semester conversion process started in January 1997. MCCFA and MnSCU worked on proposals regarding course outlines, syllabi, and structure of disciplinary/programmatic offerings (Green Sheet, 1997). President Litecky provided his motivation to pursue semester conversion,

In regards to semester conversion, I was interested in upholding the currency of the community college. To me, if we could make it so the lower division things at the community college moved to the universities and the University of Minnesota, it was a jobs deal. With semester conversion, I did not want to undo the MnTC work. It came down to back room deals, which I despise. One school would say we need to take the entire curriculum before we accept these goal areas. We had to get legislation to clarify goal areas. I saw much of the semester conversion work as job saving work (Litecky, 2016).

Sam Nelson, Ridgewater College Semester Conversion Coordinator, recalled the process of conversion,

I was the Ridgewater College semester conversion coordinator. I did not receive administrative pay, but had full release time of my full faculty salary under President Mary Retterer. It involved redoing the entire curriculum and moving it from a quarter system to semesters. The general rule of thumb was two-thirds. That is if you had a course sequence in the quarter system that was three four credit classes, that is twelve credits, two-thirds of that two four credit semester courses. Trying to move the credits higher in the conversion was termed credit creep. Those concerns were minimized, as some courses simply could not convert, some went 80 or 75 percent, just because of the existing credits. That was the major concern of the powers that be and we were to hold

the line on. To the credit of President Retterer and the rest of the administrative team at the time, they gave faculty full autonomy to do what was best. No one had any course converted challenged or questioned. It all sailed through the curriculum committee because there was a level of trust that faculty would do what was best for students, for the curriculum, and the institution. In some cases there may have been some credit creep while in others some went backwards. On balance, it was a process that preserved the integrity of the curriculum. Faculty did not take advantage of the process to get more credits for doing less work. Semester conversion was the brainchild of Roger Moe, Senate Majority Leader. It was his vision for MnSCU. It would help make a consistent calendar and consistent academic system. Most of the world was on semesters by that time. So, it was to facilitate transfer and make sure we were in step with the rest of the world. The union had very little involvement with semester conversion. I was involved in a statewide calendar committee where we explored a J-term in two semesters or two semesters separated by a holiday break. There were concerns from a teaching and learning stand point regarding cost-benefit analysis. The benefit is you had students for sixteen weeks, where you only had them for ten under quarters. Many students reach their stride after nine weeks. You have five more weeks to develop that intellectual skill under semesters. The cost was limiting exposure to the breadth of liberal arts. Instead of six opportunities to take classes, you only had four. Breadth versus depth is how I would summarize that with a teaching and learning perspective (Nelson, 2016).

Larry Litecky confirmed, “Moe pushed semester conversion. There were laws telling everyone to improve teaching which birthed the Minnesota Transfer Curriculum” (Litecky, 2016).

The outstanding faculty awards, retirees' banquets, and summer leadership institutes were special activities for MCCFA members (Litecky, 1991a, 1990b, 1992b, 1993a, 1996a). Clearly, MCCFA discovered a balance between traditional and professional unionism during the nineties.

MCCFA v. State of Minnesota (Governor Carlson)

The MCCFA filed a lawsuit against the State of Minnesota when Governor Arne Carlson vetoed a \$26 million non-instructional estimated budget to state colleges and universities, \$10.785 million was ear-marked for community colleges (Green Sheet, 1992b). The MCCFA filed the joint lawsuit with the Minnesota Community College Student Association (MCCSA) and Minnesota Technical College Education Association (MTCEA). The MEA covered the legal expenses (Green Sheet, 1991; Litecky, 1991b). On August 2, 1991 Judge Kathleen Gearin of Ramsey County District Court sided with the MCCFA thinking that Governor Carlson's veto of \$26 million of non-instructional dollars was illegal. On December 19, 1991, the Minnesota Supreme Court ruled Governor Carlson's veto was invalid and restored the \$10.785 million for community colleges; \$26 million in higher education funding. (Green Sheet, 1992b; Litecky, 1992a). The lawsuit prevented 6.7 percent in cuts to 1992-93 budgets for the three systems. The restored dollars funded summer school and prevented substantial layoffs and cutbacks (MCCFA BOD, 1992a). In apparent retribution, Governor Carlson line item vetoed nearly all higher education appropriations including \$450,000 Fond du Lac Center to full campus, \$1,350,000 for student work study program, and \$4,255,000 develop uniform accounting system (Green Sheet, 1994). The increased funding was something the MCCFA and the MCCS agreed upon. Strong administrative leadership can be allied with strong union leadership when both share common interests for personal and institutional survival against common external opposition (Hollander, 1992). Larry Litecky recounted the struggle with Governor Carlson,

After the new system was formed in 1991, Governor Arnie Carlson comes in and simply guts the systems. A bill was proposed and in the working papers he exercised his line item veto authority to cut \$50 million out of the community colleges, the entire community college budget was like \$180 million. A third of the faculty would have been gone. We would have had campuses closure before the merger. I had the idea to sue the Governor because it was not in the bill, it was in the working papers. Russ Stanton and I got together. IFO let Russ Stanton just do what made sense. He and I got the two student groups to be injured parties in this and we paid all of bills. We hired Tom Fabian, who was a fabulous attorney. The Attorney General was on the other side and he was smart as a whip. We ended up winning 9-0 in the Supreme Court. It was a good thing, but then Arnie started kicking our ass for that because he was so pissed. We got crappy allocations and appropriations (Litecky, 2016).

Larry Oveson also reflected on the lawsuit,

In 1991 Governor Carlson attempted to veto an item in the Higher Education Omnibus Bill. The item said something similar to, 'The Legislature anticipates the \$XXX will be spent on YYYY.' The Minnesota State Constitution is very clear on this matter – the Governor's line item veto is restricted to appropriations. It was Don Maher, our Treasurer and political science teacher, who brought this to our attention. We sued, realizing that the 'anticipates' clause did not appropriate money. We had the informal backing of the Chancellor and Board, some verbal promises were made about the results of the case and our ability to access some of the money in the bargaining. Of course, when the time came, the money was unavailable (Oveson, 2016).

MCCFA v. State of Minnesota (Braxton-Brown)

Judge Randall of the Court of Appeals of Minnesota decided *MCCFA v. State of Minnesota* on April 29. The MCCFA moved the district court to compel MnSCU to proceed to arbitration because MnSCU refused to recognize two MCCS and MCCFA faculty appointments of Ruth Braxton-Brown (*MCCFA v. Minnesota*, 1997). The district court denied the MCCFA motion and held the dispute was not arbitral. On appeal, the MCCFA argued the district court erred by denying its motion for arbitration. The MCCFA argued the collective bargaining agreement required arbitration. On March 8, 1995, MCCS Chancellor Greg Braxton-Brown appointed his wife, Ruth Braxton-Brown, to an UPT faculty position at Itasca Community College. On April 13, 1995, the MCCS appointed Ruth Braxton-Brown to an UFT faculty position. On November 16, 1995, MnSCU notified Ruth Braxton-Brown that the new system would not recognize her appointments because they were unauthorized. MnSCU also concluded that because her appointments were unauthorized, her current appointment was temporary. Itasca terminated Ruth Braxton-Brown's employment effective May 30, 1996. The MCCFA requested that MnSCU recognize Mrs. Braxton-Brown's appointments or submit to arbitration pursuant to the collective bargaining agreement. The district court found the MCCFA grievance was not arbitral. The merger legislation vested authority to appoint faculty and negotiate contracts with MnSCU. Any challenge to MnSCU's refusal to recognize Ruth Braxton-Brown's appointments required a court to interpret the merger legislation, not arbitration (*MCCFA v. Minnesota*, 1997).

Technical College Regionalization

In 1992, by a margin of 58.1 to 39.9 percent, 175 to 120, instructors at six technical colleges in northwestern Minnesota cast ballots for the Minnesota Federation of Teachers (MFT) to serve as their exclusive collective bargaining agent (Union advocate, 1992). The Northwest

Technical College District, included campuses at Bemidji, Detroit Lakes, East Grand Forks, Moorhead, Thief River Falls, and Wadena. Wadena was represented by MFT for several years, but the other five campuses were represented by MEA. With its victorious election, MFT became the exclusive bargaining agent for the majority of technical instructors in the state. The major issues of the campaign included 1) MFT opposition to the mega merger plan to consolidate all public colleges (technical colleges feared the loss of equipment and supply budgets); 2) MFT advocated for unique contracts for technical college instructors, instead of K-12 contracts; and 3) MFT advocated for all staff and faculty at technical colleges. The MFT was a 25,000 member union representing most teachers and para-professionals in the metro area, including Minneapolis, St. Paul, Bloomington, Osseo, Rosemount and Robbinsdale. The MFT represented Hennepin Technical College, Dakota County Technical College, Northeast Metro Technical College, and the St. Paul Technical College (Union advocate, 1992). “The MFT was another education union, primarily in the metro area, an affiliate of the AFT. There was not much cooperation between the MFT and MEA,” commented Merrill Widmark (Widmark, 2016).

AVTI regionalization remained popular through the nineties. The new mergers of AVTIs called for new union representation. Norm Halsa recalled his experiences during regionalization.

We entered a regional union concept from 1991 until 1994. Both MEA and MFT competed to be the exclusive bargaining agent. The MFT won the vote. There were six technical institutes involved in the election, Bemidji, Thief River Falls, East Grand Forks, Moorhead, Wadena, and Detroit Lakes. East Grand Forks lacked a technical institute representative at the K-12 table before regionalization. They assumed their college President would take care of them. That attitude continued after regionalization. They were sheep and followed the administration. Administrators dumped on them. They were

dues payers who didn't care. There were other regional mergers across the state, some voted for MEA others for MFT. We had several members who were strong MEA. Wadena was a strong MFT campus, which influenced our six pack. I did not think MEA was a strong union; they called themselves an association, the MFT called itself a union. I was impressed with that and worked hard to get them elected. We only had one contract with MFT because it took so long to bring the six contracts together. We had a sunset raise, \$526, we never got because it was scheduled for June 1995 and the State of Minnesota took over before it was issued. The State decided it was illegal to encumber a predetermined agreement when entering into a state system. The law was established so College Presidents would not go out and buy a new fleet of cars and encumber the State going into the new system, but it hurt us. I did get to visit with Senator Roger Moe, Majority Leader. He checked into it and found someone had signed off that we would never get the raise. Northwest Technical College worked hard to find common ground within the six-pack because they knew the state system merger of technical colleges was coming. They held numerous get-togethers and socials. The President wanted faculty to know each other (Halsa, 2016).

UTCE

With the State became the new employer of technical colleges, technical college faculty unionized and entered into collective bargaining as the United Technical College Educators (UTCE) in 1995 (Halsa, 2016). Bill Newton summarized the circumstances the started UTCE, When technical colleges were successful in becoming a statewide unit it was obvious they would form a single union. It was automatic. It was modeled after the community college faculty. The Legislature created the laws which enabled the formal system.

Making all vocational schools become colleges was an example of Legislative interference that caused all kinds of disruption. Transfer issues were their motivation. However, naming them colleges meant their degrees were also college degrees and created even more transfer issues. In order to be accredited, they had to meet a different standard than before (Newton, 2016).

Norm Halsa, MSCF Technical Vice-President, discussed the process to the statewide system, In 1995, our region joined the state system as UTCE after MnSCU was put into place. We were required to bargain collectively by law. PELRA required UTCE to form. UTCE marked the merger of NEA and AFT in Minnesota, because technical colleges were affiliated with both. There were 27 separate contracts that needed to be melded into one. We went into the collegiate model as Northwest Technical College and used a 45 credit quarter system. When we changed to semesters we went to a 30 credit semester system. We adopted a collegiate system which was uncommon among technical colleges at the time. A lot were based on hours, so their credits levels were much higher. When UTCE formed, we settled on 32 credits. The community college system was 30 credits. Many technical programs pushed for the 32 credits to meet program accreditation hour requirements. At our campus, our President never pushed the 32 credits. We stayed at 30 credits for workload, but used the two credits for recruiting and other activities, there were no reasonable credit equivalencies (RCE) on paper (Halsa, 2016).

UTCE launched contract negotiations in January 1995 with the Department of Employee Relations (DOER) and MnSCU. When the UTCE entered into contract negotiations with MnSCU in 1995, collaboration with the MCCFA helped define workloads, particularly on consolidated campuses (Litecky, 1994a, 1994c, 1995c). After two years of negotiations, more

than 2,200 technical faculty members from 23 MnSCU institutions remained without their first statewide contract (Anderson, 1998). Faculty and state negotiators struggled over issues of salaries and working conditions. “It has been an agonizingly slow and difficult process to create a statewide contract,” said Bruce Hemstad (Anderson, 1998, para. 4; see Appendix K for photo), UTCE president. Bill Newton commented on the UTCE contract,

When UTCE was first formed they invited Larry Litecky, Larry Oveson, and I to meet with their bargaining team and leadership to help write their proposals. The problem was they did not stick to them. They gave up. They were unwilling to go on strike. At a legislative funding committee meeting, their president, Hemstad, at the time told the Legislature that they did not need all of the money that the Legislature was going to give them in order to bring the two together. They were willing to give them more money to equalize a lot of stuff. How did we manage? We had Co-Presidents and put together a bargaining team with equal representation, but one chief negotiator, Larry Oveson.

Where we could we just folded the contracts together. We made many proposals to bring even more together. In the end it came down to this was the technical faculty leadership, willing to bite the bullet economically individually in order to buy up the language and their leader said no. The bifurcated language in the contract today was the result. John Shabatura said the total cost of funding every one of our proposals would prevent us from having the same salary. Schones would not entertain those discussions in caucus. One difference is the number of work days. There was a big push by technical faculty to equalize the number of credits taught, to bring them down from 32 to 30. The union conducted a survey statewide. The results were if that were to occur, instead of them getting overload sooner, the programs would be cut. It was a matter of whether or not

they could reach the required hours of instruction and lab to meet minimum hours needed for certification and for students to get a job. For welding for instance, cutting from 32 to 30 credits would be too few to pass the state requirements to go out and get a job as a welder. Management made it very clear, if you go to 30 credits, we will cut programs. They ended up cutting many because of enrollment. We had a majority of faculty who would like to keep it the way it was. The deciding issue came down to people like myself who found from the research was the day the English teacher over there teaches four classes a semester of thirty students in a writing required curriculum says you work as hard as she does, I am all for it. When you have eight people in an auto program for 27 hours a week, no paper requirements at all, the English faculty works harder than you do. I do not care if it is two credits less. There is no such thing as a completely equal workload. The same is true for people who teach science, combination lecture and labs, compared to a person who teaches three sections of the exact same math course and gets five credits. That person has more work to do. There will never be a perfectly equal workload constructed in higher education, it's impossible. It's all about you, and the union is not all about you, it is about the group. The union is a group function (Newton, 2016).

Technical faculty were issued 553 unrequested leave of absence (ULA) notices which created great anxiety on consolidated campuses (MCCFA BOD, 1996b). UTCE eventually reached a tentative contract agreement for the 1997 and 1998 academic years. The contract represented the first standard agreement on technical faculty workload. Previously, technical faculty worked under 23 separate college agreements. Bruce Hemstad, UTCE president, commented, "We were able to achieve, for the first time, a common workload for all technical college faculty. That was

our primary objective in this round of negotiations” (Anderson, 1998). Larry Litecky provided a different reason for the delayed contract, “UTCE and Bruce Hemstad had no a clue of what they were doing. They had no contract at all. They were trying to figure out how to behave as a college group. I felt we had a really good collective voice. The techs were obviously in more places than we were, but they did not even know what they were asking for” (Litecky, 2016).

MnSCU Chancellor Anderson said, "We believe the tentative agreement is very fair and equitable, and that it meets the goals of both the MnSCU system and the faculty union" (Anderson, 1998, p. 1). Under the agreement, UTCE faculty at all MnSCU technical and combined technical and community colleges were assigned 175 days per year, with 27 student contact hours per week. The settlement represented a 6.35 percent increase over two years (Anderson, 1998). The UTCE contract was ratified without summer work or extra day language (MCCFA BOD, 1997b).

There were areas where faculty worked with administration in institutional decision-making, including planning and policy making. For example, Article 9 of the 1995-1997 UTCE contract outlined the governance role of the Faculty Senate,

The purpose of the Senate is to provide a forum for campus faculty to act in full partnership with campus administration in determination of campus operations, policy and planning prior to decision-making (Kater & Levin, 2003, p. 20).

Norm Halsa fondly recalled the benefits of the statewide system,

When we went into UTCE and the State System, I received the largest raise of my career. In June 1994, it was \$200 per month for family insurance. In 1995, when we went to UTCE it was \$9 per paycheck, \$18 per month. It was a super benefit moving into the state system. It took three years to get the first UTCE contract. The 27 contracts coming

in from different districts with different severances, were grandfathered in the end, with a sunset clause. The instructor had to be hired ten years prior to 1995 to qualify for the grandfather clause. You had to have some longevity in to receive the benefit. For example, a piece in our contract about severance stated if you were 55 years old your insurance would be paid until you were 65, at the rate when you retired. You paid the difference. Other colleges did not have that at all. Some colleges had full cash-in of sick leave, where ours was 1/12th of the last contract days, we were at 190. I was a part of the second and third UTCE contract negotiations. Most of the first contract faculty negotiators were burned out and did not continue. They worked hard hammering out the contract. Michael Gore was the lead negotiator for MnSCU. He was an interim superintendent of schools for St. Paul school system years later. He was a prick. You had to get him to blow up before he would start listening. You had to let him go crazy about some issue. During the second contract, I rewrote the section on managerial rights and he got pissed off big time right out of the chute (Halsa, 2016).

There were some residual benefits for some technical colleges after state system formation, When we went state, every technical college, even the intermediate districts in the metro, received strike funds. Hennepin Technical College received around \$20,000. Northwest Technical College Thief River Falls spent it on our Foundation. We put the names of our programs on bricks that were used to build walls in the commons area on campus. We should go back and paint the bricks of the programs, closed by the President, red (Halsa, 2016).

Ed Schones, former UTCE President and MSCF Co-President, offered a critical assessment of the state system,

At the time of AVTI merger in 1995, the St. Paul school district was the highest paid district in the state and one the highest nationwide. We had something called the seventh hour when we were with them, which is like guaranteed overload. Today, the base pay in the district is in the \$90,000s. We were jerked out of Local #28 by Senator Roger Moe and put into a new organization. We became United Technical College Educators (UTCE) and were “MnSCrewed.” Despite the change in salary, I thought it was a good model on the CTE side of the house. Being tied to a K-12 system made sense. It took a long time for the first contract to get ratified. There were huge disparities with salaries and health care across the K-12 contracts. It was not a good contract. I know it is easy to sit on the outside of negotiations and criticize; I was not at the table. The product was less than adequate, so I got involved with UTCE. I got involved with the Executive Committee, became Vice-President, and then ran and won in an election for UTCE President. We started to rock and roll at that time with our feet on the ground. We assembled a good team. Working conditions and wages were my priorities. We had good communication with the membership at stand-alone technical colleges. I tried to activate the membership, getting them onboard and becoming activists, and understanding who was buttering their bread. I focused on bread and butter, meat and potatoes, union issues. We negotiated a couple of contracts. I brought Kevin Lindstrom in at the time and appointed him as Lead Negotiator for our last stand-alone contract for UTCE. We got a tremendous contract. We made monetary gains. We got paid for educational units in the second UTCE contract. Many faculty went out and secured a lot of these units and made a lot of money and advanced themselves on the salary schedule. Ultimately, faculty gained with the UTCE merger, regardless of where they were from. Faculty in Jackson

made the same salary as faculty from St. Paul which may need to be addressed someday (Schones, 2016).

Norm Halsa recounted, “When I bargained with UTCE, we were trying to get close to the MCCFA contract before a union merger occurred. I wish we had one more contract before the merger occurred, I think we would have got to the 30 credit load” (Halsa, 2016). Larry Litecky discussed the formation and relationship with UTCE from the MCCFA perspective,

The law passed and the system came into being. The technical faculty formally filed a petition and organized and created UTCE. It was an odd period for MEA. Honest to God, when I came in MEA had to spend a lot of money to solve the outstanding lawsuits against Jennings, over a half a million dollars. They wanted my word that I was not going to bad mouth the organization. They wanted my word that I would put their agenda with ours when we lobbied. But there was UTCE as an affiliate. Bruce Hemstad and I were meeting with Greg McNeehly, who was right under Larry Wicks, their Executive Director, and Judy Shabach was the President. I felt some connection to them as two-year college faculty members. I was on the side of the street that did not want to beat them up for credentials and for being technical, it is a worthwhile set of programs for a whole bunch of people in the state. We needed to figure out what their minimum qualifications were. We needed them to addressing these issues. They did not even know what their issues were. It was that fundamental. I kept notes, we had 43 meetings and I do not know how many MOUs, three party MOUs, do you know how difficult it is to bargain three party MOUs? I kept talking to Bernadine Bryant in the early years. After we were in the merger, I had to talk to Jeff Frumkin, Craig Ayers, and all these people over there, but eventually the system took the position that if we could agree to something, they would

sign off on it. It put us in a very odd spot. If we found ourselves in a situation where there contract language is so bad, the MnSCU Board could look at this and decide it is better to pay everyone off of this salary schedule. The main thing I was concerned with was this war between labor relations, Michael Gore, and us. We survived that and we survived Eaton's attempts to restructure us. Those were some big bashes. By then we were into the consolidated colleges. We had to figure out claiming rights, who was hiring into which unit, etc. All they knew was they had members there. A lot of it focused on who is getting the layoff notices, primary and secondary claiming rights, it was unbelievable stuff. They go into bargain and we are coaching them on what should be their opening proposal. Oveson believed, and I subscribed to, the fact they were never going to be as strong as we were. They are never going to have what is in our contract, but they need to get as close as they can to what we have otherwise, MnSCU will pick their contract. The first contract they bargained and then they got inside our contract and learned what our language was and what they did not have. They started saying they were second class citizens, we get all the privileges, and they got the scraps on the table. I was unrepentant about this whole thing. We had been a bargaining group for a quarter of a century, while you are first getting to the table. We had been through a lot of battles, the strike, and all this other stuff to get where we are, so you cannot expect you are just going to come in and get the same stuff. There has been a lot of blood and energy spilled to get this contract. They responded they were teaching more credits and were not being paid as well. When I was in office it was not my major concern. I told Vekich, Morrie, and others, 'If you do not live by your earlier agreement the Chancellor gave us, I am going to hold a press conference, and I am going to get everybody from every major newspaper, TV, and radio.

I am going to give out a sheet that is going to talk about duplicitous you are, how your word is no good, not only are you system people hate, but you are a bunch of liars and deceivers. You can't even bargain. How do you think that is going to look?' Then we take the authorization vote. Vekich said, 'We know there have been some disappointments and perhaps some misunderstandings.' I said, 'I am not sure that I would choose that word.' He responded that they were going to do better. That is where my energy was, I was not concerned with whether we had the right legal relationship with UTCE (Litecky, 2016).

Ed Schones offered credit to leaders who made great contributions to the union,

Bruce Hemstad and Ron Konickson had a large impact in leading UTCE. Betsy Picciano was the Vice-President during my tenure. She was very practical and spoke her mind. She was really good for the union. Don Slayter was an Executive Committee member who had a big impact on the union. He was one of those guys you don't see up front, but really impacted the union. Larry Oveson and company had an impact. Field Staff had a big impact in the early days of negotiations. In my mind, too large of an impact on negotiations. They came in with some history from MCCFA and had too much influence. Bill Newton had too large an impact on the merger of the unions. EM and Field Staff to this day have too much influence (Schones, 2016).

Internal Issues

Community colleges were established as institutions that offered quality transfer education close to home that emphasized quality instruction. With the increased numbers of high school graduates and the State Universities establishment of more selective entrance requirements, increased percentages of high school graduates enrolled in community colleges.

Community college programs, with large general education components, provided quality employees for the state's workforce who may not have been able to afford a four-year institutions (Minnesota State Community College Board, 1992).

The mission of the Minnesota Community College System was to provide high quality teaching and learning in accessible, affordable, and supportive settings operating as Minnesota's open door colleges (Minnesota State Community College Board, 1992). Community colleges provided an opportunity for underprepared students to obtain remedial and developmental skills before advancing into four-year college curriculum (Minnesota State Community College Board, 1992). Minnesota community colleges were committed to building the productivity of the state and recognizing and developing the worth of each student. The purpose was to provide the best possible instruction to develop critical reasoning skills necessary for success in a changing, technology-based, multi-cultural world in students. In carrying out this mission, community colleges strived to meet the unique educational needs of communities and overall economic needs of the state (Minnesota State Community College Board, 1992).

The ability of any institution to achieve its strategic goals was tied to the question of resources. Resources remained a challenge for Minnesota community colleges (Minnesota State Community College Board, 1992). Many factors stretched the financial base of the State System as it attempted to carry out its mission including, 1) a historically frugal funding base; 2) expanded enrollment numbers; 3) a state funding formula based on two-year old enrollment numbers; 4) increased interest in and demand for college education in a changing economy; 5) University of Minnesota and State University initiatives to restrict lower division enrollment and divert students into community colleges; 6) a large proportion of part-time and non-traditional students, requiring the same administrative and support services as full-time students; 7)

underprepared students required developmental education services to prepare them for college-level work; and 8) the need to provide open access to students across Minnesota (Minnesota State Community College Board, 1992).

The MCCFA President presided at all meetings of the DA, Board of Directors, and Executive Committee. The President was the Chief Executive Officer of the Association and provided the general supervision of the affairs of the Association between meetings of the Board of Directors. The President was an ex-officio member of all committees except the Negotiations and Nominating Committees. The Vice-President presided in the absence of the President. The Vice-President assisted the President as requested. The Secretary was responsible for keeping the minutes of all meetings of the Board of Directors, DA, and Executive Committee. The Secretary carried out all duties assigned by the President and those duties assigned to the Secretary in Robert's Rules of Order. The Treasurer was responsible for the collections, deposits, and disbursements of the MCCFA. The Treasurer carried out the duties assigned by the President, Delegate Assembly, and Board of Directors and all those duties assigned to the Treasurer in Robert's Rules of Order (MCCFA Constitution, 1999). There were five staff positions in the MCCFA office, 1) Bill Newton, Director of Labor Relations; 2) George Mische, Professional Staff; 3) Michele Van Gemert, Associate Executive Staff; 4) Sharon Steele, Associate Professional Staff Office; 5) and Russ Stanton, Lobbyist (MCCFA BOD, 1990b). President Litecky reported strategies to achieve the goals of improved unity and communication (MCCFA DA, 1991). President Litecky identified three trends that would affect community colleges in the near future, 1) demographic trends, 2) economic trends; and 3) organizational restructuring (merger) issues (MCCFA DA, 1994).

The MCCFA Assigned Fields Task Force was created to assign field designations and minimum qualifications to faculty (MCCFA EC, 1990). The MCCFA Faculty Rights Committee recommended faculty refrain from involvement in peer evaluation unless requested by a colleague (MCCFA BOD, 1990a). The MCCFA Faculty Rights Committee prepared a proposal that addressed 1) propriety rights and protection of faculty who develop, author, produce materials, programs, video, or books; 2) workload protections for all faculty including preparation time, class size, and evaluation; and 3) bargaining unit protections necessary to prevent abuses and reductions of the current bargaining unit (MCCFA BOD, 1994b). A MCCFA Women in Leadership task force formed (MCCFA BOD, 1994c). The Women in Leadership task force conducted a survey and delivered a report at a Board of Directors meeting. Survey results revealed that women in MCCFA feel the union encouraged their participation, but women tended not to participate in numbers proportional to membership primarily because of time constraints, disdain for conflict, and because the rewards of leadership were not those sought by the women responding (MCCFA BOD, 1995b). Bill Newton reflected on the women leaders of the Association,

There were women who pushed feminist issues. They never pushed as strong as I thought they should for representation. Gretchen Murphy, Itasca, Lisa Barelli, also Itasca, Judy Whaley, JoAnn Cerar-Roche. JoAnn was very intellectual and well connected in the DFL party. She worked as a part-timer and was the first part-time faculty for which the association took an issue to arbitration. At the time it finally got heard she had already been hired as fulltime. They were all big in the growth and development of the Association. Elaine Hauff from Minneapolis was another prominent woman. In the

beginning, these were the people who really molded the eventual way the union was put together (Newton, 2016).

The MCCFA Summer Leadership Workshops were designed to recruit and train future leaders for the MCCFA. The workshops were highly successful through the nineties (MCCFA BOD, 1992a, 1995b; MCCFA DA, 1992). During the 1996 DA, Nominating Committee Chair, Lee Grim, presented the shortest committee report in MCCFA history, “An election was held and the winners won.” (MCCFA DA, 1996). The MSCF Technology Committee became a standing committee (Green Sheet, 1999b). There were nine standing committees. They were called the Nominating Committee, the Governmental Relations Committee, the Negotiations Committee, the Faculty Development Committee, the Faculty Rights Committee, the Economic Services Committee, the Assigned Fields Committee, the Joint Labor Management Committee, and the Technology Committee (MCCFA Constitution, 1999). At 1993 DA, President Litecky outlined the economic, organizational, and demographic challenges facing the faculty. He specifically cited the Chancellor’s proposed wage freeze, pending merger organization, and growth in high school graduates with aging faculty (Green Sheet, 1993b). Bill Newton processed 39 grievances and had 14 cases pending arbitration in 1993 (MCCFA DA, 1993). The arbitration cases addressed part-time claiming rights, sub-contracting, and early retirement benefits (Green Sheet, 1993a). The 80 percent and 90 percent sabbatical pay clause was an arbitrated benefit (MCCFA BOD, 1994a). An unfair labor practice class action suit was filed over refusal to grant phased retirement (MCCFA DA, 1994). The MCCFA filed a reverse discrimination lawsuit against Lee Antell and the MCCS on behalf of Keith Jones (MCCFA BOD, 1991a). The UPT positions and Post-Secondary Options went to arbitration (MCCFA BOD, 1991d). The 1999 DA approved the development of a website and negotiated for one-for-one credits for science lab hours (Green

Sheet, 1999b). The MCCFA Part-time task force received a \$10,000 grant for the project (MCCFA BOD, 1996d). The Legislature appropriated \$400,000 to MnSCU for distance learning and instructional technology (MCCFA BOD, 1996b). Technological innovation grants totaling \$4.5 million received from MnSCU (MCCFA BOD, 1996c). The MCCFA was resolved to keep tuition low by advocating that it be set at one-third or lower of the cost of an education (Green Sheet, 1996a).

Legislative Issues

State policy in the eighties assumed student tuition would provide 33 percent of the cost of instruction, the inability of state appropriations to meet basic funding requirements resulted in students paying an increased share of 39.7 percent (Minnesota State Community College Board, 1992). The inflation-adjusted dollars available per community college student dropped from \$4,132 in 1985 to \$3,800 in 1992. Despite the increased tuition to bridge the gap and continued operational efficiency, the amount available to support the education of each community college student declined (Minnesota State Community College Board, 1992).

The MCCFA advocated for faculty development dollars for 1) lowering class size incentive; 2) mentoring program for new faculty; 3) funding faculty representative activity on campus; and 4) funding faculty attendance at the Bush regional collaboration meeting (MCCFA BOD, 1992c). The MCCFA proposed science lab credits move to one credit per one hour loading (MCCFA DA, 1992). The 1993 MCCFA fall convention focused on the legislative session, negotiations for the 1993-95 contract, and occupational programs (Green Sheet, 1992c). The HEB raised tuition 9.5 percent in 1994 and 1.5 percent in 1995. The MCCFA opposed the proposal (Green Sheet, 1993a). Metro State expanded into lower division courses which was an issue for community colleges (MCCFA BOD, 1994a). The MCCFA joined with UTCE, IFO,

MCCSA, MSUSA, and MTCSA and offered a counter budget to MnSCU Chancellor Judith Eaton which focused on affordable access, support technology, maintaining service and improving performance (Green Sheet, 1996b; see Appendix K for photo). MnSCU displayed a lack of a chain of command and uncertainty about who has decision-making authority within the ranks of administration (MCCFA BOD, 1996b). The MnSCU office faced transition challenges. President Litecky identified the challenges as 1) disconnection between the System Office and campus Presidents; 2) Chancellor micro-management; and 3) MnSCU anti-faculty, anti-union attitude (MCCFA BOD, 1996c). New MnSCU Degree Granting Authority policy allowed community and technical colleges to offer diplomas, certificates, and degrees. Technical colleges were allowed to offer A.A.S. and A.S. degrees (MCCFA BOD, 1999a).

The MCCFA Governmental Relations Committee contributed \$200 from the lobby fund to the Perpich campaign for Governor (MCCFA BOD, 1990c). The Legislative dinner was held in February at the St. Paul Hotel (MCCFA BOD, 1990d). The 3,200 MCCFA members supported the 1991 legislative priorities, 1) adequacy and fairness in funding, over the past six years community college enrollment increased 48 percent, but funding did not keep up; 2) continuation of quality and open access, legislative session should fund the average cost funding (ACF) formula; and 3) current mission and structure of the community colleges, more Minnesota students attend community colleges (32 percent) than any other institutions (MCCFA Legislative, 1991). The 1992 MCCFA legislative goals included 1) 65 percent of college budgets earmarked for faculty; and 2) increased funding to improve learning through reduced class sizes and workload (Green Sheet, 1992a). Providing education context to legislators was a priority. Growing enrollments and fiscal shortfalls resulted in diminished support per student. The diminished support per student, if continued unabated, would lead to an end of open enrollment

and/or a loss of quality. Increased quality was achieved by increased student-faculty contact and diverse teaching and learning methods (MCCFA Legislative, 1992). The 1992 MCCFA priorities included sharing the hallmarks of quality 1) open access, open enrollment; 2) thinking skill development; 3) communication skill development; 4) understanding society and one's role in society; 5) attaining the human capacity to judge and appreciate with ideas; 6) scientific and quantitative literacy development; and 7) preparedness for work and career (MCCFA Legislative, 1992). The 1993 MCCFA Legislative goals included 1) continuation of community college mission and structure during reorganization; 2) support standard funding levels for lower division curriculum across all four higher education systems; 3) support retirement reforms; 4) support tax increase for increased revenue higher education; and 5) opposed to Private College Council proposal to shift funding from two-thirds state: one-third student to two-thirds student: one-third state (MCCFA BOD, 1992d). The MCCFA Legislative dinner was held in February (MCCFA BOD, 1992e). The MCCFA 1994 legislative goals included 1) continuation of the missions of the community colleges, separation of the bargaining units, and preservation of contract provisions during reorganization; 2) opposition to financial restructuring through HEB which diminished resources to community college students and faculty; 3) support mandating a higher percentage of the total State budget go to higher education; 4) support a standard funding level for funding the lower division across all four higher education systems; 5) establish a \$4,000 per FYE student floor and supported financial aid formulas based on the income of the parents and students, not the costs of the institution; 6) explored direct negotiations between MCCFA and HEB; and 7) supported retirement reforms (TRA service from 1.5 to 2.0 percent, base pension benefits on high-three average, allowed for partial TRA pension during phased retirement increasing the earned without penalty from \$8,000 to \$20,000) (MCCFA Legislative,

1994). The 1997 MCCFA legislative goals were presented and included 1) upgrade MnSCU technology infrastructure; 2) support two year tuition freeze while covering base salaries plus inflation adjustment; and 3) support a 15:1 teacher ratio (Green Sheet, 1996b).

Contract Negotiations

Negotiations moved away from a collaborative, problem-solving tone to a lack of good faith bargaining (MCCFA DA, 1991). Chancellor Christenson informed the MCCFA that in the light of budget shortfall projections, instructional programs, offerings, support services, and campus operations during second summer session in 1991 and both summer sessions in 1992 were to be discontinued (Christenson, 1991). President Litecky responded in a memo to MCCFA faculty,

I believe summer session is an integral part of college life, and that the CCS needs to reconsider its position. I am confident that summer session will be restored (Litecky, 1991).

The MCCFA opposed cancelation of the 1991 and 1992 summer sessions (MCCFA DA, 1991). The sessions were restored. The MCCFA and MCCS reached a tentative contract agreement on November 22 with central economic features totaling 9.18 percent improvements over the biennium. The specific highlights were two percent salary increase for 1991 and 1992, full step increases each year, \$1,100 supplemental retirement contribution for 1991 and \$1,350 for 1992 (increased from preset level of \$1,000), enhanced long-term disability insurance, statewide sabbatical pool, restoration of summer sessions, guaranteed discussion of alternate delivery of instruction, a tuition waiver of 12 credits per quarter and 36 credits per year, and increased meal remuneration of lunch \$8.50 and dinner \$14.50 (MCCFA BOD, 1991d; Green Sheet, 1992a). Larry Oveson recalled criticism to the bargained settlement,

The MCCFA pushed for increased money into supplemental retirement. The negotiation team faced huge pressure. When we reported to membership that we got \$200 more dollars in supplemental retirement, younger faculty members were furious. They had doctor bills and house payments. They had young kids and could not afford to have extra money taken out of their paychecks. By the time they retired, the same faculty members were saying how thankful they were to have \$200,000 in their supplemental retirement. You must keep a long-range perspective even when your members do not (Oveson, 2016).

New contract language changed hiring practices where minimum statewide employment of 70 percent of faculty positions as full-time unlimited and minimum individual campus employment of 60 percent of faculty positions as full-time unlimited. The new hiring language came with the end of mandatory unlimited part-time assignments on June 30, 1993. Unlimited part-time remained as a permissive status (MCCFA BOD, 1992a). Bill Newton explained the evolution of the hiring language,

The strength of the union was the brilliance of the minds that put the contract together. There were several examples where management wanted to get rid of something in the contract and the union's language response resulted in something better. Hiring practices language is the number one example. Layoff retraining is number two. Limiting part-time positions and consolidating part-time work to create fulltime positions was the opposite of the national trend. Management hated that. The first step towards the language began when MCCFA President Jennings Simpson formed a group of part-time faculty, to put together part-time proposals. We eventually got mandatory roll over from part-time to unlimited part-time (UPT), which is tenured part-time into the contract. It established

how many part-time faculty would be guaranteed. In the process, many were rolled over into tenured or UPT positions. It took three or four years to complete. It became the hated piece of language by management because they were incapable in keeping track. Two contracts later, they wanted to get rid of mandatory roll over of part-time into UPT. They were so adamant about getting rid of UPT rollover that they kept the status, but made it something that management could bestow upon someone. That language was tweaked here and there, but it worked. When the language changed a lot of colleges looked at their faculty and if they wanted them to work fulltime, they just rolled them over into permanent fulltime. They got rid of almost all UPT. There are very few of them today. If management was not careful, they would give them too much work. They needed somebody with their expertise and credentials. They were given fulltime work enough to roll over, even with the new language. I was processing 103 individual grievances that were slated to go to arbitration over the part-time issue and combined work to become fulltime. That is when management came and wanted to find a better way to do this. I remember Bernadine Bryant was the head of personnel at the state system office level and she put together a committee with Larry Litecky, Larry Oveson, JoAnn Cerar, and I. We came up with the new hiring practices language. We got rid of all the other stuff. The issues that were in there were they could hire someone with a Master's degree in English, but they would divide the work into English and Speech, so the speech would count toward rolling over language. So we had a metanomic moment. The hiring practices said once a year management and the union would get together and look at all the part-time work, minus replacement for union release time, and minus replacement for sabbaticals, divided by 30 credits, and that would result in the number of fulltime positions they

would have to post in order to get to 70 percent at each college and 60 percent for the system. That language was put into the contract during Larry Litecky's first term. Later it changed to 60 percent at the colleges and 70 percent for the system because the system did not feel they had the authority to tell each campus how many fulltime faculty they needed to hire. They actually created a worse situation. When the system is out of compliance, they have to tell the campuses to hire. That came from all that grievance processing work and the skills and brilliance of the minds of the small group of negotiators who came up with counter proposals. We put better stuff together than they did (Newton, 2016).

He continued,

The first time layoff language in the contract was the equivalent of community college retrenchment. There was a two year layoff notice which management hated. They wanted to shorten the notification to one year, give a notice in an academic year and you're gone the next. They wanted that really bad. The retraining language in the old contract was iffy and not paid for. The bargaining team agreed to the one year notice in exchange for improved retraining language. Eventually they agreed to it. As John Shabatura said, 'You guys ended up with a no layoff language.' When a faculty member got a layoff notice, I would meet with them. We would go over their interests and if they had any credits in a different field and if there was any potential for a job because of hiring practices. We would know what those were. They would go back to college or university and take enough credits to become qualified in another position in another field and claim it. Nobody could say no. That worked pretty well until merger. We had a couple who went and got all of this retraining and decided they were not going to teach anymore. But a lot

of people retrained, claimed a job, and are still there (Newton, 2016).

Larry Oveson reflected on the contract language gains,

In the MCCFA, we had a very long history, due in part of a 1979 strike that led us to have model contract language. No other two-year college in the country had our contract language. When we would go to national meetings, people would lobby us for information on how they could get we have. An example, we had a five quarter layoff notice in MCCFA. Administration would notify you at the end of fall quarter that they intended to lay you off. You worked the rest of the academic year and the entire following academic year before your layoff was affected. Needless to say, often times enrollment came back the second year and the layoff was nullified. After the five quarter layoff notice, we had some retraining rights and extraordinary claiming rights. If you were a mathematics teacher, any mathematics position opening at any community college across the State was yours for the asking, nobody else in the country had that kind of language (Oveson, 2016).

The 1993 contract negotiations proceeded quietly and a tentative agreement was reached. The highlights included salary increases of 0 and 3.25 percent, full step progression in both years, 80 percent full year first sabbaticals and 90 percent each after, and two year probationary period for new hires (MCCFA BOD, 1993c). Larry Thiery, Willmar Community College faculty, recounted his opinion of the 1993 contract,

Phased retirement was started, which may be good! 80 percent and 90 percent sabbatical pay for second and third sabbatical, but guess who is caught at 65 percent on their third sabbatical, Chuck Gander and me. We're trying to change all this if possible. On December 6, I found out that MCCFA will not go to arbitration for us on this one.

Screwed again. On December 16, I got a call from Larry Litecky, basically saying the negotiation team screwed up. Too bad boys! On January 19, Chuck and I wrote a letter to all other 1993 sabbatical recipients, suggest we stir the pots and not just let this slide by. On February 22, the sabbatical pot has been stirred! Our State Association will arbitrate the retroactivity of the 80-90 percent thing. But of course I'm still screwed because I chose a two quarter sabbatical and told Colleen [Thompson, WCC Academic Dean] I would come back spring quarter and teach. Litecky and Maher are coming to Willmar for a meeting Tuesday, March 1, 1994. We will see what happens. Things are fairly depressing, I'm looking more toward retirement and get out of all this screw job we get continually. On March 2, Litecky, Maher, and Newton were very, very upset about the letter. Good, it had the desired effect. I was told by MCCFA to not return spring quarter and leave Colleen sit, I won't do that! (Thiery scrapbook, 1998).

The tentative 1995 contract agreement was presented to the MCCFA Board of Directors. A new section on academic freedom and intellectual property rights, Article 20 Miscellaneous Rights of Faculty Members, was added to the contract (Green Sheet, 1995b). The highlights of the contract included a 3.5 percent salary new step (11 and 12) each year, steps for all members Winter quarter 1996 through spring quarter of 1997, new layoff language, continuance of the early retirement incentive, intellectual property rights language, sunset of early retirement incentive for UFT hires after July 1, 1995, reduction of tuition waiver to 12 credits for new hires, and limits on the sabbatical pool (MCCFA BOD, 1995c). The 1995 contract mandated the formation of the three task forces of to address semester conversion, summer work/pay, and alternate delivery/distance learning (MCCFA BOD, 1995d). Larry Oveson said, "The series of strong authorization votes from 1983 through 1995 were a continuation of the union's strength"

(Oveson, 2016). The strength of union negotiations was about to be challenged. The MCCFA experienced hostile 1997 contract negotiations with Chancellor Eaton. Her management style was described as unusual. Power shifted to campus presidents and system functions were shifted to lead campuses (MCCFA DA, 1996). The 1996 MnSCU tentative budget proposed a 9.4 percent cut for community colleges (MCCFA BOD, 1996a). However, the economic package of the tentative agreement included two and three percent salary increases, plus one percent improvement on steps 11 and 12 in year two, step and column movement in both years with retroactivity, FY99 increase per credit for part-time from \$525 to \$625 per semester credit (19 percent increase) plus FY2000 goes up another \$100 to \$725 (38 percent overall increase). The State picked up 100 percent of employee insurance, one semester full pay sabbatical (not 85 percent), mileage to \$0.23 from \$0.21, and meal reimbursements from \$8.50 to \$9 lunch and \$14.50 to \$15 dinner (MCCFA BOD, 1997d). A strike authorization vote was planned to be taken after October 1, if a contract settlement was not reached (MCCFA BOD, 1997c). No workload relief was found for science labs credits (MCCFA BOD, 1997d). Larry Oveson recounted the difficulties of negotiations in the nineties,

In 1995 and 1997 the Legislature entered our world. In 1993 Jay Noren was the Interim Chancellor of the Higher Education Board (HEB). In 1995, it became MnSCU. In 1993, Noren went to the Legislature and found some friendly Democrats who created a clause, which may still be in statute today, and said if the MnSCU budget falls 10 percent short of the previous year's budget, all layoff notice requirements in the contracts were null and void. They did this in an hour in a hearing. It appeared in an hour and one hour later was in law. So they started to mess with us. One of the ways they messed with us specifically is, they had meetings with MnSCU management before bargaining and they

said they expect the Early Retirement Incentive (ERI) to be ended and you are not to sign a contract with the two year college faculty where layoff is not within the same academic year, there goes the five quarter layoff language and one of the best ERI in the country. We had a bludgeon over our heads in bargaining. So you get creative. You exert some power. We were able to grandfather the ERI. The layoff language we were able to turn into the amazing retraining language (Oveson, 2016).

Larry Litecky discussed negotiations,

We did a lot of informal surveying during the campus visits before entering into bargaining. We wanted to do know what the top two contract pieces members wanted were. We were always more ready to go than the system was. When I saw bargaining as a college President years later I realized that when I thought MCCFA was five times as prepared as the system, I changed my mind to ten times. We would take notes at all the campus visits and Bill would tabulate the results. Larry and Bill would create four versions or initial trades. Oveson was a master of that stuff. He would give away something he believed was not worth something. The system believed they were getting rid of something, but he believed it was not. This was the beginning of putting things into computers. Bill would just push a few buttons and we had a print out of a new strategy. We would be in bargaining and the system would request an item they felt was important and we would come back in a half an hour with a new language proposal and new language in another area. It was a whole new way of bargaining. The knowledge base increased dramatically (Litecky, 2016).

Larry Thiery's scrapbook recounted the negotiations,

Mary Retterer is the main voice on the MnSCU negotiating team, not good. I think negotiations proceeded very well under Morrie Anderson, but under the new Chancellor something has changed. Now MnSCU is playing hardball. They say there is no money under the present financial conditions of the state, nothing could be further from the truth. On October 6, MnSCU is 'not interested' in our bargaining proposals. MCCFA quit the bargaining process as suggested by the mediator. By November a strike settlement was reached nothing great, three and three percent (Thiery scrapbook, 1998).

A tentative contract was settled quickly in 1999 with no give-backs and hiring language breakthroughs (MCCFA BOD, 1999c). Larry Oveson was part of the negotiating team and reflected on contract language successes,

The strike in 1979 gave us extraordinary power. Administration knew we would strike at the drop of a hat. Every time we bargained a new contract until about 1997 or 1998, we would take a strike vote and get 97 percent yes. We would go back to the table, the deal would improve, and everyone was happy. The activism in 1979, we stood on the shoulders of giants. They helped us a lot. Another way we created some of the language in the contract was through a real assiduous grievance process. Pressure from the campuses through the grievance process was a planned process. We did this across the State. Hiring practice is the example here. Hiring practice language today is 70 percent system wide and 60 percent on each campus came right out of old language which drove staffing that we grieved constantly. We were so good at finding cases and prosecuting them, that over about a four year period, the community college system was faced with arbitrations that would cause them to hire well over 100 faculty members across the State. The system was desperate for resolution. When looking for resolution we came up

with something new, we looked at numbers across the State and not so much from campuses, 70 percent system wide, at one time it was 65 percent on campuses. All of that came through Grievance Representatives (Oveson, 2016).

During the late nineties, the political and economic conditions in Minnesota created an environment with 1) limited resources; 2) anti-government, anti-public sector attitudes; 3) low public priority for higher education; 4) shifting demographics; and 5) changing economy and technology (Litecky, 1995a). Larry Litecky recalled the difficulties of the 1996-97 negotiations,

I went to Morrie Anderson, he was the new Chancellor. I thought he was a fair minded guy, very low key, the absolutely opposite of Judith. He probably liked the two-years better than he liked the four-years. He came and said a lot of good stuff to delegate assemblies. So I went to him after talking to the bargaining team and the executive committee and said they tried to strip our contract during the 1996-97 bargaining. Let's see if we can just get an agreement where the language stays the same and just bargain over the economics. I told him, 'Honestly things are so bad, do you want me going around to campuses with Oveson and the rest of the Executive Committee talking about what a horse's ass you are? The system? It's like a gasoline soaked field and we have a bunch of matches.' I told him it would be that easy for people to explode. There are a lot of people who just hate the Chancellor's office. He agreed with me. He said that was his assessment as well. He said let's just do that. He agreed he would direct Michael Gore, the head of their team. Michael Gore said we had to bargain in good faith over language. I told him I had talked to the Chancellor and we both were going to make five proposals and have the rule that the team on the receiving end of those proposals can just get them off the table by saying no, it's that simple. He responded that he had never heard of

anything like this. I told him his boss agreed to it. He decided unannounced to Morrie and the Board to tell us he was not going to play by these rules and he was going to kick our asses as bad as they did last time. I told our Board earlier in the summer of the process Morrie agreed to. Gore gives me a proposal and it is in writing, it's a raw deal to the team. We went up to the fall board meeting and a leadership workshop with leaders I initiated, at Madden's I believe. I grabbed Oveson and Don [Maher] before the meeting and told them we had this November 1 strike authorization deadline. This was October and was the first meeting since we got back in school. We decided to move forward with the strike authorization vote early. I sent out a memo and we called the locals to set up the meetings and divided the campuses among the executive committee. I just feel myself getting pissed talking about that meeting. We had the votes and the numbers were just out of this world. We took strike authorization votes on each campus, 98.5 percent in favor. I went to Morrie and told him the results and he said Michael Gore is doing what? He sincerely did not know. I went back two days later and Michael Vekich was in the room with Morrie (see Appendix K for photo). Morrie said he had instructed Michael Gore if he wants to keep his job he better live with the original agreement and Vekich and I are delivering the economic agreement. In those days we got so little money from the Governor that it did not even matter to bargaining. It was two and two with monies across the board (Litecky, 2016).

The worsening conditions led to mounting conflict during 1997 negotiations. The MCCFA assisted in the creation of H.F.1699 and S.F. 1499, which called for increased funding for direct instruction while decreasing administrative costs (Litecky, 1997a). In the wake of the passage of the aforementioned bills, MnSCU offered MCCFA a retaliation contract of zero percent for each

of the two-year contract years (Litecky, 1997b). The MCCFA conducted a strike vote on October 6 with a 95.3 percent affirmative vote, a contract was settled shortly after with two and three percent, plus one percent to the top of the schedule (Litecky, 1997c). MnSCU and MCCFA used brinkmanship tactics which complicated the negotiation process.

Affiliations

The MCCFA affiliated with EM, AFT, and the NEA in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and Bylaws of these bodies. The MCCFA members were members of EM, AFT, and the NEA. Through the affiliation with AFT, MCCFA was also affiliated with the AFL-CIO (MCCFA Constitution, 1999, p. 4). Any affiliation agreement between MCCFA and other organizations other than EM, AFT, or NEA needed approval by sixty percent of the MCCFA membership voting in referendum (MCCFA Constitution, 1999, p. 11). The MEA affiliation discussion concerned 1) cost of affiliation; 2) employment and supervision of staff; and 3) recognition of MCCFA uniqueness and need for autonomy. The MCCFA Executive Committee recommended disaffiliation from MEA (MCCFA EC, 1990). The MCCFA moved to authorize disaffiliation from MEA with a majority vote amended to read a majority of those voting (MCCFA BOD, 1990d). New office with state-of-the-art technology was a requirement from an affiliation agreement with MEA-NEA (MCCFA DA, 1990). A revised affiliation agreement was reached between MCCFA and MEA in 1991 (MCCFA BOD, 1991a). The MCCFA was not charged legal fees for using MEA attorneys up to \$26,000. The MCCFA covered the next \$14,000, then MEA absorbed remaining costs (MCCFA BOD, 1993a). Over \$9,000 in IMPACE funds were transferred from MEA to MCCFA (MCCFA BOD, 1993a). The MCCFA received a \$10,000 NEA grant and piloted a project to facilitate discussions between secondary and post-secondary faculty with hoped to align curricula (MCCFA BOD, 1999b). The MCCFA paid off

\$58,000 debt to MEA and settled all accounts (MCCFA BOD, 1997d). The NEA funded a \$5,000 initiative to encourage fair share and part-time faculty union membership (MCCFA BOD, 1999c).

MCCFA Constitution

The Constitution of the MCCFA was approved on May 1, 1999. The preamble read, We, the members of the MCCFA, EM, NEA, and AFT, believing that the active participation of non-supervisory license education personnel in the development of educational policy is essential for sound education in a democratic society, have joined together, as herein defined in this Constitution and Bylaws, for the purpose of exerting a collective and positive influence on education in the Minnesota State Colleges and Universities system. We, the members of the Minnesota community and consolidated college faculties, believing in the unique contributions of our community college to American education, have organized to strengthen and secure community college education for those who desire additional education beyond high school, for those who would be deprived of this education were it not readily accessible, and for those who wish a more individual orientation to higher education. Because we so believe, we have formed into this organization, the Minnesota Community College Faculty Association, to enable us to make our views felt in the determination of the policies to be followed in community colleges; to provide a liaison between educators in the colleges and all other groups concerned with education, and to make our views an integral part of the educational programs of community college students. The MCCFA shall provide a united voice for public education, leadership in education innovation, dedication to Minnesota students and families, and an unwavering commitment to the welfare of our members.

The MCCFA shall be a local organization that provides unstinting professional service to its members by building and maintaining a strong, effective local and by promoting instructional advocacy. The MCCFA shall be committed to democracy in the workplace and within the organization. If any provisions of this Constitution and Bylaws conflict or violate the Constitution and Bylaws of Education Minnesota, NEA or AFT, the provisions of the state and national organizations shall supersede those contained herein (MCCFA Constitution, 1999, p. 3).

The primary purpose of the MCCFA was to consolidate the efforts of the faculties in maintaining and improving community college education. The organization advocated for policies most conducive to the welfare of the faculty. The organization endeavored to achieve the above purposes by study and discussion of issues involving the educational program or the welfare of the faculties, and to present these conclusions to those who are involved in policy making for the community and consolidated colleges of Minnesota (MCCFA Constitution, 1999). The Delegate Assembly (DA) consisted of the Executive Officers of the MCCFA and the delegates. The DA had the policy-making authority of the organization. All policies, programs, and resolutions of the DA were implemented by officers and governing bodies of the MCCFA (MCCFA Constitution, 1999). All legislative responsibilities of the MCCFA were vested in the DA. It had the authority and responsibility 1) to develop, amend, and interpret the policies of the Association; 2) to take action or recommend action on any matters relating to possible violations of policy; 3) to appoint ad hoc committees relative to legislative concerns; 4) to determine dues to be paid by the membership; 5) to recall any officer of the MCCFA by two-thirds vote; and 6) to certify and decertify chapters of the MCCFA (MCCFA Constitution, 1999). The Board of Directors consisted of the Executive Officers of the MCCFA and additional representatives as

provided for in the Bylaws. The Board of Directors conducted the business of the organization between meetings of the DA. It operated under and administer the policies established by the DA (MCCFA Constitution, 1999). All administrative responsibilities of the Association were vested in the Board of Directors. However, the Board could delegate certain administrative tasks. It had the authority and responsibility 1) to administer the policies of the Association; 2) to recommend policies or changes in policy to the DA; 3) to adopt procedures for conducting the business of the Association; 4) to receive reports and recommendations from standing committees; 5) to ratify appointments to standing committees; 6) to convene the DA; 7) to appoint ad hoc committees to administrative concerns; 8) to hire and direct personnel as is necessary to carry out the business of the Association; 9) to conduct the ratification procedure for the master contract; 10) to declare a vacancy on the Executive Committee for reasons of resignation and ineligibility; and 11) to dissolve the Association by an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Board of Directors and two-thirds of the present and voting membership of the DA (MCCFA Constitution, 1999).

External Social and Political Support

External issues moved the MCCFA to action. The MCCFA opposed the use of pension funds for loans to Northwest Airlines (MCCFA BOD, 1991c). California continued to refuse to negotiate union contracts that ensure job protection and protection of workers and their families against dangerous pesticides, so the MCCFA moved to boycott all nonunion grapes at its meals (MCCFA DA, 1992). MCCFA supported Minnesota Human Rights Acts inclusion of sex or affectual orientation as a protected class (MCCFA BOD, 1993a). The MCCFA contributed \$198 to the teachers' strike in Province of Ontario, Canada (MCCFA BOD, 1997d). The MCCFA recognized domestic partnerships as family in the contract and supported domestic partners be given same recognition as spouses and children recognized as children (MCCFA DA, 1990). The

MCCFA supported the concept of a pluralistic society. Therefore the MCCFA encouraged and welcomed discussions of differing political and social views and encourage participation of politically, ethnically, culturally, and socially diverse people (MCCFA DA, 1991).

Merger

Merger discussions between community colleges, technical colleges, and state universities continued with renewed intensity. Frank Adams, a State Board member from Minneapolis Vocational College, summarized the view of many educators,

Some legislators are proposing a merger of community colleges, vocational colleges and state universities as a cost-saving mechanism. In my studied judgment I think this would be a mistake as the three higher education missions are very different. Community colleges and state universities are basically academic with focusing on liberal arts. Vocational training focuses on hands-on-trade skills. Class sizes in vocational education average about 20 students because the hands-on work experience of delivering education. Academic lecture type of classroom education can accommodate hundreds in a lecture environment and therefore is less expensive. In my experience as a former school director, large bureaucratic organizations do not insure either quality or efficiency in education (Adams, 1991, p. 6).

During the eighties, Minnesota legislators discussed various options for governing the state colleges and universities. Legislators in Minnesota were frustrated with the inability of three of its four higher education systems, community colleges, technical colleges, and state universities, to cooperate on a single agenda and resolve problems of articulation and transfer. As proficient as the three system heads were in making the case for their organizations, some

legislators were distressed by their inability to cooperate. Larry Litecky offered insight into the reasons for merger,

The Senate and House leadership in higher education had greater stability in their roles than there is now. We had the same core players year after year after year. We had whoever was the majority leader in the house, Vanosik and Dee Long, had been there a long time. Doug Johnson was in charge of the finance. Doug Johnson had trained Dee Long with the finances before she became Speaker. Doug Johnson was just one iota less powerful than Roger Moe was at the time. JoAnn [Cerar] was dating Doug Johnson. So we went to parties with Dougie [Doug Johnson]. I don't know how many dinners I had with him and other people. We had dinners that were the talk of the State. IFO, MCCFA, and Russ [Stanton] organized it and we would invite all 200 legislators. We would pick the night a year in advance. We had 195 legislators show up. We divided them up by tables so people would sit with their house and senate members. We had talking points on the table about our interests in bargaining and professional issues. We filled the rest of the spots at the tables with other important people. It was like an enormous conference dinner. Stumpf was there for a long time. Waldorf was there before him in the chair roles. Tony Kinkel was in both the House and Senate. I had a real good relationship with Tony. Tony and Doug really saved us on a couple of issues. So we decide we have to do something different. The Senate was getting upset with how many people were coming to lobby them in 1990. Russ was coming for both IFO and MCCFA. I was going with Russ and I was going without Russ. Don Holman would go and lobby with MEA. MCCFA was sending Russ all the time, me down there a whole bunch, and Don going to talk to them. IFO had a government relations group going to talk to all these people too. Year

after year this goes on. Lynn Carlson was in the House, Pelowski was there, Kinkel was there. They were the three who were always there. They are going to these dinners and they are just laughing. It wasn't just IFO and MCCFA, but it now was the technical colleges. They were declared colleges in 1989. Joe Graba was their Chancellor. Now they are going to visit the legislators because their funding in coming out of the higher education budget and a special part of the K-12 budget. And the U was there. I remember visiting Senator Dicklich, 'I am on a lot of committees, like five committees, and who do you think I am spending most of my time talking to at 3:00 in the afternoon? It is somebody from the four systems. And you guys do not talk to each other. And you don't even talk to the different people in your own organization. You make the arguments about the same shit and I am sick to death of it.' He was a big pal of Moe's. I believe then and I believe now that this merger was not Moe's, it was Dicklich's. He probably talked to other committee members on his own. I am sure he said he'd like to restructure this. Transfer issues continued to take time. Students complained about transfer problems between the community colleges and four years. The technical people were complaining about a lack of respect. I believe it was all the transfer stuff that clearly drove the merger discussion. But it also included an element of how sick these core legislators were in hearing from all these groups with the same issues for so long. So the first two bills were taking the community colleges and merging them with university systems and leave the techs alone. The other was leave the state universities alone and merge the community colleges with the techs. Everyone is upset about one of those bills. I went to talk to Dicklich. He asked what I thought about putting all three systems into one. I thought it sounded better than the other two. He put the legislation out and Moe thought it was

good. Again, it gets back to relationships. I had great relationships with those leaders and Moe in particular. Moe put the extra \$100 million in there and got the House to vote for the merger on the floor. Lyndon Carlson and Pelowski hated that bill until their dying day. Kinkel kind of supported it and his colleagues felt he was betraying them. The House had always passed an anti-merger bill. In the end everyone felt they lost standing. You were no longer competing with two bodies but for one Chancellor and one Board. They moved the issues out of the Legislature and into the system (Litecky, 2016).

Bill Newton also recalled the first merger discussions,

The original merger talks were not with the technical colleges, they were with state universities. There were a lot of faculty who thought that would be a good thing to do until they got to the number of credits, it was all about workload. When you got to looking into it a little more there was no guarantee they would be hired as a Professor. Then they looked at the salaries. If you are not a Professor, then the salaries were pretty poor. That deal went to the side (Newton, 2016).

Structures designed to ensure the orderly development of their segment of higher education were not equipped to meet current demands for stronger ties with K-12 education or work-force development (MacTaggart, 2004). In the 1991 session, Senate Majority Leader Roger Moe crafted legislation to merge the seven state universities, 34 technical colleges, and 21 community colleges into one system of 160,000 students under one State Board (Noren AP, 1994; Stanton, 1991). According to one respondent, "Senator Moe really wanted it to happen, and so he was a very powerful Senate Majority Leader, and it happened" (Ellis, 2011). Larry Litecky recalled,

The 1991 merger law was a huge deal and the coming of the merger in 1995. The unintended consequences of the merger were also important. It was called Moe's law, but

it really was Ron Dicklich's idea. There were two bills with a majority of the Senate on board with either one of them. One was to create a technical college system with the merger and put the community colleges together with the technical colleges. Or make the state universities the lead and put the community colleges with the state universities. Bill Either way, we [MCCFA] would have been ancillary to the other two systems and they would just wipe us out. I actually talked to Dicklich about how bad both ideas were because they would hurt students at the community colleges. So he was the one who forwarded the legislation merging all three systems into one new system (see Appendix K for photo). Technical colleges were local school district, so they had to create UTCE as an entity and they needed a contract to rely on. They were so weak. I called forty-three meetings between MCCFA and UTCE and I notified the system if they would like to come to these feel free. They did attend several of the meetings as observers. We were not trying to disadvantage our members, but we were trying to strengthen UTCE. We had all this stuff about accounting, management, marketing, all those courses where technical and transfer faculty both taught them. Neither would accept the others as equivalent (Litecky, 2016).

In 1991, Moe would not allow the Minnesota Legislature to adjourn until they passed his merger bill. Another participant described how Senator Moe placed a black cloth over the clock during the late hours of the legislative session so time could not interfere with the passage of the merger (Ellis, 2011). Senator Moe suggested the merger of these institutions would increase institutional accountability, improve student transfer, coordinate program delivery, and improve facility planning (MnSCU history, 1996a; Stanton, 1991). The general expectation was that the merger

would not save money in the short term, but efficiency and effectiveness would increase over the long term (MnSCU history, 1996a).

The MCCFA rescinded its support for merger with technical colleges (MCCFA DA, 1990). The MCCFA created a task force to identify concerns relative to a merger with technical colleges (MCCFA EC, 1990). The MCCFA offered contingent support for the mega merger bill under the following conditions 1) maintained MCCFA as the bargaining unit for community colleges; 2) ensured transfer, training, and retraining prior to faculty layoffs; 3) program delineation and program revision utilized on regional basis prior to campus closing; 4) reduced administrative expenses by 30 percent by July 1, 1993; and 5) ensured current pension provisions carry forward (MCCFA DA, 1991). Jim Fremstad from the Technical College Faculty Association addressed the 1991 DA about possible implementation of the Senate merger bill (MCCFA DA, 1991). President Litecky spoke with UTCE leadership and proposed their acceptance of our contract for its economic and language benefits (MCCFA BOD, 1991a). A MCCFA Merger Task Force account was established (MCCFA BOD, 1993d). The MCCFA, UTCE, and State of Minnesota created a MOU for new members. The MOU was designed to provide new protection. Consolidated campus assignments and implementation guidelines were created. Layoff, seniority, and claiming procedures were created (Green Sheet, 1995b). There were clear differences in class size differences between technical and community colleges, 16:1 class size in technical colleges and 30:1 level in community colleges (Green Sheet, 1996b).

In 1995, a team with representatives from the three public higher education systems in Minnesota reviewed approximately 250 pages of State Law that governed colleges and universities and recommended which laws should be carried forward (MnSCU history, 1996a). More than 130 sections of law were repealed, and the balance of higher education statutes were

reorganized. About 2,200 faculty were represented by union contracts at Minnesota two-year colleges in 1994 (Annunziato, 1995). Sam Nelson commented, “Significant changes came with the creation of MnSCU. We [MCCFA] were put under a larger umbrella with the state universities. Since then, satisfaction with governance factors has diminished at the state and local level” (Nelson, 2016).

Members of the House of Representatives agreed with Senator Moe's transfer concerns, but did not believe a merger of the systems was necessary to accomplish higher education reform (MnSCU history, 1996a). The House proposed a plan in lieu of the merger bill and passed a reform package. A subsequent House-Senate conference committee let the merger stand, but extended the original two-year transition period for the new system to four years (MnSCU history, 1996a). The Higher Education Board (HEB) approved the merger implementation of Minnesota community colleges, technical colleges, and state universities for July 1, 1995 (Litecky, 1993b; see Appendix R for photo).

In the ensuing years, the House passed a series of bills to undo the new system, but by 1994 it became clear that the merger would become a reality. Larry Litecky offered some insight into the birth of the merger,

Here's a folklore story. When it got down to the three merger bills. MCCFA was clearly supportive of the one that merged all three system, which is the one that passed. We met in the party room at the Lexington. Our Executive Committee was there. We had all of these goofy rules and Don Maher was a stickler for the rules. He wanted to know who was going to talk. We decided Bill, JoAnn, and Don were not going to talk, just Oveson and I would do the talking. Oveson said Larry you talked to these guys to get this meeting why don't you be the chair of the meeting. We brought warring factions into the room.

We brought in on the House side, Lynn Carlson, who was the chair of the higher education committee, and Pelowski, the vice-chair, on one side. On the other side, we had LeRoy Stumpf, the Senate chair, and Doug Johnson (see Appendix K for photo). I proceeded to give the background on all this stuff and ended with, 'We have a difference of opinion.' I continued, 'I am not trying to disparage anyone's opinion. This isn't about me belittling the bills which I disagree. We have this bill to put the community colleges with the techs, in which case we would move into a no-man's land. If we are going into a technical college system, were not being merged, we are simply moving into their system, it seems like an attack on our contract.' That was the Lynn Carlson plan. Pelowski was in favor of the state university-community college merger deal. Same concerns with that deal, are we all under the IFO contract or are community college faculty all adjuncts, because we all cannot be tenured under their contract. MCCFA likes the bill where all systems are merged. Before Leroy can say anything, Doug says, 'I am for the plan the community college faculty are supporting. It makes the most sense. It is the least contentious. I respects all the parties' contracts. It leaves the technical college staff to create their own future. I can't imagine a more rational statement than Larry just gave.' Lynn continued to emphasize the importance of technical education and the benefits of his bill. The bureaucracy would be too large in a three merged system. Pelowski chimes in that the improvements to the state university system will rival the U of M. Doug looks across the table at Lynn and says 'How do you think this is all going end?' Lynn shakes his head. 'No, I am serious. How do these sessions end in your experience? You have been here just as long as I have been.' Both members had been in the system fifteen to twenty years. Lynn retorted, 'Tell me what is behind your comments

Senator?’ Doug says, ‘Okay, I will tell you what you already know. You have your bill in a conference committee and you’re spokesperson there. And over here, we got Leroy as the spokesperson. On the Senate side we have the majority leader and I who are in favor of the original merger bill. As you know, there are \$100 million more on the table for higher education on the Senate side. So you have to resolve the differences. You don’t want that so you’re going to be dug in hell or high water. Pelowski, you’re going to say the same thing. But are Roger and I talking to you guys? Oh, no, we are not. We are talking to Dee Long out in the hall (see Appendix K for photo). Dee is brand new in her job. I helped her learn how to read budgets. I have been raising money for her for years. Nobody runs against me so I helped her raise money. Roger knows her really well too. So do you suppose Roger and I are coming out on the winning end? Or do you think you will?’ It was the battle of the titans. I said, ‘Is there anything anyone else wants to say?’ No one said a word, so I said thanks for coming. That was how it ended. When the merger passed after midnight, I ran into Doug and asked if it was Roger and him talking to Dee in the hall at the end, he said yes. The House bit their lip and voted for the \$100 million, even though Carlson and Pelowski did not like it. They tried unsuccessfully to get rid of it in the years that followed (Litecky, 2016).

Legislation was adopted to guide collective bargaining and to provide for the transition of technical college employees from school districts to the State of Minnesota. Senator Moe possessed the will and power to repel repeated efforts over the next four years to repeal the merger legislation (MacTaggart, 2004). A final piece of legislation provided employees displaced by the merger with several early retirement options (MnSCU history, 1996a).

The 1995 merger of Minnesota community colleges, technical colleges, and state universities was seen as one of the most sweeping mergers of higher education systems in the United States (Ellis, 2011; Puyear, 2003). According to Puyear, Minnesota Senator Roger Moe had the political power to initiate the merger and impede attempts to undue it, but he lacked the power to assure it was properly funded and staffed (Ellis, 2011). Roger Moe believed the merger was good public policy, not a mandate for reform (see Appendix K for photo). This resulted in weak support from the Governor and the Minnesota House. The higher education community, especially state university leadership, strongly opposed the legislation and resisted the implementation as long as possible in the hopes it could be undone. The Governor and Legislature provided inadequate financial and political support for the system in the transition period. The overlapping missions of two-year college faculty and their unions, MCCFA and UTCE, were not included in initial merger discussions. According to Puyear (2003), the merger would have made been easier and more successful if MCCFA and UTCE decertified and recertified into a single bargaining unit earlier in the process. The four-year transition period was too long. It failed to create the sense of urgency needed to mobilize the system to address immediate problems. Senator Moe set a two-year transition period extension as a compromise to achieve passage of the measure (Puyear, 2003). The HEB required a mandate and increased authority to bring about the merger. It would have been more expedient to empower the HEB to operate all of the institutions from the beginning or to have placed the existing boards in a subordinate position to the HEB. Neither option would have been politically wise. The HEB was placed in the position of having to justify requests for staff and resources from the boards it was to replace (Ellis, 2011).

In Minnesota, technical colleges were not regionally accredited. This resulted in lower academic requirements for technical college faculty, differences in curriculum requirements, and perceptions that one system was superior to the other which led to resentment among faculty (Ellis, 2011). After the establishment of the MnSCU system, accreditation of technical colleges was commonplace.

In June 1995, the MnSCU Board of Trustees adopted a mission statement, Minnesota State Colleges and Universities provides accessible high quality, future-oriented education and community service through technical, pre-baccalaureate, baccalaureate, master's, occupational and continuing education programs (MnSCU history, 1996b, para. 1).

Each MnSCU institution had an individual mission consistent and supportive of the overall mission of the system. MnSCU defined its mission through its programs. MnSCU offers,

Technical education programs, delivered principally by technical colleges, which prepare students for skilled occupations that do not require a baccalaureate degree; 2) Pre-baccalaureate programs, delivered principally by community colleges, which offer lower division instruction in academic programs, occupational programs in which all credits earned will be accepted for transfer to a baccalaureate degree in the same field of study, and remedial studies; and 3) Baccalaureate and graduate programs, delivered principally by state universities, which offer undergraduate and graduate instruction through the master's degree, including specialist certificates, in the liberal arts and sciences and professional education (MnSCU history, 1996b, para. 4-6).

Don Holman commented on the merger,

The community colleges and technical colleges should never have been separated in the first place. We [Willmar Community College] started out in 1962 combined, but the Federal Government funded vocational programs while the transfer program just cost the school district money. So when they set up the state junior college system, the school districts transferred their transfer courses to the new system and kept the vocational programs because they received funded from the federal government. It was political and economic. Years later the State passed a bill again merging the two systems. Our local State Senator Dean Johnson had made it one of his goals while serving in the Legislature. The merger went well at Willmar-Hutchinson because we had shared the same cafeteria for the past twenty years. The old timers still remembered when we were together. The leadership on both campuses worked well together. The head of the technical college became the Assistant President and the community college President worked well with the tech leadership. We learned some things about the budget that our administration had forgotten to share with us. We were always short of funds to attend conferences and workshops now we found that we could include it in our department budgets. I asked Dean Colleen Thompson if that were true and can we write travel expenses into our budget and she said yes. So we learned from each other. We had a lot of meetings where the faculty from both campuses worked together as a team. We mixed the faculty from both schools together. We were together all the time so it worked well. I imagine it did not work as well in the metro colleges. (Holman, 2016).

Sam Nelson responded to the system merger,

There were a lot of growing pains during the first five years after MnSCU formed. We did not have the same voice. We lost our voice, in terms of faculty to administration at

the state level. When we were just the community college system, our voice was heard by the community college administration. When we were placed under the umbrella of an over-arching system, including state universities and technical institutions, we became the poor sister, we were the smallest, and we were going to get lost in the shuffle. It unfortunately reflects a lack of respect for what we do as liberal arts faculty. To find that voice again will require a Chancellor, Board of Trustees, local leaders, and state faculty union leadership to recommit to the value of liberal arts education at the two-year level. It's not just about job training or workforce development. It's not just about state universities and getting four-year degrees. Liberal arts educators provide a vital bridge between a high school diploma or GED and workforce and four-year degree. It provides the passageway. We help the technically trained to have a broader perspective, greater thinking skills, to thrive in a changing economy. We provide a less expensive bridge to a four-year degree. But, we need to emphasize the quality of the education we provide because of low teacher-student ratios and the commitment and dedication of faculty. We hear it all of the time from former students that go on to a four-year university that say my teachers at the two-year college were better than the university. I have yet to hear from a former student that the education received at a two-year college did not prepare them for the rigors of the university (Nelson, 2016).

Ellis (2011) interviewed fifteen individuals from the MnSCU system. Each individual was interviewed to assess their opinions and experiences regarding the merger of technical colleges, community colleges, and four-year universities. Ellis interviewed three faculty members who were assigned during the merger; two college administrators who were college faculty members during the merger; three college administrators who were in administration

during the merger; one college administrator who was a system office administrator during the merger; one current system office administrator who was an administrator during the merger; and five current system office administrators who were system office administrators during the merger (Ellis, 2011). Respondents identified a history of inadequate funding and inefficient resources as the catalyst for the merger. The state failed to provide adequate funding for the merger. Participants believed the promise of streamlined administrative and facility costs were central to the decision to merge. According to a respondent,

The Legislature saw two things happening. One, all of the systems were fighting with each other about funding, about bonding, about everything. And so they didn't come with a united front and they were getting tired of hearing us vie for funding power and everything else. The respondent continued, [The legislature] believed that higher education was very hierarchically structured with the technical colleges on the bottom, community colleges in the next rung, state universities at the next rung, the University of Minnesota at the next rung, private colleges at the next rung (Ellis, 2011, p. 75).

Many inequities complicated the merger. Technical college faculty worked with community college faculty who were earning more salary and working fewer hours (Union advocate, 1997). Respondents identified administrative duplication as a problem merger planned to solve. Other respondents commented on duplication. Articulation agreements and course equivalencies were inconsistent between technical, community, and four-year universities which resulted in transfer difficulties. The transfer difficulties were the main reason for merger and the source of frustrated legislators. According to one respondent,

We had a technical college that was a mile away from the community college. The technical college had an accounting program that was very practical, and we had a

community college program that was more theoretical. At the same time, they both used the same books. They both used the same instructor who went back and forth and the community college wouldn't accept the credits from the technical college (Ellis, 2011, p. 78).

Frustration grew with bureaucratic policies and procedures that created time constraints for students to complete their education (Ellis, 2011). These policies were commonly found in academic affairs and student services. One participant described the fee structure at Rochester Community and Technical College. Students paid up to three different fee statements depending on which courses were taken and may have multiple residency classifications (Ellis, 2011).

The resistance to the perceived culture intrusion, technical versus transfer missions or two-year versus four-year, led to lack of trust and suspicion during merger implementation (Ellis, 2011). Several respondents described the increased tension between MnSCU groups. The tension between community and technical college faculty did not subside after the merger. There were arguments between community college and technical college faculty in the committee meetings held to develop common instructional practices for newly merged institutions. Arguments over course assignments, room assignments, class times, and other scheduling issues were common. Respondents discussed how faculty were resistant to change. Neither side wanted to compromise. Eventually tensions were eased, but technical and transfer factions remained on merged institutions (Ellis, 2011).

Personal acceptance of the merger was a factor that contributed to the integration of positions (Ellis, 2011). Leaders not personally in favor of the merger eventually resigned. The MCCS Chancellor Braxton-Brown was opposed to the merger and resigned. Leaders who were cooperative or apathetic to the merger attained positions within the MnSCU system. While others

at the system office sought reassignment at the local colleges due to the uncertainty of the merged Central Offices (Ellis, 2011). According to Ellis (2011), the existence of unions made post-merger integration more chaotic. There were several collective bargaining agreements. Faculty belonged to UTCE, MCCFA, or IFO. Staff and middle management belonged to MMA, MAPE, or AFCME. According to one participant,

Employees of the community colleges were State employees and they were all represented, with the exception of upper administration, by collective bargaining groups and collective bargaining contracts. These contracts existed nearly twenty years prior to the 1991 merger legislation. Technical colleges were not in that situation. Their employees were employees of the school districts, and they were employed by the school districts...So consequently, while they had collective bargaining agreements when they were part of local school districts, when this merger happened, one of the main things was it made technical college faculty State of Minnesota employees which invalidated local collective bargaining agreements, leaving only the statewide agreement in effect (Ellis, 2011, p. 88).

“The MCCFA had lobbyists, lawyers, bargaining teams, and grievance representatives. It was a fairly mature organizational structure,” a respondent replied (Ellis, 2011, p. 89). Because UTCE was a new union, the MCCFA mentored the fledgling union about contract negotiations. As a result, MCCFA and UTCE joined forces and signed several MOUs which clarified their interests in faculty schedules, workloads, hiring and termination procedures, and other faculty rights. This cooperation reduced the chaos of the merger implementation process (Ellis, 2011). MCCFA President Larry Oveson recalled the organization difficulties of merging the two-year colleges,

In 1995, we had a couple of faculty unions, UTCE at technical colleges and MCCFA at community colleges. These organizations were very different in nature. The UTCE faculty worked for a State Board that was quite new itself. The technical colleges came out of the school districts not long before MnSCU was formed. The State Board was a guiding board. College Presidents were very powerful. The Community College Board on the other hand was highly patriarchal. It was led by a single Chancellor for decades and was top down from St. Paul. The Presidents bowed to the Chancellor in every possible way. The MCCFA dealt with a single entity. He had the power to bargain anything. Meanwhile, the UTCE faculty had the problem of bringing a lot of cultures together and a lot of contracts together from across the State (Oveson, 2016).

Students participated on the merger teams because they were considered central to the merger (Ellis, 2011). There were at least three students on each merger team. Student representatives from each of the former higher education systems were invited to participate. The merger teams created transitional plans for operational areas such as finance and accounting, business, academic affairs, and student affairs. The teams reduced stress among the three merging systems. "I think the transition teams were invaluable," said one respondent (Ellis, 2011, p. 91). Most MnSCU employees were threatened by the uncertainty of the future. Teams clarified what the new system would look like and provided opportunities for integration and communication between the former systems. One participant explained,

As the transition groups matured, people started to get comfort level with each other.

Presidents met with Presidents. Chief academic officers across the former systems met together (Ellis, 2011, p. 92).

These multi-level meetings with the three former systems guided cultural resistance and

administrative integration (Ellis, 2011). A respondent described the greater emphasis and emergence of collaboration. MnSCU became a more system-oriented culture.

Prior to the merger, each of the entities operated differently. The state universities operated on an autonomous platform where there was local control over curriculum, policies, and data systems. Community colleges operated as a system, but lacked the resources to function entirely as a system. Technical colleges, which until recently operated under the control of their local K-12 school systems, functioned somewhat systematically and individually. Therefore, the transition to a system culture faced resistance as each institution fought to maintain its autonomy.

The merger addressed efficiency, underrepresented student enrollment, transferability, and access to student services. The belief that the creation of a system culture produced a more efficiently operating organization was prevalent within the MnSCU system. According to one person interviewed, “We are hugely more efficient. We have saved a ton of money. We have higher quality in many ways. We certainly are less duplicative” (Ellis, 2011, p. 97). The increased focus resulted in better service to underrepresented students. “We do an excellent job with veterans [and]...we have higher levels of students of color than we’ve ever had. The Board has made access and opportunity our number one goal,” commented a respondent (Ellis, 2011, p. 99). Because of this broadening of opportunities and focus on students, transfer issues improved. A participant stated, “I think transfer is better today. But I think there’s still room for improvement there” (Ellis, 2011, p. 99). Overall improvement of student services continued to be a focus. Several respondents commented on the *Student First Initiative*, the initiative designed to remove barriers related to student access to college services. One respondent explained, “Students will be able to register at more than one institution easily. It breaks through the barriers of having separate ID codes for each layer of what you’re trying to do” (Ellis, 2011, p.

99). *Student First Initiative* assisted in combining online learning with on-campus learning. Students were able to enroll in an online class from one college and an on-campus class from another (Ellis, 2011).

The political and corporate impact was equally visible. MnSCU became a known commodity at the Legislature; a large public sector organization of over 25,000 employees provided political power (Ellis, 2011). The result of this political power created “more effective advocacy for System positions in relationship to the Legislature,” stated a respondent (Ellis, 2011, p. 101). The former systems had to submit three different budget requests and hire three different lobbyists. MnSCU had one Legislative agenda and one voice. Terms such as “acceptance, image and appreciation” expressed the new system’s sense of influence. “If people think of state higher education, they think of MnSCU. I think it’s probably got a pretty good image” (Ellis, 2011, p. 101). Another respondent mentioned the appreciation among politicians, business leaders, and community leaders. There was more connectivity to all the Chambers, Lions, Rotaries, and advisory committees for all college programs and made the institutions better partners in the community. There was a growing appreciation for two-year colleges (Ellis, 2011, p. 101-102).

A participant summarized the merger stated,

The system is clearly a better place to work and way more functional than it was in the beginning but it’s got its own challenges (Ellis, 2011, p. 102).

Ultimately, the keys to merger acceptance were time and the realization that the change was not as drastic or damaging as some initially expected (Ellis, 2011, p. 103).

Most participants believed the merger process took too long, but understand most complicated ventures are not done overnight. “I think buy-in from the systems beforehand would

have been a good idea,” reiterated one participant (Ellis, 2011, p. 107). The participant continued, “I’m not sure that there ever would have been buy-in. You can’t merge three large systems without a plan or yearly outcomes tied to funding” (Ellis, 2011, p. 108). One important issue brought out by this participant was the need to provide adequate funding to implement the merger. Perhaps the lack of upfront planning and implementation resources lengthened the merger process. “There was no money for merger. The System stagnated out of fear to make expenditures. We were afraid to make any improvements until we knew what kind of funding we even had” (Ellis, 2011, p. 107-108).

Strong leadership was critical to the merger. According to interviewees, Minnesota experienced ineffective leadership during the early years of merger. Respondents truly valued the subsequent leadership they viewed as strong and effective. One participant offered, “Leadership is just critical, and watching negative leadership in one system and the damage that did compared with what I would call positive leadership in the other two systems” (Ellis, 2011, p. 110). Positive leadership was associated with providing effective communication which “rarely happened,” according to one of the participants (Ellis, 2011, p. 110). Effective leaders communicate, plan, and prepare. Another respondent suggested that the lack of communication from leaders and the initial haphazard implementation of the merger were interrelated. The lack of leadership communication led to chaotic integration at the system office. Another respondent commented on merger leadership,

I think on a scale of one to five, I rate them as a one. They were not prepared to deal with two groups that had a big gap in the middle that needed to be brought to the table. You need preparation. You need to be told this is what is going to take place (Ellis, 2011, p. 111).

The participant was adamant about the need for strong leadership and communication, and recommended outside consultation when existing leadership lacked these critical skills. The importance of Board leadership was also conveyed by respondents. One participant stated,

The assurance of a quality is critical. How you determine the governing Board at the start is most critical. They hire the Chancellor. They must appoint people of the highest integrity and quality, and that did not always happen in the beginning when we needed it the most (Ellis, 2011, p. 112).

The respondents clearly indicated that strong leadership capable of effective preparation, planning, communication, and arbitration was necessary to ensure a successful merger. The view that the State Office was focused more on branding and marketing was prevalent. One of the respondents explained, “So I think there was a much more organized marketing campaign” (Ellis, 2011, p. 115). According to another respondent, “I think that we’ve been able to lift up some of the marketing kinds of things that we do as a system with all of the high schools and really advertise all of us” (Ellis, 2011, p. 115).

A different participant added,

I think people look positively upon MnSCU system. Certainly MnSCU has done a lot to talk themselves up, saying that they educate X number of students and that X percentage of those stay within Minnesota (Ellis, 2011, p. 115-116).

After going through the merger, faculty and staff were more open to new ideas and change. One participant believed there was a transformational change in the role of the average employee and the ability to shape the MnSCU system. The participant believed there was a paradigm shift in Minnesota higher education which created a more open system. A respondent described,

I think of being able to brainstorm. What is it that we want from this new system and being able to be inclusive in that to get people to start dreaming. I think the critical element there is the ability to get people to dream (Ellis, 2011, p. 118).

According to the respondent, a greater acceptance of new ideas, internal collaborations, and information sharing, the system experienced a paradigm shift. Another participant explained how different higher education systems, once fearful or threatened by each other, came together to discuss issues, share ideas, and collaborate. Openness and acceptance among these groups resulted.

We sit at the table together and talk about opportunities. That makes it a whole lot easier and they understand, I think, more about what we do through the partnerships that have evolved over the years (Ellis, 2011, p. 118).

Interim Chancellor Jay Noren

In 1993, the HEB, the precursor of the MnSCU Board of Trustees, appointed Jay Noren as Interim Chancellor to guide the transition to the 1995 merger (MCCFA BOD, 1993a; MCCFA DA, 1993; see Appendix L). He succeeded Mary Rieder, who was appointed as Acting Interim Chancellor in 1991 (MnSCU history, 1996a; see Appendix K for photo). President Litecky discussed conflicts with Noren,

Jay Noren, interim Chancellor of the Higher Education Board (HEB) – MnSCU's predecessor Board for four years - came to the MCCFA Delegate Assembly. He served during the four year transition and I served on the committee that hired him. We had two candidates. He, a medical doctor in Wisconsin, came in as our new Chancellor. He read a series of resolutions from the previous Delegate Assembly and gave a speech endorsing all of those positions. Over the next two months he did not do any of them. He did the

opposite. I wrote a *Green Sheet* I sent out. I also sent it to all of the members of the higher education committees and to the Board. I sent it to the IFO and met with them. It had two columns and a picture of him. The left column title was what he says. The right, was he does. He was so pissed. He called me to his office immediately that afternoon. I had delivered a copy to his secretary. He, Harry Peterson, his deputy, and Craig Ayers, the head of the State University Human Resources, and I are sitting around a round table in his office. He had smoke coming out of his ears. He put the *Green Sheet* in the middle of the table and said this cannot go unchallenged. 'I insist you rescind it,' he demanded. I took out a red pen, turned the copy of the *Green Sheet* towards him and asked him to 'circle what is not true.' He looked at me and went back to ranting. He stood up and put his finger in my face. The table was a very heavy circular table. I knew Harry and Craig very well. I said, 'Jay, sit down. If you don't sit down in three seconds, I am going to tip this table over on you and it is going to break your foot.' He says, 'What!' Harry stands up and says, 'We are not having a fight in here.' At that time many people were just hostile towards us and wanted to do us in (Litecky, 2016).

The search process was initiated for the position of Deputy Chancellor, Director of Employee Relations, Vice Chancellor for Budget and Finance, and Vice Chancellor for External Affairs. The MCCFA had representation on each hiring committee (MCCFA BOD, 1993b).

I think it goes without saying that without his skillful and dedicated leadership we would not be on the verge of having this come to pass, Senator Roger Moe said. When you consider all of the roadblocks that were put in front of him, the constant efforts by the House of Representatives to repeal the merger, the veto of the appropriations by the governor, it is testimony to Jay's skill and leadership (Noren AP, 1995, p. 2).

Noren was hired to force three post-secondary school systems that wanted to maintain their independence into one streamlined, unified system. Noren removed himself from consideration of the permanent post,

While I think the challenge will continue its excitement, I am not prepared to commit for five or more years and I think MnSCU will need a long-term commitment from its next chief executive for the development stage of the new system beginning in July (Noren AP, 1995, p. 2).

Interim Chancellor Noren disbanded the Arrowhead Region (MCCFA BOD, 1994a). Greg Braxton-Brown, President of the seven campus Arrowhead Community College accused Noren of transgressions ranging from uninspired speeches to wasting time with his campus tours (Noren AP, 1994). Archie Chelseth of Cloquet, Chairman of the System Board, spoke of Noren, I'm amazed at the drive and dedication he has. He came over here and immediately got to work to put the merger together. And I think the Board is very appreciative (Noren AP, 1994, p. 1).

The newly established culture was beneficial to the system

Chancellor Judith Eaton

Outgoing MCCA Chancellor Greg Braxton-Brown was the last to hold the MCCA position (Green Sheet, 1995b; see Appendix K for photo; see Appendix L). In 1995, the newly formed MnSCU system consisted of 34 campus sites administered by 18 colleges (Minnesota Technical College System, 1995). The Board of Trustees commissioned a national search for a permanent Chancellor in the spring of 1995. The successful candidate, Dr. Judith Eaton, was selected on June 12, 1995, and assumed the position on August 15, 1995. The MCCA system and Interim Chancellor Jay Noren turned over authority on July 1, 1995 to Chancellor Judith Eaton

(Green Sheet, 1995b; see Appendix K for photo). Chancellor Eaton spoke highly of the MnSCU system, its accomplishments, and its challenges (MCCFA BOD, 1996c). With acceptance from the Board, she developed a new organizational framework for the MnSCU system office which reflected the four system priorities of policy development, governmental liaison and advocacy, strategic planning, and budget (MnSCU history, 1996a). The MnSCU office staffing proposal focused on the elimination or relocation of some functions and the reduction of staff from 210 to 110. Further cost efficiencies were achieved by consolidating 28 community and technical college campuses, involving 22 institutions, into 11 comprehensive community and technical colleges (MnSCU history, 1996a). After its first year, MnSCU served the state with 53 campuses in 46 communities. The system became the largest provider of higher education in the state (MnSCU history, 1996a). Larry Litecky recalled,

There was a legislative attempt pushed by Eaton to move the six metro community colleges under Metro State. They would become feeder institutions for the main campus. I wrote a brochure and had it professionally printed and bound by an outside vender. Mankato and St. Cloud State Universities were opposed to anything that would make Metro State stronger. I went and handed the brochures out during IFO's annual assembly. I announced that I would like to say when I speak to the Legislature and the MnSCU Board that Chancellor Eaton is not running the way faculty are organized, how community colleges are organized. This plan had no support from your faculty or ours. Our Boards have voted unanimously to support this document and I would like you to endorse it too. A motion was quickly made by someone from Mankato State and seconded by someone from St. Cloud State and passed just like that. No discussion at all. A group of Metro State faculty followed me to me car they were so pissed. My friend,

Monte, from Metro State said, 'You just kicked our ass. It was unbelievable' (Litecky, 2016).

The MnSCU strategic plan established goals to guide the system. MnSCU believed attainment of the goals contributed to an enhanced quality of life and increased economic competitiveness for the people of Minnesota (MnSCU history, 1996c). The strategic planning process began in the spring of 1996, six months after Chancellor Eaton assumed her duties. MnSCU gathered perspectives from focus groups across the state, collected demographic and economic data, and commissioned market research surveys of students, alumni and employers. After analyzing this information and sharing it with the MnSCU board, a Strategic Plan Steering Committee, with consultants from the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems, worked with Chancellor Eaton to develop a tentative vision statement and strategic themes (MnSCU history, 1996c). In September and October 1996, Chancellor Eaton and the MnSCU Board conducted twelve town meetings across the state to discuss the themes with nearly 1,600 people. MnSCU campus presidents held town meetings with their faculty, staff, and students. The MnSCU office staff discussed themes with the statewide faculty, staff, and student leadership. All of these conversations helped to refine the vision statement and transform the strategic themes into goals (MnSCU history, 1996c). The goals included academic accountability, skill-based transfer, career education, electronic education, program and service alignment, and MnSCU/K-12 partnerships (MnSCU goals, 1996). Larry Litecky was candid when reflecting on Chancellor Eaton,

A little tongue in cheek, but I believe Judith Eaton was under the influence of amphetamines or something, she was so distracted all the time. She never looked at you. She was always moving. I have known a lot of speed freaks in my life, she would have

been at home. Distracted, punitive person who fired people who disagreed with her in public. We had a meeting to tell her that all three groups, IFO, UTCE, and MCCFA, had no confidence votes pending and wanted to give her the courtesy and letting her know. Neither Bruce Hemstad nor Ed Twedt would go talk to her, so I went to talk to her on my own. They were afraid she was going to do something. I went and she asked, 'Where's Ed and Bruce?' I told her they were afraid of her because she is so punitive they thought she would hurt them. She asked why I was there. I said, 'What are you going to do to me?' And she started laughing. But that was the type of climate that was there during the first two years (Litecky, 2016).

The bargaining in 1997-98 was like an inside baseball deal, MnSCU Chancellor Judith Eaton resigned in 1997 (MCCFA BOD, 1997b).

Chancellor Morris Anderson

The MnSCU Board of Trustees unanimously approved the appointment of Morris Anderson as Chancellor (see Appendix K for photo; see Appendix L). Anderson resigned as a member of the Board of Trustees on April 21, 1996 to be considered for the interim post (Rhodes, 1997). He served as the Governor's Chief of Staff since November 1994. He began his duties on July 1, 1997 and served for two years as Interim Chancellor. His top priority was to implement the MnSCU strategic plan (Rhodes, 1997). Some MnSCU Trustees did not support Chancellor Anderson, but lacked a majority to support his removal (MCCFA BOD, 1999b). The HEB identified 21 programs as duplicative and, therefore, were targeted for elimination or recombination (Green Sheet, 1992c). The MCCFA and MCCS worked together to develop a strategy to continue occupational programs in the system and to insure job security (MCCFA BOD, 1992c).

Larry Litecky offered a humorous recount of Century College faculty trying to get rid of President Jim Meznik with the assistance of Chancellor Anderson.

Jim Meznik, the worst college President in the history of Minnesota, was a guy who intimidated officers and faculty. I went through two years of meetings as MCCFA President listening to how horrible he was. After a year, I thought we needed to get rid of him. The Executive Committee met with the Board and let them know we were going to active try to get rid of him. We had an elaborate strategy to go after the MCCS Board, Chancellor, and Legislature. We sent twenty people to door knock and canvass for Harry Mares, who turned out to be the third most important Republican Legislator. There were a bunch of Republican faculty leaders at Century who hated Meznik. They told Mares what a son-of-a-bitch he was. Mares supported our effort to remove him. I talked to the MCCS Board and set up a meeting with Chancellor Morrie Anderson and Mares. Harry demanded Meznik's removal. We then had the big meeting where Morrie brings Vekich to the MCCFA office in the Blaire conference room. Oveson and I were there when Morrie and Vekich come in. Don Maher, Kathy Gates, Carrie Kidrowski, and John Crawley were the four faculty leaders at that time from Century. Each were told they could share a story about Meznik and how it impacted them, but it cannot go over three minutes. Everybody shared awful stories. The faculty left and Vekich was just scratching his head, as was Morrie. Oveson shared some experiences as well. The entire meeting was held while a huge thunderstorm was building outside. Through the glass you could see the cloud forming, lightening, and torrential rainfall. I said, 'Do you know what they call him on campus? The devil.' And just then, a shot of lightening hit the power pole just outside the building and knocks out all of the electricity in the entire building. So we

were sitting there in the dark. I concluded, ‘Need I say more?’ We were all laughing like teenage kids. Michelle brought in two candles and put them on the table in the middle of the room. ‘Maybe we should beckon?’ I said (Litecky, 2016).

MCCFA President Larry Litecky revealed future internal and external challenges facing the union in his final article in the *Green Sheet* in 1998. External challenges included traditional dynamics of bargaining compensation, impact of technology, impact of performance indicators, impact of assessment initiatives, restructuring issues involving MCCFA’s relationship to UTCE on consolidated colleges, bargaining unit clarification issues over what constitutes faculty work, and the evolution of MnSCU as a complex bureaucratic organization with campus autonomy. Internally, MCCFA expected dramatic turnover when veteran faculty retired and newer faculty arrived (Litecky, 1998). The MnSCU system bureaucracy was expected to grow until the ability of any individual to understand the system diminished, the capacity and motivation of individuals to participate in decision-making diminished, the individual’s access to decision-making declined, and the participation of experts in decision-making grew disproportionately (Litecky, 1998). This grim prediction would result in increased dissatisfaction towards governance factors. A combination of traditional and professional unionism would be necessary to face these challenges.

Summary

The professional arm of the union continued to develop in the nineties. The Center for Teaching and Learning was created and funded by Bush grants. Academic initiatives, such as Critical Thinking and Classroom Assessment, dominated union activities. The Academic Affairs Task Force dealt with assigned fields, minimal qualifications, and curriculum review. In an effort to improve student transfer between Minnesota public higher education institutions, the

Minnesota Transfer Curriculum was initiated in 1991 and Semester Conversion followed in 1999. President Litecky provided exemplary professional unionism leadership. Many technical colleges were placed into regionalized units in the early nineties. The newly formed regions voted for MEA or MFT representation. In 1995, the state university, community college, and technical college systems were merged as the Minnesota State Colleges and Universities system. The merger forced the technical colleges to form a statewide union and the United Technical College Educators (UTCE) resulted. UTCE began difficult contract negotiations immediately after formation. IFO, MCCFA, and UTCE increased cooperation after merger. The complexities of the merger caused a delay of its full implementation.

2000-2009 Two-Year College Union Merger and Recertification

Union Merger

Ellis (2011) cited the positive relationship between community colleges and technical colleges as one of major reasons for the successful merger in Minnesota. A large number of the community colleges and technical colleges had relationships with complementary programs such as Practical Nursing and Registered Nursing. The relationship was tested when the two faculties explored merging their respective unions. Larry Oveson reflected on the origin of merger of the two unions,

In 2000, the MnSCU Board hired a consultant who was to report about the status of the system. One of the major findings of that report was the existence of two faculty unions in two-year colleges was a significant problem. It resonated with the Legislature. It really resonated with the Board of Trustees. I, as the MCCFA President, did not trust the Legislature to not make a deal with the insiders at MnSCU and do a quick legislative fix

that we would have no control over. So in that context, and with that concern that, as usual, the power brokers would move around us, I approached the President of UTCE with a possible merger consideration. We went through Education Minnesota. They thought they were serving as a mediator, but we just shoved them aside to be perfectly frank. We just did business ourselves. While we agreed to merge as equals, we came from really different backgrounds. UTCE was much more tied to the AFT and a centralized operation nationally, in Minnesota, it was the MFT, a centralized operation in Minnesota. MCCFA was tied to NEA and MEA, who had a more democratic, broad-based, operations. Shortly before the creation of MnSCU, AFT and NEA merged in Minnesota, not nationally. But it was very much in flux for years. How this new organization would function and how power would be shared, who would do what, was under constant discussion. So these two unions, UTCE and MCCFA, come out of these environments. I cannot speak to where UTCE and the MFT were, but MCCFA considered MEA as a necessary evil and one we largely disregarded. We were quite independent. Our model was their model for governance. I will give an example of this, when we came together, UTCE and MCCFA we had a lot of constitution work to do. UTCE representatives lobbied for getting rid of what we called the Delegate Assembly. In NEA, MEA, and MCCFA the Delegate Assembly held the ultimate power in the organization. They had the authority, met once a year with broad representation from all of the campuses based upon campus faculty population, to make policy, redirect leadership, whatever. UTCE representatives wanted nothing to do with that, it was not part of their background. As a compromise, we agreed to retain the Delegate Assembly in place, but stripping it of its power. Today it does resolutions, but it does not pass policy

or take on those types of matters. There were fifty of those types of considerations when we brought the two unions together. Nobody got everything they wanted and nobody maintained their old culture perfectly, but we established a document that serves fairly well today (Oveson, 2016).

A MCCFA/UTCE combined Constitution and Bylaws draft moved to memberships in November. A Unity team explored all aspects of merger (Green Sheet, 2000). President Oveson advised the Board that the proposed Constitution and Bylaws on the proposed merger of MCCFA and UTCE was a vote “as is,” without amendments (MCCFA BOD, 2000d). While dissent and discussion was not stifled, the leadership did not believe they had the responsibility to provide opposing positions. Not all the membership advocated for a two union decertification, one union recertification concept, Bill Newton provided an alternative concept that was discussed, but was not pursued.

I thought we [MCCFA] should have a bargaining election and take them over. We knew the language in the community college contract was better, so we knew thought we would win the election. I did not have a vote. It was a very close vote. Part of it was snooty, part of it was the fights that were going on over curriculum, and it was hard to hug each other while you are fighting. It was decided by the members to seek sponsors at the Legislature to merge the two (Newton, 2016).

On November 14 and 15, 2,000 members of UTCE and MCCFA approved a new Constitution and By-laws for a merged union. The Constitution and Bylaws was approved by 86 percent of technical college faculty and 64 percent of community college faculty (Kuchta, 2000). The MSCF Nominating Committee counted and validated the proposed Constitution and Bylaws votes, 461 affirmative and 267 negative (MCCFA BOD, 2000e). Clearly, technical college

faculty were more favorable of merger than transfer faculty. The focus of the Unity team and bargaining committees was the addition of positions to be presented at contract negotiations (MCCFA BOD, 2000e). Advocates for the merger believed a single union eliminated competition between the two organizations, promoted a unified front in negotiations and lobbying, and accomplished unification on union terms, rather than imposed by the Legislature acting on behalf of the MnSCU system. “There’s a clear, long-term benefit to the membership as a single organization,” said Ed Schones, UTCE President (see Appendix K for photo). The proposed unification of MCCFA and UTCE raised issues such as mission creep, general education versus general studies, college level and developmental coursework, and legislative concerns over union turf battles on consolidated campuses (MCCFA BOD, 2000c). About 20 percent of MCCFA members taught in occupational programs (MCCFA BOD, 2000c). President Oveson reflected on the early relations between the merged unions,

To make a statewide contract, there were winners and losers in internal bargaining. Some people got increased workloads, some got reduced workloads. They were two very different organizations. UTCE was doing a great job of finding its way, but it was finding its way with a new contract. The MCCFA had a very mature contract, lots of protocols and routines. So in that environment, we had some colleges messing around with stuff. One thing they messed around with was the Missions Law the legislation established, which still exists today. The Missions Law governs the technical colleges, community colleges, consolidated or comprehensive colleges, and state universities and explains what each entity is supposed to provide. The technical colleges in their eagerness to grow and to serve the needs of people across the State felt the need to begin general studies. General studies were liberal arts in a different context. When they began to offer general

studies, the people in community colleges began to take notice, because that was our bread and butter. In community colleges, we were limited to technical programs that transferred to future degrees. We could not offer a little stand alone, nine month or one year program. We had to offer associate degrees. So any technical program offered at a community college had to conform to that context. The MCCFA looked at the technical college operation as beginning to infringe. I don't think there was jealousy, there was a lot of concern about a liberal arts model being created in the same system we worked for and made contracts with. We had different workloads for what we saw as liberal arts instructors in the technical colleges. We did not want that pressure in the MCCFA in our bargaining or in our contract. Other considerations were there also, but we were very concerned about a liberal arts model in other colleges in MnSCU (Oveson, 2016).

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The 12 member Unity Team worked out details after both union executive boards gave the go ahead on June 27 (Kuchta, 2000). The merged union would number about 4,000 members. If members of both unions approved the merger, the transfer of exclusive representative rights would move to the BMS for certification. The Legislature needed to amend PELRA legislation. Ed Schones believed all steps would be completed by May 2001. The timing worked well because both unions were in the final year of two-year contracts with MnSCU. The most immediate task was to address concerns raised by the membership. JoAnn Roche, MCCFA Vice-President, said,

We have some trouble spots. We will be targeting those campuses, having discussions with faculty across the state, to dispel their problems and answer their questions (Kuchta, 2000, p. 2).

Communication was critical during the transition period. Ed Shones was dedicated to maintaining communications during the transition. He commented,

During the transition we could have done a better job of communicating with the membership. I put out the *UTCE Express* on a weekly or biweekly basis from my desk to the membership. We can always improve communication. I continued to write the *MSCF Express* after we merged. Some former MCCFA members would send me emails telling me that I cannot write a sentence. I said, 'Forget you, I am going to continue to write it. I am not an English major and dangle a participle now and then.' I tried to keep membership involved and continued to do that up to the election. After the election, the newsletter returned to the *Green Sheet* (Shones, 2016).

Although there were clear similarities in the classroom, differences in contracts and between the two unions could not be ignored. These differences would lead to a bifurcated contract, Ed Shones said,

There were differences in mission, education for employment versus education that can be transferred to four-year campuses. There were differences in workload, the amount of time spent before students (Kuchta, 2000, p. 2).

Salary structures differed. The community colleges were unionized longer and had higher salaries, Roche said,

Perhaps, the UTCE members felt they have more to gain. We [MCCFA] had more people who were skeptical of change, who wanted to guard what we had (Kuchta, 2000, p. 2).

Roche believed the merger would be most beneficial at consolidated campuses, where dual jurisdiction created disputes over which union represents which instructors. "Pitting us against

each other and the administration sometimes plays off of that. The merger puts us in charge of our own destiny,” Roche said (Kuchta, 2000, p. 2).

In 2001, MCCFA and UTCE faculty voted to decertify their respective unions (Oveson, 2016). If faculty were dissatisfied with collective bargaining, a successful vote for a merged collective bargaining unit would have failed. Both faculties voted overwhelmingly to merge into the Minnesota State College Faculty (MSCF) (Whaley, 1990). Bill Newton provided insight into the politics of the union merger,

We knew the decertification of UTCE and MCCFA and recertification of MSCF was going to pass before the vote. We did a good assessment. We knew some campuses were going to vote it down, but we knew enough would pass it. The worst case would be we did not do it. Oveson, JoAnn, Elaine Hauff were champions, but there were many people across the state that supported it and it was a no-brainer for the stand alone community colleges. I worked with Oveson and others to develop the first MOU. In that process, we got management to agree wherever the same thing can happen, we would assure it would be done. We got the first group of co-locates done all at once. Then the agreement was when the mission changed at another college they would get the same benefit and a new MOU was agreed to. Everything would be the same. To my knowledge that has happened. There are only five stand-alone technical colleges left (Newton, 2016).

The exclusive representative vote was conducted on January 23-24, and of the 906 total votes cast, 652 were in favor of a new exclusive representative and 244 were against. Sam Nelson, an opponent of merger, summarized his position, shared by many liberal arts faculty,

We believed merger would benefit us as two-year college faculty if we joined forces just in sheer numbers and bargaining position power. It was pitched to us that we will get

bigger and stronger with improved voice and power. The reason I opposed merger was because the MCCFA contract was far superior to the UTCE contract which was based on school board negotiations. I foresaw that community college faculty would not receive the kinds of improvements in salaries and benefits we would have as a singular entity because we would need to bring the UTCE members up to the MCCFA contract levels. I think that has contributed significantly that we have not had salary increases in our contracts. Because we work so closely with our colleagues in technical college areas it was a natural marriage of faculty. It did bring us together to understand what each brings to the table and how we can help each other. I think that was the academic goal. Our local and state constitutions continued a bifurcation of technical and transfer faculty. Locally, the technical and liberal arts bifurcation was eliminated. We no longer needed two parallel leadership structures. At the state level, we retained a Technical and Transfer [Liberal Arts] Vice-President. It has been an evolution to view ourselves as one and not as blues and greens. We mirrored the state until we rewrote our local Constitution and Bylaws, ending the bifurcation. Do I think it has been successful? I would give it a qualified yes. At the state level, we have a defined organization structure. The biggest hurdle locally is technical representation on leadership. Technical programs feel more vulnerable to layoffs and program closures. There is less of a desire to get involved and make waves. The fear of job loss contributes to the lack of true integrated faculty. It is much better than it was. When the votes for decertification and recertification were taken, the writing was on the wall. To go back was not an option. There were not enough community college faculty to out vote UTCE. It was two to one locally. We did not have the votes. So we made lemonade out of lemons (Nelson, 2016).

The new unit of former UTCE and MCCFA officers met in February. The BMS certified the petition for MSCF to serve as the Exclusive Representative of two-year college faculty bargaining units (MSCF BOD, 2001b). The MSCF became the Exclusive Representative of all community and technical college faculty in the state of Minnesota (Oveson, 2001). Ed Schones shed light on the process of merger,

The decertification and recertification of both UTCE and MCCFA was handled by the Bureau of Mediation Services. The mechanics were straight forward. We went down to Energy Park and signed papers and became one. The work behind merging the two philosophies was where the rubber hit the road. We came in with very different philosophies about the organization. The MCCFA had a long history and UTCE was an infant. It was a different set of leadership, ideals, and philosophies we brought to the table. We did not reconcile those differences very well. Larry and I did not work well together. It was so bad, I went to the parent association, NEA to help us. We just did not seem to sync well together. I do not think we had a trust for each other. Principles before personalities, maybe if somebody other than me or other than Larry were there it may have made a difference. Maybe the first contract may have been different, maybe not, you were dealing with Jeff Wade. That guy was a bastard. He had an interesting background. He came from the letter carriers. He was the President of the letter carrier union. He bested both of us. He bested me. The MCCFA did not get hurt in the merger. I think the merger helped liberal arts and to this day I do not know if they understand it or not, but financially it helped the liberal arts side of the house and did not do much to help the blue side of the house. The strength of numbers and the expensive benefits, the year of salary and 26 credits to retrain was a big benefit (Schones, 2016).

The first MSCF contract negotiations began with Co-Presidents, Larry Oveson, former MCCFA, and Ed Schones, former UTCE (Roche, 2001b). The MSCF combined transfer and technical educational missions together leaving many contractual issues unresolved. Workload, salary, summer school rotation, team teaching, independent study, elapsed time, internship supervision, weekend assignments, and claiming rights were contract areas explored after union consolidation (Newton, 2002; Oveson, 2004; Stafki, 2002). Ed Schones provided commentary regarding the first contract bargaining,

We could have certainly done better at the bargaining table. I don't blame anyone, but Bill Newton had way too much influence in negotiations. It was unfortunate that John Shabatura went away. We would have been in a much better place negotiating with John Shabatura. He was a champ. He was a brilliant man with a big heart. We blew it during the first contract. There was no strength in the organization to do better than what we did. Liberal arts faculty retained their benefits and gained more membership to pay for those benefits; everything was fine on their end. Technical faculty were left hoping for gains. We gave up the momentum we gained as UTCE; we just stopped. I have said on occasion, let's call the merger a failed experiment and dissolve. Let's allow UTCE to bargain on their own. I firmly believe, given the political landscape, and our clout, we would do just fine. It would be a different looking contract. The things we spend money on would not be the same we spend money on now (Schones, 2016).

The 1995-97 and 1997-99 UTCE contract covers were blue. The 1995-97 and 1997-99 MCCFA contract covers were green. In the new MSCF contract, many elements of the previous contracts were retained for either UTCE or MCCFA members which created bifurcation

(Litecky, 2016). To avoid confusion, former UTCE members and their specific rights were termed “blue” and former MCCFA “green.”

The MSCF merger bill passed 56-0 in the Minnesota Senate on May 4, 2001 (MSCF BOD, 2001c). The election of officers was held 90 days after BMS certification (MSCF BOD, 2001a). Elections were conducted for co-officers, ballots on co-located campuses were green for former MCCFA members and blue for former UTCE members (MSCF BOD, 2001c). In the election, former MCCFA members cast 400 votes and former UTCE cast 621 votes (MSCF BOD, 2001c). Bill Newton explained the expanded Executive Committee,

The Executive Committee is bigger than it used to be. It was just the officers in the beginning, just the four, President, Vice President, Secretary, and Treasurer. The expanded to include Co-President, Co-Vice President, Co-Secretary, and Co-Treasurer after merger. Then they added Executive Committee At-Large. That has become an internal political issue. An expansion like that is usually based upon a lack of trust” (Newton, 2016).

Ed Schones reflected on the leadership transition,

If we would have gone with one President after merger, both Larry and I would have ran for that position. I think it would have been a tossup. That would have been an interesting thing to do. I would have been interesting to see the outcome of that election. I think I would have done very well. The co-leadership concept was a way to reassure the membership that their voices were going to be heard whether former MCCFA or UTCE. We were in this together. We were going to use these Co-Presidents for three years. At the end of the transition period we were going to go to one president. It seemed like a reasonable approach to calm jitters on both sides of the aisle. The mission vice-presidents

which persist today are silly. I tried to get rid of those at the DA and people said we need the voice. It is so expensive. Just get the right person in there that will represent the rights of all faculty. I thought we would get beyond that, but we are so not beyond it. Let's get beyond this nonsense. It doesn't matter what you teach, where you teach, we are one. I am convinced that whether it be downtown or on the individual campuses or within our own union there is a hierarchy, it is IFO, four-year college doctorates, on top, then liberal arts instructors in the middle, and CTE instructors on the bottom. We do it with our contract and I do not know if we will ever overcome it (Schones, 2016).

The MSCF introduced a logo contest (MSCF BOD, 2001b). A pizza party was given to the college course with the student who designed the winning logo and the student received some tuition reimbursement. Five logo finalists were selected before the winner was selected (MSCF BOD, 2001b; see Appendix I). The Metro Alliance meetings began among metro MCCFA locals (MCCFA BOD, 2000e). Alexandria Technical College added an Associate of Arts degree without changing the institution name (MSCF EC, 2004e). Additional stand-alone technical colleges requested the ability to offer A.A. degrees (MSCF EC, 2006b). President Oveson acknowledged the discomfort that accompanied a new organization. He emphasized that while MSCF have not discovered all the values that formed our opinions the MSCF must seek to learn these through debate and by challenging and questioning decisions and actions. This process may not be comfortable, but it may not be healthy to accept positions and statements without discussion and sometimes disagreement. The MSCF needed to have opinions expressed passionately when the organization comes to a decision. Once the decision was reached through a democratic process, the membership must all line up behind that decision (MSCF BOD, 2002b). The MSCF Co-Presidents received full year honorariums which represented 33 percent

overload (MSCF BOD, 2003b). The new organization moved forward with frequent conflict. Ed Schones recalled an example of the ongoing conflict,

Larry and I were meeting at Anoka-Ramsey after merger. Larry always liked to go second. I went first. He liked to go second, especially if we were speaking to stand-alone green faculty. I talked about this and that and had a conversation. When Larry spoke, they asked him about some issues and he did not give them any answers. I was going to pipe up, but I didn't. Afterwards we got out to the car and he said, 'If they wanted that much information they should serve on the Executive Committee.' I will not say anything bad about Larry, he is a great guy and a strong leader. But it was just a difference in philosophy about where he saw leadership. There was information you have and there was information you gave to leadership and it was not the same. I was a lot more transparent with information. I shared information and where I thought we should be going, right or wrong. I had a more measured leadership style. That was the biggest difference in our styles and it could not be overcome (Schones, 2016).

Office space configuration changed through the elimination of Co-Presidents and Co-Treasurers (MSCF EC, 2004f). The MSCF Treasurer moved to a full release position, the vice presidents and secretary remained half release positions. A 12 credit pool was available for additional officer release as needed (MSCF EC, 2004b). After collapsing the President and Treasurer positions, the excess office equipment was written off (MSCF EC, 2005b). The 2004 election results for MSCF President and Treasurer were revealed. Ed Schones congratulated Larry Oveson, but results revealed a fractionalized organization (MSCF EC, 2004d). Many faculty were upset with the merger (Schones, 2016).

The MSCF experienced increasing numbers of fair share faculty, nearing 25 percent of two-year college faculty (MSCF BOD, 2004a). The MSCF Credential Fields Committee discussed unified credentialing structure with MnSCU and how to correct and unify duplicative areas. The MSCF supported proposals that removed bifurcation and created opportunity to bargain alternatives to column movement (MSCF BOD, 2004a). Each two-year college campus assigned a MSCF appointed grievance representative (MSCF BOD, 2004b). The MSCF passed a modified Executive Committee policy to clarify the authority of the Vice-Presidents. In absence of President, the Technical Vice-President presided at the first absence, the Liberal Art Vice-President presided on the second absence and alternate thereafter (MSCF EC, 2007a). Sam Nelson commented about the significance of the union merger,

During my tenure, the most significant event was the merger with UTCE, the technical faculty. That was a decision that was made to strengthen community and technical college faculty because we were merging into comprehensive colleges, like Ridgewater College, but there were still stand alone community and stand-alone technical colleges. The merger of UTCE and MCCFA was the most significant in restructuring the nature of the union (Nelson, 2016).

Norm Halsa reflected on the union merger,

Larry Oveson and Ed Schones were the champions of the union merger. In the beginning, they both believed the merger was the right thing to do. By the end of the merger process, they were not speaking to each other or riding in the same car. I stayed neutral on the issue. I probably should have spoken up on the issue to suggest holding off for a few years. We could have voted the merger down I suppose. I don't recall any organized opposition to the recertification. Once we got to the one president and Larry Oveson won,

everybody was happy. With Bill Newton's expertise we could not have been happier at that point in time. We've had a lot of staff representatives, both good and bad, Bill was one of the better ones (Halsa, 2016).

Ed Schones, also reflected on the merger, but expressed regret,

Shortly after the formation of UTCE, I was approached by EM staff about merging UTCE and MCCFA. I thought it could be beneficial. There was strength in membership. I thought we had parallel concerns at the bargaining table. We explored merger. I was totally on board. My Executive Committee was opposed to merger, but we did merge. For a lone time I thought it was the right move. Perhaps it was premature, we could have grown a few more whiskers or did more contract negotiations, but we pulled the trigger and merged. Today, I do not think it was the right move. If I could go back and undo the merger I would. It was good for the system. I know it was good for students. But it terms of the membership on the blue side, it was not a good move. The bifurcated contract we have is lousy. The first MSCF contract, for former UTCE members, was similar to the first contract UTCE got as a stand-alone. I was surprised by the lack of support we received on the bargaining team and Executive Committee for that contract. The bifurcations of 30-32 credit and hiring language stemmed from that first contract. Whatever was solidified in the first contract still exists. Hiring language protects liberal arts faculty, but doesn't protect technical faculty. Apparently, technical faculty do not need protections, but liberal arts faculty may. The language came from Larry Litecky days when Larry Oveson was the lead negotiator. It is an expensive benefit that works well for liberal arts faculty. A year's salary, plus retraining, is expensive. When MSCF formed there was a lot of hope for the organization. The merger of the unions did not

mitigate any dissatisfaction. EM and field staff played an outsized role in regards to working conditions (Schones, 2016).

The bifurcations in the MSCF contract were common themes shared by former greens and blues throughout this project. Whenever bifurcated benefits were raised, passionate arguments ensued. When a union stands for equal rights for its members, inequitable benefits cause discord. Norm Halska discussed initial placement of UTCE members on the MCCFA adopted, MSCF salary schedule,

Bifurcation exists in the MSCF contract from the negotiations between the UTCE and MCCFA merger. UTCE had a pay schedule that was one lane. There were ways to improve your salary by education, training, and work experience. All of that went away when we went into MSCF with columns and lanes again. They had to pay off all the units that were hanging on the books. A lot of people had windfalls. The salary schedule mergers were easy. Most of us who did not have degrees, ended up in column one, but every time we relicensed we moved over a column. That language was in a MOU. Some of our folks had Master's degrees and were coerced to get on the Master's column. They were red circled on the Master's column. If they would have stayed in the first column, they would have moved a column every five years, plus a pay bump with the move over. There were former UTCE members with Master's degrees who never made it to the top of the salary schedule. I advised my faculty to just sit on the first column and move every time they relicensed every five years (Halska, 2016).

Ed Schones discussed Department Chair remuneration,

It is silly to pay a green department chair six credits guaranteed, three per semester. If you have a department with ten or more faculty, you are going to get four credits one

semester and four credits the next. That is a \$20,000 benefit. A blue-side department chair gets \$2,500 for the same job. I never understood why in the Sam hell we would even sit at a table where we would consider this arrangement. I lacked the clout to carry the conversation. We were told to accept the arrangement now and chip away at it later. We never chipped away at it, we were sold a bill of goods. I was amazed by the lack of voices on both sides of the aisle, but especially with the technical college faculty regarding the disparities in the contract (Schones, 2016).

Norm also provided insight on Department Chair remuneration,

Some colleges have tried to equalize the pay differences. On the green side of the contract, faculty were willing to give one credit per chair to the blue side faculty to equalize compensation. Those MOUs are out there. Different calendars for different programs exist. Farm management that goes out on sight have six month semesters. There are special agreements across the system. I never let the bifurcations bother me much. It is just what it is (Halsa, 2016).

Both Ed Schones and Norm Halsal commented on the 30-32 credit issue from a blue member perspective. Ed Schones said,

One of the major bifurcation issues of the UTCE-MCCFA merger was the 30-32 credit issue. Some programs had accreditation based upon credit hours and must defend their credits. If you have 30 credits it was less credits to work with per week. The fight was to keep the 32. If they went to 30, it would require overload to maintain 32 credits which becomes too expensive to maintain. Presidents identify programs as too expensive for closure. When we were UTCE we tried to buy those credits back. MnSCU took every FTE we have on the technical side and multiplied that number by two by the average

salary which resulted in \$26 million. Nobody gets a raise with those numbers. If it remained at 32, the membership gets a raise. Ed Schones was the UTCE president when the 32 credit workload was established (Halsa, 2016).

Norm Halsa provided an alternative perspective on 30-32 credits and severance,

Expecting the entire MSCF membership to pay for the reduction from 32 to 30 for the blue side seems unfair. There are winners and losers. I hated when the team would go out with surveys and get people's expectation up. Especially when you knew the gains were not there. Maybe MnSCU will settle with the union, but the Legislature will take it away. Then MnSCU is not the bad guy, the Legislature is the bad guy. The other major issue was severance. Most trade programs do not have the requirement of Master's degrees. They require various hours in the field, like 8,000 hours, with different educational credentials. A Bachelor's degree may require less experience hours, like 2,000 hours. When a trade's person is placed on lay-off, they have their trade to fall back on, which is different than an English teacher. Hiring practice language protected the liberal arts faculty. Personally, I never felt threatened in my position at the college (Halsa, 2016).

Healthy advice was provided by Norm Halsa,

I do not think we need the mission separation anymore. I think we could have First Vice-President and Second Vice-President with equal status. We do not need the labels. I represent all faculty whether at a stand-alone community college or a stand-alone technical college. I do grab on to what affects the technical side, MPCA, Federal regulations, State regulations, and OSHA. I will keep up with those issues more than a liberal arts representative would. But a liberal arts representatives focuses on those issues with sciences too. It was a trust issue more than anything. There was a feeling that we

could not trust each other. Sitting at the bargaining table, we tried to keep that equal too. We wanted equal numbers of transfer and technical faculty representation. Each spoke for their side of the camp. We would like to see the bifurcation go away, but nobody wants to pay for it. It's like roads and bridges. We all would like to see better ones, but don't want to pay for them (Halsa, 2016).

Affiliations

Established Education Minnesota (EM) affiliation agreements between MCCFA and UTCE existed at the time of forming MSCF (Oveson, 2016; Schones, 2016). Negotiations of a new EM affiliation agreement began upon MSCF certification. The EM affiliation discussions with MSCF were difficult. The MSCF was concerned about dues flow back, governmental relations, office space, location, rent, and staff allocations (MSCF BOD, 2001c). Sam Nelson shared an opinion of EM affiliation,

Union dues are the cost of doing business. I do not have a problem with dues, but a majority goes to EM. I am not sure if we get the full benefit from that relationship aside from the blizzard of junk mail, asking us to buy this or that, life insurance, auto insurance, etc. I think they could do more for us. We are not even in their monthly newsletter. There should at least be a section for us (Nelson, 2016).

A possible affiliation with AAUP was also explored, but was never realized (MCCFA BOD, 2000e). EM and MSCF planned a joint Leadership Summer Institute (MSCF EC, 2004e). Tom Dooher, EM President, attended the MSCF Executive Committee to foster improved relations (MSCF EC, 2007d). Affiliation with EM-NEA-AFT was questioned by many MSCF members. The lack of control over staffing coupled with EM contributions warranted revisiting the affiliation agreement (MSCF DA, 2007). The MSCF entered into negotiations with EM

highlighting building needs (MSCF BOD, 2008c). The MSCF could remain in EM headquarters and restructure the affiliation agreement, or lease or buy a facility (MSCF EC, 2008g). Sam Nelson offered additional comment regarding MSCF-EM affiliation,

Until early 2016, I would say there was no relationship between Education Minnesota and MSCF except at the state level, and there only between the Presidents of the unions. When we had issues with our President and went to the MnSCU Board of Trustees. The EM President, Denise Specht, showed up and spent the day with us. That was the first time in my experience where EM at least had an understanding from a rank and file perspective about the issues we are facing as local faculty. Beyond that the involvement with national unions, at the national level nothing, at the EM level, better, but there could be a lot more (Nelson, 2016).

The Long Term Investment Committee and Executive Committee recommended MSCF purchase a building (MSCF EC, 2008f). A new affiliation agreement was reached and MSCF remained in EM headquarters. The MSCF added temporary field staff to handle unresolved grievances without argument from EM (MSCF EC, 2009a). MSCF started displaying parking stickers and signing in at EM office (MSCF EC, 2009a). The MSCF explored expansion of AFL-CIO affiliation (MSCF EC, 2009a).

Norm Halsa summarized the benefits of EM affiliation,

We have members on the EM Board. I serve on their foundation board and make sure we get our piece of that pie. Hopefully someone will grab that position when I am finished.

There are great benefits from those national affiliations. The personal benefits include up to \$3,000 for professional development, insurance benefits, car rental benefits, car rental agreements, hotel and motel agreements, and \$1 million liability policy within the

classroom. The federal benefits of lobbying services are huge. We are in the EM building. They supply our three field staff and two office staff. We have access to two lawyers. The lawyers are a big benefit. Having someone who understands labor law at our fingertips is unbelievable. The average rank and file member does not see that side (Halsa, 2016).

Internal Activities (Elections, Membership, Dues, & Grievances)

The MSCF dues increased to \$668 in 2000 (MCCFA BOD, 2000b). 2,262 two-year college faculty were eligible for MSCF membership (MCCFA BOD, 2000e). Local MSCF chapter Presidents received release time at \$525 per credit and stipends of \$900 per credit. Campuses with less than 65 members received three credits for the President and three credits for the Grievance Representative, campuses with 66-129 members receive four credits each, and campuses over 130 members received six credits each (MSCF BOD, 2002b). The MSCF explored clothing options for its members (MSCF EC, 2003a) and passed a resolution that MSCF merchandise must be union and American made (MSCF BOD, 2009b). Meal reimbursements increased to \$10 breakfast, \$15 lunch, and \$20 dinner (MSCF BOD, 2003b). Union dues increased to \$716 (MSCF BOD, 2004b). The MSCF Executive Committee moved that meals under \$10 no longer require a receipt for MSCF reimbursements (MSCF EC, 2004g). There was no proposed increase in the MSCF portion of dues for the seventh straight year (MSCF EC, 2007a; MSCF BOD, 2007a). The Executive Committee recommended raising 2008-09 MSCF dues \$25.00 per year, the first increase since MSCF was formed, \$741 (MSCF BOD, 2008a; MSCF EC, 2008b). The State failed to withhold dues and formulated a plan to recover the lost dues (MSCF EC, 2008f). Mileage reimbursement increased to \$0.50 per mile effective (MSCF EC, 2009g; MSCF BOD, 2009d). The increased membership of MSCF called for

additional support staff. EM assigned two professional field staff and two office staff to support MSCF activities (Oveson, 2003). Consolidated campuses gained a Grievance Representative for each site (Roche, 2005a).

Only three layoffs were issued in the fall of 2000, all three were retrained or reserved positions in the system (MCCFA BOD, 2000e). In 2002, 105 layoffs were issued, 95 were UFT or UPT, and 90 were UTCE members who lacked appropriate licensure (MSCF BOD, 2002d). In 2003, 180 sabbaticals were granted in the system, 11 were back-logged. In 2003, Riverland Community and Technical College rescinded eight of 12 layoffs (MSCF BOD, 2003a). Of the 63 layoffs issued in 2004, only one was rescinded (MSCF BOD, 2004c; MSCF EC, 2004c). Many of these lay-offs were deemed inappropriate and were arbitrated (MSCF BOD, 2007c). The MSCF experienced 31 layoffs in 2007 (MSCF EC, 2007e). In 2009, 46 faculty received layoffs. Some layoffs were rescinded while others were resolved using the special unlimited status clause (MSCF BOD, 2009d). The MSCF pushed for arbitration for the layoffs issued (MSCF EC, 2009f). In 2007, 39 active grievances were filed and 33 were at the arbitration level (MSCF BOD, 2007b). Dakota County Technical college custom training issue, truck driver lay-offs, continued to be a problem and remained a problem through 2009 (MSCF EC, 2007c, 2009a). Grade deadline grievances remained unresolved (MSCF EC, 2008a). Forty-three grievances were processed in 2008 (MSCF DA, 2008).

AASC and FSGC

JoAnn Roche (2002), editor of the *Green Sheet*, summed up the legislative impact on 2002-2004 contract negotiations,

The Legislature, in its interpretation of its constitutional responsibility of stewardship of the state's finances, has fallen into a concept of 'patterned' bargaining, setting up

parameters within which all state contracts must fall, paying attention to the overall percentage increases and, more importantly, the cost of a contract into the next biennium, the ‘tails.’ Believe me, the pressure is enormous on a bargaining team to put together a creative settlement which respects faculty demographics, competitive market demands, etc., and is within strictly monitored parameters. (Roche, 2002, p. 8)

Faculty Shared Governance Council (FSGC) and Academic Affairs and Standards Council (AASC) were created in 2002. These councils were tasked with presentation of the views of the faculty to college administration. The AASC replaced the Curriculum Committee with increased power. Faculty were implored to make this work and place the best thinkers from the faculty on this council (MSCF BOD, 2002a). Intellectual property issues related to course syllabi were discussed and contractual language developed (MSCF BOD, 2002a). The top areas where faculty have natural voice and authority in decision-making were curriculum, general education, admissions, academic standards, and promotion and tenure requirements (Tierney, 2004). Norm Halsa commented, “Academic affairs has power. Faculty are the academic wing of the college so they need the power” (Halsa, 2016). Faculty were an integral part of the operations of the institutions beyond their teaching role (Birnbaum, 1989; Kater & Levin, 2003). In the shared governance tradition, faculty had input in matters of curriculum, hired and retained colleagues, and set the standards for grading and graduation (Burgan, 2004). Faculty desired more involvement in governance, especially concerning decisions on budget, wages and working conditions (Burgan, 2004). If academic voice was part of governance, faculty enthusiastically exercised their voice (Taylor, 2013). Minor (2003) explored three different decision-making options involving faculty in higher education, 1) faculty involved in all decision-making issues; 2) faculty involved in decision-making in academic matters only; and 3) faculty not involved in

significant decision-making. Minnesota two-year college faculty had a contractual obligation to participate in institution decision-making. Faculty were considered, in contractual language, curriculum experts and granted decision-making authority through the AASC. President Oveson discussed the origins of the AASC.

Think of the interconnectedness. The Legislature in 1971 writes legislation into statute that required managers for state agencies to sit down and talk to their employees. But here we are in higher education, bland language does not work for us. We have this academic thing out here that we were supposed to control. It got melded into Meet and Confer. We lost control the day that Meet and Confer was established. It was absolutely that which caused us to develop the AASC. We wanted to pull that out of Meet and Confer in a very public way and try to get some of that authority back (Oveson, 2016).

Ed Schones discussed the appeal of the AASC process to UTCE prior to merger,

In terms of academics, the union have done a good job. AASC was one of the reasons I looked at the merger as very positive. There was a model MCCFA had that I wanted. If you have strong leadership and a strong person as chair of AASC, you are doing well by your faculty. That alone is worth the price of admission. Shared governance was touted as something. On most campuses it is meet and report. AASC is designed to be the most important committee on campus (Schones, 2016).

Faculty were granted a participatory role in all other non-academic decision-making, through the FSGC, but ultimate decision-making authority remained with administration. The extent of faculty involvement in decision-making was secured through negotiations or established by traditions, culture, and informal arrangements (Lamont, 2009; March & Olsen, 1976; Tierney, 2004; Whitley, 2008). Larry Oveson recalled the origins of FSGC,

FSGC came right out of PELRA, the 1971 law that stated to managers that they had to sit down with employees and listen to their concerns. Management kept ultimate control on decision-making on all matters. Some people believe faculty are so much the premiere set of employees that their opinions on any matter from physical plant to grounds to academics to staffing should be the only opinion that matters, obviously an unworkable situation. But we have faculty who believe that. I do not see any solution for shared governance other than continuing tension and angst among faculty who feel they are not being heard. Most common reason when I was leading the union for votes of no confidence, they are not listening to us (Oveson, 2016).

President Mulcahy offered an equally pessimistic evaluation of FSGC,

From my reading of PELRA, one of the things faculty object to in shared governance, it was called Meet and Confer in PELRA, is on some campuses, it is 'Meet and Inform.' But if you actually read the PELRA language, it is a lot more like Meet and Inform. This is another problem that has been unsolvable in the MnSCU system. The quality of your work experience and your academic life is very much dependent on the quality of your local administration. If you have a really bad local administration, nobody is going to do very much about that. If you have a really good local administration, nobody is going to do very much to reward that. We have always had the situation where in some places shared governance looks like real shared governance, and in other places it doesn't look anything like shared governance. In fact, as colleges cycle, it rotates around the state (Mulcahy, 2016; see Appendix K for photo).

Norm Halsa provided a suggestion to improve the utility of FSGC,

I would like to see more strength in our shared governance process. Shared governance has always been frustrating. You can present and discuss all you want, but administration never seems to listen. A standing vote system would be a great improvement. If you have a President that listens, it makes all the difference. There are some good Presidents in our system, they all listen (Halsa, 2016).

Faculty were encouraged to become involved in the development and ownership of the curriculum (MSCF BOD, 2001b). The AASC and FSGC were secured through negotiations, but were based upon a tradition of decision-making consultation. The AASC expanded faculty authority in curriculum matters (Mulcahy, 2002). Among the important curriculum issues included syllabus and course outline ownership (Oveson, 2002), re-examination of the MnTC (Mulcahy, 2004), and 60/120 credit Associate of Arts degree program proposals (Lindstrom, 2009). President Oveson commented on the early AASC focus,

AASC proposals must be academically sound and viable. It has to be tight. I remember telling people, what was very unpopular at the training, you cannot use this as a means to protect disciplines and programs that are not effective. Don't try to use this as a tool to govern staffing, which is a different discussion (Oveson, 2016).

President Mulcahy offered additional insight into the importance of AASC,

With AASC we were aiming for a good faith determination by faculty of what the curriculum needed to be. We saw it as an enforcement of academic standards. Because no matter what MnSCU or administrators tell you, they will throw academic standards out the window in a second if there is a financial pressure, if the wind blows too hard, or there is a sun spot. We thought the faculty should be in charge of this and most university faculty are in charge of it. What we had at the time was a bunch of hodgepodge

Curriculum Committees that were effective pretty much, insofar as management wanted them to be effective and faculty were committed. It was a very individual thing. When we did the original training we told people, look this is not designed to get you a windfall, this is not designed to improve the hours you teach or your loading, this is going to allow you to do the right thing professionally. We also said we don't want this to become a 'grievance mill.' A grievance mill is something that generates constant grievances. So if something is too controversial you just approach it in good faith and make a compromise. Initially, it worked pretty well. The fact you have a President who disrespects the faculty and disrespects the Contract doesn't invalidate the language. A problem with MnSCU is there is very little accountability for college Presidents. Consistently, MSCF has told the Chancellor you have a problem with some of these Presidents. They are aware of the problems they have, but there it is an issue of good faith. We have a contract. If nobody on the management side says you have to abide by the contract, then we end up in constant grievance and constant arbitration. Some of the arbitrations border on ridiculous. So do your part of the job and when a President denies an AASC recommendation, request the explanation. When he doesn't give it send a note out to the faculty that we are governed by fiat. We'll file a grievance again and vote no confidence again (Mulcahy, 2016).

A.A.S. and 60/120

The 60/120 credit vote attempted to make college more affordable and minimize A.A.S. degree seeking waivers (MSCF DA, 2008). The 60/120 process was difficult. The A.A.S. degrees proved problematic (MSCF EC, 2008a). The tradition of miscommunication displayed by MnSCU continued with the 60/120 waiver process. The fifteen year conflict with A.S. and

A.A.S. degrees continued after merger and hindered the elimination of transfer problems.

According to a respondent, “the A.A.S. has become an alternative transfer degree or the new transfer degree and there aren’t these very clear pathways like there are in the A.S. degree or the A.A. degree” (Ellis, 2011, p. 136). The MSCF encouraged the A.A.S. degree and stated “local campuses make clearer in their programs and promotional materials the intention of the AAS degree and how it differs from diplomas and certificates” (MSCF EC, 2004c, p. 2). President Mulcahy informed the Board that a waiver for A.A.S. degrees can be requested and must be supported when accompanied with legitimate reasons. The request went through AASC. The AASC forwarded the request to administration who added their approval and moved it to MnSCU (MSCF BOD, 2008c). In 2009, Jean Poppe introduced a bill to exempt A.A.S. degrees from the 60/120 law. The bill required the college to explain the value-added portion of the additional credits (MSCF EC, 2009a). The A.A.S. waiver and exemption from the 60/120 credit rule passed (MSCF EC, 2009b).

Academic Issues

The MSCF Faculty Development Committee identified local faculty development representatives who could also serve as the local CTL representative (MCCFA BOD, 2000a). The MnSCU academic program policy study was initiated. Faculty discipline meetings were implemented and financially supported by MnSCU. The meetings were designed to remove transfer issues (MSCF BOD, 2001d). Faculty driven MnTC goal area course analyses were conducted (MSCF BOD, 2001d). President Oveson met with metro area chapter presidents and Joel Peterson to discuss Peterson’s Emerging Curriculum Grant and the impact of offering MnTC via technology on local curriculum and faculty (MCCFA BOD, 2000b). The MSCF Academic Affairs report outlined goals which included 1) defining the differences between

General Education and General Studies, Liberal Arts, and Developmental Education; 2) creating guidelines local AASCs use to place courses in General Education or the MnTC; 3) considering a review of the MnTC; and 4) discussing appropriateness of an A.A./A.S. (MSCF BOD, 2003d). The MSCF Academic Affairs Committee planned the 2005 Liberal Arts Conference in conjunction with the CTL Committee (MSCF EC, 2004c). The Course Applicability System (CAS) provided the ability to publish Course Equivalency Guides, Academic Programs, Courses Offered, Transfer Course Evaluations, and Degree Audit Reporting in a web environment (MSCF BOD, 2005a). The MSCF mediated a MnTC review to assure decisions made in 1994 were still desirable (MSCF BOD, 2006b). The Office of the Chancellor asserted colleges own grades and desired a role in assigning and/or changing grades. The MSCF disagreed and challenged MnSCU on this issue (MSCF BOD, 2006a). The MSCF arbitrated the administrative grade change issue. The issue was paramount to MSCF. If administrators continued to insist on the right to change grades, MSCF predicted the end to the professionalization of instruction (MSCF BOD, 2008b; MSCF DA, 2009). The MSCF strongly believed grades were the sole responsibility of the faculty. Administrators were able to request faculty to review the grade, but not overrule the faculty (MSCF BOD, 2008c). In 2006, faculty were in control of developing and maintaining their own syllabi (MSCF BOD, 2006a). Faculty syllabi were defined as an intellectual property right (MSCF EC, 2006b). In 2009, the MSCF reemphasized that course syllabi were the property of faculty, course outlines belonged to the System (MSCF BOD, 2009d). The MSCF Transfer Oversight Committee discussed common course outlines (MSCF DA, 2010). MSCF believed all PSEO courses, including concurrent enrollment, must have the same content and rigor of equivalent college courses (MSCF BOD, 2008b). A motion passed at the MSCF Executive Committee stated, “MSCF believes all PSEO courses, including concurrent

enrollment, must have the same content and rigor of the equivalent college course” (MSCF EC, 2008f, p. 2).

Concurrent enrollment established 16 graduate semester credits in field for credentialing high school teachers (MSCF DA, 2009). The MSCF passed a resolution that all high school teachers who provided instruction for concurrent enrollment needed to meet the minimum qualification of the MSCF contract in all credential field areas (MSCF BOD, 2009b). There were increased numbers of student discipline cases (MSCF DA, 2009). President Oveson discussed the difficulties of widespread concurrent enrollment,

It is easier to have a concurrent enrollment discussion with teachers in a large successful, growing school district, but if you go to Little Fork, Minnesota or Buhl, or someplace in the Southwest where every teacher is afraid for their job, every year. They cannot sit down at a table and discuss anything with you about sharing anything. Those are parts of their jobs which are necessary to maintain their jobs (Oveson, 2016).

Greg Mulcahy expanded the concurrent enrollment discussion,

Concurrent enrollment started out under Perpich as a program for the top 15 percent of high school students, but they decreased it to the top 50 percent. Then they started offering the courses in the schools. I teach English. I had a student last term come up to me and told me she was in all of the advanced courses, but never learned about punctuation. I talked about the disconnect between high school courses and college expectations. So people ask, ‘Why can’t the two sides just sit down and talk about. Do you know when that happened? Never. Do you know when it is going to happen? Never’ (Mulcahy, 2016).

Mulcahy continued,

As education across the board fails, there is more pressure to push our work down into high school and call high school work college work, which we oppose. I told Chancellor Rosenstone one time when we were talking about college in the high school, I said, ‘I just want you to know that we hate it. I want to be clear. We do not want it. We do not think it is going to go away. We don’t think it is going to disappear. We do not think the Legislature is going to abandon it. But, I want you to know that we hate it.’ He said, ‘Well, that is clear’ (Mulcahy, 2016).

The League of Innovation in Community Colleges conference was initiated by MnSCU in 2001 (Roche, 2001a). The MCCFA retiree dinners and outstanding faculty awards were discontinued. MnSCU created the Educator of the Year program, CTL activities continued with diminished funding, and the Awards for Excellence program was introduced (Roche, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b). A MnSCU task force designed a faculty teaching award (MSCF EC, 2004g). The Board of Trustees Award for Excellence in Teaching started in 2006 to honor MnSCU faculty for exceptional individual professional accomplishment (MSCF BOD, 2006b). Institutional Initiatives to Promote Excellence in Student Learning (IPESL) grants became available in 2006 (MSCF BOD, 2006b). MnSCU Otto Bremer Grant Advisory Committee was charged with developing the criteria or an RFP from campuses which will address projects aimed at combating racism (MSCF BOD, 2002d). The CTL no longer provided stipend money for campus leadership. Some campus administrations were pressured to have faculty continue CTL activities, however, the MSCF stressed faculty were free to volunteer, but cannot be forced to participate in CTL activities (MSCF BOD, 2009d). Sam Nelson responded to the decline of CTL and its implications,

A combination of factors at the state level caused the decline of CTL, MnSCU budgets supported the CTL activities less and less. Local campuses could not support the activities with their nominal budgets. It had to do with leadership. The demise stemmed from the system wanting to centralize, make things transferable, consistent, a cookie cutter approach, seeped from the state level down to the local level. Presidents at the leisure of the Chancellor and MnSCU Board follow the mandates which have a huge impact. There is no doubt in my mind that the loss of leadership committed to teaching and learning, the diminution of the CTL over time, its place, role, and value in the whole system, was the critical breaking point where we lost sight to the detriment of institutions, teaching and learning, and students (Nelson, 2016).

Nelson continued,

The most unfulfilling aspect of my job is an administration that is not supportive of teaching and learning, which was not the case for the beginning of my career. We had a very active Center for Teaching and Learning with very strong administrative support from the Minnesota Community College System. At the beginning of MnSCU that support waned significantly. But in the beginning of CTL it just wasn't just about the intellectual experience with students, it was about the intellectual experience with colleagues. You could feed of each other and learn from each other. You could develop intellectual relationships to help you grow as a practitioner of teaching and learning. There was a huge gap in the later part of my career, due to the lack of intellectual stimulation from colleagues from all disciplines. The Minnesota Community College System and MnSCU can make or prevent those things from happening. I strive to be the best teacher I can be. But there has been a loss due to reduced opportunities for the kinds

of activities we did during the first fifteen years of my career under the CTL (Nelson, 2016).

The BOT Award for Excellence in Teaching program was promoted in recognition of MnSCU faculty (MSCF DA, 2007). Members questioned if MSCF should participate in this process when the MnSCU Board consistently demonstrated a lack of appreciation towards faculty (MSCF BOD, 2007c). The Awards for Excellence program was debated because of inconsistent awards. These awards are intended for salary only and not equipment needs (MSCF EC, 2006b). The suspension of the Awards for Excellence was the most controversial issue in reaching a tentative agreement (MSCF BOD, 2009a).

Chancellor Anderson pushed for e-learning and the Corporate University (MCCFA BOD, 2000e). The MSCF Technology and Distance Education Committee reported 1) intellectual property ownership of courses and materials must be determined before course development; 2) e-learning support and training established; 3) management software supported by MnSCU; 4) departmental oversight established; 5) real time office hours scheduled; 6) faculty oversight of courses; and 7) identical evaluation as traditional courses (MSCF BOD, 2001b). MnSCU was concerned too many colleges were teaching the same online courses (MSCF DA, 2007).

Statewide learner outcomes for developmental education were created, curriculum ownership issues addressed, sustainability curriculum across disciplines explored, Minnesota Online Quality Initiative reviewed online courses, and a MSCF Racial Equity Committee was formed (MnSCU, 2013a; Mulcahy, 2012; Wright, 2012a). The CTL cut stipends to campus faculty, but retained the salaries of MnSCU staff (MSCF DA, 2010). Professional development became more important after ending CTL (MSCF DA, 2011). Bill Newton discussed the end of CTL,

The MCCFA created the Center for Teaching and Learning. It was formed to utilize the funds the Legislature required to go to each campus for academic initiatives. It was so successful that management wanted to take it over. They wanted to control the dollars. They started creating fulltime jobs to be more in control of it. That killed it. All the employees they hired have been let go. A couple were teachers who returned to the classroom. One was Connie Stack, nursing instructor at Century College (Newton, 2016).

The Technology and e-Learning Committee examined online courses. Faculty were reminded to maintain set office hours for online courses (MSCF DA, 2010). The MSCF required all administratively assigned grades be identified as such on student transcripts so it was clear the grade was not reflective of the instructor's appraisal of the student's work (MSCF DA, 2010).

President Mulcahy informed the MSCF Board that canned curriculum was an important issue, especially in nursing (MSCF BOD, 2012b). All nursing programs must meet accreditation standards to retain their programs. There were discussions about using canned curriculum under the guise that it would ensure all students received the same information, meet the same standards, and meet the accreditation standards. Developmental courses were also considering canned computer assisted, self-paced software (MSCF BOD, 2012b). During a later MSCF Board meeting, Mulcahy restated his strong objection to the Practical Nurse accreditation situation and anyone who promoted a canned curriculum (MSCF BOD, 2012c). Canned curriculum continued to be identified as a danger to professionalism that could lead to two-tiered faculty (MSCF EC, 2013g).

Other academic issues were explored. The MSCF Academic Affairs Committee discussed developmental studies (MSCF BOD, 2011a). President Mulcahy advocated faculty creation of a developmental education position. The MSCF Academic Affairs Committee

discussed placement cut scores (MSCF DA, 2010). The MSCF Academic Affairs Committee focused on the improvement of academic rigor of both face-to-face and online courses, and the maintenance of faculty control of the curriculum (MSCF BOD, 2011b). Textbook affordability remained a concern for MSCF. Students were part of the examination of the issue. Liberal Arts Vice President Kapke explored opportunities to reduce costs for students without sacrificing faculty rights (MSCF BOD, 2012c). Greg Mulcahy recalled an example of the growing bureaucracy,

At one point, management came to me and said, 'We would like to have some ongoing evidence that faculty are doing faculty development work.' I said, 'What do you mean ongoing evidence?' They said, 'Can faculty just sit down with your Dean and talk?' I said, 'I am for that because most of our colleges are kind of academic deserts, I think any conversation between faculty and management about what we are actually doing in our disciplines is actually a desirable thing, and it would help the climate and would be good for everyone, but here is how it should work. Faculty go in and sit down with the Dean. They tell them what they are interested in and what they are doing; this is not for evaluation, you do not get marks up and down for what you say you are doing. It should just be a conversation.' They said, 'Fine, but to facilitate this conversation, what if we had a system wide form?' I said, 'I was not very interested in forms, but if we put some faculty on a committee and they design a form they could live with, it is fine with me.' So I appointed some people to the committee and I left and went on sabbatical. When I came back to Century College, I get this form from my Dean about this meeting and conversation, the form is in the back of the Contract now. It looks like fourteen robots drafted it. I again said, 'What the hell?' Later I asked somebody how this form came to

be. This was not the form we envisioned - this grinding bureaucratic nonsense about had you filled the form out right. This is not what this was supposed to be about. No faculty showed up for the meeting, so the MnSCU lawyer got fed up and drafted the form himself, and it was used. The lesson, 'Every time faculty say we don't care, the bureaucracy wins. Every time the bureaucracy wins, in the end faculty loses' (Mulcahy, 2016).

The topics covered at Meet and Confer included direct/indirect educational costs, D2L upgrade dates and performance, online access, concurrent enrollment, and time and leave reporting for faculty (MSCF BOD, 2013c). All A.S. degrees and articulation agreements required a MnSCU institution articulation (MSCF DA, 2012). The progress of the 60/120 degree waivers was shared with the MSCF Board of Directors. Dozens of waivers were granted without question. Over 250 A.A.S. degrees made no waiver request, all waivers were submitted by the end of 2013. About 200 programs over 60 credits reduced to the mandated 60 credits (MSCF BOD, 2013b).

Concurrent enrollment was a topic of concern for two-year college faculty. Faculty were compensated for mentoring based on courses, not sections. President Lindstrom pointed out that the amount of work is tied to compensation, lower compensation resulted from minimal expectation of duties and minimal contacts per semester (see Appendix K for photo). In 2012, 275 courses were taught by high school teachers who lacked proper credentials (MSCF BOD, 2013c). The Quality Matters (QM) program from the Minnesota Online Quality initiative were introduced (MSCF DA, 2013). Quality Matters is a faculty-centered, peer review process that is designed to certify the quality of online and blended courses (QM, 2012). Training was held for AASC chairs and new leadership (MSCF DA, 2011). The MSCF sponsored annual training session for local AASC chairs (MSCF EC, 2010b). The MSCF hoped AASC would reestablish

academic rigor and uphold the integrity of curriculum (MSCF DA, 2012). President Mulcahy recounted the AASC evolution,

You can do great things, but a bureaucracy that has no vision, will always default to procedure. It will calcify in procedure. I have two examples. One is the AASC language. It is national model language written by Larry Oveson, I was on the team. The idea was to get two-year faculty to largely control curriculum. When we got this language, we went to every campus twice to conduct AASC training. A couple years later we returned to every campus to train again. By the time I was leaving the presidency, somebody asked me about AASC. I said that about a third of campuses have a healthy, faculty-driven process, on a third it is a rubber stamp for the Dean, and on another third it is somewhere in between. You can bargain to empower faculty, but if faculty do not take that power, they don't take that enforcement, you may as well not have the power. When I returned to Century College, I went to an English meeting where we were talking about some developmental idea. I tried not to say anything, when you are a teacher again after being union President, you have to go into exile. They said AASC did not like it if you phrased things a certain way or used certain terms. I thought, 'What the hell do you have here? We did not write the language to create the Politburo. We wrote this language so faculty could get what they needed in curriculum. The form took over the substance.' In the absence of a vision, this is what always happens in a bureaucracy (Mulcahy, 2016).

Larry Oveson

Larry Oveson announced he would not run for MSCF president in 2007 election (MSCF BOD, 2006a). Oveson was often cited as a significant figure in the history of two-year college

union (see Appendix K for photo; see Appendix L). Larry Litecky offered high praise for Larry Oveson,

Oveson is such a meek, humble, introverted guy, but when you look at his contributions to the union over the years it's incredible. First, when it comes to bargaining, nobody come close to his skills. He had an incredible understanding of how the contract was woven together. We outsiders look at the contract, they cannot believe how strong it is.

They owe more to him than to anyone else. Larry was on a bargaining team for the 1987-88 contract. He started negotiating in 1986 and ended in 2011 (Litecky, 2016).

Greg Mulcahy said, "Larry Oveson taught me now to be a union leader and negotiator. I could not have had a better teacher. Additionally, we are friends and have had a lot of strange adventures" (Mulcahy, 2016). "He was the pure unionist coming from International Falls. He liked to use the metaphors of chips and calling them in and using those types of bargaining tactics, whether it be at the local or state level," commented Sam Nelson (Nelson, 2016).

Internal Issues

A MSCF policy was passed that forbid statewide executive officers from holding a concurrent local chapter position effective July 1, 2009 (MSCF EC, 2007c). President Mulcahy testified against the Governor's budget at the House Education Committee on Feb 3, 2009. The MSCF officers elected in 2009 included President Greg Mulcahy, Liberal Arts Vice-President Anne-Marie Ryan-Guest, Technical Vice President Kevin Lindstrom, and Secretary Gregg Wright (MSCF EC, 2009c). The MSCF Vice Presidents and Treasurer gained full release time. The MSCF Secretary started with 30 days release time and more to be added if needed (MSCF EC, 2009c). The Executive Committee reviewed the Chapter President job, Constitution and Bylaws, and MSCF policies (MSCF EC, 2009c). President Mulcahy referenced his letter to all

faculty in which he described MnSCU as a fundamentally flawed system. The MnSCU college President merit pay and the resulting public relations blunder illustrated their disarray (MSCF BOD, 2009c). President Mulcahy presented position statement to Executive Committee which was subsequently approved,

MSCF believes in a permanent, professional faculty; fair treatment for all faculty whether full or part-time; faculty control and direction of an academically rigorous curriculum; faculty control and direction of professional development including sabbaticals; benefits and security for faculty and their families including domestic partners; true academic shared governance; access, rigor, and opportunity for students; true education, not fads or short-sighted political agendas (MSCF EC, 2009d, p. 1).

The MSCF spent \$2,000 for video camera and editing software to create membership videos (MSCF EC, 2009e). The MSCF reaffirmed its core values of a permanent, professional faculty; fair treatment for all faculty whether fulltime or part-time; faculty control and direction of an academically rigorous curriculum; faculty control and direction of professional development including sabbaticals; benefits and security for faculty and their families including domestic partners; true academic shared governance; access, rigor, and opportunity for students; and true education, not fads or short-sighted political agendas (MSCF BOD, 2009c). Ed Schones offered an assessment of the MSCF grievance process,

Individuals with legitimate grievances go through the grievance process and are hung out to spin. Grievances sit and sit and eventually fall off active lists without resolution. We just stop talking about them. RCE issues frequently fall off the radar screen. These issues matter a lot to the affected faculty. There are a few high profile grievances that get resolved, but a lot do not go anywhere. If you take a grievance to the employer and they

say no, it is over unless you want to spend the money to get an arbitrator. There is a lot of dissatisfaction with individual members who have a legitimate grievance and feel the union does not help. That disappointment tends to spread (Schones, 2016).

Bill Newton also responded to grievance process, “Our grievance process is strong. If a grievance has legs, we will win. We have dropped a few at the state office, but we have won many” (Newton, 2016). Norm Halsa, former Northwest Technical College – Thief River Falls Grievance Representative, commented, “Most violations within terms and conditions relate to compensation. Administration often tries to get faculty to do something for nothing. Some of our faculty are “sheepings” and just do anything they are told and do it for free. It sets bad precedent (Halsa, 2016). Greg Mulcahy provided,

Union militancy comes from aggressive enforcement. The Grievance Representatives should be willing to lose more than they win. We should always be pushing to expand faculty rights. Management should always be looking to constrain them. I remember there was an EM attorney who said we were winning 60 percent of our grievances which meant there was something wrong with management, we should have been losing 60 percent (Mulcahy, 2016).

Sue TenRyck-Stafki spearheaded work on MSCF website (MSCF EC, 2003b). The MSCF continued to pursue an independent website (MSCF BOD, 2006a). The MSCF website development costs were estimated to be \$8,330 per year. The MSCF Executive Committee budgeted \$10,000 for website development (MSCF EC, 2007e). The MSCF website operated independent of EM (MSCF DA, 2007).

Jennings Simpson was named the statewide strike coordinator in 2001 (MSCF BOD, 2001d). MnSCU Labor Relations staff identified issues with faculty who switched unions, UTCE

to MCCFA or MCCFA to UTCE, and failed to meet minimum qualifications (MSCF EC, 2008d). President Mulcahy commented on the ongoing minimal qualifications debate,

We were always in an ironic and reverse position with MnSCU about minimal qualifications because my view was traditionally the union would say so this guy doesn't have a Master's degree, but he is a painter who has done ten shows, so let him teach art. That is a university view. I believe Picasso could have gotten a job teaching at a university even though he did not have a college degree. It seemed more natural that the union would make that argument, and management would say no, the qualifications are well defined and you just have to do it. In fact, the roles were reversed. The qualifications were well defined, management violated them, and I presume continues to violate them, by misusing extraordinary qualifications and other definitions whether temporary or emergency qualifications. We were also always trying to enforce qualifications which was a strange position for us to be in, we also understood that we needed a benchmark of academic integrity (Mulcahy, 2016).

Bill Newton completed the reevaluation of UTCE faculty placement on the MSCF salary schedule (MSCF EC, 2004c). In 2005, Bill Newton's delivered his last report before retirement (MSCF BOD, 2005c). The position was posted with his departure (MSCF EC, 2006a). "I served until post-merger with UTCE and the change of the union name. My title as Director of Labor Relations changed after the merger with UTCE. There could not be three Directors of Labor Relations, so we all became MSCF Field Staff" (Newton, 2016).

President Larry Oveson offered accolades for the service Bill Newton provided the union,

Bill Newton deserves special note. Bill always had to support leadership at the same time he kept his head down so his real employer, EM, could not whack him. He had great

loyalty on the campuses and was indispensable in our efforts to bring the membership along (Oveson, 2016).

Bill Newton said, “The best part of my job were the relationships I built with people and colleagues. The union was so dedicated to providing these benefits to the faculty that 99 percent of the time I was the deliverer of good news. We would sit down and we would talk. Quite often when we were done talking, we would go out, eat together, and celebrate” (Newton, 2016).

Legislative Issues

Within the MnSCU system, faculty involvement at the system level was appointed through the union. The Chancellor and senior staff meet monthly with the union Presidents. The unions tended to focus on the economic and job security aspects of the employment relationship. In MnSCU, the union represented faculty voice; there was no tradition of shared governance at the state level (Hamilton, 2004). To be effective, shared governance required mutual acceptance by faculty and administration as a working relationship rather than an autocratic approach to decision-making (Birnbaum, 1989; Miller, 1996). The faculty must be active participants in academic decision processes rather than monitors of the administration or defenders of the status quo (Duderstadt, 2004). Hypothetically, shared governance delegates academic decisions, such as criteria for student admissions, faculty hiring and promotion, curriculum development, and awarding degrees, to the faculty and administrative decisions, such as acquiring resources and planning expenditures, and designing, building, and operating facilities, to the administration, leaving the governing board to focus on public policy and accountability, fiduciary responsibilities, and selecting leadership positions (Duderstadt, 2004). The unions, pursuant to the laws governing collective bargaining, focused on the terms and conditions of employment, particularly job security, salary, and benefits. These mandatory bargaining subjects excluded

issues of critical importance to the shared governance tradition, such as curriculum and policies on admissions and grading (Hamilton, 2004).

Chancellor Morrie Anderson served until July 1, 2001 (MCCFA BOD, 2000e). New MnSCU Chancellor, James McCormick was the unanimous choice of the Board of Trustees (see Appendix K for photo). A vote of no confidence in Vice Chancellor Linda Baer was successful (MSCF BOD, 2001d). MnSCU Vice Chancellor Linda Baer addressed the MSCF Board of Directors (MSCF BOD, 2003c). MnSCU moved for independent status to free the Board of Trustees from state regulations and remove the contract from legislative approval (MSCF EC, 2004a). MnSCU suggested local campuses direct sabbaticals rather than faculty (MSCF DA, 2007). The MnSCU Chancellor granted college Presidents the power to close sites (MSCF EC, 2009a). The MSCF office fielded several campus complaints regarding MnSCU staff and college president bonuses (MSCF EC, 2009d).

The Minnesota budget shortfall created difficult bargaining (MSCF, 2008e). President Mulcahy met with Representative Rukavina and shared the message that if faculty were laid off, administration needed to be as well (MSCF EC, 2008g). The MSCF legislative goals and value statement were modified to include,

Past generations of Minnesotans valued higher education as a public good. This belief resulted in the dedication of public resources to develop one of the finest higher education systems in the United States (MSCF BOD, 2009d, p. 2).

The 32/30 credit load inequity was raised by technical faculty in 2007 (MSCF DA, 2007). The MSCF Technical Vice President Kevin Lindstrom told the Board that the bargaining survey indicated membership had a lot of questions regarding 32-30 credit assignments. Lindstrom provided the history of bargaining the 32-30 agreement. Many technical programs needed to

retain 32 credits to meet accreditation and/or licensure requirements. He reported the cost of buying down one credit was approximately the cost of one step increase (MSCF BOD, 2010c). The MSCF believed MnSCU had dollars for contract improvements. The Composite Financial Index (CFI) indicators confirmed MSCF assumptions (MSCF DA, 2012). The reprise allowed some attention to return to professional activities.

Contract Negotiations

The MSCF 2002 tentative contract was approved by the Board of Directors; 54 members voted yes, two abstained, and one voted no (MSCF BOD, 2002c). The MSCF 2003 contract agreement was reached November 18, amidst poor political and budget climates (MSCF BOD, 2003d). All faculty on the schedule moved one step in 2004, the penultimate step was bought out, all faculty not at top received \$250 no later than April 30, 2004, and supplemental retirement increased \$100 for former greens and \$200 for former blues (MSCF EC, 2003c; MSCF EC, 2004a). The MnSCU Student Conduct Task Force was formed in response to increased student disciplinary actions (MSCF EC, 2005a). The MSCF Board of Directors recommended ratification of 2005-07 Master Agreement (MSCF BOD, 2005b). The MSCF Faculty Rights Committee conducted campus compliance visits and examined potential contract violations, especially union leader release time, concurrent enrollment, and sabbatical replacements (MSCF EC, 2006a). Contract working groups geared up focused on on-line education, customized education, technical faculty workload, salary equity, and claiming rights (MSCF EC, 2006a). The cost of increasing the salary schedule one percent was calculated at \$2.6 million and increasing supplemental retirement by \$100 cost \$250,000 (MSCF DA, 2007). Greg Mulcahy summarized his feelings following contract negotiations.

One time when Oveson and I bargained a contract, we got done and got the tentative settlement and shook hands with everybody, and went and got a beer. I said, 'I feel like shit,' and he laughed and said, 'I know.' I said, 'We saw what we could get and we got the best we can, but the gap is so big,' he laughed again and said, 'I know, that is what bargaining is.' People think bargaining is going in and pounding on the table and you yell. If you didn't get what you wanted you just did not pound hard enough and yell enough. But, I always tell people bargaining a contract is nothing like pounding on a table, it is more like trying to build a spider web. You look at all the different parts and try to relate them in the most positive way (Mulcahy, 2016).

The MSCF participated in strike training during the 2007 MEA break. President Mulcahy appointed local Grievance Representatives as campus Strike Coordinators and appointed Larry Oveson as the Statewide Strike Coordinator (MSCF BOD, 2007b). MnSCU offered a regressive contract opener (MSCF EC, 2007b). President Mulcahy responded,

We find ourselves in a situation where the MnSCU team seems intent on breaking our contract. MSCF is not interested in contract breaking language and believes that faced with the choice of money or language that MSCF would choose settling the contract for little or no money if retaining language (MSCF BOD, 2007b, p. 2).

The MSCF attempted to capture customizing training work into the unit (MSCF EC, 2007b). The Minnesota budget deficit was projected at \$4.5 billion with few reserves which created a bleak situation for 2008 contract negotiations (MSCF BOD, 2008c). Contract negotiations were adversarial and did not go well (MSCF EC, 2008a; MSCF DA, 2008). President Mulcahy provided a possible explanation for the string of difficult negotiations with MnSCU,

There was a potpourri of gripes in any proposal brought by management. For example, somebody parks in the President's space, so the President of the college comes to the bargaining team and says faculty should not be allowed to drive cars anymore, put that into the contract. You would get thirty proposals like that, they had no theme, no logic, some of them were internally contradictory and had implications. After Shabatura died, bargaining became more and more incoherent and fragmented. It was clear that nobody inside the system was talking to each other. I believe you never have a monopoly on good ideas. The problem with bargaining is you are always locked in to a temporal kind of situation that can never be exactly repeated. An idea ahead of its time is just as useless as an idea behind its time, except to inform you (Mulcahy, 2016).

The highlights of the 2008 MSCF Contract included, combined classes required mutual agreement between faculty and administration; faculty were the sole authority for the addition of two students under exceptional circumstances; six year limit on phased retirement, reduced from ten years; part-time claiming rights improved; probationary faculty included on summer rotation; technical faculty must post two office hours per week; new hires received 80 percent year-long sabbaticals, current faculty have current language; faculty could agree to 10 hours lapsed time (MSCF EC, 2008b). MnSCU funding lacked dollars for MSCF salary improvements (MSCF BOD, 2008a; MSCF EC, 2008g). Statewide ratification occurred in March (MSCF 2008c). President Mulcahy reminded the MCCFA Board that faculty must be available five days a week. In 2007, the MSCF endorsed same sex domestic partner benefits for all MSCF employees (MSCF DA, 2007). Again, in 2008, MSCF publicly endorsed same-sex domestic partner benefits for all MSCF members, and made the attainment of such benefits a priority and publicly took a stand that any actions taken by any party to prevent the implementation of such benefits

was discriminatory and inequitable (MSCF BOD, 2008a). The MSCF did not support an AFE, merit pay scheme, ahead of the salary schedule (MSCF BOD, 2009a). The MSCF Credential Fields Committee met (MSCF EC, 2008f). The MSCF Negotiations Committee believed without any money on the table and with the growing deficit, it became imperative to settle the contract with focus on keeping our members employed and without loss of language. President Mulcahy added the 2009 tentative agreement cannot guarantee no layoffs but, considering the budget situation, it was the best the MSCF could do to preserve membership (MSCF BOD, 2009a). The MSCF bargained a 0-0 percent contract with limited language changes (MSCF DA, 2009). The MSCF Board of Directors and Elections Committee recommended ratification of the 2009-11 Tentative Agreement (MSCF BOD, 2009b). President Mulcahy commented on the difficulties faced during this period,

The defunding of the system during the Pawlenty years (2003-2011) were very corrosive for the union. Because the State made it clear that they place very little value on higher education, and people were genuinely scared they were going to lose their jobs and it would have been very difficult to get a strike. If they are going to strike you have to do two things. You have to have a militant membership that understand you have both an economic and a moral or ethical issue at stake. The problem is that first part of the conversation is the most difficult to get. Most people who go into education do not go into education because they want to fight every day. It depends how situations erode (Mulcahy, 2016).

President Mulcahy told the MSCF Board that MnSCU expressed the desire for interest-based bargaining. He predicted a long year and a half of bargaining (MSCF BOD, 2010c; MSCF EC, 2009a). The MSCF entered into interest-based bargaining with MnSCU. Either party was

allowed to withdraw and return to adversarial bargaining (MSCF DA, 2011). After 18 months of interest based bargaining, MSCF clarified its understanding of the obligations of online and on-site faculty and the faculty role in advising. MSCF frustration with these issues caused them to revert to adversarial bargaining (MSCF BOD, 2012b). The MSCF proclaimed MnSCU was dysfunctional, especially in its handling credentialing process (MSCF DA, 2012). The expired contract was quickly renegotiated with minimal salary increases (Kapke, 2013). The MSCF Executive Committee accepted the 2012-13 contract and set the ratification vote for April 5, 2013 (MSCF EC, 2013a). The 2012-13 contract was ratified, but vote totals were not released (MSCF BOD, 2013a).

Faculty remained concerned about salaries, benefits, independence, and autonomy, but increased concerns for job mobility, tenure decisions, job conditions, due process, and attacks on shared governance (DeCew, 2003; Devinatz, 2003; Rassuli et al., 1999; Wickens, 2008). Administration-faculty disagreement peaked in 2008 over the issue of grade assignment. MnSCU proposed a system-wide grade appeal process where a faculty and administration team evaluate disputed grades. The MSCF reiterated that grading was the responsibility of faculty and faculty would not participate in a process where grades were evaluated by peers (Mulcahy, 2009b).

President Mulcahy informed the 2013 DA that college Presidents have not been held accountable by the System in the past and still are not. Over the past years faculty have been de-professionalized and the education agenda was no longer set by the Chancellor or the faculty, but by outside special interest groups (MSCF DA, 2013). Minneapolis Community and Technical College and Ridgewater College shared their histories of administrative difficulties (MSCF EC, 2013f). The negotiations for the next contract began in August 2013 and were completed in July

2014, traditional union issues dominated. Rumbings of negotiation dissatisfaction were beginning among the membership. Sam Nelson offered some insight into the dissention,

Contract negotiations is an area where we only offer ideas. The actual negotiations are under the radar. I understand there is a line between transparency and negotiations. In terms of outcomes, we have not done as well as we might have. Maybe we should be out and exploring other alternatives, professional negotiators and/or a consultant to assist with the negotiation process (Nelson, 2016).

Hiring Practices

The hiring practices language in the MSCF contract was identified as among the best in the nation. Toni Munos, MnSCU System Director of Personnel and Bill Newton, MSCF Director of Labor Relations, co-presented the history of hiring practices at the NCSCBHEP conference in April 2006 (NCSCBHEP, 2006). Hiring practices examined the total FTE of full-time and part-time faculty. A standard calculation was performed to determine the ratio of full-time to part-time faculty based on the mutual agreement of the parties (Munos & Newton, 2006). Since the first 1972-73 contract agreement with Chancellor Helland, the State System supported a commitment to full-time faculty. In the eighties, the second Chancellor Gerald Christenson continued that support (Munos & Newton, 2006). The hiring practices language was created from the former MCCFA collective bargaining agreements from 1972 to 2001. Prior to the first hiring practices language in the 1985-1987 MCCFA agreement, contract language required the tracking of all temporary part-time faculty course by course (Munos & Newton, 2006). Tracking course by course was a tedious process and led to missed opportunities for faculty. The remedy for missed opportunities resulted in the employer compensating the faculty member for work they should have been offered. The 1985-1987 MCCFA contract contained the first hiring

practices language, “It shall be the normal practice to hire unlimited full-time faculty after three successive quarters in which sufficient demand in the offerings in a field has been equal to or greater than an assignment to a full-time faculty member” (Newton, 2006, p. 1). The 1985-1987 language also stated, “It shall be the normal practice to hire a minimum number of part-time faculty members by combining their assignments to the maximum amount feasible” (Newton, 2006, p. 1) Further, if not otherwise noted, a part-time faculty working the equivalent of full-time would be presumed to be unlimited full-time (UFT). During the life of the 1985-87 MCCFA Contract, the normal practice to hire full-time faculty was constantly debated. Numerous grievances were filed in an attempt to force the employer to change part-time faculty to a full-time status or to post more full-time positions. The employer and union relationship became strained many times over hiring. After months of turbulent discussions, the employer put before the union what was coined a “metanoic proposal.” The parties then reached an agreement that was memorialized in the 1987-1989 Contract. The 1987-1989 hiring practices language remained the same regarding the normal practice to post full-time positions, but the part-time claiming language was traded for a new concept to manage the establishment of UPT faculty members. Workloads of temporary part-time faculty were evaluated and if they met the established criteria to become unlimited part-time, the faculty member was granted unlimited part-time status with a minimum guarantee of 36 percent to 80 percent of a full-time position. For the next five years there continued to be tension regarding the right number of full-time positions. The 1993-1995 Contract created the specific percentage of full-time to part-time faculty; 60 percent full-time at each college and 70 percent full-time system-wide. The negotiated language framed the criteria for calculating the percentages. The unlimited full-time roster was determined on January 20 of each year compared to the total FTE allocation of faculty

at each college to calculate the percentages. Colleges below 60 percent were required to post unlimited full-time positions by March 31. In the 1999-2001 Contract, the final MCCFA contract, the negotiated language changed from a college and system-wide percent to a single college percent of 67 percent full-time faculty. Additional detail was negotiated to clarify the calculation into a two phase approach. During phase I, February 15, the following calculation was performed, a snapshot of total faculty FTE, add 50 percent of concurrent enrollment FTE, subtract qualifying replacement FTE, compare November 1 seniority roster headcount of UFT to total FTE, and calculate the college and system-wide percent. During phase II, March 15, the following calculation was performed: total faculty FTE remains static, reconcile 50 percent of concurrent enrollment FTE, replacement FTE remains static, reconcile headcount of UFT actively employed on February 15, and recalculate the college and system-wide percent. After the calculations were completed, the system verified the UFT postings to date, determined compliance at each college, and colleges out of compliance were required to post UFT positions by March 31 (Munos & Newton, 2006). Bill Newton fondly recalled his conference experience,

It was a fun experience going to New York. I got Toni Munoz and Jeff Wade invited to the conference because they wanted us to come and present that language. We went several years in a row to talk about unlimited part-time. The last time we presented was a combination of unlimited part-time and replacement of exchange of views language with shared governance and curriculum (Newton, 2016).

When the MCCFA and UTCE, merged into MSCF, the hiring practices language was modified to include all technical college faculty. The 2001-2003 MSCF agreement reverted to the two percentage thresholds, 60 percent at the college level and 70 percent system-wide (Munos & Newton, 2006). In recent rounds of negotiations MnSCU attempted to negotiate the

elimination of the hiring practices language. In times of diminished resources, the maintenance of a 60 percent plus full-time workforce was a strain on some colleges. From a principle-based perspective, language restricting the employer's right to select and direct staffing patterns was viewed as an infringement on management rights. The two-year college union maintained a vested interest in ensuring a high ratio of UFT. Full-time faculty tended to exhibit higher commitment and ownership to the institution. Higher commitment and ownership were equated with higher quality. Both parties agreed quality faculty ensured a successful future. Balancing available resources, while maintaining quality continued to challenge the hiring practices concept (Munos & Newton, 2006).

External Social and Political Support

External activities continued to move the faculty in the 2000s. A moment of silence to remember the victims of the attacks in New York City and Washington DC and the plane crash in Pennsylvania was observed during the MSCF Board of Directors meeting (MSCF BOD, 2001d). During the AFSCME/MAPE strike, MSCF members were advised to cross the picket line, not to hold signs, but could provide food and beverages, walk the line when not working, and make personal donations (MSCF BOD, 2003c). The MSCF faculty were supportive of the AFSCME/MAPE strike. Signs were constructed to support Transit Workers and \$100 was donated to the Transit Workers Strike Fund (MSCF EC, 2004c). The MSCF made \$10,000 donation to the AFT Disaster Fund to help colleagues affected by Hurricane Katrina (MSCF BOD, 2005b). The MSCF approved \$1,000 for the University of Minnesota striking AFSCME unit (MSCF BOD, 2007b). The lighter side of DA was realized in 2008 when the following motion was made, "The MSCF respected the age old (12 year) tradition of talking like a pirate

and encourages the general members to make an attempt to talk like a pirate at some time during the holiday” (MSCF DA, 2008, p. 5). The motion was ruled out of order.

MnSCU Evaluation

A program evaluation study of the MnSCU merger was conducted in August 2000 by The Office of the Legislative Auditor for the State of Minnesota. This report concluded, “It is unclear whether the consolidations resulted in net savings” (p. 12). In 1997, the MnSCU Central Office estimated the consolidation resulted in one-time additional costs of \$3.8 million. The costs included remodeling, marketing related to institution name changes, and changes in institution signage and telephone systems. MnSCU estimated that consolidations produced annual savings of about \$4 million, based on staffing reductions. MnSCU no longer maintained detailed documentation on the components of these estimates, and its financial information system cannot reliably be used to analyze institutional administrative costs before and after the consolidations (Ellis, 2011). The Program Evaluation Report from the State of Minnesota Office of the Legislative Auditor (2000) stated, “After using the consumer price index (CPI-U) to control for inflation, state appropriations to the institutions that currently make up MnSCU have risen 24 percent since 1981, but they have fallen 1.5 percent since 1991” (p. 10). The system equitably recognized the diversity of MnSCU students' needs and adequately supported the educational goals of each institution (MnSCU Board of Trustees, 2004). Local institutions received long needed funding for new equipment and capital projects. There were efforts to improve the funding allocation model among MnSCU institutions.

In 1996, the MnSCU Board of Trustees approved implementation of a single system-wide allocation system. The goal was to move from a “base-plus” allocation method to an allocation “framework” that balanced simplicity, institutional complexity, stability, and

institutional responsiveness. According to the MnSCU Board of Trustees, the allocation framework included 1) responsiveness to changes in enrollment, program mix, and facilities size; 2) institutional allocations based upon a combination of factors characteristic of a higher education institutions; 3) consideration for enrollment's indirect impact on most of the framework; 4) incentives for increasing efficiency, but few incentives for increasing quality; 5) priority funding based on collaborations; 6) incentives for maintaining or supporting high demand technical programs; 7) incentives for initiating high cost and high demand programs; 8) predictability on how the "plus" portion of the allocation will be distributed each year; and 9) annual allocation changes (Ellis, 2011). The Legislature mandated a modified implementation of the framework by fiscal year 2002, with full implementation by fiscal year 2006. During the transition period, the Legislature imposed the execution of a modified base plus allocation method for fiscal year 1998. Although overall allocations to state higher education institutions diminished, allocations among institutions shifted due to the modified model. Although no data definitively supported the perceived increase in resources, it was assumed the modified base plus allocation method increased allocations at previously underfunded institutions (Ellis, 2011). The State of Minnesota Office of the Legislative Auditor Report (2000) validated the conclusion. The study reported consolidated college administrators were divided on whether the consolidations resulted in net savings or efficiency gains. Officials noted that savings from consolidation staffing reductions were partly offset by initial consolidation costs and by increased costs that resulted from the broader MnSCU merger. Higher initial costs from the integration of data systems, creation of wage equalization, and new marketing of the organization were cited as the primary reasons cost savings were not realized (Puyear, 2003; State of Minnesota Office of the

Legislative Auditor, 2000). However, no studies were conducted to determine whether savings resulted from the merger (MnSCU Board of Trustees, 2004).

Summary

The union merger occupied the beginning of 2000. Both MCCFA and UTCE created a merged constitution in 2000 and voted to decertify in 2001. The former union members voted to recertify as Minnesota State College Faculty (MSCF) in 2001. The first MSCF contract retained benefits found in the previous contracts. These differences created lasting bifurcations, such as credits loads, department chair reimbursements, layoff protections, and hiring practices. The MSCF had co-leaders for the first four years after merger. Co-Presidents Oveson and Schones lead the union through a difficult merger. Curriculum, credentials, loads, and cultures were areas of great debate. The Academic Affairs and Standards Council (AASC) and Faculty Shared Governance Council (FSGC) were contractual council to improve governance. The MnSCU system corporatization and bureaucracy grew. President Oveson served as MSCF President until 2006 and was replaced by President Greg Mulcahy. The MSCF focused on traditional unionism throughout the 2000s, abandoning most professional unionism activities.

2010-2013 Difficulties

Hendrickson et al. (2013) summarized,

The Great Recession of 2008 solidified a new normal in many states' relationships with their higher education institutions. Reductions of state revenues resulted in many state leaders' cutting state appropriations to colleges and universities...The significant size of reductions resulted in some of the most substantive changes to the higher education sector in decades. Indeed, the multiyear cutting of state support has resulted in many

institutions' raising tuition significantly, eliminating academic programs, and slashing administrative support (p. 131-132).

The economic and political environment transformed in 2009 and created a period of uncertainty for MSCF. Joe Juairé (2009) summarized the sentiment of MSCF faculty in a *Green Sheet* article entitled *Solidarity*,

The greatest challenge facing Minnesota's public community and technical colleges is clearly defining and establishing a system-wide mission to provide education that is relevant, valuable, affordable, and sustainable. The success of this mission is entirely dependent upon the absolute commitment to these principles by all of the stake holders in spite of political and economic pressures. Faculty are the only true source of measurable quality at the all-important level of student learning within our system. Where once faculty were trusted as competent professionals now there seems to be the presumption of distrust and incompetence. The administration at every level have become so risk adverse that the premier goal is to avoid looking bad at all costs even if that means missing or avoiding opportunities to advance the college or system. The contract language that insures that faculty have the loudest voice in academic affairs and standards at each institution. There is also a requirement to have the faculty opinion represented in the governance of the colleges. We must be ever mindful that the administration, in our system, merely serve a function; it is the faculty that serve a purpose. (Juairé, 2009, p. 2).

Internal Activities (Elections, Membership, Dues, & Grievances)

The MSCF Treasurer, Joe Juairé, resigned on May 1, 2011 and a special election was planned (MSCF EC, 2011b; see Appendix K for photo). The MSCF state officers were paid for summer work on a pro-rated salary rate for up to 20 days (MSCF EC, 2013d). The MSCF

mission Vice-Presidents, Norm Halsa and Damon Kapke, led the Constitution and Bylaw Task Force to update the documents (MSCF EC, 2013e). The role of the MSCF Executive Committee was expanded to include monthly meetings, extended discussions on issues of importance, bargaining involvement, appeals and oversight of member rights issues and all other duties as defined by the Constitution and Bylaws (MSCF EC, 2013d). The MSCF secretary, Gregg Wright, ran for reelection to EM Board (MSCF EC, 2012c; see Appendix K for photo). The MSCF treasurer, Kent Quamme, served on the EM Service Agreement Review Committee (MSCF EC, 2013e).

The MSCF financial audits of 2011 and 2012 showed no deficiencies (MSCF EC, 2012c; MSCF EC, 2011c). As of January 1, 2013, mileage reimbursement increased to 56.5 cents per mile (MSCF BOD, 2012c). The MSCF did not increase union dues from 2010 to 2013 (MSCF DA, 2012, 2013; MSCF EC, 2012a).

The first *Contract Connection* was distributed to local grievance members. The MSCF Technical Vice President Lindstrom explained that contract compliance remains a major concern and that members and grievance officers need to be alert to proper enforcement (MSCF BOD, 2010b). The MSCF planned to produce the *Contract Connection* five to six times per year. The *MSCF Journal* was introduced by Liberal Arts Vice-President Kapke. The *MSCF Journal* employed an open journal system concept. Kapke hoped the first journal would be published in November (MSCF BOD, 2011a). The *MSCF Journal* was discontinued one year later due to a lack of contributions (MSCF BOD, 2012b).

The MSCF Executive Committee shared concerns regarding Nursing curriculum, AASC, and farm business management program issues (MSCF EC, 2012c). Technical program layoff patterns were discussed with the focus on farm management programs and counselors/librarians

(MSCF EC, 2010b). Thirty-five layoffs issued in 2011 (MSCF DA, 2011). The MSCF Faculty Rights teams continued compliance visits (MSCF DA, 2012). The MSCF memorialized the grievance/arbitration and appeal processes in a document *Guidelines for Processing Grievances* (MSCF EC, 2013e). Thirty-one faculty layoffs were issued in 2013 with increased levels among liberal arts areas (MSCF EC, 2013g).

Contract Analysis

The researcher used the contract analysis tool utilized by Kater and Levin (2005) to examine the 2013-2015 Minnesota two-year faculty contract revealed a total score ranging from 47 to 39, with an average score of 2.9 to 2.4 (see Appendix H). These values demonstrate the contract falls between faculty participation and management rights. The same contract analysis of the 1965 Willmar Junior College contract generated a total score ranging from 32 to 28, with an average score of 2.0 to 1.8, which revealed a contract with governance ranging between management rights and silent. The adoption of collective bargaining provided some measurable gains regarding shared governance (see Appendix H).

MSCF Constitution

The 2013 MSCF Constitution preamble read,

We, the members of the MSCF, EM, AFT, and NEA, believing that the active participation of non-supervisory professional education personnel in the development of educational policy is essential for sound education in a democratic society, have joined together, as herein defined in this Constitution and Bylaws, for the purpose of exerting a collective and positive influence on education in MnSCU. We, the members of the MSCF, believing in the unique contributions of our state colleges to American education, have organized to strengthen and secure college education for all who desire it and can

benefit therefrom. Because we so believe, we have formed into this organization, the MSCF, to provide a liaison between educators in the colleges and all other groups concerned with education, to make our views an integral part of the educational programs of Minnesota State College students, and to enhance the personal and professional lives of our members. The MSCF shall provide a united voice for public education, leadership in education innovation, dedication to Minnesota students and families, an unwavering commitment to the welfare of our members and to democracy in the workplace and within the organization. The MSCF shall be an organization that provides exemplary professional service to its members. The MSCF shall strive to maintain high quality technical education and liberal arts education and to keep both accessible throughout the state of Minnesota. If any provisions of this Constitution and Bylaws conflict or violate the Constitution and Bylaws of EM, AFT, or NEA, the provisions of the state and national organizations shall supersede those contained herein (MSCF Constitution, 2013, p. 5).

The purposes of MSCF was 1) to consolidate the efforts of the faculty in maintaining and improving two-year college education; 2) to advocate for the terms and conditions of employment of its members and for such policies as are most conducive to the welfare of the members; and 3) to endeavor to achieve the above purposes by thorough study and discussion of issues involving the educational program or the welfare of the faculty, and to present these conclusions to those who are involved in policy making for Minnesota State Colleges (MSCF Constitution, 2013). The MSCF DA had the authority 1) to propose new policies to the Board of Directors; 2) to review the existing policies of the organization and advise the Board of Directors; 3) to consider and recommend new business items as proposed by chapters, Board of

Directors, Executive Committee, or individual members; 4) to recommend amendments to the Constitution and Bylaws to the Board of Directors; and 5) to consider and establish resolutions for the organization (MSCF Constitution, 2013). All administrative responsibilities of the MSCF were vested in the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors had the authority and responsibility 1) to establish, amend and administer the policies of the organization; 2) to recommend new business items or resolutions to the DA; 3) to adopt procedures for conducting the business of the organization; 4) to receive reports and recommendations from standing committees; 5) to ratify appointments to standing committees; 6) to convene the DA; 7) to appoint ad hoc committees to administrative concerns; 8) to hire and direct personnel as is necessary to carry out the business of the organization; 9) to conduct the ratification procedure for the master contract; 10) to declare a vacancy on the Executive Committee for reasons of resignation and/or ineligibility; 11) to consider items as forwarded by the DA; 12) to certify election results; and 13) to dissolve the organization by an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Board of Directors and two-thirds of the present and voting membership of the DA (MSCF Constitution, 2013).

The Delegate Assembly was an important part of the governance of the community college union, but was not part of the technical college union. The DA was retained in the MSCF union, but was stripped of authority (Newton, 2016). The community college and technical college unions both utilized a Board of Directors. Bill Newton offered a brief history of the union DA and community college Board,

The governance structure of the union changed. When we were MJCFA and MCCFA we always had an annual Delegate Assembly at which everything was approved or disapproved. Now, the Delegate Assembly more or less is reporting. There is very little

approval. The President ran things with an Executive Committee until the Board meetings. The Board was in total control and annually the Delegate Assembly. But the Delegate Assembly would set the budget, deal with new business items, gave direction and strong advice to the bargaining team, it was more a meeting of the whole. There was equal representation at the Delegate Assembly. There were even times when we had weighted voting at the Board meetings to represent how many people you were representing. That kind of governance structure changed under the merger. It is more an AFT and NEA model now. We still have statewide elections for officers, but there are not enough candidates. When there is a vacancy in leadership it is good to have contested elections. If those elections occurred at the Delegate Assembly there may be more contested elections. It is difficult to get out, if you are outstate, it is difficult to travel to Winona, Ely, Thief River Falls, Grand Rapids, and Worthington, to run a campaign. If you do not know people from all of those places it is hard to set up a personal contact on each campus (Newton, 2016).

Ed Schones offered a less-than positive endorsement of the MSCF DA and Board,

The Delegate Assembly is a big event where we don't do anything. The DA was sold to me by Larry Oveson as a way to fundamental change the course of the union. It is a way to come in and have these resolutions that make fundamental changes that need to be made. We have never done that in MSCF. It has just been a way to get together in parties in the evening. It's the haves and have nots, the big and the small, and the rural and the metro. The MSCF Board is so meek. It was not always that way. In UTCE, we had a Board that was vocal and active. Over the years, especially during the Mulcahy years, the Board became almost intimidated by strong personalities. I think it is unfortunate. You

need a Board unafraid to be engaged; not asking questions of Field Staff blows me away (Schones, 2016).

Schones offered advice for a new direction for the Board,

We need to energize this organization. You start with the Board. We are not activists. We are complacent. The Board is an opportunity for people to come into town, go shopping at the mall, and bring their kids in. But in terms of benefit to the organization it is minimal. We are not engaging. Maybe we are just used to the old times, but the time they are a-changin', and we're not prepared to face them (Schones, 2016).

Affiliations

The MSCF affiliated with EM, AFT, and NEA in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and Bylaws of these bodies. Through the affiliation with the AFT, the MSCF was also affiliated with the AFL-CIO (MSCF Constitution, 2013). Any affiliation or disaffiliation agreement between MSCF and other organizations required approval by sixty percent of the MSCF membership voting in the referendum (MSCF Constitution, 2013). The MSCF decreased participation in NEA activities while participation with AFT increased (MSCF EC, 2013g). Bill Newton recalled,

At first NEA had a big higher education division, it didn't do much, because many of their units did not believe in collective bargaining. I served on a staff committee. We would hold staff meetings of higher education staff. I went to those meetings and got commitments to dedicate more funding for putting on certain activities. The relationship was good. We were very active also in the New York University National Center for Collective Bargaining in higher education. Jennings, Oveson, Greg, and I were presenters there almost every year. They would pay us to come out there and present. Once we

merged some of us started attending the same AFT national higher education conferences. Eventually those two entities started combining their activities. We found the AFT sessions to be more appropriate for us to attend than the ones NEA conducted (Newton, 2016).

The MSCF talked with AFT about future expansion of the affiliation (MSCF EC, 2010b). The MSCF Board of Directors formed a task force to study the relationship with EM and make recommendations. The MSCF questioned the EM portion of dues compared to the political efforts and general level of participation within the EM organization (MSCF BOD, 2010a).

Legislative Issues

Anti-union bills were introduced in both the Minnesota House and Senate designed to dismantle and/or destroy labor unions. State of Minnesota House file #65, Freedom of Employment or commonly known as Right-to-Work, was designed to remove fair share status from unions (Kapke, 2010, 2011; S.B. 409, 2011). Senate file #409 called for the decertification of any teacher's collective bargaining unit after a bargaining cycle (H.B. 65, 2011; Kapke, 2011). These anti-union legislative proposals caused the union to abandon most professional union activity and focus solely upon traditional unionism. Balance was interrupted. Union membership focused on the development of a political action network and creation of campus legislative liaisons (Eland et al., 2011; Ford, 2011). Political training sessions for union leadership and legislative liaisons were widely available. Two-year college state appropriations, enrollment trends, tuition, and salary trends over the last ten years painted a depressing future for MSCF and MnSCU colleges. These statistics and images were shared extensively in MSCF and MnSCU publications throughout 2011 (Ford, 2011; Mulcahy, 2011). Traditional unionism became all consuming.

The political right engaged in a nationwide strategy to attack unions (Mulcahy, 2016).

The majority changed in the Minnesota Legislature and MSCF prepared for attacks. The MSCF strategy was to aggressively push its concerns (MSCF BOD, 2010c). About 50 bills with a negative effect of higher education or public employees were introduced. Among the worst were HF-1101 omnibus higher education finance bill, HF-924 omnibus senate higher education bill, HF-1047 omnibus state department's bill, and HF-65 proposed constitutional amendment (MSCF DA, 2011). The political strategy of 2011 worked well for MSCF as many anti-union legislators were defeated.

The 2011 MSCF Legislative principles included 1) increased access to higher education for all Minnesotans by implementing inflationary base funding increase each year of the biennium; 2) increased permanent faculty, protection of academic freedom and copyright laws, and faculty controlled of curriculum; 3) reevaluation of the process to appoint Board of Trustees members; 4) preservation and improvement of pensions and fringe benefits to attract and retain quality faculty; and 5) support for family income based federal financial aid grants, loans, and tax credits (MSCF Legislative, 2011). The 2012 MSCF Legislative principles mirrored 2011 (MSCF Legislative, 2012). The 2011 MSCF Legislative goals included 1) improved investment in higher education, such as funding the MnSCU HPERA 2010 capital bonding projects, considering new bonding projects to improve teaching and learning, restoring the higher education funding base to the 2009 level reducing administrative costs and the salary gap between faculty and administration, exempting MnSCU from the one-third debt service requirement starting with the 2011 session, and making M.S. 135 A. 01 binding upon MN Legislature, which would require the state to pay at least 67 percent of costs at all MnSCU institutions, with students responsible for 33 percent; 2) enhanced instructional excellence

through insuring all PSEO, concurrent enrollment, and online courses had the same content, rigor, and accountability as traditional college courses, and attracting and maintaining the highest-quality education employees through competitive salaries, continuously adjusted for inflation; 3) improved governance by adopting a selection process for Board of Trustees members that more closely emulates the University of Minnesota Board of Regent appointments; 4) improved pension and benefits by protecting pension funds for pension purposes only, adding domestic partner coverage, equity in employee and employer contribution of all pension programs, sharing the normal costs of benefits and benefit improvements equally between the employee and the employer, allowing higher education faculty who selected Individual Retirement Account Plan (IRAP) to buy into the TRA program at full actuarial cost, allowing IRAP higher education members the same access as TRA members to the combined annuities program, and providing age 65 as the normal age of retirement and providing the Rule of 90; and 5) restructured financial aid and tuition by capping financial aid grants, loans, and tax credits at the highest cost of attendance at a MnSCU institution, supporting Minnesota State College Student Association and Minnesota State University Student Association efforts to control tuition, and basing State and federal financial aid grants, loans, and tax credits on family income to make public higher education affordable to all citizens (MSCF Legislative, 2011). The 2012 legislative goals mirrored 2012 (MSCF Legislative, 2012).

A strategy of the 2011 legislative session was inviting local legislators to college campuses to walk the halls (MSCF EC, 2011a). The MSCF postcard strategy was successful in 2012 and 2013 (MSCF BOD, 2012c). The postcards depicted MSCF faculty and their programs. The postcards were used in mailings to legislators and other external stakeholders. “We support local business” cards were left by MSCF faculty in communities across the state (MSCF DA,

2012). The cards were used to demonstrate the economic impact of MSCF faculty in their communities. The 2013 MSCF Legislative general statement, “Education is an investment in the economic future of Minnesota. Unfortunately, Minnesota's investment in higher education has rapidly declined the last decade. An increase in Minnesota's investment to public higher education is essential for developing and maintaining a skilled workforce, retaining and attracting small businesses and large corporations, competing globally, and assuring statewide economic prosperity. Quality, accessible and affordable education is the key to Minnesota’s economic recovery” (MSCF Legislative, 2012). The 2013 MSCF Legislative Goals included support for new money to advance the competitiveness of the Minnesota workforce, increase access and affordability of higher education, and accelerate completion of programs (MSCF BOD, 2012c).

Corporatization

Former MSCF President Mulcahy offered an assessment of the corporatization of higher education in Minnesota,

The attack is so large I almost do not know where to begin. Let’s start with baby boomers. Basically if you look at what happened in higher education over the course of the thirty years I have been in it, it began a little before, but basically the thirty years I have been involved, what you have seen is a desperate attempt by people who should have been academic leaders, I am talking managerial leaders, to become CEOs. And a fetishizing not only of business language, but business practices, these awful how to succeed in business books that a five year old could write, and that was concurrent with this kind of deference towards business figures. Business figures were going to tell us how to run things and how things are going to work on the MnSCU Board. People talked

about Jack Welsh as a transformative leader. If your idea of a transformative leadership is to essentially move a manufacturing concern into a financial concern, then they are right. The fact is you produced nothing but paper. Basically when you look at people who get to a Chancellor level now, they do not see themselves as people who uphold standards in higher education. They see themselves as building a career the way a corporate executive would. They feel they are entitled to compensatory perks, even though they do not get them, and compensatory respect. Their vision is kind of amorphous, unattached vision of enterprise. You innovate through disruptive innovation. I respond, wait, I teach people how to read and write, what disruptive innovation do you want, are we moving from cuneiform to something else? You are not going to find a lot of champions of academics in academia anymore in any managerial level. What I think you are going to find, even if it looks like a vast, sinister design underneath MnSCU, but MnSCU has never been coherent enough to execute those designs (Mulcahy, 2016).

Greg Mulcahy continued the discussion using Human Resources as an example,

Why do we have an HR at every campus when the quality of those HRs is almost random, some are great and some are terrible, and we have a system HR. Could you pick the ten best HRs in the system and put them into the system with a bunch of computers and they could handle HR? I cannot believe a corporation has such a diffuse HR when the business model is so good! The other thing to remember is MnSCU is, among other things, a lot of unspoken things. And there are some unspoken things that are actually good. MnSCU does employ a lot employees in the State, and that is good. We do not want to sacrifice AFCSME and MAPE workers on the altar of efficiency; that is not MSCF's role or my vision of what we should be doing. At the same time, how many

Deans for Advancement do we really need or how many Deans for Institutional Effectiveness? If I were the President of a college, I would think it is my job to make my institution effective. I do not need a Dean to do it. Every two weeks, MnSCU posts a hiring thing. Go through that and track how many of those positions are faculty opposed to quasi-administrators; it appears to me to be about 90 percent quasi-administrators (Mulcahy, 2016).

Contract Negotiations

The State of Minnesota experienced structural financial deficit in 2009. The MSCF agreed to a contract agreement with a hard salary freeze to assist in state recovery (Mulcahy, 2009a). The Minnesota deficit climbed to \$6 billion in 2010 (Mulcahy, 2010). The financial strain was difficult for the union, but paled in comparison to the political problems created by changes in the Legislature after the 2010 elections (Mulcahy, 2010).

Larry Oveson provided cautionary advice for future contract negotiations, Language and benefits can be too good to hold. You have to watch out for that. Unions across the country are finding that out today. No one will resonate with you having 100 percent paid health insurance anymore. The public doesn't like it. Politicians don't like it (Oveson, 2016).

Greg Mulcahy concurred with Oveson,

I think the task for union activists in the short term is to worry about contract enforcement and holding what you've got. MnSCU picks up every nationwide bad idea five years behind everyone. Pressure will increase for canned curriculum and online curriculum alternatives. Attempts to erode faculty and union rights will increase. It would behoove the membership to be very aggressive on contract enforcement and militant

about faculty rights. But what do I know, I am just an old, bitter man in a beat up car (Mulcahy, 2016).

Internal Issues

The MSCF discussed the threat of private for-profit colleges and the need for more communication and advocacy regarding public, two-year colleges versus the privates, and legislative priorities. The MSCF could not wait for MnSCU to defend public education (MSCF EC, 2011a).

The 2016 DA agenda included an item for consideration to discontinue the leadership conference in the summer and future DAs in light of the *Friedrichs v. California* case being heard by the U.S. Supreme Court which could eliminate agency fees (MSCF DA, 2016). The agenda item was removed due to the untimely death of U.S. Supreme Justice Scalia, who most likely, would have been the deciding vote to eliminate agency fees. Gregg Wright announced the item's removal from the agenda was due to "the gift from the Angel of Death" (MSCF DA, 2016). He continued to offer information about Right-to-Work states,

Collective bargaining states earn more than states that do not have collective bargaining.

The people who lose the most from a lack of collective bargaining are those in rural areas. If you examine a thirty year career, the amount of money that would have been lost is between \$434,000 and \$630,000. That is why elections matter. That is why it is important to protect what we do as a union. Get engaged. Get all the faculty on your campuses to become full members, not free riders (MSCF DA, 2016).

Gregg Wright, MSCF Secretary, warned members about the state of higher education across the nation,

Sunshine was once shown on higher education, but it has been clouded now by an administrative attitude that is anti-shared governance, anti-free speech, anti-faculty, and anti-contract. Hopefully, the tone will change. But that is the tone on campuses. If it hasn't reached your campus yet, you are damn lucky. It is only one administrator away. Those of you that have been on these campuses know what I am talking about (MSCF DA, 2016).

Ed Schones criticized the strained relationship between MSCF and MnSCU Chancellor Rosenstone.

Our biggest challenge internally is the lack of courage or fortitude to face what is driving our problems. Mismanagement, unwillingness to lay-off faculty and management, and demographics are driving the crisis. Let's face these issues instead of saying let's find a way to help each other. I think our stance with the system is off balance. I come from the labor industry where for years, as hard hats, we were clashing with management. If you come into the IBEW hall right now you will see a picture of the NECA (National Electrical Contractor Association) and IBEW coming together with a wire nut holding them together and it reads, "Good Connection." I am more in favor of that type of relationship with senior management than I am with this role we have taken with Rosenstone and company (Schones, 2016).

Satisfaction

Without any faculty satisfaction survey data since 1980, academic factor, working condition factors, and governance factor satisfaction must be determined by alternative means. Narrators provided direct statements that can assess a sense of satisfaction. When asked about the most rewarding part of being a two-year college faculty member, all respondents in this

project referenced students. The strong satisfaction with academic factors demonstrated both formally and informally on multiple occasions remains evident. Merrill Widmark, Hibbing Community College mathematics instructor from 1960 to 1993, recalled the favorite part of his career, “I really enjoyed the students. We had a great student body at Hibbing. I didn’t have any areas of concern. We were really quite independent in our teaching at Hibbing” (Widmark, 2016). Sam Nelson, Ridgewater College history instructor since 1990, commented,

The best part of teaching is the students. The classroom environment has always been the best part of the job. When you walk into the classroom and it is just you and the students and you are engaged in intellectual dialogue and learning together, that is by far the best. When students respond in the manner you hope they should, not all do of course, that is the most gratifying aspect of the job, the most fulfilling (Nelson, 2016).

Don Holman, Willmar Community College chemistry instructor and union leader, shared his favorite part of his career, “I enjoyed working with the kids. I have taught 8th graders through seniors, traditional college-aged students, and students over 50 years old. I taught them all the same way. You respect them all. You respect a 7th grader the same as the 45 year old. I enjoyed going to work every day” (Holman, 2016). “The best part of the job is teaching and being with students,” remarked Norm Halsa (Halsa, 2016). Larry Litecky recalled, “When I was teaching, I really liked the students a lot. Minneapolis Community and Technical College is the most diverse campus in the state and really the most interesting students. I was a counter-culture, new left, guy. It was a really good fit for me. All these courses I taught, I ended up with a lot of topics courses. I loved to start new things” (Litecky, 2016). Strong faculty performance in the classroom is the basis of union power and always has been. No one ever enrolled in a class, or re-enrolled for another semester, because the college had a great President or Dean. It is faculty

who do the work, who embody the college, and who perform the transformative work with students. Being really good in the classroom or the lab or the shop, and having students relay that message, gives you authority when you speak to administration (Oveson, 2016).

Sam Nelson responded,

In terms of salary and benefits, the bread and butter issues, the state union has not met my expectations. Stronger support for the situations we experienced at Ridgewater in the last eight to ten years has been lacking. Greater advocacy at the state level and with the Chancellor and MnSCU Board of Trustees would increase my satisfaction. In terms of salary and benefits, that is a more difficult nut to crack, because we are public employees and we are at the mercy of legislative appropriations. At the same time we can do more and we can do better as educators to educate the public about what we do. I think that is our biggest downfall as a faculty association and public employees. We train the next generation or retrain people in the new economy and we are vital to the State of Minnesota. Another area of weakness is creating a statewide sensibility among all members that we are the beneficiaries of a long history of faculty who have been dedicated to improving our working conditions, improving our voice in terms of governance, and making sure that we are given the autonomy that we have enjoyed as educators. Our biggest strength is that our autonomy has not been threatened in any significant way. When you walk into the classroom, it is yours to teach in the best manner you think (Nelson, 2016).

Norm Halsa provided broad comments,

Satisfaction hinges on administration. If the budget supports your department and administration lets you teach, it leads to great satisfaction; don't micromanage and give

us adequate resources. We'll play by the rules and leave us alone to do our jobs (Halsa, 2016).

External Social and Political Support

External interests centered on the activities of other unions. Responding to the needs of the locked out workers at American Crystal Sugar, the political conference attendees made a donation to the sugar workers Hardship Fund (MSCF BOD, 2011b). EM matched the donation and presented a check for \$4004.92 for the specific purpose of purchasing food and household items needed by the locked out workers and their families. In addition, EM donated \$5,000 to the AFL-CIO action fund to pay for a coordinated plan to hire staff for organizing, mobilization, and research, along with an aggressive paid media campaign to bring the sugar workers labor dispute to an end (MSCF BOD, 2011b). The MSCF opposed the proposed amendment to the Minnesota Constitution that required photographic identification to vote in Minnesota elections (MSCF DA, 2012). The MSCF supported the Outfront resolution *Support of Marriage Equality* (MSCF EC, 2010a).

President Mulcahy met with representatives from the firm hired to search for the new Chancellor and provided them with a list of suggestions to look for in a candidate (MSCF BOD, 2010b). Mulcahy stressed the importance of teaching and learning in the MnSCU system (MSCF BOD, 2010b). Steve Rosenstone was named MnSCU Chancellor (MSCF DA, 2011; see Appendix K for photo). Chancellor Rosenstone introduced the *Charting the Future* plan across the state (MSCF EC, 2013h). He received many votes of no confidence from State Universities for his initiatives and support of failing Presidents. Greg Mulcahy offered, "Every Pharaoh builds his tomb and every Chancellor builds his binder with change initiatives" (Mulcahy, 2016). Larry Oveson provided a pointed assessment of system initiatives,

The series of planning initiatives pursued by the system, such as 1996 MnSCU strategic planning and 2012 *Charting the Future*, were omnipresent, many were to cover or justify a Chancellor's or Board's real agenda. I go back to union activity from 1987 and I believe this initiative is the twelfth of those I went through. It is just the new thing. None of them were relevant to academic quality, all were about finances and/or management configuration. One fad after another, remarkably few of which were ever implemented to any meaningful degree. No matter what you do, they will find a way to spend money on administration and services (Oveson, 2016).

Sawbuck Club

The looming 2014 legislative elections continued to monopolize the union's attention. The Sawbuck Club was introduced in 2013. The \$10 per month donation to union supportive, higher education friendly, politicians program was designed to gain influence in the Minnesota Legislature. The program began with about 100 members, with hopes for 500 (MSCF EC, 2013c). The Sawbuck Club increased quickly to over 200 members (MSCF BOD, 2013c). Gregg Wright, MSCF Secretary, informed the 2015 DA about the Sawbuck Club,

We have a Sawbuck Club. I think we have approximately 300 members in the Sawbuck Club. Yet we have about 4,000 faculty members that ought to be part of the Sawbuck Club because that opens doors for us. That helps us elect educationally friendly people (MSCF DA, 2015).

The MSCF remained focused on the political landscape. Liberal Arts Vice-President, Damon Kapke, called for action,

We must teach civic engagement, critical thinking, and civic literacy. And we need to fight for public education for students and not dominated by corporate values. We must

take disruptive collective action on issues that matter to all workers. Our mission needs to be wide (MSCF DA, 2015).

As did Gregg Wright,

Your livelihood depends upon the Legislature. The Legislature depends upon who is elected. You have control over who is elected. You can ignore it, but it still is going to affect you. How does it affect you? Your salaries, for one thing, your benefits, for another thing, and above all, your pensions (MSCF DA, 2015).

Not all MSCF members shared the enthusiasm for the Sawbuck Club, Ed Schones commented, “I do not give to the Sawbuck Club. I give to my local candidates. I do not give my money to candidates you want. I give my money to the candidates I want” (Schones, 2016).

Racial Equity and Diversity Committee

The MSCF created a Racial Equity Committee to provide guidance and support for the union to promote, recruit, and retain faculty of color. The committee wanted to provide training to all MSCF members in anti-racism initiatives and pedagogy to close the racial achievement gap of our students (MSCF DA, 2012). The committee was established as an ad hoc statewide committee in 2012 and became a Standing Committee in 2013 (MSCF BOD, 2012a; MSCF EC, 2013e). The MSCF Executive Committee approved appointments to Racial Equity Committee (MSCF EC, 2012b). The MSCF Racial Equity and Diversity Committee provided an avenue to cooperate with MnSCU and others around diversity issues (MSCF BOD, 2013b). There were five MSCF standing committees: the Legislative Committee, the Negotiations Committee, the Technology and e-Learning Committee, the Faculty Rights Committee, and the Academic Affairs Committee (MSCF Constitution, 2013).

Diversity efforts to a step forward in 2012. In Minnesota two-year colleges, the efforts of diversifying the faculty were not as successful as national efforts. The first racial demographic information was published in 1983 and identified 2.7 percent faculty of color (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). The national 10 percent of faculty of color identified in 2005 was only five percent in the Minnesota two-year colleges (MnSCU, 2005). The Minnesota two-year college history revealed a significant incorporation of female faculty. In 1956, only 30 percent of community college faculty were female (Eckert & Stecklein, 1958). By 2010, the proportion rose to 55 percent (MnSCU, 2005). White men have dominated the ranks of two-year college faculty union leadership despite being 45 percent of the faculty demographic.

The MSCF pursued diversity possibilities when a window of opportunity opened. Shannon Gibney, a professor of English and African diaspora studies at Minneapolis Community and Technical College, led a discussion in her mass communications course in October of 2013 (Gibney, 2016). Gibney recounted the events with *City College Air*,

A white student interrupted my lesson to ask ‘Why do we have to talk about this in every class?’ Then there was another white male student near him, who was like, ‘Yeah, I don’t get this either. It’s like people are trying to say that white men are always the villains, the bad guys’ (Kingcade, 2013, para. 3).

Gibney replied, “You guys are taking it personally – this is not a personal attack- this is not about all white people, you white people in general. We’re talking about whiteness as a system of oppression. And so I’m quite familiar, unfortunately, with how that works and how the institutional structures and powers re-enforce this white male supremacy basically. And that sort of narrative and that way of seeing the world” (Turck, 2014, p. 1).

Gibney told the students if they were really upset, they could go to legal affairs and file a racial harassment discrimination complaint, and they did (Turck, 2014). Gibney was called into an investigatory meeting with a union representative, a school administrator, and the school lawyer. After the meeting, she received a reprimand from Lois Bollman, the MCTC Vice President of Academic Affairs (Turck, 2014). MCTC denied reprimanding her for leading a discussion on structural racism.

After receiving the reprimand, Gibney did not file a lawsuit against MCTC, but submitted a formal complaint with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) alleging workplace discrimination (Kingcade, 2013). “Other people who filed complaints from MCTC to the EEOC regarding racial concerns have had their complaints dismissed” (Gibney, 2015). Gibney was ordered to take diversity training, but filed an appeal and the union filed a grievance on her behalf (Lerner, 2013). She completed the diversity trainings with Whitney Harris, MCTC Executive Director of Diversity (Gibney, 2016).

A letter sent to MSCF members dated January 21, 2014 from Damon Kapke, Liberal Arts Vice-President, summarized the MSCF position,

The MSCF is deeply concerned after Gibney’s appeal was denied by the MnSCU System Office. The actions taken against Ms. Gibney by her administration undermine the time-honored concept of academic freedom, the right of faculty to teach within their subject areas in an atmosphere of free intellectual inquiry without undue pressure from their administrations or outside groups that might find the lessons counter to their interests.

The MSCF stands with Shannon Gibney and all faculty members who courageously teach about relevant, controversial issues within their subject areas (Hallman, 2014, para. 4-5).

The Higher Education Justice Minnesota organization serving as a clearinghouse for

social justice issues in Minnesota colleges and universities championed Gibney's cause (HIED Justice, 2014). In a letter of support addressed to Chancellor Rosenstone, MnSCU Board of Trustees, Legislators, Governor Dayton, Minnesota Department of Higher Education, Stakeholders, and Community Members of Conscience dated February 14, 2014, the organization made three requests. The requests were: 1) rescind the letter of reprimand issued to Professor Gibney; 2) improve diversity leadership at MCTC; and 3) increase systemic accountability for racial equity (HIED Justice, 2014). The organization asked to remove MCTC President Phil Davis and his leadership team immediately, as this team has created the context and climate of racial enmity that is responsible for some of the worst educational and work-related transgressions that continue to occur every day on our campus. The local MSCF faculty union and Minnesota Association of Professional Employees (MAPE) union issued 'Votes of No Confidence' on Davis and his administration (HIED Justice, 2014).

The case received national coverage. "CNN and the Chronicle [of Higher Education], were just concerned about the classroom, but that was just part of the story. I only talk to people who have a working understanding of the racial aspects of higher education today. I did a live interview on the Melissa Harris-Perry show [appeared December 8, 2013, *Teaching structural racism in the classroom*]. She is a black, feminist scholar on MSNBC. I am a huge fan of hers, so I was super happy when she contacted me" (Gibney, 2016).

President Davis wrote to Gibney on May 23, 2014, "I have decided to rescind the written reprimand you received on October 31, 2013, effective today" (Turck, 2014, p. 1). President Phil Davis stepped down as MCTC President three days later and moved into a MnSCU position. "The lawyer from Education Minnesota was not surprised when MnSCU dropped the reprimand and did not move to arbitration. They [MnSCU] were going to lose and they did not want

information to go public” (Gibney, 2016). The college maintained Gibney violated its 1.B1 MnSCU Nondiscrimination Policy “by discriminating against two white male students,” designed to protect all members of the community’s protected class status. Gibney does not feel expunged, “The harm that this has caused my reputation, institutional ethos, and authority in the classroom, as well as the stress it inflicted on me and my family, can never really be repaired. So, anyone who advances the ‘no harm was done here’ narrative is absolutely wrong” (Hewitt, 2014, p. 1).

Gibney offered closing remarks which do not bode well for the future,

Unfortunately, what I have experienced here [MCTC] is that the vast majority of faculty and administration at this institution have absolutely no investment in finding common cause around racial equity. In fact, I would have to say that the majority of them may even actively fear racial equity, because embracing it would mean that they would have to radically change their pedagogies, course curriculum, biased policies, as well as the racial and ethnic make-up of the faculty and leadership on this campus, which is still more than 90 percent (Gibney, 2011, p. 6).

MnSCU female faculty of color look at ourselves like canaries in the coal mine. We are the first ones, because of our marginalized identities at all of these different levels, we are the first ones to cry out that we cannot breathe. I am not hopeful for the future. Nothing has been done so female faculty of color really feel like they belong. We do not feel like we can really contribute. We do not feel like our ideas and expertise are valued. These are problems. The awareness that these are real issues is staggeringly low and I do not see it getting any better. I think more folks will continue leave the system (Gibney, 2016).

The first complaint in 2009 pressed the MSCF to pursue a more active and intentional stance supporting diversity. The MSCF passed standing resolutions at the 2009 Delegate Assembly that addressed underrepresented faculty. These resolutions have been reaffirmed at each Delegate Assembly since 2010. Under the category of “Quality of Education,” 1.1) The MSCF supports enhancing diversity in our colleges and encourages MnSCU to support Anti-Racism initiatives by providing funding to the campuses and making Anti-Racism initiatives part of the Chancellor’s work plan; and 1.3) The MSCF believes that there should be no discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, religion, national origin, sex, domicile, political affiliation, marital status, age, physical ability, or sexual orientation in the Minnesota State Colleges with respect to hiring, training, assigning, promoting, transferring, or disciplining. Under the category of “Individual Welfare,” 2.2) The MSCF endorses same-sex domestic partner benefits for all MSCF employees desiring them and makes the attainment of such benefits a priority and publicly takes a stand that states that any actions taken by any party to prevent the implementation of such benefits is discriminatory and inequitable.

At the 2012 DA, Shannon Gibney introduced the following resolution, “Be it resolved that the MSCF create a Racial Equity Committee to provide statewide guidance and support to help the union promote recruiting and retaining faculty of color, provide training to all MSCF members in Anti-racism initiatives and pedagogy and to turning around the racial achievement gap for our students” (Wright, 2012b, p. 8). The resolution passed and was sent to the MSCF State Board for action (Wright, 2012b). “The Delegate Assembly was one of the whitest things I have ever seen in my life. It was not comfortable for me. I decided since I was there, I should make it worth my time. The resolution passed” (Gibney, 2015). In April 2012, The MSCF Board created the Racial Equity and Diversity Committee, an ad hoc statewide committee. President

Mulcahy proposed an eight member committee with diverse volunteers from the metro and outstate. Members were ratified at the September 2012 MSCF Board meeting. The committee was charged to inform itself on matters related to racial equity and diversity at the colleges and within the system (MSCF minutes, 2012). Damon Kapke, MSCF Liberal Art Vice President and Racial Equity and Diversity chairperson, wrote in the March 2013 *Green Sheet*, “As our faculty becomes more diverse on a number of measures, faculty of color will be increasingly involved in college committees, state-level committees, and all levels of union activity. This will bring many new ideas to the table and ensure that we continue to have a strong AASC processes, meaningful shared governance, and tight contract compliance” (Kapke, 2013, p. 3).

During the 2013 DA, Damon Kapke reported that the Racial Equity and Diversity Committee was charged with helping the union promote the recruitment and retaining of faculty of color, providing training to all MSCF members in Anti-racism initiatives, providing a pedagogy, and addressing the racial achievement gap for our students (Wright, 2013). An inaugural committee member recalled the beginning of the committee,

The committee started because of Shannon’s situation. When the call went out for committee members, I responded right away. It wasn’t just racial equity, it was diversity. Diversity is a code word that includes anybody who might be an ‘other.’ It meant inclusivity to me. During the first year we shared a lot of stories from our campuses. That is when I learned about Shannon’s story. We were assessing where we were as a system. I was unclear of our mission. So much so, I asked my students what they feel about racial equity and diversity. Students told me things that instructors were doing. I realized MSCF faculty are the problem. I was mortified by their comments. I helped students to process 1B.1 [MnSCU Nondiscrimination Policy] complaints. I thought it was part of the charge

of the committee. Because I was a member of the committee, I did feel empowered to help students with their concerns. I now understand that is not what the community was charged with, so a void for students continues (REDC1, 2016).

The MSCF Racial Equity and Diversity Committee met several times during 2013 and discussed the actions and inactions of the MnSCU system and its colleges, possible roles for our committee within the system's current efforts, and the importance of promoting faculty of color in union leadership roles. Shannon Gibney recalled her tenure on the committee,

I went to some meetings, but found out early on it was not going to be the place where deep institutional social change was going to occur. The best thing about it was connecting with people on other campuses around the system dealing with diversity issues. Now when a racial issue comes up, it is just sent to the Racial Equity Committee, so we do not have to deal with the issue that our entire organization is completely white. Those issues just go to the Racial Equity Committee and die. The Racial Equity Committee creates the illusion that this union is actually interested in racial equity work. Of course white people never want to deal with their privilege, instead they get really angry. I decided there are other ways to advocate for my students and faculty of color (Gibney, 2016).

When asked about Gibney's departure from the committee, a Racial Equity and Diversity Committee member commented,

It upset me that Shannon believed racial equity was the sole purpose of the committee. She said she did not want to dilute the committee. She did not want to water it down so much that we cannot move on race. But, I came to the committee because of diversity. I stand for racial equity, but diversity is my home base. I don't blame her for leaving the

committee because her mission and the committee's mission were two different things. I do admire the fact that she made herself a target. Being a target is difficult. She stood up for what she believed in despite the consequences (REDC1, 2016).

At the 2014 DA, Damon Kapke reported the Racial Equity and Diversity Committee was elevated to a Constitutional Committee which demonstrated MSCF's commitment to equity (Wright, 2014). The delegates were asked to fill out the first MSCF Racial Equity and Diversity survey. "The first survey responses were very juvenile. But, there were some people who were glad to respond. I saw ignorance and other people, who like me, want to be heard and represented," said a committee member (REDC1, 2016).

At the 2015 DA, the Racial Equity and Diversity Committee Chairperson gave the annual report, "The overarching focus of the committee is to represent and support the union's commitment to inclusion, equity, and respect for the diverse membership within MSCF. Since its inception, the team has been busy establishing itself within MSCF via a productive schedule. The following list should serve as a brief description of endeavors the group has engaged in since its inception: 1) several meetings occurred over the course of the year, which culminated in the development of an extensive work-plan for the calendar year; 2) the first actionable item, providing feedback on the current language of the MSCF values and goals diversity statement, led to development of a revised statement; 3) planning for cultural competency training opportunities is underway; 4) development of processes for advocacy and support are being considered" (Wright, 2015). The 2015 delegates filled out the second MSCF Racial Equity and Diversity survey. The results directed future initiatives. According to a Racial Equity and Diversity Committee member,

My fellow committee members felt push back from the Delegate Assembly survey, both

physically and non-verbally, from the attendees. They were like ‘Oh God, here we go with diversity again!’ It makes me angry, but my committee members point out that anger is not helpful. We have to meet people where they are, and that is a scary place.

What do we do with people with their long held biases? (REDC1, 2016). Another committee member summarized, “We have to just plant the seed. That’s it, we are not responsible for the seed. But, I think some of these people are not fertile ground” (REDC2, 2016). Shannon Gibney offered pointed criticism of MSCF’s record on racial equity,

The union has always been very male. When you look at the history of unions in this country, they have never been places where persons of color, immigrants, and young people could express their concerns and be themselves. I do not feel like this organization [MSCF] has my back. The union is totally complicit in helping to perpetuate structural racism and sexism. However, if there had not been any union and if there had not been any process for appealing or challenging disciplinary actions, I really would have been in a jam in terms of getting that letter of reprimand out of my file. So on one side, yes, I am glad we have a union. I know the union does negotiate salaries and benefits, which is really important. But in terms of the union acting as a viable voice for faculty members of color who are vocal and advocating for our students, no. The only thing I have faith in is my community (Gibney, 2016).

A Racial Equity and Diversity Committee member echoed Gibney’s comments,

The union suffers from male privilege. All union leadership, local and state, is male. The union has not been responsive to the needs of underrepresented faculty. But, some blame comes from the silence from faculty who fail to share what they want. They remain silent because they believe it is a lost cause. The union is not for me. It does not look like me. It

doesn't support me. Therefore, I am not going to give it my feedback. Many view the union as a necessary evil, to get the benefits we get, but they do not necessarily want to become vested in it (REDC1, 2016).

Another committee member offered,

The [Racial Equity and Diversity] Committee started a dialogue that was long absent. One of our missions was to start talking about these issues. But for some people that is even too much. They do not want to hear it. We are starting to branch out. We are writing a grant to host our first diversity conference for instructors. There are opportunities for contract-wide improvements and for faculty to learn from each other (REDC2, 2016).

Shannon Gibney was a pioneer for racial equity and a catalyst for change. "Without her, all the other things we have been able to discuss, do, and start, would not be possible" (REDC1, 2016). She initiated the diversity dialogue, it was left with the MSCF to continue the conversation.

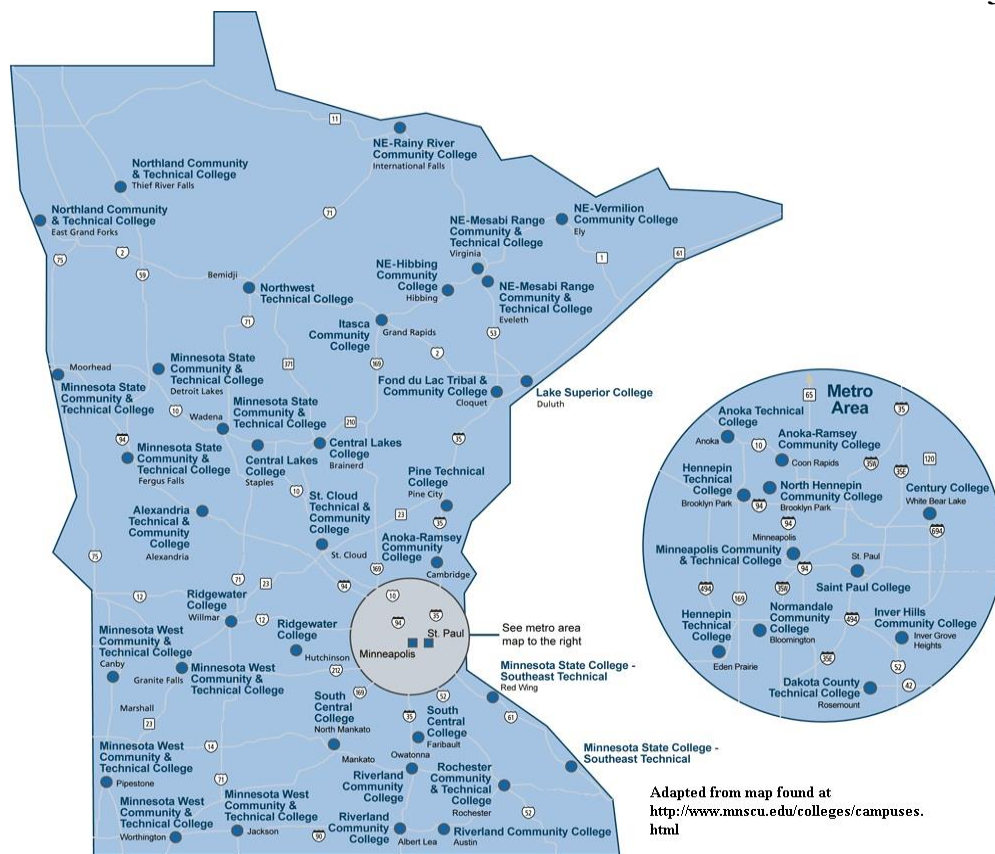


Figure 4.9. 2013 Minnesota Two-Year College Locations Map

Advocacy

The 21st century emerged as an era of numerous challenges, including increasing competition for shrinking state and federal education and research resources, aging faculty population, and dropping high school rates. Therefore, the competition for resources, faculty, and students had never been greater across Minnesota two-year college campuses (see Figure 4.9).

During this time of scarcity and heightened competition, government officials, accrediting bodies, and the general public have begun to demand more accountability about how public dollars are being used and how institutions measure success (Hendrickson et al., 2013). Sam Nelson provided comment,

An external threat to MSCF is the lack of support for education in general and public education in particular, reflective of the legislative appropriations for higher education which have dropped significantly in the last ten years. In terms of the social and cultural value placed on higher education, that is the most significant threat, this anti-intellectualism. The union has done little to confront this threat. We could do a much better job with the public. We do a good job with Legislators, but not with the public at large. We do not use social media and our alumni to tell our story. Our former students who have gone on to do great things, who believe in and credit the community and technical college system, that is a story we need to tell and use for our benefit. We have done a much better job in the political arena since Rick Nelson took over as a Legislative Liaison. The challenge is motivating faculty to participate in the process. I understand everyone has full loads, lots of students, but at the same time it's in our own best interest to carve out some time for those kinds of things. We have good advocates, but we are missing statewide advocacy from the rank and file membership (Nelson, 2016).

Gregg Wright, MSCF Secretary, delivered a fiery speech about entitlements to the 2015 DA. His words captured the mood of the MSCF membership at the time,

I got a list of my entitlements. I am entitled to a national agenda that values the middle class and understands that wealth trickles up, not pissed down. I am entitled to respect for my knowledge and my experience. I am entitled to a Legislature that values higher education and its faculty. I am entitled to a wage that is reflective of the responsibilities and importance of educating the citizenry and preparing students for tomorrow's economy. I am entitled to a campus where all faculty are members of the union. I am entitled to colleagues who see the value of contributing some of their time to the political

landscape and to unions. I am entitled to an end of listening to talk about best practices and the start of listening to home grown, good ideas on a campus. I am entitled to dean who works with me, does not micromanage me and reduces barriers so I can actually do my job. I am entitled to a job where I don't have to spend 40 percent of my time defending it. I am entitled to a process to get rid of poor administrators instead of promoting them. I entitled to college presidents who are servant administrators. College presidents that see the value of collaborating with faculty. College presidents that serve the college and community and not using the college for their personal, selfish benefit. I am entitled to competent college presidents who actually have bonefide credentials. I am entitled to college presidents who do not hide behind the phrase it's the budget, when it's really about values. I am entitled to college presidents who are more concerned about faculty morale than the color of their office walls and the size of their desk. I am entitled to a Chancellor that is not embedded with the corporate world and those who use education for corporate profit and not the public good. I am entitled to a faculty that picks to work together rather than to get picked off one at a time. Yes, I can say that I am entitled to these things, but there is a difference between me and the younger generation that feels entitled. They might say give it to me, I say no one gives us anything. They might say, but I deserve it. I would say that if you believe you are entitled, then earn it through your own actions. And if it more than you can do on your own, find other like-minded people to work with you. They might say I don't know where they are, I would say they're in your office neighbors, they're in the hallway, they're in the classroom down the hall, they are in a college nearest you. They are us and those people who might feel entitled might just say this makes me sad because this is too hard and I would say

don't lament that you don't have those things you think you are entitled to. Use your sense of entitlement to fuel your passion and drive your personal and collective actions and gain that which you believe you are entitled to (MSCF DA, 2015).

Sam Nelson offered further analysis,

We have been victimized as public employees and as higher education union members, so we have two strikes against us. Those are the social, cultural, and political hurdles that provide the biggest challenge. In order to address a lot of the other issues, we must reinstall in leadership our importance and value. We provide educational, economical, and political value. We lack champions in the public sector. We need those champions (Nelson, 2016).

Past President Greg Mulcahy predicted future difficulties,

I am very pessimistic. When I was President of the union, MnSCU would come to me and say, we have to innovate or we have to change or we have to do things differently. I thought they were saying we have to innovate, change, or do things differently, so tell me what you want to do differently, and bring it to bargaining and we'll figure out a way to do things differently. But then I realized that MnSCU was not having a conversation, MnSCU is the conversation. So here is what I expect will happen. You will see attacks on hiring practices in particular and attacks on curriculum and faculty rights specifically, you will see more bad management, and you will see an awful lot of conversation about whatever last year's fad was, followed by the worst idea from five years ago sporadically implemented. My prediction is the future will be a lot like it is now. If you are going to have faculty rights, faculty are going to have to fight for them. Nobody is going to give

them to you, and nobody is going to respect them unless you take them and you demand them (Mulcahy, 2016).

Past UTCE President and MSCF Co-President Ed Schones predicted future difficulties,

For better or worse we are going to see some big changes in the organization down the road. In the short term, we are going to see some changes in the way we need to do business. The external threats to the organization are numerous. Internally, we are late to the game. We have sat around and failed to move the needle on the membership. We have not moved the needle on contracts and moving benefits closer together. We need better engagement. We need better communication. And we have not done it and we're in a pickle. I do not think we are up to the challenge. We are going to react. We are going to talk about things to death (Schones, 2016).

Past President Larry Oveson commented, "The MSCF has weak leadership now, leaders without a real, concrete, attainable vision about the members' status and/or future. They are holding on, not climbing" (Oveson, 2016). He continued, "You need to strike a balance between professional and traditional unionism, but it needs to be looked at issue by issue. Some issues you have to lead the faculty. There are other issues you better not get in their way when they want to get way over here. You have to read that as a leader" (Oveson, 2016). Greg Mulcahy added,

A leader should be far ahead of the membership and much more militant than the membership, but just because you are there psychologically doesn't mean you can be there politically. You should be a little ahead of the membership politically; you should be far ahead psychologically. Politics is a reality. There is a famous quote, ascribed to everybody including Jack Kennedy, 'Anyone who thinks politics is a choice between better and the worse doesn't understand politics. Politics is a choice between the merely

awful and the truly terrible.’ My experience is that is true of union politics too (Mulcahy, 2016).

Past President Greg Mulcahy provided a poignant summation of MSCF union history,

MSCF should not be understood as an actor in significant events as much as it should be understood as a process of faculty representation and an intellectual and political understanding of the methods and duties of that representation. MSCF has valued creativity, both in bargaining and strategy, to accomplish faculty representation. MnSCU has often been hostile to MSCF, which is perhaps to be expected, but more importantly, it has often been systematically incapable of meeting its contractual obligations. For example, grievances languish -- often for years --because MnSCU has neither the capacity to require its constituent institutions to abide by the contract nor the ability to timely deal with the raft of arbitrations resulting from the aforementioned incapacity. This leads to a reductive relationship between the parties where contractual disputes are always at the fore, and significant issues of governance, academic affairs, policy, and diversity are given mere process or lip service by the system. How much of this dysfunction, if any, is intentional and how much is simply inherent in the system is unclear. As to MSCF’s strengths and weakness, MSCF belongs to the faculty – it is as strong or weak as the faculty makes it (Mulcahy, 2016).

Summary

The early 2000s were marked by economic and political crises. The union faced increased levels of layoffs and difficult contract negotiations. Anti-union bills caused a complete dedication towards traditional unionism. The union became deeply involved in political elections

and lobbying efforts. The MSCF turned its attention to issues of equity and formed the Racial Equity and Diversity Committee. The future of the union is uncertain.

Oral Histories

The Minnesota two-year college faculty union members and leaders provided invaluable stories and insights into the activities of the union and breathed life into the primary documents. The researcher secured interviews with a variety of respondents from each time period spanning the history of the union. The respondents recalled specific union activities without hesitation and were deemed truthful. Their interpretations of union activities were useful in gaining a better understanding of the impact of these activities.

Results for Each Research Question

Question 1

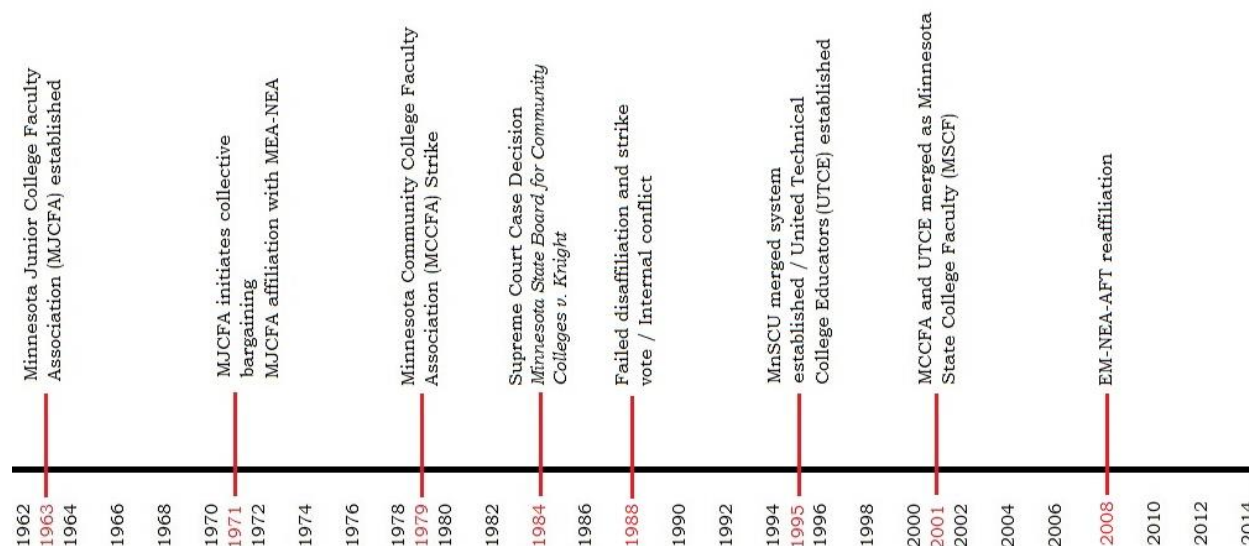
What were the experiences concerning union organization, activities, leaders, and accomplishments at various points in Minnesota two-year college faculty union history?

The organizational structure of the union, including the elected leadership and committee rosters, was assembled through primary union documents. Constitutions and contracts defined union leadership and decision-making processes. Meeting minutes, union newsletters, and scrapbooks provided a record of elections, contract negotiations, legislative issues, academic initiatives, legal actions, affiliations, and additional internal and external issues. The most significant union events, such as association formation, collective bargaining, strike action, and merger, were prominently displayed in primary documents. A timeline of union leadership, activities, and events was compiled from the primary union documents. The oral history

narratives provided antidotal stories regarding the timeline. The shared memories improved the truthfulness of the timeline and provided valuable insights into the interpretation of the union activities and events.

The major experiences of the union were the origin of MJCFA (1963), MJCFA/MEA-NEA affiliation (1971), adoption of collective bargaining (1971), strike action (1979), *Minnesota State Board for Community Colleges v. Knight* Supreme Court decision (1984), disaffiliation attempt (1988), state system merger (1995), origin of UTCE (1995), and union merger/origin of MSCF (2001), and MSCF/EM-NEA-AFT reaffiliation (2008). These unique experiences were central to the formation the union identity. Figure 4.10 outlines the major experiences of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. A complete outline of union experiences and activities can be found in Appendix B.

Figure 4.10. Abbreviated Minnesota two-year college faculty union timeline



The union lobbied for and against several legislative initiatives, including Metropolitan junior college expansion bills (1965), PELRA (1971), Ashbach-Schrer bill (1971), Bomb bill (1971), PELRA modifications (1980), State AVTI Board (1983), Waldorf-Haukoos bill (1987),

Mega-merger bill (1991, 1995), direct instruction over administration funding bills (1997), Right-to-Work bill (2011), and Unit decertification every cycle bill (2011). Legislative issues changed with the Legislature. The union lobbied legislators to improve the education of students and the position of faculty. The union was involved in lobby days, political rallies, letter writing campaigns, and legislator banquets aimed to improve its position.

The union was involved in several lawsuits including *MJCFA v. State of Minnesota - tenure non-appointment* (1973), *MCCFA vs. State of Minnesota - part-time unemployment compensation* (1977), *MCCFA v. State of Minnesota – unfair labor practice/COLA awards* (1977), *MCCFA v. State of Minnesota – TRA* (1983), *Minnesota State Board for Community Colleges v. Knight* (1984), *MCCFA v. State of Minnesota - Governor Carlson* (1991), and *MCCFA v. State of Minnesota - Braxton-Brown* (1997). These legal actions were decided at various levels, including District Court, Minnesota Supreme Court, and the U.S. Supreme Court.

Academic initiatives, such the Center for Teaching and Learning (1985), Mission Delineation (1986), Academic Affairs task force (1991), Minnesota Transfer Curriculum (1994), Electronic Academy (1996), Semester Conversion (1997), AASC (2002), and 60/120 (2008), have been common union activities. Affiliation agreements, grievances, contract negotiations, and elections were among the continual union internal issues.

Internal organization issues of constitutions, membership, dues, elections, affiliation agreements, grievances, contract negotiations, communications, and committee activities were important activities for the faculty union. Two-year contracts were negotiated with the System and approved by the Legislature. Every contract negotiation was unique. Faculty union leaders negotiated each contract. Some contracts were negotiated with minimal conflict while others

went to arbitration or led to strike authorization. Narrators shared extensive experiences about these events and activities.

In its fifty year history, the organizational structure, including executive committee composition, of the union has remained consistent. The positions of President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer have endured. After the merger of MCCFA and UTCE, the transitional period maintained two presidents, one transfer and one technical. When the elected terms of the MCCFA and UTCE presidents expired, a single MSCF president was elected. The transfer and technical mission were memorialized by two vice-presidents, one transfer and one technical. Most early junior college faculty union presidents were contractually restricted to one-year terms. After constitutional changes, a few union Presidents served for several years and made lasting impacts on the union, such as Jim Durham (1975-1986), Larry Litecky (1989-1997), Larry Oveson (1998-2006), and Greg Mulcahy (2007-2013). The Delegate Assembly continued to be the primary vehicle for the broader membership to have influence in union decision-making. The power of the Delegate Assembly was diminished after union merger. The union President continued as the most important position in the organizational structure. Most MJCFA Presidents served short terms because of contract restrictions (see Appendix L).

Public technical colleges, prior to 2001, were in a system governed by the authority of local school districts. The Minnesota community colleges were in direct competition with technical colleges for students. Merger discussions started in the early sixties. Separate missions kept major conflicts at a minimum. However, some technical programs were duplicated at junior/community colleges, while general education courses were taught at technical colleges. The Associated in Applied Science (A.A.S.) degree blurred mission lines. Competition was reduced when the technical colleges unionized as UTCE in 1995. The MCCFA and UTCE found

many areas of collaboration. Several memoranda of understanding were forged before the merger of MCCFA and UTCE in 2001. The competition between the two-year colleges and state universities continued, but the institutions found areas of collaboration after the establishment of the MnSCU system in 2005.

Question 2

What were the major sources of Minnesota two-year college faculty satisfaction and dissatisfaction at various points in history and how did these sources influence actions of faculty?

Minnesota two-year college faculty satisfaction was directly measured through University of Minnesota surveys in 1956, 1968, and 1980. Additional faculty satisfaction was measured by the 1963 MJCFA Welfare Committee Survey and 1987 MCCFA Internal Assessment Survey. Primary union documents, such as newsletters and scrapbooks, combined with oral history narratives provided additional insights into faculty satisfaction levels. A measure of faculty satisfaction towards academic, working conditions, and governance factors during critical union activities and events (i.e. MJCFA origin -1963, collective bargaining adoption - 1971, strike action - 1979, UTCE origin - 1995, and union merger/MSCF origin - 2001) was obtained through primary union documents and secondary documents.

Surveys conducted by University of Minnesota researchers found consistently elevated academic factor satisfaction levels among Minnesota two-year college faculty. Governance factors generated the highest dissatisfaction among two-year college faculty. Dissatisfaction with governance factors appeared to be the major reason for pursuing unionization. Salary and workloads were among the working condition factors which created the highest levels of dissatisfaction. A lack of shared governance was the major catalyst for unionization in 1963 and

continued to be a source of dissatisfaction throughout the life of the union. Satisfaction with academic factors remained high despite the dissatisfaction with governance and working condition factors. When MCCFA and UTCE decertified in 2005, the dissatisfaction towards governance and working condition factors remained high enough for two-year college faculty to recertify as the MSCF. Membership remained satisfied with local and state union representation throughout the history of the union.

Question 3

What were the influences of external factors on the development of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union?

The major external factors that influenced the development of the union were primarily legislative in nature. Additional external factors included state and national union affiliations. The external factors have manifested in legal actions and legislation. Primary union documents including meeting minutes, newsletters, and scrapbooks, provided the union position on these matters. Oral history narratives provided depth of understanding of the influence of these factors. Secondary documents, such as newspaper articles, journal entries, and organization newsletters, provided broad information about legal actions, legislation, and national union affiliations (MEA-NEA and AFT).

The Minnesota Legislature was the most important external influence on the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. During its history, the Minnesota two-year college faculty union changed its position from ambivalence of endorsing political candidates to out-right endorsements through IMPACE or the Sawbuck Club. This change has come about mainly owing the acts of the Minnesota Legislature that would affect the structure and operations of the union, consequently, the membership recognized the inescapable fact that members of the

Legislature are a very important factor in the progress of the union.

The MEA-NEA influenced the activities of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. The MJCFA affiliated with the MEA-NEA in 1970. The MEA-NEA provided legal services to the Minnesota two-year college faculty union starting with the first affiliation agreement. The MEA-NEA legal support helped fund several actions against the Minnesota Legislature and Governor. Additionally, the MEA-NEA helped fund contract enforcement through grievances and arbitrations. The MEA-NEA provided important support services leading up to and during the strike of 1979. The MEA-NEA funded personnel for office support, lobbying efforts, and contract enforcement. Despite the benefits, bitter affiliation debates have recurred throughout the history of the union. The threat of disaffiliation remained a common theme.

Question 4

How does the Minnesota two-year college faculty union experience compare to the national higher education union experience?

Secondary documents, such as newsletters, newspapers, journal articles, and dissertations, provided the national higher education union experience. The Minnesota two-year college faculty union timeline was compared to the national timeline. The context of the national timeline was compared with the Minnesota context.

The parallels between national education unions (AAUP, NEA, and AFT) and the Minnesota two-year college faculty union were numerous. The Minnesota two-year college faculty union shared more in common with the NEA and AFT because of the educational level of their students. The AAUP focused on four-year university faculty and resisted engagement as a collective bargaining representative. The Minnesota two-year college faculty union borrowed the

AAUP position regarding academic freedom, but never considered affiliation.

The NEA focused on educational professionalism and lobbying efforts, while the AFT supported teacher rights. The AFT, an AFL-CIO affiliate, was rooted in traditional unionism and embraced a relationship with organized labor. The AFT utilized industrial union tactics to secure professional control. All higher education unions advocated for academic freedom protection, grievance procedures, retrenchment defense, equitable salaries, and adequate working conditions.

There were no unionized community or technical colleges in 1949, but by the end of 1966 almost half of higher education union membership was from community and technical college locals. The majority of technical and community college faculty unions affiliated with the AFT. Most of these early two-year college unions identified limited faculty participation in governance and decision-making as the catalyst which led to unionization. Of course, the Minnesota two-year college faculty union organized during a similar timeframe, 1963, and cited governance factor dissatisfaction as the primary reason to unionize. The MJCFA did not affiliate with a national higher education union until 1970. When the Minnesota two-year college faculty union affiliated with a national higher education union, it refused to follow the majority of community and technical colleges by selecting AFT, instead the membership selected the NEA. The Minnesota two-year colleges formed with strong K-12 origins, arising from local school districts, whose teachers were the primary members of the NEA.

During the seventies administrators across the nation exercised increased control over faculty workloads, tenure standards, job security, salaries, fringe benefits, and overall decision-making. The growth of authoritative administration combined with state legislation permitting collective bargaining led to an uptick in unionization. The Minnesota experience mirrored the

national experience. In the eighties, governance on higher education institutions across the country became less hostile and more collaborative. The national trend was mirrored in Minnesota. The MCCFA focused its attention to professional activities throughout the eighties and nineties. When faced with adversity coupled with exhausted negotiations, the union turned to legal challenges to settle its differences with political rivals. The MEA-NEA encouraged and supported the Minnesota two-year college faculty union actions against the State of Minnesota. Financial resource scarcity, public skepticism in college quality, efficiency, and leadership, growing corporatization of higher education, and micromanaging boards, administrations, and legislatures of the 2000s and 2010s increased pressure on faculty. As a result, national higher education unions strayed away from professional union activities and embraced traditional union activities. Believing in strength in numbers, many higher education faculty unions sought combined affiliations with national education unions. The Minnesota two-year college faculty union followed the trend and secured membership in both MEA-NEA and AFT.

Question 5

What was the pattern of development of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union over the past fifty years? Can this pattern be used to evaluate the future course of union organization and influence in higher education?

Answers to questions #1 through #4 provided the basis of the history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. The development of the union was examined for possible patterns that may predict future directions.

The junior college administration possessed absolute decision-making authority before and shortly after the formation of the state system in 1963. Although satisfied with the academic factors of college instruction, faculty experienced growing dissatisfaction with governance and

working conditions factors, primarily salary and workloads. There were conflicting reports on different campuses regarding the level of faculty involvement in decision-making prior to the formation of the association. Of course, this was expected given the independent nature of each campus, some had autocratic leadership while others were more inclusive. The early union struggled to be heard. The voice of the faculty was realized when PELRA legislation in 1971 allowed public employees to engage in collective bargaining. The union worked to mitigate faculty dissatisfaction towards working conditions and governance factors. The years of dissatisfaction pressured the union to make an immediate impact. The political environment was not favorable for large union gains and the Legislature pushed back. The union demonstrated its resolve and went on strike against the Legislature. The Legislature and State system learned the union would fight back when pushed too far. The twenty years which followed the strike were times of professional unionism for junior college faculty. Technological advancements, pedagogical innovations, classroom research, and other academic issues were the focus of the union. The increased attention to academic issues resulted in increased levels of academic factor satisfaction. Dissatisfaction with working conditions and governance factors continued, but were not pronounced. The union solidified its authority and mitigated dissatisfaction through strong adherence to grievance processes and successful contract negotiations. Political changes in the 2000s caused the union to redirect its attention away from professional activities towards traditional union activities. Dissatisfaction with working conditions and governance factors continued, but became increasingly important without a focus on academic factors as a distraction. The political difficulties of working with hostile administration and Legislature resulted in an increased usage of unproductive saber-rattling and brinkmanship tactics.

The Minnesota two-year college faculty union has a unique history. The union developed under a unique set of circumstances. It is impossible to predict the future development of the union based upon its past. It is predicted when the union is pressed by legislative action it will move to strict traditional unionism. If legislative pressure is lessened, the union will adopt a more professional unionism stance. It is predicted that faculty will remain satisfied with academic factors, which will be high enough to keep them in the profession. It is predicted that faculty will remain somewhat dissatisfied with working conditions, particularly salary and benefits. It is predicted that without any changes to the current governance system, faculty will continue to be dissatisfied with governance factors. Finally, it is predicted that the membership will continue to be satisfied with the representation it receives from the local and state union. The membership is satisfied with the voice the union provides. No predictions beyond legislative influence and satisfaction levels can be reasonably made.

Summary

The Minnesota two-year college union has experienced a unique series of activities and events lead by a unique set of leaders. These past leaders, activities, and events inform the present and build the future. The external influences of the Legislature and national affiliates directed the union at various points in the past. The national experience of higher education unions provided context and insight into the activities of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union, but were not a predictor of future development.

The total satisfaction of Minnesota two-year college faculty is a combination of academic, working conditions, and governance factors. Minnesota two-year college unionized faculty have remained satisfied with academic factors throughout history. Dissatisfaction with

working conditions and governance factors prompted faculty to make decisions to improve voice mechanisms. The influence of external factors threatened the balance of professional and traditional union activities. When allowed to operate in an environment with limited political adversity, the union pursued a combination of professional and traditional activities.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

*In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold,
Greater than the might of armies, magnified a thousand-fold.
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old
For the union makes us strong.*

“Solidarity Forever” – Ralph H. Chaplin (1914)

The data collected was coded, analyzed, and placed into a chronological narrative which created the history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. The research questions were answered. The interpretive paradigm was utilized to find overarching historical conclusions and topics for deeper exploration and discussion. Implications for theory, practice, and research were explored. Recommendations for future research were examined. The limitations of the research project were addressed.

Historical Conclusions

Minnesota junior colleges credit the University of Minnesota for their origins. University of Minnesota President William Watts Folwell initiated the plan of junior colleges in 1869 (Blegen, 1963). President George E. Vincent viewed the junior college concept as an enrollment mechanism for the University and oversaw the establishment of the first junior colleges, beginning with Cloquet in 1914 (Cloquet School Board Minutes, 1914). The University of Minnesota provided administration, instruction, curriculum, and accreditation for Minnesota junior colleges (Meyer, 1956). President M.L. Burton supported establishing the first two years of the University curriculum as the domain of junior colleges (President’s Report, 1920). President Lotus D. Coffman viewed junior colleges as open door institutions, not just the first two-years of a University education, which established community colleges (Coffman, 1920). When the State of Minnesota provided financial support for community college students, the

University of Minnesota began to lose its longtime influence (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). By 1957, the removal of the University of Minnesota was complete. President J.L. Morrill adjusted University of Minnesota freshman and sophomore offerings to accommodate junior college expansion (Keller et al., 1958). The Junior College State Board was created in 1963 (H.F. 1937, 1963).

Junior college were always operated by local school districts, so when the University of Minnesota vacated, the junior colleges were quickly assimilated to a K-12 culture. Many administrators and faculty were taken from the K-12 ranks (Florin, 1975). Junior college faculty worked under K-12 contracts (Helland, 1975). Elements of the University of Minnesota influence were retained, such as curriculum and credit-based course loads. The governance analysis of the 1965 Willmar Junior College contract revealed a contract falling between silent and managerial rights (see Appendix H). It was abundantly clear the early junior college faculty had no formalized governance rights. Without explicit governance rights, each junior college was subject to the leadership of its administration. On several campuses, administration assigned course materials and selected academic conferences for faculty (see Appendix H). Administration made all decisions. Faculty taught. However, the progressive administrations found on a few campuses allowed faculty to participate in decision-making. Oral history narrators felt they were a valuable part of a decision-making team on their campuses before unionization (Holman, 2016; Widmark, 2016).

Faculty Satisfaction

The satisfaction of the faculty before the adoption of unionization was measured by a 1956 satisfaction survey and 1963 MJCFA welfare committee survey (MJCFA Survey, 1963; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; see Appendix S & T). The 1956 faculty satisfaction survey found the

vast majority of faculty enjoyed teaching (86 percent) and working with college students (87 percent). Faculty spent the majority (64 percent) of their time teaching and many (31 percent) wanted more time dedicated to teaching. Faculty only spent 19 percent of their time performing committee and administrative duties, but many (36 percent) wanted to spend less time on these activities. Faculty were dissatisfied with inadequate salaries (44 percent), administration (nine percent), course load (nine percent), and lack of policy authority (four percent) (Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; see Appendix S). The 1963 MJCFA Welfare Committee survey identified areas of faculty concern. Faculty wanted higher salaries, health insurance, retirement, course load control, and summer and night school load limits (MJCFA Survey, 1963; see Appendix T).

The 1963 MJCFA Constitution captured underlining concerns for junior college faculty. The MJCFA wanted to improve teaching and learning processes, advance faculty welfare, and establish genuine shared governance with decision-makers (MJCFA, 1967b; Widmark, 1993, 2003). The Junior College System adopted a K-12 salary schedule, based on years of experience with education credentials, and a college-based course load based on credits (Florin, 1975; Helland, 1975). Faculty were highly dissatisfied with the salary schedule, because it was not competitive with metro high schools (Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; see Appendix P). Faculty pressed to define overload pay and establish sabbaticals (Helland, 1975; MJCFA DA, 1965a). The Junior College System established a three step faculty grievance process (Jottings, 1973b). Faculty grievances were delivered to the college President. If unsatisfied, the faculty took grievances to the Chancellor, followed by the Junior College Board. The authority of the Junior College Board was absolute (Jottings, 1973b). The Junior College Board secured monies for faculty conferences in 1967 and 1968 which generated high faculty satisfaction and optimism (Garrison, 1968; Harris & Dearden, 1968; Hinsverk & Hunter, 1968; LaVine & AmEnd, 1968;

Moen & Stave, 1968; Smith, 1968). The researcher determined the faculty academic factor satisfaction was high, governance was even, and working conditions factors were low during the time of early unionization (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1. Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Satisfaction by Subscales, 1956-2001

Satisfaction Indicator Event	Academic Factor Satisfaction	Governance Factor Satisfaction	Working Conditions Factor Satisfaction
1956 Satisfaction Survey	High	Even	Low
1963 MJCFA Welfare Committee Survey	High	NA	Low
1963 MJCFA Origin	High	Even	Low
1968 Satisfaction Survey	High	Low	Low
1971 Collective Bargaining Adoption	High	Low	Low
1979 Strike Action	High	Low	Low
1980 Satisfaction Survey	High	Low	Low
1987 MCCFA Internal Assessment Survey	High	Low	Even
1995 UTCE Origin	High	Low	Even
2001 Union Merger/MSCF Origin	High	Low	Even

Faculty satisfaction was measured again through the 1968 Faculty Satisfaction Survey (Eckert & Williams, 1972; see Appendix U). The majority of faculty (87 percent) were satisfied with teaching and most (82 percent) would select the profession over again. Instruction

accounted for 85 percent of faculty time, but 34 percent desired more. Administrative duties accounted for only four percent of a faculty assignment, but 40 percent wanted even less time dedicated to administrative duties. Salaries continued to disappoint. Only eight percent of faculty were attracted to the profession by salary. Over 55 percent of faculty believe higher salaries would attract more faculty and 47 percent believed the faculty would be retained. Some faculty (25 percent) believed smaller course loads would help attract and retain faculty. Additional faculty concerns generated dissatisfaction, high course loads (12 percent), poor working conditions (14 percent), academic freedom threats (12 percent), poor administration (five percent), and limited policy-making authority (11 percent). The growing possibilities of collective bargaining was supported by a majority of faculty (62 percent) (Eckert & Williams, 1972; see Appendix U).

In 1971, MJCFA President Neil Sands presented the membership with the reasons to adopt collective bargaining (Sands, 1971). The System did little to improve teaching and learning through decreased faculty salaries or diminished programming. Oral history narrators described the growing dissatisfaction with governance and working conditions, specifically poor salaries and high course loads, as collective begging (Holman, 2016; Newton, 2006; Widmark, 2016). Narrators identified little opposition to the adoption of collective bargaining after the passage of PELRA in 1971 (Holman, 2016; Widmark, 2016). The researcher found faculty academic factor satisfaction remained high through the sixties and seventies, but governance and working conditions factors were low (see Figure 5.1). Additionally, organizational justice was challenged when the Legislature unilaterally altered contract agreements.

The final faculty satisfaction survey was conducted in 1980, on the heels of the 1979 MCCFA strike (Willie & Stecklein, 1982; see Appendix V). The majority of faculty time (80

percent) remained dedicated to instruction and were satisfied with their career choice (90 percent). However, a newly identified faculty minority (nine percent) were dissatisfied with academics and their career choice. Only 71 percent of faculty would renew their career choice. Faculty were satisfied with collective bargaining (76 percent). Working with college students (46 percent) and the nature of the instruction (13 percent) remained areas of faculty satisfaction. Faculty were dissatisfied with salaries (46 percent), working conditions (34 percent), and administration (25 percent). Only nine percent of faculty liked their work conditions, a significant decrease from 1968 (63 percent) and 1956 (45 percent) (Willie & Stecklein, 1982; see Appendix V).

The last formal assessment of faculty satisfaction was the 1987 MCCFA Internal Assessment Project (see Appendix W). Faculty felt they treated students with respect (97 percent). Faculty were represented in curriculum development on their campuses (85 percent), but a vast majority (81 percent) wanted increased input into curriculum planning. Many faculty (45 percent) believed course loads excessive. A slight majority (58 percent) believed administration welcomed faculty opinions, but believed administration withheld information from faculty on important matters (59 percent). Areas of growing concern were discovered, only 53 percent of faculty believed shared governance worked well and 58 percent of faculty believed morale was good. Better results for local and state union satisfaction were revealed. Faculty were confident in local union representation (81 percent) and believed local unions were devoted to the needs of the membership (86 percent). The membership believed the state union addressed faculty interests (72 percent) and were accessible (79 percent). The majority of faculty desired increased efforts to improve teaching (62 percent) and decreased course loads (42 percent) (see Appendix W). The researcher determined faculty academic factor satisfaction remained high in

the early eighties, but governance remained low. Working conditions rose to even, due to a series of contractual gains following after 1979 strike (see Table 5.1).

When UTCE organized in 1995, many technical college faculty experienced increased salaries and benefits which resulted in increased working conditions factor satisfaction. The merger of MCCFA and UTCE as MSCF created a bifurcated contract. Several former UTCE members experienced greater financial gains than former MCCFA members. These differences resulted in an even assessment of working conditions factor satisfaction. Former MCCFA members retained contract language benefits (i.e. hiring language and layoff provisions) which may not have had an immediate financial impact after merger, but have had a major impact on the union budget in subsequent years. Former UTCE members have expressed growing resentment regarding the bifurcation, which may return working conditions factor satisfaction to low in the immediate future (see Table 5.1).

Academic Factors

Minnesota two-year college faculty held academic factors in high regard and were satisfied with engagement with academic initiatives (Eckert & Williams, 1972; MJCFA, 1967a, 1967b; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; Willie & Stecklein, 1982). Minnesota two-year colleges were considered centers of faculty collaboration on teaching and learning (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983; Widmark, 2016). Faculty were continually engaged in workshops, conferences, and initiatives designed to improve teaching and learning (Garrison, 1968; Harris & Dearden, 1968; Hinsverk & Hunter, 1968; Moen & Stave, 1968; Smith, 1968). Minnesota two-year college faculty consistently cited working with students as the most fulfilling aspect of a career in higher education (Eckert & Williams, 1972; MJCFA, 1967a, 1967b; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; Willie & Stecklein, 1982). Nearly all narrators mentioned working with students as the most

rewarding part of their careers (Gibney, 2016; Halsa, 2016; Holman, 2016; Litecky, 2016; Nelson, 2016; Widmark, 2016).

The Junior College System lacked meaningful direction in the eyes of faculty in the 1960s and 1970s (Chesebrough, 1974; Helland, 1974; Holman, 2016; Newton, 2016; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; Willmar State Junior College, 1965; Widmark, 2016). Faculty were not actively consulted in planning initiatives (Eckert & Williams, 1972; Florin, 1975). Faculty demonstrated improved satisfaction towards the direction of the Community College System in the 1980s and 1990s, attributed to the purposeful inclusion of faculty in several academic initiatives (MCCFA Satisfaction, 1987; Stecklein & Willie, 1982; Willie & Stecklein, 1982). Academic initiatives became central to the activities of the union (Green Sheet, 1985c; Litecky, 2016). The union viewed itself as the protector of education quality which led its members to participate in several academic initiatives, such as Center for Teaching and Learning (CTL), semester conversion, Minnesota Transfer Curriculum (MnTC), and the Academic Affairs and Standards Council (AASC) (Green Sheet, 1995c; Litecky, 1990a, 1994b, 2016; Miller, 1999; MSCF BOD, 2002a; Nelson, 2016; Newton, 2016; Oveson, 2016; Schones, 2016). There was a renewed lack of confidence in the direction of the MnSCU system which correlated with the lack of faculty inclusion in academic initiatives (Mulcahy, 2016; Oveson, 2016).

Minnesota two-year college faculty were consulted in varying degrees with academic matters throughout their history. The Junior College System advocated for faculty consultation in all academic matters, but final authority remained with administration (Chesebrough, 1974; Helland, 1974). In the early 2000s faculty perceived a coalescence of decision-making authority by administration (Halsa, 2016; Mulcahy, 2002, 2016; Oveson, 2016). The move prompted the union to distinguish between academic and governance issues. The union reclaimed its academic

decision-making authority with the creation of the Academic Affairs and Standards Council (AASC) (MSCF BOD, 2001b; Mulcahy, 2016; Oveson, 2016). The AASC was charged with making academic decisions on Minnesota two-year colleges. With the academic gains came diminished faculty decision-making authority through Faculty Shared Governance Council (FSGC) (Oveson, 2016). Faculty authority was relegated to academic decision-making only. The increased faculty influence in academic decision-making certainly improved academic factor satisfaction. However, the lack of involvement in shared governance, increased governance factor dissatisfaction (Mulcahy, 2016; Oveson, 2016). This supports the notion that high academic factor satisfaction prevents exit, even with decreased working conditions and/or governance factors.

Working Conditions Factors

Several studies cited salary and benefits as sources of faculty dissatisfaction which led to collective bargaining (Allen & Keavey, 1981; Balkin, 1989; Bigoness, 1978; Brett, 1980; Carr & Van Eyck, 1973; Garbarino & Aussieker, 1975; Keaveny & Allen, 1979; Keim, 1988; Lindeman, 1973; Milosheff, 1990; Rassuli et al., 1999; Schriesheim, 1978; Schultz, 1975; Woolston, 1976). The MJCFA Welfare Committee survey revealed salary as the most important issue to faculty (MJCFA Survey, 1963). Fringe benefits such as sick leave, health insurance, and retirement were also important. Research revealed high-salaried faculty do not unionize (Wulff, 2005). Several sources identified the low salaries of Minnesota junior college faculty as problematic (Eckert & Williams, 1972; MJCFA Survey, 1963; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958). The Junior College System recognized its inadequate faculty salaries and advocated for several early increases (Helland, 1974; MJCFA DA, 1966b; State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). Because salaries were so low in the early years of the union, regular salary increases were realized during the first

contracts (MJCFA DA, 1966b). Arbitrated salary increases were unilaterally vetoed by the Legislature in the late seventies which generated enough faculty dissatisfaction to warrant a strike (Durham, 1977a; Green Sheet, 1976f, 1999a). Immediately following the 1979 strike, salary increases were commonplace (Green Sheet, 1987d; Litecky, 1982a, 1985a, 2016; Oveson, 2016). The mid-nineties marked the return to minimal salary increases. The Minnesota two-year college faculty salary history validated the results of several national studies which found marked salary improvements immediately following the adoption of collective bargaining, followed by diminishing improvements three to five years later, and continued regression thereafter (Baker, 1984; Birnbaum, 1974, 1976; Finley, 1991; Guthrie-Morse & Hu, 1981; Herman & Skinner, 1975; Leslie & Hu, 1977; Marshall, 1979; Morgan & Kearney, 1977; Wiley, 1993). Despite the inability of the union to secure consistent salary increases, faculty remained satisfied with attempts to increase salaries, and not necessarily with results (MCCFA Satisfaction, 1987; Stecklein & Willie, 1982; Willie & Stecklein, 1982). Faculty satisfaction with local and state union representation have remained high throughout history.

Fringe benefits were frequently negotiated items, particularly when salary increases were limited. During the salary-lean nineties, the Minnesota two-year college faculty union secured improvements in supplement retirement contributions and insurance coverage which satisfied the membership (Keim, 1988; Litecky, 2016; Milosheff, 1990).

In Minnesota junior colleges, the use of part-time faculty was limited by early contract language which established full-time faculty percentages by campus and system (Chesebrough, 1974; Helland, 1974; Newton, 2016). The System viewed the percentages as mandates, rather than suggestions, and pushed for a maximum allowed number of part-time faculty. The hiring language was identified as model language nationwide, but few contracts were able to

incorporate similar language (Munos & Newton, 2006; Newton, 2006, 2016). Therefore, the overuse of part-time faculty seen across the nation did not create the same broad dissatisfaction in Minnesota two-year colleges.

The Minnesota two-year college faculty union eliminated tenure from its inception and opted for unlimited fulltime (UFT) status (MJCFA DA, 1964c). The UFT status eliminated the need for tenure committees and peer evaluation, but afforded faculty security (Chesebrough, 1974; Helland, 1974). Full-time faculty were excluded from NLRA coverage when involved in personnel managerial or supervision (Getman & Pogrebin, 1988). The Minnesota two-year college faculty union purposefully avoided supervisory or managerial duties among its membership (MnSCU & MSCF, 2013). The arguments against the adoption of tenure focused on faculty evaluation of colleagues as a supervisory function. The UFT status eliminated any confusion of the role of faculty in peer evaluation. Minnesota two-year college faculty union offered no negative reaction to lacking tenure (Helland, 1975).

Faculty were satisfied with lobbying and negotiation efforts to improved working conditions despite limited successes (Litecky, 2016; MCCFA Satisfaction, 1987; Mulcahy, 2016; Oveson, 2016; Stecklein & Willie, 1982). The union served as a surrogate for the voice of its membership to address governance and working conditions factors. Working condition factors generated faculty dissatisfaction, which generally failed to be mitigated by union activities. It remained unclear whether the union failed to mitigate working condition factor dissatisfaction or had corporatization trends simply outpaced mitigation efforts.

Governance Factors

A plethora of studies identified the primary reason faculty pursue collective bargaining was diminished decision-making power and shared governance authority (Boyd, 1971; Brett,

1980; Ernst, 1975; Herman & Skinner, 1975; Ladd & Lipset, 1973; Neumann, 1980). It was evident through primary union documents and oral narratives that faculty desired an increased role in decision-making (Eckert & Williams, 1972; Holman, 2016; Litecky, 2016; MCCFA Satisfaction, 1987; Mulcahy, 2016; Oveson, 2016; Nelson, 2016; Newton, 2016; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; Stecklein & Willie, 1982; Willie & Stecklein, 1982). Management had absolute authority before the union formed and did not relinquish any authority after its foundation. Much of this top-down management resulted from the adoption of K-12 culture by former school principals and superintendents who became junior college presidents and deans (Baker & Associates, 1992; Cohen & Braur, 1996; Oveson, 2016). A lack of faculty consultation on governance issues was viewed as disrespectful and fueled unionization (Sands, 1971).

Junior colleges were bureaucratic institutions before and after unionization. The Minnesota two-year college faculty union contract claimed shared governance existed through Faculty Shared Governane Council (FSGC), but the contract nullified those suggestions with the inclusion of management rights (MSCF BOD, 2002a; Newton, 2016; Oveson, 2016). All decision-making authority remained with administration and did not allow real shared governance, the system remained a bureaucracy (Mulcahy, 2016). National studies identified bureaucratic governance factors as a major source of faculty dissatisfaction which led to collective bargaining (Fryer & Lovas, 1990; Hendrickson et al., 2013; Kater & Levin, 2003; Levin, 2000). The MJCFA cited governance factor dissatisfaction as a primary reason to unionize in 1963 (Holman, 2016; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; Widmark, 2016). Governance factor dissatisfaction were also cited by MCCFA during the adoption of collective bargaining in 1971 (Eckert & Williams, 1972) and by MSCF during recertification in 2001 (Mulcahy, 2016; Oveson, 2016; Schones, 2016).

The Minnesota two-year college faculty union and administrative leadership has ranged from strong to weak which resulted in collective bargaining difficulties (HIED Justice, 2014; MCCFA BOD, 1999a; Nelson, 2016; Oveson, 2016; Schones, 2016). After the creation of MnSCU, the Board of Trustees and Chancellor became less tolerant of delay and dissent (Nelson, 2016). Authoritative decision-making expatiated the slow shared governance process (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Stensaker, 2013). Faculty involved in FSGC and AASC, often became preoccupied with peripheral matters rather than strategic issues. The loss of focus created conflict between faculty members and between faculty and administration. If faculty want real shared governance, they must embrace and advocate the role.

Collective Bargaining, Negotiations, and Strike Action

Many researchers cite state collective bargaining laws as the major cause for the expansion of faculty collective bargaining. The Minnesota two-year college faculty union was formed as a direct result of the PELRA law (Florin, 1975; Flygare, 1984; Minn. Stat. § 179.61; Swift, 1979; Whaley, 1990). Despite faculty dissatisfaction with governance and working factors, the MJCFA would not have formed in 1971 without PELRA (Eckert & Williams, 1972). Faculty were never asked to respond to the expectations of collective bargaining. However, it may be concluded the inclusion of grievance processes as a top priority for the adoption of collective bargaining that faculty were interested in the prevention of unfair treatment and arbitrary administrative action (Communicator, 1982; Henson et al., 2012; Holman, 2016; Myers, 2011; Newton, 2016; Wickens, 2008). Collective bargaining was a preservation effort, it was not for gaining positions of affluence and influence.

Dissatisfaction was minimally mitigated by collective bargaining. The two-year college faculty union provided voice, in the form of a contract and formal grievance processes. Upon the

adoption of collective bargaining, it was anticipated that faculty satisfaction toward academic factors would be maintained or enhanced, while dissatisfaction towards working conditions and governance factors would be improved. It remained unclear the degree to which working conditions and governance factors were successfully mitigated by collective bargaining. Despite the lack of progress with working condition and governance factor mitigation, faculty remained satisfied with their union representation and committed to the profession (Litecky, 2016; MCCFA Satisfaction, 1987). Dissatisfaction levels were not high enough to initiate exit, but were not low enough to abandon the voice provided by the union. It remains unclear where the levels of faculty dissatisfaction lead to exit.

An absence of common goals and shared sense of purpose was identified as concern (Moen & Stave, 1968). The Junior College System was created without a plan beyond simple organization (H.F. 1937, 1963; Widmark scrapbook, 2016). A plan slowly developed and remained void of detail (Holman, 2016). The Community College System formed common goals and purpose which provided direction for faculty (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). MnSCU articulated goals and purpose, but developed no plan for implementation (Litecky, 2016; MCCFA BOD, 1996c; MnSCU history, 1996b; Nelson, 2016). Traditional power structures fragmented and a power struggle ensued. Collective bargaining formalized faculty contributions to college planning initiatives.

UFT faculty with longevity felt more involved in college governance than younger, part-time faculty (Aronowitz, 1998; Kerchner & Koppich, 1993; Kerchner & Mitchell, 1988). Younger faculty expressed more favorable attitudes toward collective bargaining than older faculty. Higher paid faculty were less receptive to collective bargaining than lower paid faculty.

Faculty with high levels of job-involvement expressed less favorable attitudes toward collective bargaining than less job-involved individuals (Hirschfeld, 2002; Kanungo, 1982).

The union served the needs of the majority of its membership. So, by the nature of design, unions served the majority of their members and neglected membership on the upper and lower margins. Focus remained on the average (Freeman, 1976). At various times throughout its history, marginalized faculty challenged the authority of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union representation. But, the law has repeatedly validated the exclusive representation of the union for all faculty.

Union leaders were more liberal and antagonistic towards the administration than the general membership (Wickens, 2008). As a result, the faculty were represented by a more hostile group, which created a more adversarial and less cooperative relationship with the administration. Former union Presidents Neil Sands, Jim Durham, Jennings Simpson, Larry Oveson and Greg Mulcahy advocated for increased militant unionism to maintain contractual benefits (Green Sheet 1976f, 1978f, 1984a; Oveson, 2016; Mulcahy, 2016; Sands, 1971).

After the adoption of collective bargaining, the union, administration, and System Office have been guilty of utilizing brinkmanship tactics at various points during contract negotiations. These tactics have left long-lasting negative effects and faculty dissatisfaction (Hartley, 2010; Koppich, 1993; MCCFA EC, 1978f).

The MCCFA strike was the first system wide faculty college strike in the U.S. and remains the only higher education faculty strike in Minnesota (Whaley, 1990). The MCCFA strike was not an isolated event, 1979 marked the height of higher education faculty union strikes nationwide (Annunziato, 1994; see Figure 2.2). Strike authorization votes were common, but it remained unclear under which circumstances Minnesota two-year college faculty would strike

again. The oral history narrators provided vivid descriptions of the strike and exhibited pride in the action (Holman, 2016; Litecky, 2016; Newton, 2016; Widmark, 2016).

Diversity

Women were successful in incorporating into the Minnesota two-year college faculty and the union. The national movement of women into unions was verified by the Minnesota two-year college faculty union membership (BLS, 1992, 2011; Chadwick, 1934; Eckert & Williams, 1972; Green Sheet, 1983b; MCCFA DA 1976; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958; Stecklein & Willie, 1982). The Minnesota two-year college system fell short of national percentages of underrepresented faculty (MnSCU, 2005). Disproportionate numbers of underrepresented faculty were among the ranks of part-time faculty (State Board for Community Colleges, 1983). Union leadership should reflect the changing membership. The Minnesota two-year college faculty union has not been as successful in electing diverse leadership with regards to gender or race. A small handful of female faculty have served in elected positions in the Minnesota two-year college faculty union (Newton, 2016). Intentional efforts to improve the position of women were explored a few times in the history of the union (MCCFA BOD, 1994c, 1995b; MCCFA DA, 1979). The Shannon Gibney situation was the catalyst which initiated the intentional exploration of diversity within the union (Wright, 2012).

Discussion

National vs. Minnesota Higher Education Union Development

The history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union was a collection of similarities and differences with the national higher education union experience. The establishment of the association triggered by the establishment of the state system was the

national normal. The union decision to enter into collective bargaining initiated by the passage of state law was the national normal. The high satisfaction levels towards academic factors experienced by two-year college faculty mirrored the national experience. Unionized faculty dissatisfaction towards governance factors was not an uncommon national occurrence. The union faculty dissatisfaction with working condition factors, particularly with salaries and benefits, was experienced throughout higher education faculty unions. Likewise, faculty unions were widely unsuccessful in mitigating governance and working condition dissatisfaction. The difficulties with state Legislatures and national affiliates were common themes across the nation, but the nature of the difficulties were unique. Higher education faculty were among the largest, newly unionized group in the seventies and eighties. The MJCFA negotiated its first contract at the height of nationwide higher education contracts in 1973 (Chesebrough, 1974; Helland, 1974; NCSCBHE, 1973a).

Uniqueness can be found in the development of the Minnesota two-year college system, union affiliations, and contract agreements. The origin of the Minnesota junior colleges were directly tied with the University of Minnesota and its programming structure. The term junior college was derived from the University of Minnesota structure (Folwell, 1875). When the junior college system was formally established, it adopted a K-12 model of administration (H.F. 1937, 1963; Widmark, 1993; Whaley, 1990). The junior college faculty approved a K-12 inspired contract (Florin, 1975). The majority of early junior college faculty taught at the local high school in addition to the junior college (Chadwick, 1934; Stecklein & Eckert, 1958). Despite widespread AFT representation among junior colleges in the sixties, Minnesota junior colleges, with strong K-12 connections, moved against the trend and affiliated with MEA-NEA (Green Sheet, 1970b; Holman, 2016; Widmark, 2016). The controversial decision created internal

division, which contributed to the lawsuits filed by Leon Knight (CEAFU, 1972; Newton, 2016). Affiliations were a continual point of contention from the initial agreement with MEA-NEA in 1970. Whether members desired a different affiliation partner, questioned the amount of dues, or weighed the cost-benefit of the affiliation, arguments over affiliation were common. The technical colleges remained under local school control until 1995 (Halsa, 2016; Litecky, 2016). Given the industrial nature of most programs, Minnesota technical colleges affiliated with AFT over MEA-NEA (Halsa, 2016; Schones, 2016). Several contractual benefits that have been negotiated by the Minnesota two-year college faculty are found in no other contracts across the nation. The language for hiring practices, layoff retraining, and unlimited full-time status over tenure created a highly unique contract.

During the 2000s, the corporatization of higher education became widespread. Minnesota two-year colleges were not immune to corporatization. College presidents thought of themselves as CEOs rather than professors who were first among equals, and were often selected from the corporate sector rather than the academy (Tierney, 2004). Class size and accountability became more important than course content and innovation. The lack of focus on academic factors decreased faculty satisfaction. The diminished utilization of faculty in decision-making to save time, characteristic of corporatization, led to increased governance factor dissatisfaction.

Traditional vs. Professional Unionism

The dichotomy of unionism, traditional versus professional, has been a continuous struggle for the Minnesota two-year college faculty union. Traditional union bargaining goals focus on governance and working condition factors while professional union bargaining goals focus on academic factors. Traditional unionism was the major focus of the blue-collar, industrial unions, while professional unionism was the major focus of the white-collar,

specialized craft unions (Burgan, 2004; Castro, 2000; DeCew, 2003; Shanker, 1985). Higher education unions contained elements of both traditional and professional unionism. The Minnesota two-year college faculty union history was marked with periods of traditional and professional unionism with associative collective bargaining goals and activities.

Throughout its fifty year history, the Minnesota two-year college faculty union has found the balance of traditional and professional unionism elusive. Faculty satisfaction levels increased with a healthy combination of professional and traditional unionism activities and decreased with excessive traditional unionism activities. Balance was reached during the eighties and nineties and overall faculty satisfaction increased. Traditional and professional unionism balance was influenced by legislative actions and attitudes towards unionized labor. When under assault from the Minnesota Legislature during the 1970s, 2000s, and 2010s, the union embraced traditional unionism and abandoned professional unionism. Faculty satisfaction with governance factors decreased. When the Legislature and System allowed the union and administration to work unhindered, as during the late eighties and nineties, professional unionism activities flourished and faculty satisfaction with academic factors increased. The Legislature created long term, strained relationships between the faculty union and administration by appointing politically motivated members to the System Board. The union elected its leadership to reflect the direction of the Legislature and System Board.

During the seventies, 2000s, and 2010s, there were organized efforts to dismantle union contracts. These were times when traditional union Presidents were elected and the union to engaged in traditional union behaviors. Working to rule, strike authorization votes, and lobbying efforts were examples of saber-rattling and brinkmanship tactics common during these periods. When the union was allowed to function in an external environment free from political pressures

determined to diminish the contract a renewed enthusiasm for professional activities occurred. The eighties and nineties were times of political stability when the union focused on professional, academic activities. These were the times when professional union Presidents were elected. It is difficult to ascertain whether the President was elected to best fit the situation or whether the President helped orchestrate union direction. The vision and influence of the union President was central in the determination of union direction. There have been Presidents steeped in traditional unionism, such as Neil Sands, Jim Durham, Jennings Simpson, Larry Oveson, and Greg Mulcahy, and those who advocated for professional unionism, such as Larry Litecky. The imbalance of traditional union leadership was further evidence of a difficult environment.

Implications for Practice

If satisfied faculty have no reason to unionize and enter into collective bargaining, it is apparent Minnesota two-year college faculty were dissatisfied when they organized in 1963 and recertified in 2001. If faculty unions were not pursued when academic, working conditions, and governance factor satisfaction levels were minimally met, it is clear some of these factors were not met in the history of Minnesota two-year college faculty. Minnesota two-year college faculty have consistently expressed dissatisfaction with working conditions and governance factors, while expressing satisfaction with academic factors.

Administration and the Legislature must recognize the union represents the collective voice of the faculty and their loyalty to the profession and/or institutions. The loyalty demonstrated by unionized faculty to remain engaged to mitigate dissatisfaction can be viewed as a positive decision. Attacks on higher education faculty unions are perceived as attacks on the loyalty of its membership. These attacks were unproductive, created conflict, and increased the

adversarial relationship between administration and faculty. Instead of attacking the loyalty of unionized faculty, administrators and politicians are encouraged to expand the development of professional union activities. When the union worked in concert with the administration on professional union issues, faculty reported higher academic and governance factor satisfaction. Accentuating the positive impact of academic factors on overall faculty satisfaction is a more productive option.

The Legislature has too much influence on the relationship between faculty and administration. The Legislature must allow the MSCF and MnSCU to work together without contract interference and politically-motivated Board appointments. Further, the Legislature should refrain from pursuing anti-union legislation designed to destroy and/or diminish unions. These actions have always led to a retreat to traditional unionism by the union. Professional unionism is abandoned under increased legislative pressure. The MSCF and MnSCU should refrain from employing saber-rattling and brinkmanship tactics during negotiations. These tactics push each side into fortified silos which may take several years and incredible efforts to breakdown. The time spent in these unnecessary conflicts represents is wasted. The difficulties of past negotiations still have lingering effects. If these recommendations were realized, a balanced approach between traditional and professional union activities would move the system forward with faculty and administration as partners.

The Legislature can be identified as a central figure in all of the major activities of the union. The creation of the Minnesota Junior College System by the Legislature served as the catalyst for the formation of the Minnesota Junior College Faculty Association. Junior college faculty did not consider unionization until the system was formed. After the passage of PELRA in 1971 by the Legislature, the MJCFA entered into collective bargaining. The contract

difficulties between the MCCFA and Legislature throughout the seventies culminated in the 1979 strike. The strike led to lawsuits against the Legislature which changed state law regarding contract approvals. The relationship between the union and Legislature became congenial through the eighties and nineties. The political uncertainties of the 2000s and 2010s caused the relationship to become strained. The creation of the statewide MnSCU system furthered complicated the relationship between the union and the Legislature. The Legislature collaborated with the System Office to appoint the members of the MnSCU Board of Trustees. The Legislature became less moderate, as did the Board of Trustees. The Legislature proposed several anti-union proposals. The relationship between the union and the Legislature remained strained through 2013. The Legislature has the ability to unite the System administration and faculty union to move a professional unionism agenda or continue to support the politics of division and a traditional unionism agenda.

Implications for Theory

The researcher proposed the Hirschman voice, exit, and loyalty theoretical framework as an explanation for the actions of unionized faculty. Although proposed as a business model, the Hirschman theory was applied successfully to union workers by Freeman (1976). The measure of total satisfaction served as the indicator of response. The researcher applied the theory to two-year college union faculty. The total satisfaction of college faculty was a combination of academic, working conditions, and governance factors. Dissatisfied faculty can exit the profession/institution or engage in voice for mitigation. The decision to engage in unionization and collective bargaining demonstrated voice and exhibited loyalty. The history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union was explained by the Hirschman theory. When faculty

experienced increased dissatisfaction with working conditions and governance factors they pursued unionization and collective bargaining to mitigate dissatisfaction. The faculty remained highly satisfied with academic factors. The faculty displayed loyalty to their profession and/or institutions. Continued dissatisfaction led to a statewide strike, another demonstration of loyalty over exit. The choice of the transfer and technical faculty unions to decertify and recertify into a single union revealed continued dissatisfaction with working conditions and governance factors at high enough levels to continue the collective voice of the union. Faculty demonstrated loyalty to their profession, institutions, and the union.

An examination of Minnesota two-year college faculty through the psychological needs lens of the Hirschfeld (2002) satisfaction theory revealed high levels of job involvement. Minnesota two-year college faculty exhibited high satisfaction with work content which led to increased achievement orientation and high levels of job involvement role. As predicted by Hirschfeld (2002), Minnesota two-year college faculty were highly engaged and vested in their work which resulted in high job involvement role. Further, faculty found congruence between their value system, self-identity, and personal and work lives which enhanced job involvement role (Kanungo, 1982). As predicted by Hough et al. (1990), the earlier years of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union discovered a high work content satisfaction coupled with congruence which created high achievement orientation among its membership. Minnesota two-year college faculty were intrinsically motivated so there was a strong linkage between achievement orientation and job involvement role. When restrictions were placed on job involvement, incongruence and challenges to organizational justice occurred, and resulted in a lack of achievement orientation. The drop of achievement orientation led to dissatisfaction and work alienation. Minnesota two-year college faculty were subjected to sustained attacks on job

involvement levels. Despite administrative and legislative attempts to limit job involvement, the high achievement orientation of Minnesota two-year college faculty towards teaching and learning bound them to the profession and/or their institutions. Brown (1996) explained that high achievement orientation faculty were less likely to entertain thoughts of exit and opted to pursue voice to mitigate dissatisfaction. Howard and Cordes (2010) cited that unmitigated work alienation leads to absenteeism, burnout, and exit. It remained unclear at what levels of working condition and governance factor dissatisfaction would faculty reject their high achievement orientation and pursue exit.

Organizational justice is a central premise of unions. Unfairness creates incongruence. Incongruence leads to work alienation. Hirschfeld (2002) defined organizational justice as a combination of distributive and procedural justice. Distributive justice was defined as a combination of personal, internal, and external equity. Within the Minnesota two-year college faculty union, salaries, benefits, workloads, and other working conditions were subject to distributive justice. The contract provided distributive justice. However, part-time faculty were not afforded all the rights of full time faculty which created inconsistency in regards to distributive justice. Procedural justice takes the form of decision-making processes, formal justice systems, and interactional justice. Grievance processes, AASC, FSGC, and other shared governance processes were subjects of procedural justice. The random success of grievances and inconsistent application of AASC and FSGC caused faculty to question the degree of procedural justice in the Minnesota system. The retention of managerial rights in regards to AASC and FSGC decisions caused increased suspicion of the level of procedural justice in the system. The perceived lack of procedural justice increases work alienation and decreases satisfaction with working conditions and governance factors.

Highly satisfied faculty do not pursue unionization or collective bargaining. Minnesota two-year college faculty formed a union in 1963, pursued collective bargaining in 1971, and renewed its commitment to collective bargaining in 2001. These actions demonstrated continual dissatisfaction among Minnesota two-year college union faculty throughout their fifty year history.

The Minnesota two-year college faculty union successfully provided voice for faculty to mitigate working condition and governance dissatisfaction. Administration restricted its authority in the area of academic factors which sustained faculty satisfaction. Faculty satisfaction has been directly linked to System and Legislature actions. It remained unclear at what level faculty dissatisfaction would lead to exit if the System and/or Legislature continued erosion of working conditions, governance, and academic factors. Before exit, the faculty union would abandon professional unionism and shift to exclusive traditional union tactics, increase saber-rattling and brinkmanship tactics, and threaten respect and trust between parties. The antithesis is expected. Professional unionism expands, saber-rattling and brinkmanship decreases, and trust and respect is built when the System and/or Legislature improves working conditions, increases faculty involvement in governance, and expands faculty authority of academic factors.

The Hirschman voice, exit, and loyalty theoretical framework and Hirschfeld organizational justice lens proved to be useful in the evaluation of Minnesota two-year college faculty union history. The theoretical framework was viable and conducive to explaining the actions of Minnesota two-year college union faculty, but was unable to predict the level of dissatisfaction which leads to exit.

Recommendations for Future Research

The addition of non-union faculty and administrators would create an interesting comparative study in the future. Student reactions to major union events would also be interesting. A quantitative study replicating the satisfaction surveys conducted in 1956, 1968, and 1980 would make an interesting longitudinal project in the future. The researcher examined Minnesota two-year college faculty contracts from 1965 and 2013 using the Kater and Levin (2005) contract governance tool. Results showed a management rights contract in 1965 and a slightly faculty participation contract in 2013. Analysis of all contracts from 1965 to 2013 would be an interesting project and may show valuable trends. The researcher focused on the historic period from 1963-2013. The importance of faculty satisfaction in the determination or prediction of the actions of exit or loyalty is critical to future research. If research attempts to predict faculty actions generated by growing dissatisfaction it is necessary to develop improved methods to measure academic, working conditions, and governance satisfaction. Recent historically significant events would warrant exploration, such as *Charting the Future* or the *Friedrichs v. State of California* Supreme Court case. The 2016 Delegate Assembly was prepared to move forward with a statewide vote of no confidence in Chancellor Rosenstone, but his resignation was received an hour before the resolution was presented on the floor. The MSCF did not want to "pile on" or appear difficult for the next Chancellor. The motion was postponed indefinitely (MSCF DA, 2016). The national and state election of 2016 ushered in an increasingly conservative Legislature. It remains unclear if the attacks on collective bargaining will expand.

Limitations

Oral histories were conducted until multiple accounts of specific union events were collected or until saturated. Primary union documents and oral histories were coded and analyzed. Data triangulation was used to determine the trustworthiness of the narrators and primary documents. Multiple interpretations of union events were documented, however, there were additional interpretations that remained undocumented. Every person who experiences an event will have an individual interpretation. It was determined the documented interpretations provided an adequate range of responses. It was important to find counter opinions to major activities and events.

Conclusion

The fifty year history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union is both interesting and important. The unique activities, events, and leadership of the union has created a history and culture among its membership. The lack of a recorded history presented a practical problem. The consequences of not compiling a history means the past struggles of faculty may be forgotten. Forgotten memories leave the next generations without a point of reference regarding issues both ongoing and/or resolved. History inspires. A union history provides a sense of community by creating a common origin story for its members.

President John F. Kennedy stressed the importance of history to the citizens of the United States. The words offered have relevance to the any history, including the history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union.

There is little more important for an American citizen to know than the history and traditions of this country. Without such knowledge, he stands uncertain and defenseless

before the world neither where he has come from nor where he is going. With such knowledge, he is no longer alone but draws a strength far greater than his own from the cumulative experience of the past and cumulative vision of the future (Kennedy, 2009, p. 16).

Cicero adds to the discussion, “To remain ignorant of things that happened before you were born is to remain a child” (Cicero, 46 BC, sec. 120). Neustadt (1991) suggested people should study history as a source of insight, perspective, and empathy. Minnesota two-year college faculty union members have gained the knowledge of their past which can help direct their vision for the future. There is a maturation in understanding. Union members can draw strength from the experiences of past members, such as the strike, negotiations, merger, or affiliations. The study of past union member experiences creates insight, perspective, and empathy in current members.

History is an interplay of the past and the future. Many historians have addressed the importance of that interplay. President Kennedy said,

Knowledge of our history is, first of all, a pleasure for its own sake. For the historian—and for the true student of history—history is an end in itself. It fulfills a deep human need for understanding, and the satisfaction it provides requires no further justification. History is the means by which a nation establishes its sense of identity and purpose. A knowledge of history is, above all, a means of responsibility—of responsibility to the past and of responsibility to the future...of responsibility to those who came before us and struggled and sacrificed to pass on to us our precious inheritance of freedom...and of responsibility to those who will come after us and to whom we must pass on that inheritance with what new strength and substance it is within our power to add (Kennedy, 2009, p. 16).

Cicero explained, "History is the witness that testifies to the passing of time; it illuminates reality, vitalizes memory, provides guidance in daily life, and brings us tidings of antiquity" (Cicero, 55 BC, sec. 36). "The function of the historian is neither to love the past nor emancipate himself from the past, but to master and understand it as the key to the understanding of the present," said Carr (Carr, 1961, p. 1). History is "an unending dialogue between the past and present" (Carr, 1961, p. 30). History provides a sense of connectedness in time and place and helps inform how we arrived where we are today. History expands the present frame of reference (Neustadt, 1991). The history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union addressed the basic need of individual faculty to understand their collective past. It helped establish identity and purpose. The sacrifices of the past were memorialized and the responsibility to recount met. The union's inheritance was documented and paved the road to move the inheritance forward. With the past accounted for, the dialogue between the past and the present to inform the future can now occur. Voice was found.

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Appendix A

Definitions of Terms and Acronyms

Definitions of Terms and Acronyms

AACC (American Association of Community Colleges). A nationwide organization focused on community college advocacy, collaboration, organization, communication, and coordination. The AACC has been in operation since 1920, but was formerly known as the AAJC.

AAJC (American Association of Junior Colleges). A nationwide organization focused on community college advocacy, collaboration, organization, communication, and coordination. The AAJC was founded in 1920, but changed its name to the AACC in 1992.

A.A.S. (Associate of Applied Science). A degree offered by two-year colleges which contains a combination technical and liberal arts education.

AASC (Academic Affairs and Standards Council). A body established by MSCF Contract and charged with the responsibility of all academic affairs and standards issues. Faculty hold the critical role regarding academic issues.⁵

AAUP (American Association of University Professors). A national education union founded in 1915. The union's mission is to advance academic freedom and shared governance, define higher education values and standards, and emphasize higher education contributions to the common good. The majority of the union membership is private and public four-year institution faculty.

Academic factors. One of the three satisfaction components comprising total satisfaction in the Hirschman exit, voice, loyalty theoretical framework. Academic factors include academic freedom, instruction, curricular development, student evaluation, student advising, faculty evaluation, and full-time/tenure status attainability.

Academic freedom. Every faculty member shall have the right to teach in an atmosphere of free intellectual inquiry and shall not be subjected to restraints or harassment that would impair teaching. Faculty shall have the right to freely discuss their subject, select teaching methods, evaluate student performance, select library and other educational materials consistent with available resources, and to research and publish.⁵

Adjunct faculty member/part-time faculty. Faculty who work fewer than five credits in a term. Such faculty do not accrue seniority.⁵

AFL (American Federation of Labor). A national federation of labor unions founded in 1886. The AFL started as an alliance of craft unions that separated from the Knights of Labor. The AFL merged with the CIO in 1955.

AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor – Congress of Industrial Organizations). The largest federation of unions in the United States. The merger of the AFL and CIO occurred in 1955. The AFL-CIO focuses on politics and activism.

AFSCME (American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees). The largest trade union of public employees in the United States founded in 1932. AFSCME is a member union of the AFL-CIO. The union advocates for social and economic rights of its membership, political action, and legislative advocacy.

AFT (American Federation of Teachers). A national education union representing teachers, without administrative membership, since 1916. The AFT was affiliated with the AFL until 1955, and then the AFL-CIO. The AFT represents many two-year colleges, select four-year universities, and high schools.

Agency fees. A provision in a collective bargaining agreement which requires all employees who do not join the union to pay a fixed monthly sum, usually the equivalent of union dues and fees, as a condition of employment, to help defray the union's expenses in acting as a bargaining agent for the group. Some arrangements provide that payments be allocated to the union welfare fund or a charity, rather than to the union's treasury.¹

Arbitration. A method of settling disputes through recourse to an impartial third party whose decision is usually final and binding. Arbitration is resorted to in the interpretation of existing contract terms, but it is seldom used in settling disputes over the negotiation of the provisions of a new contract. Arbitration is voluntary when both parties, of their own volition agree to submit a disputed issue to arbitration, and compulsory if required by law to prevent a work stoppage.¹

ATA (American Teachers Association). A union of Black educators that merged with NEA in 1966 to promote civil rights for all educators and students.

AVTI (Area Vocational and Technical Institution). The name given to Minnesota technical education institutions beginning in 1983. The name was changed to technical colleges in 1995.

Bargaining Unit. A group of employees (by job classification) recognized by the employer, or designated by an agency, as appropriate for representation by an employee organization for purposes of collective bargaining.¹

CFAE (Council for Financial Aid to Education). An organization founded in New York in 1952 by business executives to advance corporate support for higher education. The goal of the organization was to increase the number of students who went to college. In 1996 the organization became a subsidiary of the nonprofit research organization, RAND Corporation.

CIO (Congress for Industrial Organization). A national federation of industrial unions established in 1935 by a faction of the AFL. The CIO merged with the AFL in 1955.

COLA (Cost of Living Adjustment). Employment contracts can be tied to a cost of living index, typically to the consumer price index (CPI). A COLA adjusts salaries based on changes in a cost of living index, usually occurring annually.

Collective Bargaining. A method of determining conditions of employment by negotiation between representatives of the employer and employee organizations. The resulting settlement is usually set forth in writing. The NLRA defines the process as “the performance of the mutual obligation of the employer and the representative of the employees to meet at reasonable times and confer in good faith with respect to wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment, or the negotiation of an agreement, or any question arising thereunder and the execution of a written contract incorporating any agreement reached if requested by either party but such obligation does not compel either party to agree to a proposal or require the making of a concession.”¹

Contract/Collective bargaining agreement. Written agreement between an employer and an employee organization usually for a definite term, defining the conditions of employment, the rights of the employees and the employee organization, and the procedures to be followed in settling disputes or handling issues that arise during the term of the contract.¹

CTL (Center for Teaching and Learning). A faculty development initiative supported by grants which focused faculty attention on classroom research, critical thinking, and active learning projects. Activities started in the early nineties and ended in the early 2000s.

CTF (Chicago Teachers Federation). A local teachers union formed in 1902. The first unionized faculty in the United States. Original goals were improved wages, pension creation, and legal study.

DA (Delegate Assembly). The union body which defines policies and carries out the will of the membership. Representation is by campus and based upon number of FTE faculty.

Data Triangulation. One of four types of triangulation identified by Denzin (2006). Data triangulation involves cross-checking data from multiple sources and searching for regularities regarding time, location, and persons. The researcher will not pursue investigator, theory, or methodological triangulation. The purpose of data triangulation in qualitative research is to increase the trustworthiness of the data.

DOER (Department of Employee Relations). The Central agency in the state of Minnesota for human resource services. The agency is committed to continuous improvement of human resource services that support state government.

EM (Education Minnesota). The renamed MEA affiliate of the NEA. The EM lobbies state legislators for funding, seeks to influence education policy, and files legal actions.

EOV (Exchange of Views)/ Meet and Confer. A required action in collective bargaining law. Administration are required to consult faculty in meaningful ways before making decisions.

Exclusive Representative. The employee organization recognized by the employer as the only organization legally certified to represent all employees in collective bargaining in a bargaining unit.¹

FSGC (Faculty Shared Governance Council). A body established by MSCF contract to facilitate dialogue between administration and faculty regarding long and short range planning, priorities in the deployment of financial resources, acquisition and use of existing physical and human resources, institutional self-study, marketing, public relations, and recruiting activities. The FSGC makes recommendations to the college on the following areas: Personnel, Student Affairs, Facilities, Fiscal Matters, and General Matters. Administration hold the critical role in non-academic issues.⁵

FTE (Full Time Equivalent). A calculated number of full time faculty or students based on full teaching loads and credits. It is used in funding formulas because several faculty and students are not full time.

Fringe Benefits. Benefits and payments received by or credited to workers in addition to wages, often for nonworking time (i.e. sick leave, pensions, travel pay, vacation and holiday pay and health insurance).¹

Governance factors. One of the three satisfaction components comprising total satisfaction in the Hirschman exit, voice, loyalty theoretical framework. Governance factors include mission, vision, and goals creation and implementation, policy formation, strategic planning development, allocation of facilities, development of departmental budgets, and inclusion in personnel decisions.

Grievance. A statement of dissatisfaction, usually by an individual but sometimes by the union or management, concerning interpretation of a collective bargaining agreement or traditional work practices. The grievance machinery is nearly always spelled out in the union contract. If a grievance cannot be resolved “in-house,” it is usually finally decided by binding arbitration.¹ A written dispute or disagreement raised by a faculty member, an MSCF Chapter, or the state MSCF involving the Employer’s interpretation or application of the provisions of the MSCF Contract. An informal complaint is not a grievance.⁵

Grievance Representative. A union representative of a group of fellow workers who carries out union duties; e.g., handles grievances, collects dues, recruits new members. The grievance representative is elected by union members in the local or appointed by higher union officials. The grievance representative continues to work at their regular job and handles union duties on a part-time basis.¹

HBCU (Historically Black Colleges and Universities). U.S. higher education institutions established before 1964 with the intention of primarily serving the African American community.

Hermeneutics. The discipline of interpreting texts by empathetically imagining the experience, motivations, and context of the speaker/author, and then by engaging in a circular analysis that alternates between data text and the situated scene.²

IFO (Inter Faculty Organization). A Minnesota higher education faculty union representing all faculty at the seven state universities of the MnSCU system. The union represents the faculty through collective bargaining, contract enforcement, and advocacy.

IMPACE (Minnesota Political Action Committee for Education). A political fund raising organization with direct ties to MEA which contributed sizable amounts of money to political campaigns and made endorsements of pro-education candidates.

Interpretive Paradigm. A way of seeing both reality and knowledge as constructed and reproduced through communication, interaction, and practice.²

Management Rights. Rights that management feels are exclusively their own and hence not subject to collective bargaining. These rights are often expressly reserved to management in the collective bargaining agreement and usually include the right to determine the products to be made, to schedule production, to determine the process of manufacture, etc. There is, however, no generally accepted definition of which rights should be nonnegotiable. In recent years, many management groups have become concerned about the incursion of work rules and other union demands into this area. On the other hand, many union leaders feel they should be able to bargain on any issue which affects the wages, hours, and working conditions of their members.¹

MCCFA (Minnesota Community College Faculty Association). The research subject of this dissertation. The original faculty union of the Minnesota two-year college system formed as MJCFA in 1963, renamed MCCFA in 1973. Community colleges are recognized for their transfer education programs.

MCCS (Minnesota Community College System). The system which provided oversight of Minnesota community colleges from 1973 to 1995.

MCCSA (Minnesota Community College Student Association). An association of Minnesota public two-year college students, which works to ensure accessible, quality, and affordable public higher education while providing students with representation, leadership development, and communication across the state. The name changed to Minnesota State College Student Association (MSCSA) in 2001.

MDTA (Manpower Development and Training Act). Federal legislation passed in 1962 with the goal of training workers unemployed by automation and technological change.

MEA (Minnesota Education Association). The Minnesota affiliate of the NEA. The MEA lobbies state legislators for funding, seeks to influence education policy, and files legal actions.

Mediation. Effort by a third party to reconcile the parties in a labor dispute so that settlement can be reached. The mediator has no power to force a settlement. He merely interprets, suggests, and makes recommendations. “Mediation” is usually used interchangeably with “Conciliation.”¹

MFT (Minnesota Federation of Teachers). The Minnesota affiliates of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) that focused on wage and working condition improvement and advancement of the education in Minnesota.

MJCFA (Minnesota Junior College Faculty Association). The research subject of this dissertation. The original faculty union of the Minnesota two-year college system formed in 1963. Junior colleges were recognized for their transfer education programs. Renamed MCCFA in 1973.

MnSCU (Minnesota State Colleges and Universities). The Minnesota public college and universities system established in 1995.

MnTC (Minnesota Transfer Curriculum). Academic standards defined through course goal areas and corresponding competencies was a response to improve student transfer. Ten goal areas of a liberal arts education were identified and competencies articulated for each goal area. A student with completed MnTC curriculum was able to transfer to any MnSCU institution with a completed general education core. Transfer students were able to immediately enter into their program of study.

MSCF (Minnesota State College Faculty). The research subject of this dissertation. The union created in 2001 after the merger of the Minnesota two-year college transfer faculty union, MCCFA, and the Minnesota two-year college technical faculty union, UTCE.

NCSCBHEP (National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education and the Professions). The NCSCBHEP was established in 1972. The center is supported by Hunter College in the City University of New York system. The center is a clearinghouse for those engaged in the study and practice of collective bargaining.

NEA (National Education Association). A national education union and largest labor union in the United States. It represents public school teachers and support personnel, faculty, and staff at colleges and universities. The NEA was founded in 1857 as the NTA. The NTA became the NEA in 1870 when it merged with the American Normal School Association, the National Association of School Superintendents, and the Central College Association. The NEA lobbies the U.S. Congress and federal agencies.

NIRA (National Industrial Recovery Act). Legislation passed in 1933 containing provisions for collective bargaining, fair competition, trade union rights, and working standards. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled the Act unconstitutional in 1935.

NLRA (National Labor Relations Act). Legislation, commonly referred as the Wagner Act, passed in 1935 and gave employees the right to unionize. The Act aimed to correct power inequities between employers and laborers.

NLRB (National Labor Relations Board). A board created by the NLRA and charged with collective bargaining adoptions, litigations, and violation prosecutions.

NSOPF (National Study of Postsecondary Faculty). A division of the National Center for Education Statistics created in response to a need for data on faculty and instructors.

NTA (National Teacher Association). The original national education union formed in 1858 which would become the NEA in 1870.

OHA (Oral History Association). An organization committed to the use and importance of oral history research. The OHA published oral history research principles and standards, as well as, checklists for designing, conducting, and processing oral history narratives.

Oral history narrative. A type of narrative interview, which queries eyewitnesses of past historical events.² The recording of personal testimony delivered in oral form.⁴

PELRA (Public Employment Labor Relations Act). Legislation passed by the Minnesota legislature in 1971 that allowed state employees to enter into collective bargaining.

Qualitative methods. An umbrella phrase that refers to the collection, analysis, and interpretation of interview, participant observation, and document data in order to understand and describe meanings, relationships, and patterns.² Research that is inductive, and a multiplicity of variables and their relationships are considered not in isolation but as being interrelated in the life context.⁴

Strike. A concerned stoppage of work by employees usually as the result of a labor dispute, including a stoppage by reason of the expiration of a collective bargaining agreement without a new agreement having been reached.¹

Total satisfaction factors. The combined satisfaction of academic, governance, and working condition satisfaction factors.

UFT (United Federation of Teachers). A combined New York City AFT local chapter and area high school union formed in 1962 for the purpose of securing improved wages, smaller class sizes, and reduced teaching loads.

UFT (Unlimited Full Time). A salaried faculty assigned 30 credits/40 contact hours per year and afforded all benefits of the contract.⁵

UTCE (United Technical College Educators). The research subject of this dissertation. The faculty union of the Minnesota two-year technical colleges formed in 1995. Technical colleges were recognized for their technical and vocational education programs. Decertified and merged with MCCFA to create the MSCF in 2001.

Working condition factors. One of the three satisfaction components comprising total satisfaction in the Hirschman exit, voice, loyalty theoretical framework. Working condition factors include salary and fringe benefits, job security, and workloads.

¹Lorenz, F.J. (1971). Collective bargaining in higher education. *Journal of the College and University Personnel Association*, 23(10), 32-52.

²Tracy, S.J. (2013). *Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

³Punch, K.F. (2009). *Introduction to research methods in education*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

⁴Yow, V.R. (2005). *Recording oral history: A guide for the humanities and social sciences*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

⁵ MnSCU and MSCF. (2013, April 17). *MSCF Master Agreement MnSCU 2011-2013*. St. Paul, MN: MnSCU.

APPENDIX B

Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union Timeline

Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union Timeline

1914-1934 Two-Year College Origins

- 1914 First Minnesota junior college formed in Cloquet; University of Minnesota in supervisory position
- 1917 Smith Hughes Act provided federal funds for vocational education
- 1919 Minnesota State High School Board became Minnesota State Board of Vocational Education
- 1921 Rochester Junior College became charter member of American Association of Junior Colleges
- 1923 Rochester Junior College became Minnesota junior college to be accredited by North Central Association of Schools and Colleges
- 1925 Minnesota legalizes junior colleges & set standards for future colleges; State Department of Education in supervisory position
- 1925 Wagner Act passed by US Congress which granted employee rights to organize
- 1929 George Reed Act provided federal funds for agricultural and home economic vocational education

1935-1962 Junior College Refinement and National Union Evolution

- 1937 Minnesota Commissioner of Education named Director of Vocational Education
- 1945 Minnesota Legislature passed Area Vocational Technical School Enabling law which legalized the system
- 1947 Taft-Hartley Act passed by Congress which curtailed unfair union practices; First Minnesota Area Vocational Technical School founded in Mankato
- 1950 Minnesota Commission on Higher Education defined purpose for Minnesota junior colleges; State Board of Education placed in supervisory position
- 1957 State aid for junior college tuition started (1/3 of costs)
- 1958 National Defense Act provided federal funding for national defense technical occupations
- 1959 State Board of Education supervised Minnesota junior colleges; junior colleges standards set (facilities, deans and faculty, calendars, and class periods)
- 1960 State Department of Education begins junior college accreditation; North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges granted accreditation
- 1961 Minnesota legislation established process for establishing new junior colleges
- 1962 President John F. Kennedy passed executive order 10988 which granted federal government employees bargaining rights; Manpower Development and Training Act provided federal funding for unemployed students to pursue technical education opportunities

1963-1970 Formalization of Junior College System and Unionization

- 1963 State of Minnesota formalized the junior colleges system and the Junior College Board created; Minnesota Junior College Faculty Association (MJCFA) formed

- 1964 Phillip Helland named Executive Secretary of the Junior College Board; Junior College Board assumed control of all Minnesota junior colleges

1971-1978 Collective Bargaining Begins

- 1971 MN legislature passed Public Employment Labor Relation Act (PELRA) and created Bureau of Mediation Services and Public Employment Relations Board; State employees gained collective bargaining rights; MJCFA became exclusive bargaining representative for junior college faculty; Affiliation agreement negotiated with Minnesota Education Association (MEA)
- 1973 State Board for Minnesota Community College formed and junior colleges renamed community colleges, MJCFA becomes Minnesota Community College Faculty Association (MCCFA); Affiliation with National Education Association (NEA); First Master Contract negotiated
- 1975 COLA (Cost of Living Adjustment) part I; 1975-77 Contract unilaterally altered by MN Legislature; Fair share faculty from Normandale Community College file unfair labor practice lawsuit against MCCFA (U.S. Supreme Court 1984)
- 1977 COLA part II; 1977-79 Contract unilaterally altered by MN Legislature; Arbitrator granted MCCFA an 18% increase in salary; Gov. Perpich and State Community College Board agreed; House-Senate Conference Committee unilaterally modified the arbitration award; MCCFA files suit vs. State of MN
- 1978 MCCFA law suit granted legal standing; Judge Sidney Abramson upheld the MCCFA position and the arbitrator's decision; 1979-1981 contract negotiations began with a system 0% offer and major language changes; arbitrator trial set on September 18; MCCFA strike authorization committee formed

1979 Strike

MCCFA wins law suit, Judge Mulally ordered the State of Minnesota to restore the lost arbitration awards to MCCFA ; State of MN appealed decision; March 10, 1979 the MCCFA Board authorized a strike; March 20, 1979 MCCFA faculty strike began; April 3, two bills introduced in the legislature to amend PELRA and strip the state legislature of its power to modify negotiated agreements with public employees; Legislation passed; Gov. Quie vowed to veto any salary settlement which provided for restitution of the lost awards of 1975 and 1977; Sen. Ashbach negotiated 13.2 percent increase over two years and restoration of three percent of the four percent legislated away in 1977; Agreement ratified April 6, 1979

1980-1989 Recognized Potential

- 1983 State Board for Area Vocational Technical Institutes (AVTI) formed to govern and coordinate Minnesota AVTIs; State Director for State Board of Vocational Technical Education authorized; Joseph P. Graba appointed by Gov. Perpich; Philip Helland retired as Chancellor of Minnesota Community College system
- 1984 U.S. Supreme Court heard the 1975 Minnesota case filed by fair-share faculty which alleged exclusive union representatives during meet-and-confer sessions violated the 1st and 14th Amendment rights of faculty members who did not wish to join the MCCFA; District Court held Minnesota law unconstitutionally deprived non-union faculty members of a fair opportunity to participate in the academic governance; Minnesota State Board for Community Colleges v. Knight, on February 21, 1984, reversed the lower court and held that the Minnesota law did not violate the constitutional rights on non-MCCFA, fair-share faculty
- 1986 MCCFA participated in self-assessment and strategic planning efforts
- 1985 MCCFA participated in Bush grants focused on "Writing Across the Curriculum" and "Computer-Assisted Instruction"

- 1987 MCCFA started annual “Outstanding Faculty Banquet” program; State Community College Board “Mission Delineation Proposal” created Associate of Applied Science (A.A.S.) degrees which laid the foundation for potential merger of community colleges and AVTIs; Waldorf-Hankos Bill designed to merge the community colleges and AVTIs defeated; AVTIs renamed Technical Colleges
- 1989 Minnesota State Technical College system formed

1990-1999 Maturation

- 1990 MCCFA supported Center for Teaching and Learning (Classroom research, critical thinking, active learning, etc.) and Electronic Academy (distance learning, electronic classrooms, and electronic services); Academic Affairs task force formed; Carole Johnson appointed Chancellor of State Board for Vocational Technical Education
- 1991 MCCFA retirees’ banquets and summer leadership institutes initiated; MCCFA filed law suit vs. State of MN when Gov. Carlson vetoed \$10.785 million marked for community colleges; Sen. Roger Moe introduced mega-merger bill which authorized the establishment of the Minnesota State Colleges and University (MnSCU) system in 1995
- 1992 MN Supreme Court ruled Gov. Carlson’s veto invalid and restored \$10.785 million; Minnesota Federation of Teachers (MFT) became collective bargaining unit for six technical colleges in northwest Minnesota and eleven metro colleges
- 1993 Minnesota Higher Education Board became interim governing body and Dr. Jay Noren named Interim Chancellor
- 1994 Minnesota Transfer Curriculum (MnTC) established at MnSCU institutions
- 1995 MnSCU system officially formed; Merger of State Universities, Community Colleges, and Technical Colleges; Technical college faculty unionize as United Technical College Educators (UTCE); Academic freedom and intellectual property rights included in the Master Contract
- 1996 Semester conversion at MnSCU institutions
- 1997 MCCFA assisted in creation of legislation which called for increasing monies for direct instruction and decreased administrative costs; MnSCU offered 0% and 0% for two-year contract; MCCFA authorized strike on October 6; Master Contract settled with 2% and 3% plus 1% to the top of the schedule; First UTCE contract settled

2000-2009 Merger

- 2001 MCCFA and UTCE merged as the Minnesota State College Faculty (MSCF); MSCF created constitution and by-laws; Joint MSCF mission presidents are retained for merger; MSCF became exclusive collective bargaining representative and began contract negotiations; League of Innovation in Community Colleges conference started by MnSCU; MCCFA retiree dinners and outstanding faculty awards discontinued
- 2002 Academic Affairs and Standards Committee (AASC) authority expanded; 60/120 passed with 2013 implementation
- 2007 MnSCU Board of Trustees Educator of the Year and Awards for Excellence started
- 2008 MnSCU proposed a system-wide grade appeal process where faculty and administration evaluate disputed grades, MSCF refused to participate

2009 State of Minnesota experienced structural financial deficit; MSCF agreed to a contract with a hard freeze to salaries

2009-2013 Difficulties

2010 MN House file #65 Freedom of Employment or "Right-to-Work" introduced and failed

2011 MN Senate file #409 decertification of any teacher's collective bargaining unit after bargaining cycle introduced and failed; MSCF Legislative Liaisons created at every campus and political training sessions implemented; Several anti-union legislators were defeated

2012 Statewide learner outcomes for developmental education introduced; Sustainability across the curriculum initiative introduced; MSCF created the Racial Equity Committee

2013 MSCF contract quickly negotiated; Minnesota Online Quality Initiative introduced; 2014 legislative elections monopolized union attention: The Sawbuck Club, \$10 monthly donations to union friendly candidates, started

2014 MSCF joined IFO to reject MnSCU Chancellor Rosentsone's Charting the Future initiative due to a lack of transparency and inclusion in the process

2015 All MnSCU unions pledged to participate in Charting the Future utilizing a bottom-up approach

2016 MnSCU Chancellor Rosenstone announced resignation in 2017; MnSCU announced rebranding initiative to become Minnesota State

APPENDIX C

Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Oral History Interview Guide

Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Oral History Interview Guide

General Research Questions

1. What were the experiences concerning union organization, activities, leaders, and accomplishments at various points in Minnesota two-year college faculty union history?
2. What were the major sources of Minnesota two-year college faculty satisfaction and dissatisfaction at various points in history and how did these sources influence actions of faculty?
3. What were the influences of external factors on the development of the Minnesota two-year college union?
4. How does the Minnesota two-year college faculty union experience compare to the national higher education union experience?
5. What was the pattern of development of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union over the past fifty years? Can this pattern be used to evaluate the future course of union organization and influence in higher education?

Satisfaction Subscales

Academic factors: academic freedom, instruction, curriculum development, student evaluation student advising, faculty evaluation, full-time status attainability

Working condition factors: salary, fringe benefits, job security, workloads, class size

Governance factors: mission, vision, and goal creation and implementation, policy formation, strategic planning development, allocation of facilities, development of department budgets, inclusion in personnel decisions

Narrator General Questions

Biographical Information

1. Family background
2. Educational background

Community & Technical College Work

1. Where did/do you work for MN two-year colleges?
2. When did you begin work there?
3. In what department did you work?
4. What was a typical teaching/working load?
5. What did/do you enjoy most about your position? Areas of concern?
6. MJCFA, MCCFA, UTCE, and/or MSCF involvement?

Union Information

1. What events do you consider most important in MSCF history? Present events?
2. What person(s) stand out in your mind as having impact or influence in the MSCF? Why?
3. How have academic factors, working conditions, and/or governance factors changed over time? Technology, workload,
4. Describe some of the major planning processes pursued by the union or system (1986 MCCFA self-assessment, 1996 MnSCU strategic planning, 2012 Charting the Future). In your opinion, were they successful?
5. Has MSCF representation met your expectations? Grievance process, shared governance, academic affairs, policy, diversity (racial, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation)
6. What are MSCF's areas of strength and weakness?
7. Are there internal and/or external threats to the occupation? If yes, has the union combated these? If no, has the union played a role in holding potential threats at bay?
8. What is your opinion on contract negotiations? Contract strengths and weaknesses? Union Dues?
9. Are you generally satisfied with your position? Specific components of your position: Governance factors? Working conditions? Academic factors?

Narrator Specific Questions

1. Why did Minnesota two-year college faculty unionize in 1963?
 - a. Before unionization were faculty generally satisfied within the profession? Academic factors? Working condition factors? Governance factors?
 - b. Who were the champions?
 - c. Were there ramifications for unionizing?
 - d. Was there any opposition to unionization?
 - e. Did any satisfaction measures change after unionization?
2. Why did the Minnesota two-year college faculty union begin collective bargaining in 1971?
 - a. Before collective bargaining were faculty generally satisfied within the profession? Academic factors? Working condition factors? Governance factors?
 - b. Who were the champions?
 - c. Were there catalysts that led to collective bargaining? PELRA?
 - d. Was there any opposition to collective bargaining?
 - e. Did any satisfaction measure change after collective bargaining?
3. Why did the Minnesota two-year college faculty union strike in 1979?
 - a. What was the experience like on the picket line and in strike headquarters?
 - b. Who were the champions and opponents?
 - c. What were the opinions of internal/external stakeholders?
 - d. Satisfaction before, during, and after the strike? Lasting "wounds"?
4. What prompted the MSCF to file its lawsuits (1977 MJCFA v. MN; 1984 Minnesota State Board for Community College v. Knight; 1991 MCCFA v. MN)?

5. Why has the MSCF engaged in academic initiatives (semester conversion, MN transfer curriculum, classroom research, writing across the curriculum)?
6. Why has the MSCF engaged in political initiatives (IMPACT, Sawbuck Club)?
7. Why did the Minnesota two-year technical faculty unionize in 1995?
8. How did the community and technical college merger affect the two-year college union? Satisfaction changes? Pros and cons?
9. Why did Minnesota two-year college faculty transfer and technical unions decertify and recertify as a combined union in 2001?
 - a. Before decertification were faculty generally satisfied within the profession? Academic factors? Working condition factors? Governance factors?
 - b. Who were the champions?
 - c. Were there catalysts that led to decertification? Recertification?
 - d. Was there any opposition to decertification? Recertification?
 - e. Did any satisfaction measure change after recertification?
21. What is the relationship between MSCF and national higher education unions (NEA, AFT, and AAUP)?

APPENDIX D

IRB Approval, Informed Consent, and Oral History Forms



EDUCATION FOR LIFE.

Institutional Review Board (IRB)

720 4th Avenue South MC 204K, St. Cloud, MN 56301-4498

Name: Shawn Mueske
Address: 2026 5th St. SW
 Willmar, MN 56201 USA
Email: mush1301@stcloudstate.edu

IRB PROTOCOL DETERMINATION: Expedited Review-1

Project Title: Finding Voice: History of the Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union

Advisor: Stecen McCullar

The Institutional Review Board has reviewed your protocol to conduct research involving human subjects. Your project has been: **APPROVED**

Please note the following important information concerning IRB projects:

- The principal investigator assumes the responsibilities for the protection of participants in this project. Any adverse events must be reported to the IRB as soon as possible (ex. research related injuries, harmful outcomes, significant withdrawal of subject population, etc.).
- For expedited or full board review, the principal investigator must submit a Continuing Review/Final Report form in advance of the expiration date indicated on this letter to report conclusion of the research or request an extension.
- Exempt review only requires the submission of a Continuing Review/Final Report form in advance of the expiration date indicated in this letter if an extension of time is needed.
- Approved consent forms display the official IRB stamp which documents approval and expiration dates. If a renewal is requested and approved, new consent forms will be officially stamped and reflect the new approval and expiration dates.
- The principal investigator must seek approval for any changes to the study (ex. research design, consent process, survey/interview instruments, funding source, etc.). The IRB reserves the right to review the research at any time.

If we can be of further assistance, feel free to contact the IRB at 320-308-3290 or email ri@stcloudstate.edu and please reference the SCSU IRB number when corresponding.

IRB Institutional Official:

Dr. Marilyn Hart
Interim Associate Provost for Research
Dean of Graduate Studies

OFFICE USE ONLY

SCSU IRB# 1585 - 1980	Type: Expedited Review-1	Today's Date: 6/1/2016
1st Year Approval Date: 6/1/2016	2nd Year Approval Date:	3rd Year Approval Date:
1st Year Expiration Date: 5/31/2017	2nd Year Expiration Date:	3rd Year Expiration Date:

St. Cloud State University
Institutional Review Board

Approval date: 6.1.2016

Expiration date: 5.31.2017

Informed Consent

Finding Voice: A History of the Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union

St. Cloud State University Higher Education Administration Program

My name is Shawn Mueske, and I am a doctoral student in the Higher Education Administration program at St. Cloud State University. I am working on a dissertation exploring the history of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union (MJCFA, MCCFA, UTCE, and MSCF). I have enjoyed a twenty-three year career as a biology instructor at Ridgewater College and have been an active union member throughout my career.

You are invited to participate in the study. You were selected as a potential participant through your position and/or experiences with the faculty union. As a participant in this study, you will be asked to participate in an interview exploring your experiences as a faculty union member. The interview will last between 1 ½ and 2 hours. If more time is needed, an additional interview can be scheduled at your convenience. If permitted, your responses will be digitally recorded, so the researcher can transcribe your responses as accurately as possible. At no point do you have to allow your real name or title to be revealed if you so choose. At your request, a fictitious name will be created. During the interview you may refuse to answer any questions. You may also stop the interview at any time. After the completion of the interviews, you will receive your transcribed interview. You may make changes to the transcription if you wish. The transcript may be used in the dissertation, subsequent articles, and/or presentations. The final dissertation can be requested from the researcher and will be available at the St. Cloud State University Miller Library. The research report will be available for public information in the SCSU repository.

The purpose of the interview is to gather data on the history of the Minnesota two-year college union. The project will include an investigation into the satisfaction towards important aspects of your work assignments and collective bargaining throughout your career. The researcher is interested in the academic, governance, working conditions satisfaction related to union activities. Critical events in faculty union history will be important topics (i.e. MJCFA origin-1964, collective bargaining-1971, MCCFA strike-1979, UTCE origin-1995, MCCFA and UTCE decertification/MSCF certification-2001, etc.). The researcher is interested in union organization, activities, leaders, and accomplishments at various points in history, internal/external factors which influenced the development of the union. Union planning processes, grievance processes, shared governance, academic affairs, policy, contract negotiations, law suits, contracts, union dues, and diversity are possible interview topics.

This project has been submitted for guidance by the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB) at St. Cloud State University. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please call the researcher's advisor, Dr. Steven McCullar at 320-308-4727 or email at slmccullar@stcloudstate.edu. Little or no potential risks were identified with participation in this project. As an elected union leader, direct quotes and your name may be used in the study. If you are not an elected union leader, no identifiers will be used and the data will be reported in aggregate. You will be able asked to review the final manuscript and give permission for the information to include in the study. The benefits include personal growth for each participant through opportunities for reflection and dialogue about their union experiences. There is no monetary compensation for participation in this study. The audio

**St. Cloud State University
Institutional Review Board**

Approval date: 6.1.2014

Expiration date: 5.31.2017

recordings and identifiable data will be destroyed when the researcher is completes the degree from SCSU.

Participation is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with St. Cloud State University, MSCF, or the researcher. I greatly appreciate your time and willingness to participate. Please feel free to contact me with any concerns you may have. My phone number is (320) 444-6673 and email is mush1301@stcloudstate.edu.

Your signature indicates that you are at least 18 years of age, you have read the information provided above, and you have consented to participate. You may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty after signing this form.

Participant Name _____

Participant Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher Signature _____ Date _____

I grant the researcher, Shawn Mueske, permission to audio record my interview regarding the history of the two-year college faculty union.

Participant Signature _____ Date _____

If you have consented to participate, please sign this informed consent form, fill out the enclosed *Narrator Biographical Information* form, and return in the self-addressed, stamped envelope. The information shared on the form will only be used to determine the specific questions and topics of the interview. The researcher will contact you to arrange an interview time and location. You will be asked to sign a copy of the informed consent and permission of recording form at the interview. Thank you for your participation in this research project.

St. Cloud State University
Institutional Review Board

Approval date: 6.1.2016
Expiration date: 5.31.2017.

Member Checking

Finding Voice: A History of the Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union

St. Cloud State University Higher Education Administration Program

I have read the transcript of my interview, crossed out or changed those statements I wish not to be included in the research project and agree that the remaining text could possibly be used in a dissertation and subsequent articles and presentations.

I also confirm I have received a copy of the transcript for my records.

Participant Name _____

Participant Signature _____ Date _____

Please sign and return this form to the researcher in the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope. Thank you for your participation in this research project.

Narrator Biographical Information

Finding Voice: A History of the Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union

St. Cloud State University Higher Education Administration Program

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone - Home: _____

Work: _____

Cell: _____

Email: _____

Birth Year: _____

Education: _____

Employment History (college/time frame/department assignment): _____

Please check the time frame(s) you were a member of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union below:

_____ 1963-1970

_____ 1971-1979

_____ 1980-1989

_____ 1990-1999

_____ 2000-2009

_____ 2009-2015

Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union Involvement (State/Local): _____

Pre-Interview Form

Finding Voice: A History of the Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union
St. Cloud State University Higher Education Administration Program

1. Narrator: _____

2. Time frame(s) as a member of the Minnesota two-year college faculty union:

_____ 1963-1970 Formalization of Junior College System and Birth of the Union

_____ 1971-1978 Collective Bargaining Begins

_____ 1979 Strike

_____ 1980-1989 Recognized Potential

_____ 1990-1999 Maturation

_____ 2000-2009 Merger and Rebirth

_____ 2009-2015 Difficulties

3. Narrator’s primary institution? _____

4. Did the narrator agree to sign the consent form and to be recorded? ___ Yes ___ No

5. Does the narrator understand the purpose and use of this project? ___ Yes ___ No

6. Historical period or events the interview will focus on and what was going on during that period. Be detailed with dates.

7. Why did you choose this narrator?

8. Preliminary questions:

Finding Voice: Narrator Organizational Log

Narrator	Pre-interview form	Narrator Biographical Information	Oral History Date	Implied Consent Form Date	Transcript	Member Checking
Merrill Widmark	X	X	7-15-16	7-15-16	X	10-5-16
Don Holman	X	X	6-30-16	6-30-16	X	11-31-16
Bill Newton	X	X	7-18-16	7-18-16	X	10-7-16
Larry Oveson	X	X	9-30-16	10-12-16	X	11-28-16
Larry Litecky	X	X	7-1-16	7-1-16	X	10-7-16
Greg Mulcahy	X	X	9-30-16	6-14-16	X	12-7-16
Sam Nelson	X	X	6-27-16	6-27-16	X	8-30-16
Norm Halsa	X	X	11-29-16	10-2-16	X	12-10-16
Ed Schones	X	X	12-3-16	12-3-16	X	Oral ¹
Shannon Gibney	X	X	8-10-16	8-10-16	X	Oral ¹
REDC member 1	X	X	8-15-16	8-15-16	X	Oral ¹
REDC member 2	X	X	8-15-16	8-15-16	X	Oral ¹
Gregg Wright	X	X	3-27-15 4-8-16	Public ²	X	Public ²
Joe Juare	X	X	None	-	-	-
Steve Enockson	X	X	None	-	-	-
Kevin Lindstrom	X	X	None	-	-	-
Jennings Simpson	None	-	-	-	-	-
Wayne Moen	None	-	-	-	-	-
Connie Stack	None	-	-	-	-	-

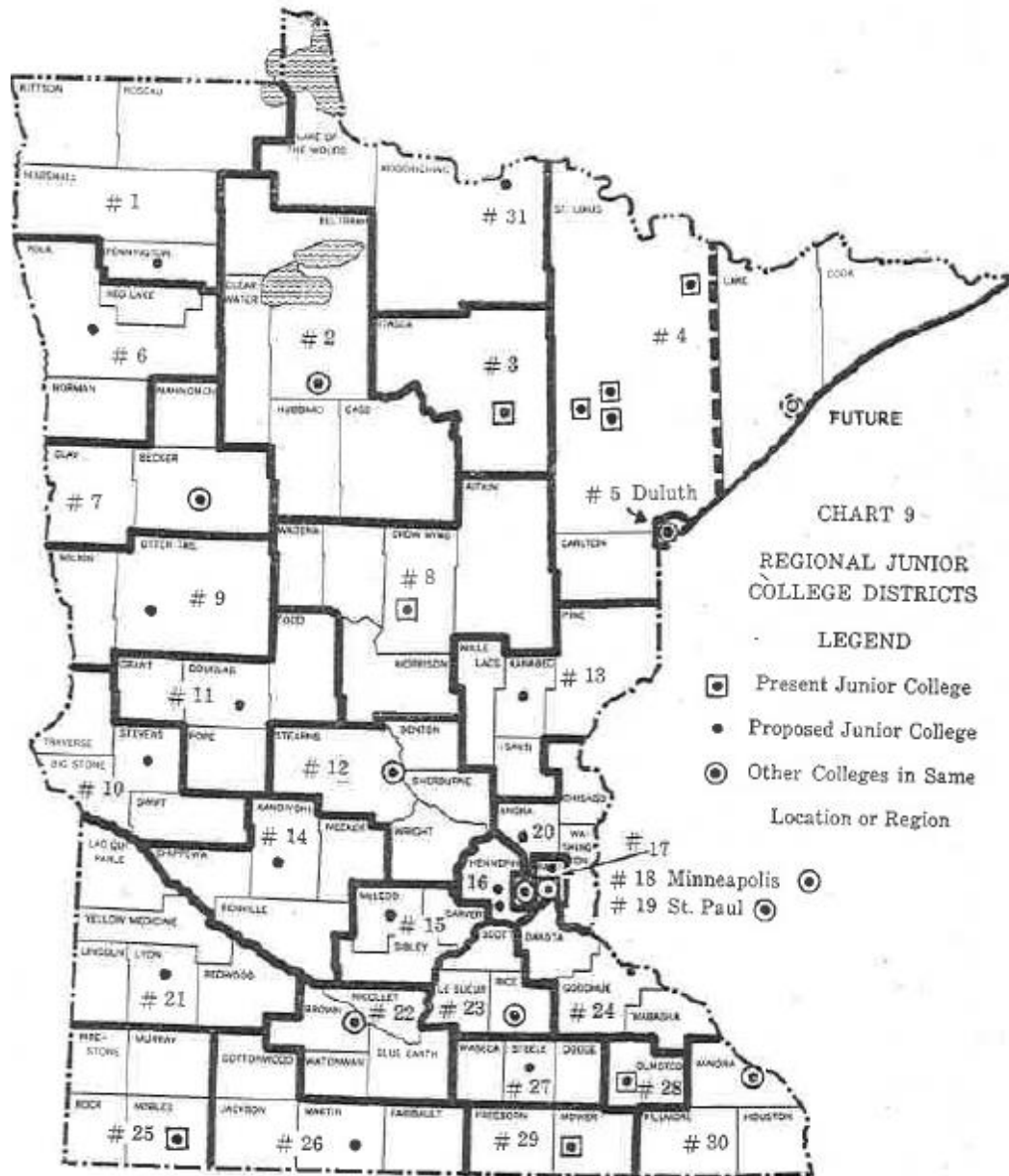
All potential narrators were invited to participate via mail on 6-1-16. Four potential narrators were asked to participate via email on 6-16-16 after failing to respond by mail. Three potential narrators failed to respond to the email request. Three additional potential narrators were unable to schedule an oral history interview during the proposed timeframe.

Oral¹ – Narrators agreed verbally to use recorded responses in dissertation and were given an opportunity to respond to written transcript within a one month timeframe.

Public² – Recorded responses and questions were provided at public meeting.

APPENDIX E

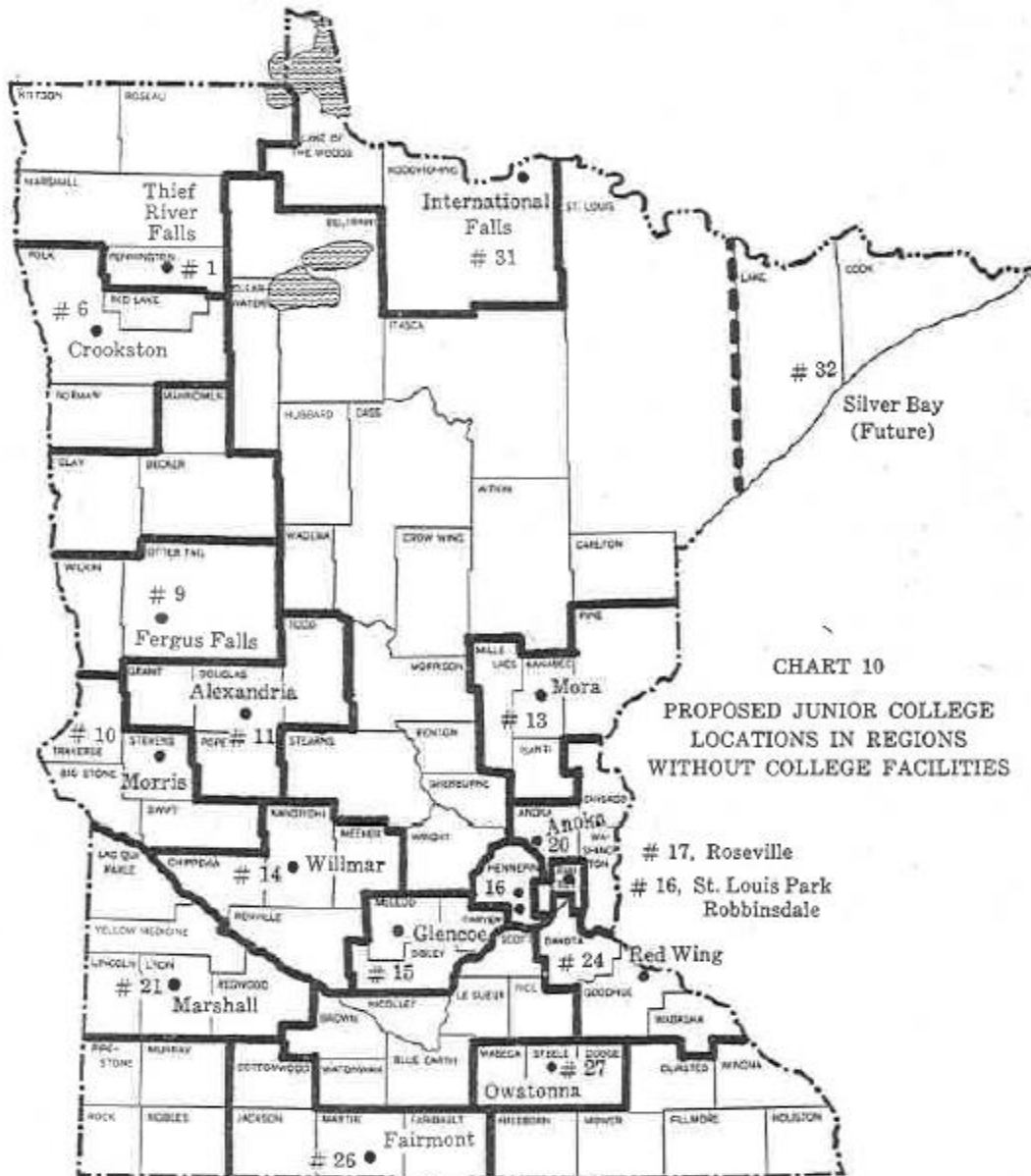
1955 Regional Junior College Districts



Meyer, R.F. (1956). *A history of the separate, two year public and private Junior Colleges of Minnesota, 1905-55*. Unpublished doctorate dissertation, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, p. 146.

APPENDIX F

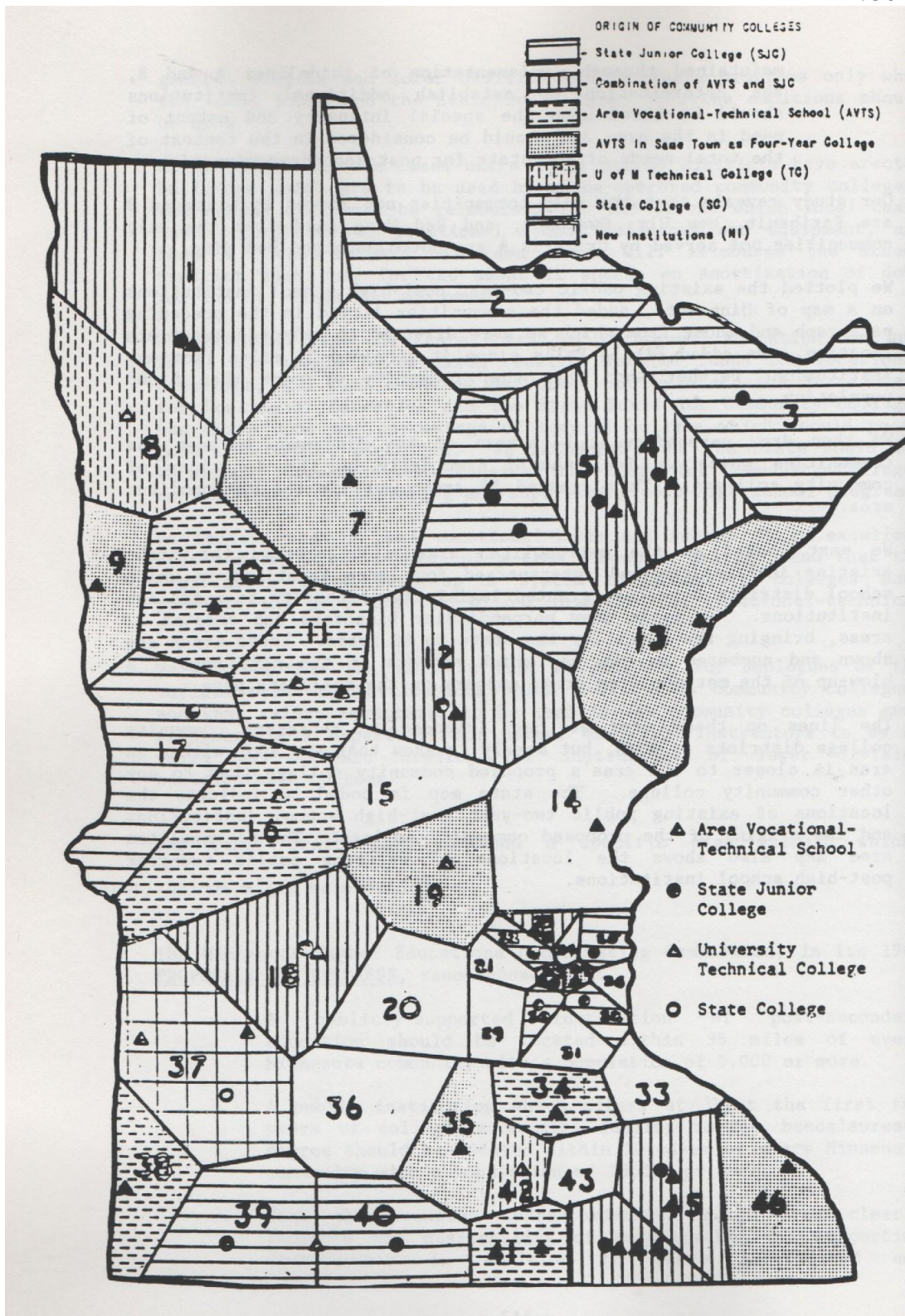
1955 Proposed Junior College Locations



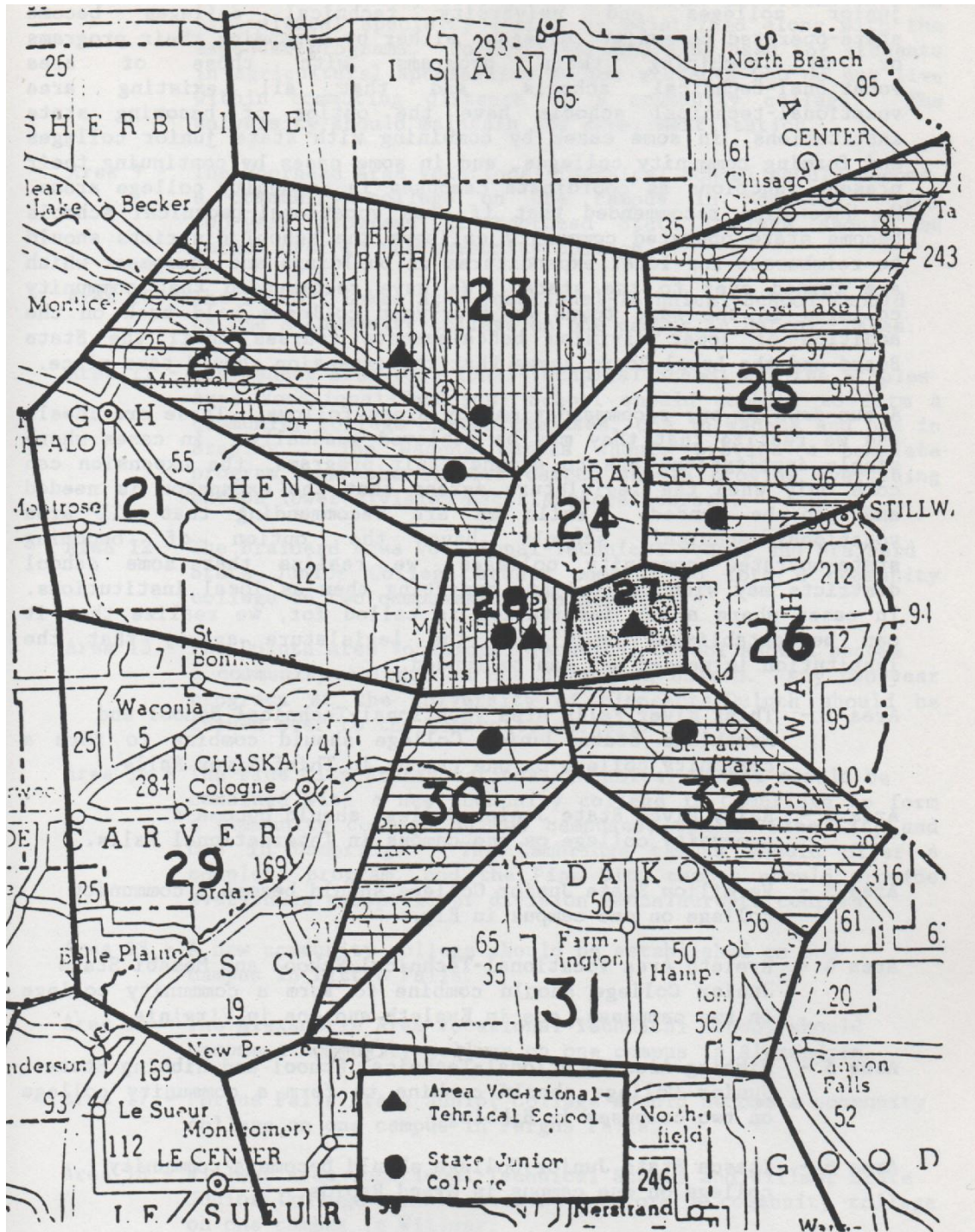
Meyer, R.F. (1956). *A history of the separate, two year public and private Junior Colleges of Minnesota, 1905-55*. Unpublished doctorate dissertation, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, p. 148.

APPENDIX G

1970 Proposed Two-Year College Plan



Helland, P. C. (1987). *Establishment of public junior and community colleges in Minnesota, 1914-1983*. Saint Paul, MN: Minnesota Community College System, p. 418.



Helland, P. C. (1987). *Establishment of public junior and community colleges in Minnesota, 1914-1983*. Saint Paul, MN: Minnesota Community College System, p. 419.

- Area 1 Thief River Falls AVTI and Northland State Junior College should combine to form a community college on one campus in Thief River Falls.
- Area 2 Rainy River State Junior College should become a community college on one campus in International Falls.
- Area 3 Vermillion State Junior College should become a community college on one campus in Ely.
- Area 4 Eveleth AVTI and Mesabi State Junior College should combine to form a community college on two campuses, one in Eveleth and one in Virginia.
- Area 5 Hibbing AVTI and Hibbing State Junior College should combine to form a community college on two campuses in Hibbing.
- Area 6 Itasca State Junior College should become a community college on one campus in Grand Rapids.
- Area 7 The Bemidji AVTI should become a community college on one campus in Bemidji. Any two-year programs at Bemidji State College should be turned over to the community college.
- Area 8 The University of Minnesota Technical College should become a community college on one campus in Crookston. An agricultural specialty should be maintained along with the expanded programs. Dormitories should be used for students in agricultural specialties or for students who do not live within commuting distance of a community college. The university should maintain its experiment station.
- Area 9 The Moorhead AVTI should become a community college on one campus in Moorhead. Any two-year programs at Moorhead State College should be turned over to the community college.
- Area 10 The Detroit Lakes AVTI should become a community college on one campus in Detroit Lakes.
- Area 11 The Wadena AVTI and the Staples AVTI should combine to form a community college on two campuses, one in Wadena and one in Staples. The Wadena campus should provide a complete program, and the Staples campus should provide everything except lower-division baccalaureate courses.
- Area 12 The Brainerd AVTI and Brainerd State Junior College should combine to form a community college on two campuses in Brainerd.
- Area 13 The Duluth AVTI should become a community college on one campus in Duluth. Any two-year programs at the University of Minnesota-Duluth should be turned over to the community college.
- Area 14 The Pine City AVTI should be combined with a new community college in Cambridge to form a community college on two campuses, one in Pine City and one in Cambridge. The Cambridge campus should offer a complete program, and the Pine City campus should provide everything except lower division baccalaureate courses.
- Area 15 A new community college should be established on one campus in Little Falls.

- Area 16 The Alexandria AVTI should become a community college on one campus in Alexandria.
- Area 17 Fergus Falls State Junior College should become a community college on one campus in Fergus Falls.
- Area 18 Willmar AVTI and Willmar State Junior College should combine to form a community college on one campus in Willmar.
- Area 19 The St. Cloud AVTI should become a community college on one campus in St. Cloud. Any two-year programs at St. Cloud State College should be turned over to the community college.
- Area 20 A new community college should be established on one campus in Hutchinson.
- Area 21 A new community college should be established on one campus in the vicinity of Highway 12. It could grow from an AVTI started by school districts in Hennepin County.
- Area 22 North Hennepin State Junior College should become a community college on one campus in Brooklyn Park.
- Area 23 Anoka AVTI and Anoka-Ramsey State Junior College should combine to form a community college on two campuses, one in Anoka and one in Coon Rapids.
- Area 24 A new community college should be established on one campus in the vicinity of highways 35 and 694. It could grow from an AVTI started by school districts in the northeast metropolitan area.
- Area 25 Lakewood State Junior College should become a community college on one campus in White Bear Lake.
- Area 26 A new community college should be established in the vicinity of Highway 12. It could grow from an AVTI started by school districts of the northeast metropolitan area.
- Area 27 The St. Paul AVTI should become a community college on one campus in St. Paul.
- Area 28 Minneapolis AVTI and Metropolitan State Junior College should combine to form a community college. It could exist on two campuses for the present and eventually combine on one campus on the edge of Loring Park.
- Area 29 A new community college should be established.
- Area 30 Normandale State Junior College should become a community college on one campus in Bloomington.
- Area 31 A new community college should be established. It could grow from an AVTI established by the school districts of Dakota County.
- Area 32 Inver Hills State Junior College should be developed as a community college on one campus in Inver Grove Heights.
- Area 33 A new community college should be established on one campus in Red Wing.
- Area 34 The Faribault AVTI should become a community college on one campus in Faribault.

- Area 35 Mankato AVTI should become a community college on one campus in Mankato. Any two-year programs at Mankato State College should be turned over to the community college.
- Area 36 A new community college on one campus should be established in New Ulm.
- Area 37 Southwest State College at Marshall should serve as a community college for the area with the Canby AVTI and the Granite Falls AVTI serving as coordinate campuses without lower division baccalaureate programs.
- Area 38 The Pipestone AVTI should become a community college on one campus in Pipestone.
- Area 39 Worthington State Junior College should become a community college on one campus in Worthington, with the Jackson AVTI serving as a coordinate campus without lower division baccalaureate courses.
- Area 40 The Fairmont State Junior College should be developed as a community college on one campus in Fairmont.
- Area 41 The Albert Lea AVTI should become a community college on one campus in Albert Lea.
- Area 42 The University of Minnesota technical college should become a community college on one campus in Waseca. An agricultural specialty should be maintained along with the expanded programs. Dormitories should be used for students in agricultural specialties or for students who do not live within commuting distance of a community college. The university should maintain its experiment station.
- Area 43 A community college should be established on one campus in Owatonna.
- Area 44 Austin AVTI and Austin State Junior College should combine to form a community college on one campus in Austin.
- Area 45 Rochester AVTI and Rochester State Junior College should combine to form a community college on one campus in Rochester.
- Area 46 Winona AVTI should become a community college on one campus in Winona. Any two-year programs at Winona State College should be turned over to the community college.

Helland, P. C. (1987). Minnesota college status and plan, Jan. 19, 1970 (p. 420-424), In *Establishment of public junior and community colleges in Minnesota, 1914-1983*. Saint Paul, MN: Minnesota Community College System.

APPENDIX H

Master Contract Analysis 1965-1966

Master Contract Analysis 2013-2015

Kater and Levin (2005) examined various governance areas: 1) budget; 2) calendar; 3) curriculum; 4) discipline; 5) evaluation; 6) faculty hiring; 7) general problems; 8) grievance; 9) harassment; 10) management hiring; 11) new positions; 12) professional development; 13) retrenchment; 14) sabbatical; and 15) tenure. These governance contract areas were evaluated and categorized as Joint Action (JA): shared decision-making by faculty and management; Faculty Participation (FP): faculty have advisory role; Management (M): management or board representative are sole decision-makers; or Silent (S): issue not addressed in contract. Numerical values were provided for each governance contract categories as follows: JA = 4, FP = 3, M = 2, and S = 1. After evaluating the scores, it was possible to determine the type of governance supported by the contract. A complete lack of a contract would generate a score of 16, or an average of 1, equal to Silent (S). Complete collegial governance would generate a score of 64 or an average of four equal to Joint Action (JA). Shared governance would result from an average score of three or Faculty Participation (FP). Authoritative governance would result in an average of two or Management rights (M). The contract analysis of the 1965 Willmar Junior College contract generated a total score ranging from 32 to 28, with an average score of 2.0 to 1.8. The 2013-2015 Minnesota two-year faculty contract revealed a total score ranging from 47 to 39, with an average score of 2.9 to 2.4.

1965-66 Willmar State Junior College Contract Analysis / Degree of Shared Governance Authority for decision-making

1. Joint Action (JA): shared decision-making by faculty and management
2. Faculty Participation (FP): faculty have an advisory role
3. Management (M): Management is sole decision-makers
4. Silent (S): Issue is not addressed in the contract

Governance Areas

Directions: Browse the Master Contract and determine the decision-making authority for each of the following governance areas. Circle the appropriate authority for decision-making.

Budget	JA	FP	M	S	A6 Coordinating committee; B1 Dean #6
Calendar	JA	FP	M	S	B1 Dean #17
Curriculum	JA	FP	M	S	A6 Curriculum committee & Academic standards committee; B1 Dean (#5,8,9, 10)
Discipline	JA	FP	M	S	B1 Dean (#25) student only
Evaluation	JA	FP	M	S	C12 tenure evaluation
Faculty hiring	JA	FP	M	S	A7 Faculty personnel committee; B1 Dean (#5)
General problems	JA	FP	M	S	B1 Adm. Responsibility (#1)
Grievance	JA	FP	M	S	
Harassment	JA	FP	M	S	
Management hiring	JA	FP	M	S	B1 Dean (#7)
New positions	JA	FP	M	S	B1 Dean (#7)
Professional development	JA	FP	M	S	B1 Dean (#2); B5 faculty must attend; C12 tenure requires growth
Program Changes	JA	FP	M	S	B1 Dean (#2) work with education staff
Retrenchment	JA	FP	M	S	
Sabbatical	JA	FP	M	S	
Tenure	JA	FP	M	S	C11 3 year probation; C11 chief adm can dismiss for defined reasons

Analytical framework defined by Levin, J. (2000). What's the impediment?: Structural and legal constraints to shared governance in the community college. *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 30(2), 87-122.

2013-2015 MSCF Master Contract Analysis / Degree of Shared Governance

Authority for decision-making

1. Joint Action (JA): shared decision-making by faculty and management
2. Faculty Participation (FP): faculty have an advisory role
3. Management (M): Management is sole decision-makers
4. Silent (S): Issue is not addressed in the contract

Governance Areas

Directions: Browse the Master Contract and determine the decision-making authority for each of the following governance areas. Circle the appropriate authority for decision-making.

Budget	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 8, Sec. 1, Sub. 1, p. 9; Art. 6, Sec. 1, p. 7
Calendar	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 10, Sec. 1, pp. 13-14
Curriculum	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 8, Sec. 2, pp. 10-11
Discipline	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 25, pp. 122-123
Evaluation	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 20, Sec. 2, Sub. 1, p. 94; Sec. 3, Sub. 2, p. 95
Faculty hiring	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 20, Sec. 7, p. 97; Art. 6, Sec. 1, p. 7
General problems	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 8, Sec. 1, Sub. 8, p. 10
Grievance	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 27, Sec. 1-9, pp. 125-127
Harassment	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 25, Sec. 1, p. 7
Management hiring	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 8, Sec. 1, Sub. 1, p. 9; Art. 6, Sec. 1, p. 7
New positions	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 20, Sec. 1, p. 93; Art. 6, Sec. 1, p. 7
Professional development	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 17, Sec. 1, p. 64
Program Changes	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 8, Sec. 2, Sub. 1, p. 10; Art. 6, Sec. 1, p. 7
Retrenchment	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 22, Sec. 1-4, pp. 102-105; Art. 8, Sec. 1, p. 10; Art. 6, Sec. 1, p. 7
Sabbatical	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 17, Sec. 3-4, pp. 64-67
Tenure	JA	FP	M	S	Art. 20, Sec. 2, p. 93; Sec. 3, Sub. 4-5, p. 95; Art. 6, Sec. 1, p. 7

Analytical framework defined by Levin, J. (2000). What's the impediment?: Structural and legal constraints to shared governance in the community college. *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 30(2), 87-122.

APPENDIX I

Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union Logos (1963-2013)

Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union Logos (1963-2013)



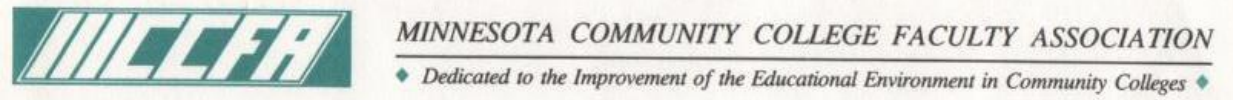
MJCFA logo 1963-1964



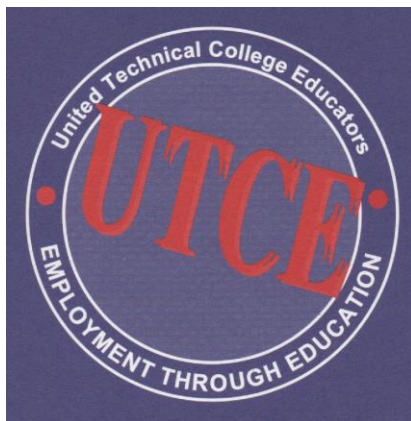
MJCFA logo 1965-1973



MCCFA logo 1974-1988



MCCFA logo 1989-2005



UTCE logo 2001-2005



MSCF logo 2005-2013



Minnesota Community College System logos



MnSCU logos



NEA logo



MEA logo



Education Minnesota logo

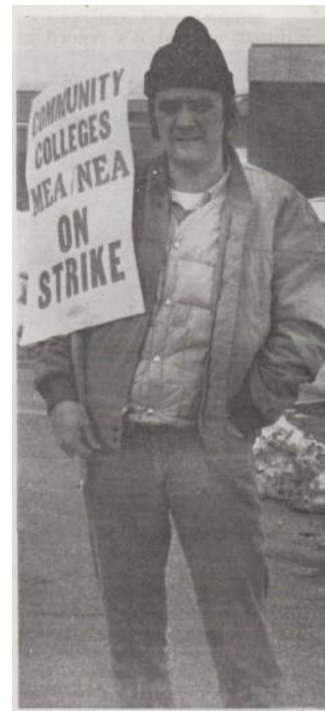
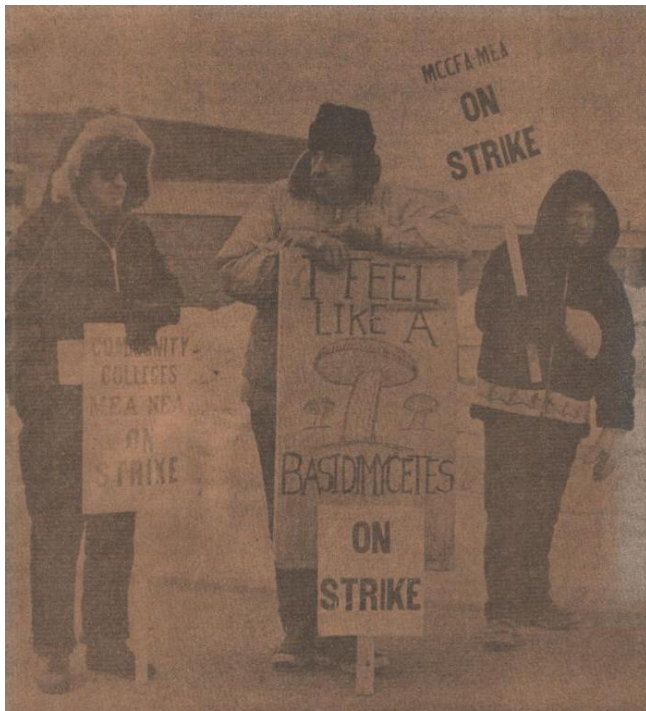


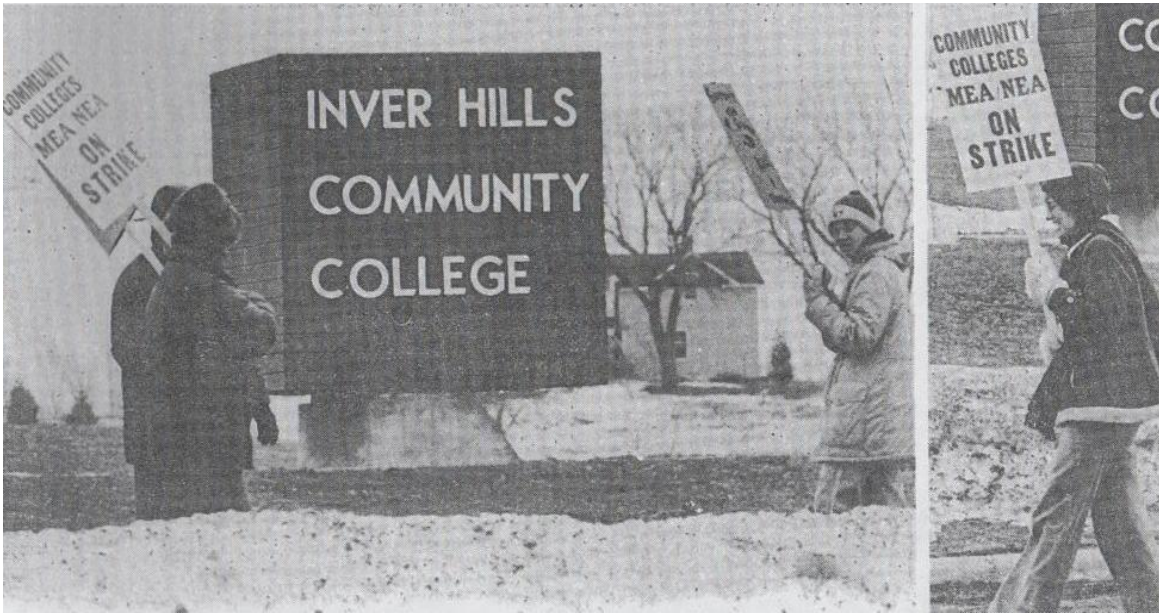
AFT logo

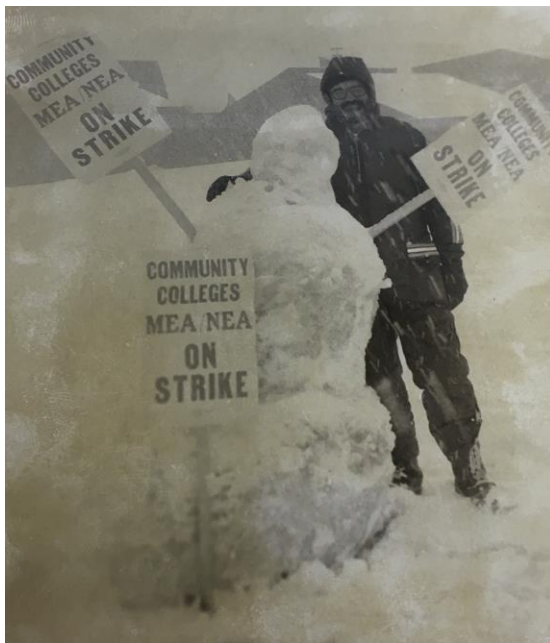
APPENDIX J

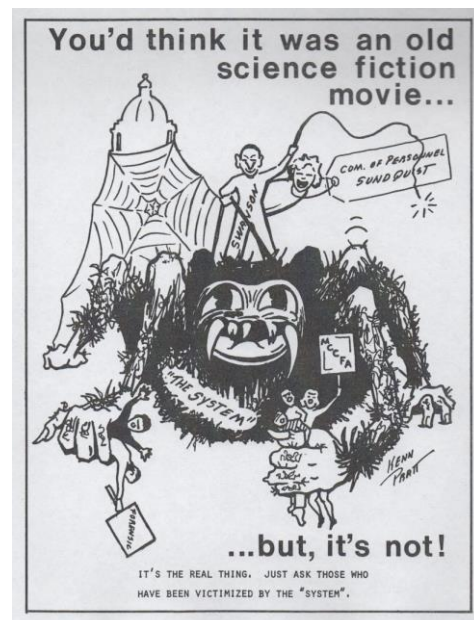
Images of the MCCFA 1979 Strike

Images of the 1979 MCCFA Strike











Dog Days: Beaver on the picket line





DON'T LET IT HAPPEN - EVER AGAIN!

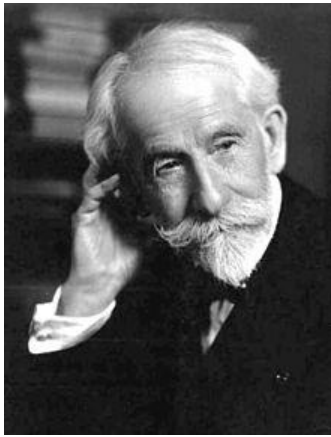
VOTE **yes** **thurs.**

3PM
ROOM 2860

APPENDIX K

Important People in the History of Minnesota Two-Year
Colleges and the Faculty Union

Important People in the History of Minnesota Two-Year Colleges and the Faculty Union



William Watts Folwell
U of M President 1869-1884



William Rainey Harper
U of Chicago Founder &
President 1891-1906



George Edgar Vincent
U of M President 1911-1917



James Lewis Morrill
U of M President 1945-1960



Lotus D. Coffman
U of M President 1920-1938



Leonard V. Koos
U of Chicago Professor



Walter Eells
AAJC Executive Director



Royal R. Shumway
U of M Professor &
MN Junior College Liaison



Ruth Eckert
U of M Professor



Orville Freeman
Minnesota Governor 1955-1961



Karl Rolvaag
Minnesota Governor 1963-1967



Phillip Helland
MJCS Chancellor 1964-1983



Gerald Christenson
MCCS Chancellor 1983-1991



Geraldine Evans
MCCS Chancellor 1992-1994



Greg Braxton-Brown
MCCS Chancellor 1994-1995



Mary Rieder
Acting Interim Chancellor
1991-1993



Jay Noren
Interim Chancellor
1993-1995



Judith Eaton
Chancellor 1995-1997



Morris Anderson
Chancellor 1997-2001



James McCormick
Chancellor 2001-2011



Steven Rosenstone
Chancellor 2011-2017



Joe Graba
MTCS Director 1991-1995



Michael Vekich
MnSCU Board of Directors



Robert Ashbach
MN House 1963-1966
MN Senate 1967-1982



Doug Johnson
MN House 1971-1976
MN Senate 1977-2002



Gene Waldorf
MN House 1977-1980
MN Senate 1981-1993



Ron Dicklich
MN Senate 1981-1992



Roger Moe
MN Senate 1970-2003



Dean Johnson
MN House 1979-1982
MN Senate 1983-2006



Dee Long
MN House 1979-1998



Tony Kinkel
MN House 1987-1998
MN Senate 1999-2002



LeRoy Stumpf
MN House 1981-1982
MN Senate 1983-2016



Donald Lavine
MJCFA President 1964



Merrill Widmark
MJCFA President 1965



Jay Scholtus
MCCFA President 1966



Leon Knight
MCCFA President 1968



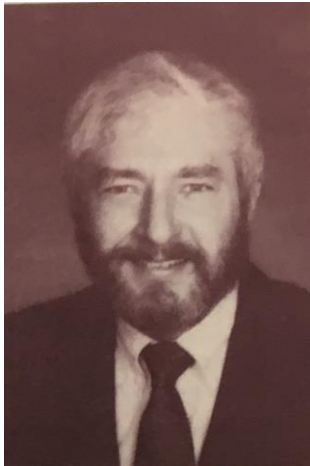
Charles Blackstad
MJCFA President 1969



Neil Sands
MJCFA President 1970



Jim Durham
MCCFA President 1976-1986



Jennings Simpson
MCCFA President 1987-1990



Larry Litecky
MCCFA President 1991-1998



Larry Oveson
MSCF President 1999-2006



Bruce Hemstad
UTCE President 1995-1998



Ed Schones
MSCF Co-President 1999-2002



Greg Mulcahy
MSCF President 2007-2012



Kevin Lindstrom
MSCF President 2013-Present



Ralph Chesebrough
MCCFA Executive Director



Robert Tonra
MCCFA Executive Director



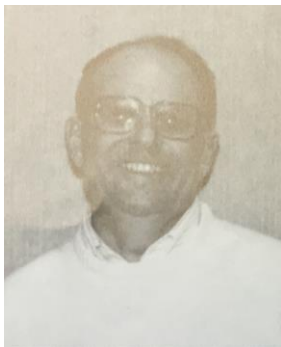
Bill Newton
MCCFA Executive Director



Don Holman
MCCFA Gov't Relations
MEA-NEA Liaison



Cal Minke
MCCFA Treasurer 1974-1986



Cal Carlson
MCCFA Treasurer
1969-1970, 1987-1989



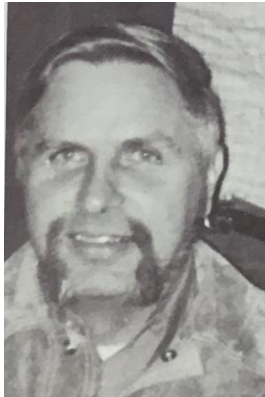
Don Maher
MCCFA Treasurer
1990-1999



Cheryl Avenel-Navaro
MCCFA Secretary
1999-2006



JoAnn (Cerar) Roche
MCCFA Vice-President
MCCFA Secretary 1990-1998



Jerry Strawmatt
MCCFA Vice-President 1978-79
MCCFA Secretary 1976-77



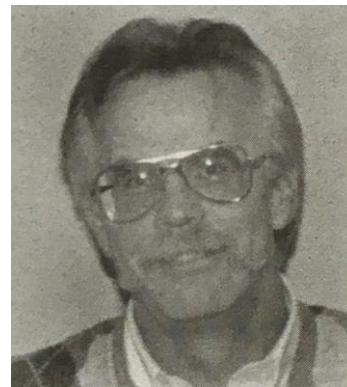
Gregg Wright
MSCF Secretary
2007-Present



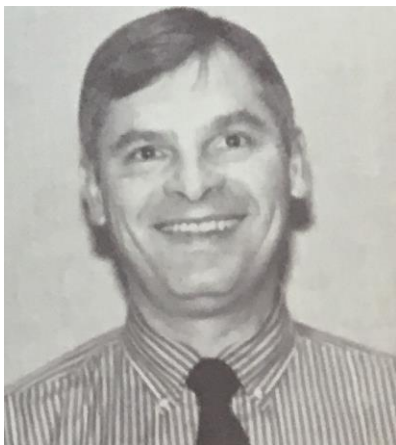
Elaine Hauff
MCCFA Vice-President
1987-1988



Judy Whaley
MCCFA Secretary
1985-1989



Wayne Moen
MCCFA Vice-President
1976-1977



Mike Ackerson
MCCFA Negotiations



Russ Stanton
MCCFA Lobbyist



Joe Juairé
MSCF Field Staff 2012-2014

APPENDIX L

Lists of Two-Year College Union Officers and System Chancellors

Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union Presidents

1964 MJCFA Donald Lavine

1965 MJCFA Merrill Widmark

1966 MJCFA Jay Scholtus

1967 MJCFA William Oatley

1968 MJCFA Leon Knight

1969 MJCFA Charles Blackstad

1970 MJCFA Neil Sands

1971-1973 MJCFA Jerry Larson

1974-1975 MCCFA James Norman

1976-1986 MCCFA James Durham

1987-1990 MCCFA Jennings Simpson

1991-1998 MCCFA Larry Litecky

1995-1998 UTCE Bruce Hemstad

1999-2006 MCCFA Larry Oveson (2001-2004 MSCF Co-President)

1999-2004 UTCE Ed Schones (2001-2004 MSCF Co-President)

2007-2012 MSCF Greg Mulcahy

2013-2016 MSCF Kevin Lindstrom

Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union Vice-Presidents

1964 MJCFA Merrill Widmark
1965 MJCFA Jay Scholtus
1966 MJCFA William Oatley
1967 MJCFA Leon Knight
1968 MJCFA Charles Blackstad
1969-1970 MJCFA Ken Grossman
1971-1973 MJCFA Audrey Fay
1974-1975 MCCFA James Durham
1976-1977 MCCFA Wayne Moen
1978-1979 MCCFA Gerald Strawmatt
1980-1982 MCCFA John Winkelman
1983-1984, 1989 MCCFA Gretchen Murphy
1985-1986 MCCFA Jennings Simpson
1987-1988 MCCFA Elaine Hauff
1990-1998 MCCFA Larry Oveson
1999-2005 MCCFA JoAnn (Cerar) Roche (MSCF Co-VP 2001-2005)
2001-2005 MSCF Co-VP Betsy Picciano
2006-2009 MSCF Technical VP Susan TenEyck-Stafki
2006-2010 MSCF Liberal Arts VP Anne-Marie Ryan-Guest
2010-2013 MSCF Technical VP Kevin Lindstrom
2011-2015 MSCF Liberal Arts VP Damon Kapke
2014-2016 MSCF Technical VP Norm Halsa
2016 MSCF Liberal Arts VP Darci Stanford

Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union Secretaries

1964 MJCFA Allan Lundquist
1965 MJCFA Marie Matt
1966-1968 MJCFA Eugene Auringer
1969-1970 MJCFA John Almquist
1971-1973 MCCFA Richard Portmann
1974-1975 MCCFA Robert Bell
1976- 1977 MCCFA Gerald Strawmatt
1978-1982 MCCFA Gretchen Murphy
1983-1984 MCCFA Joyce Wood
1985-1989 MCCFA Judy Whaley
1990-1998 MCCFA JoAnn Cerar
1999-2006 MCCFA Cheryl Avenel-Navara (MSCF Co-Secretary 2001-2005)
2001-2005 MSCF Co-Secretary Norma Malterer
2007-present MSCF Gregg Wright

Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Union Treasurers

1964-1965 MJCFA Herbert Kjos
1966-1968 MJCFA Paul Aamot
1969-1970 MJCFA Cal Carlson
1971-1973 MCCFA James Durham
1974-1986 MCCFA Cal Minke
1987-1989 MCCFA Cal Carlson
1990-1999 MCCFA Don Maher
2000-2007 MCCFA Greg Mulcahy (MSCF Co-Treasurer 2001-2005)
2001-2005 MSCF Co-Treasurer Ron Konickson
2008-2011 MSCF Joe Juairé
2012-present MSCF Kent Quamme

MJCS / MCCS Chancellor History

Phillip Helland (1964-1983)

Gerald W. Christenson (1983-1991)

Geraldine Evans (1992-1994)

Greg Braxton-Brown (1994-1995)

MTCS Director / Chancellor

Joe Graba (1983-1990)

Carole Johnson (1990-1995)

MnSCU Chancellor History

Mary Rieder, Acting Interim Chancellor (1991-1993)

Jay Noren, Interim Chancellor (1993-1995)

Harry Peterson, Acting Chancellor (1995)

Judith S. Eaton, Chancellor (1995-1997)

Morris J. Anderson, Chancellor (1997-2000)

James McCormick, Chancellor (2000-2011)

Steven J. Rosenstone, Chancellor (2011-2017)

APPENDIX M

1970 Junior College Mascots and Colors

1970 Minnesota Junior Colleges Colors and Mascots

Anoka-Ramsey	Black and Gold	Raiders
Austin	Royal Blue and Silver	Bluedevils
Brainerd	Red and White	Raiders
Fergus Falls	Royal Blue and White	Spartans
Hibbing	Cardinal and White	Cardinals
Inver Hills	Purple and White	Giants
Itasca	Royal Blue and White	Vikings
Lakewood	Gold and Green	Lancers
Mesabi	Green and Gold	Norsemen
Metropolitan	Maroon and White	Marauders
Normandale	Red, Gold, and Black	Lions
North Hennepin	Two Shades Blue	Norsemen
Northland	Crimson and Navy Blue	Northmen
Rainy River	Scarlet and White	Voyageurs
Rochester	Old Gold and Navy Blue	Yellowjackets
Vermillion	Blue and Gold	Ironmen
Willmar	Powder Blue and Red	Warriors
Worthington	Blue and White	Bluejays

Adapted from Jottings. (1970b). Minnesota state junior college jottings, 2(5), September 9, MCCA, St. Paul, MN, p. 1)

APPENDIX N

Lists of Junior, Community, and Technical College Origin Locations and Years

Establishment of Area Vocational-Technical Schools by State Board of Vocational Education

1914	Minneapolis Vocational High School
1914	Dunwoody Industrial Institute
1921	St. Paul Vocational School
1927	First Area Vocational-Technical Institute
1948	St. Cloud & Winona
1949	Thief River Falls
1950	Duluth
1951	Austin
1952	St. Paul
1955	Minneapolis
1959	Staples
1960	Wadena
1961	Willmar
1962	Alexandria, Hibbing, & Eveleth
1964	Brainerd & Jackson
1965	Canby & Granite Falls
1966	Bemidji, Detroit Lakes, Faribault, Moorhead, & Pine City
1967	Pipestone & Rochester
1968	Albert Lea
1969	Suburban Hennepin County
1970	Dakota County, Hutchinson, Ramsey-Washington Counties (Northeast Metro)
1971	Red Wing
1972	East Grand Forks

Area Vocational-Technical Schools Consolidations

1986-87	Southwestern Vocational-Technical Institute (Canby, Granite Falls, Jackson, Pipestone)
1991-92	Brainerd/Staples Regional Technical Colleges (Brainerd, Staples)
1991-92	Riverland Technical Colleges (Austin, Faribault, Rochester)
1993-94	Owatonna Tech Training Center (Owatonna)
1993-94	Hutchinson/Willmar Technical College (Hutchinson, Willmar)
1993-94	Northwest Technical College (Bemidji, Detroit Lakes, East Grand Forks, Moorhead, Thief River Falls, Wadena)
1993-94	Range Technical College (Eveleth, Hibbing)
1993-94	Red Wing/Winona Technical College (Red Wing, Winona)
1993-94	South Central (Albert Lea, Mankato)

1970 Name, Est. Year, & FTE Enrollment of Minnesota Junior Colleges

Anoka-Ramsey State Junior College	1965	1525
Austin State Junior College	1950	904
Brainerd State Junior College	1938	452
Fergus Falls State Junior College	1960	521
Hibbing State Junior College	1916	752
Inver Hills State Junior College	1970	-
Itasca State Junior College	1922	534
Lakewood State Junior College	1967	1024
Mesabi State Junior College	1921	711
Metropolitan State Junior College	1965	832
Normandale State Junior College	1968	1214
North Hennepin State Junior College	1966	1173
Northland State Junior College	1965	304
Rainy River State Junior College	1967	250
Rochester State Junior College	1915	1697
Vermilion State Junior College	1922	240
Willmar State Junior College	1962	624
Worthington State Junior College	1936	640

Adapted from Jottings. (1970a). Minnesota state junior college jottings, 1(1), January, MCCA, St. Paul, MN, p. 2).

2013-14 Minnesota Community & Technical Colleges Establishment & Campus Location

<u>College Name</u>	<u>Establishment</u>	<u>Campus/Site Location(s)</u>
Alexandria Technical & Community College	1961	Alexandria
Anoka-Ramsey Community College	1965	Coon Rapids, Cambridge
Anoka Technical College	1968	Anoka
Central Lakes College	1938	Brainerd, Staples
Century College	1967	White Bear Lake
Dakota County Technical College	1970	Rosemount
Fond du Lac Tribal & Community College	1987	Cloquet
Hennepin Technical College	1972	Brooklyn Park, Eden Prairie
Hibbing Community College	1916	Hibbing
Inver Hills Community College	1970	Inver Grove Heights
Itasca Community College	1922	Grand Rapids
Lake Superior College	1995	Duluth
Mesabi Range Community & Technical College	1966	Virginia, Eveleth
Minneapolis Community & Technical College	1996	Minneapolis
Minnesota State College – Southeast Technical	1989	Red Wing, Winona
Minnesota State Community & Technical College	2007	Fergus Falls, Detroit Lakes, Moorhead, Wadena
Minnesota West Community & Technical College	1997	Worthington, Canby, Granite Falls, Jackson, Pipestone, Fairmont
Normandale Community College	1968	Bloomington
North Hennepin Community College	1966	Brooklyn Park
Northland Community & Technical College	1973	East Grand Forks, Thief River Falls
Northwest Technical College	1965	Bemidji
Pine Technical College	1965	Pine City
Rainy River Community College	1967	International Falls
Ridgewater College	1962	Willmar, Hutchinson
Riverland Community College	1940	Albert Lea, Austin, Owatonna
Rochester Community & Technical College	1915	Rochester
St. Cloud Technical & Community College	1948	St. Cloud
Saint Paul College	1910	St. Paul
South Central College	1946	Mankato, Faribault
Vermillion Community College	1922	Ely

Adapted from MnSCU. (2013b). *Go MN, Your 2013-14 Guide to Minnesota State Colleges and Universities*, St. Paul, MN.

2013-14 Minnesota Community & Technical College FTE Students & UFT Faculty

College Name	FTE Students	UFT Faculty
Alexandria Technical & Community College	4,095	70
Anoka-Ramsey Community College	12,156	142
Anoka Technical College	3,366	57
Central Lakes College	6,253	99
Century College	14,968	216
Dakota County Technical College	5,664	81
Fond du Lac Tribal & Community College	2,888	36
Hennepin Technical College	9,602	138
Hibbing Community College	2,040	55
Inver Hills Community College	9,030	117
Itasca Community College	1,612	40
Lake Superior College	8,982	102
Mesabi Range Community & Technical College	2,345	38
Minneapolis Community & Technical College	14,072	182
Minnesota State College – Southeast Technical	3,152	75
Minnesota State Community & Technical College	9,063	176
Minnesota West Community & Technical College	5,264	83
Normandale Community College	14,595	193
North Hennepin Community College	10,671	125
Northland Community & Technical College	5,328	102
Northwest Technical College	1,168	28
Pine Technical College	1,849	25
Rainy River Community College	452	10
Ridgewater College	5,762	115
Riverland Community College	4,932	84
Rochester Community & Technical College	8,207	144
St. Cloud Technical & Community College	6,195	106
Saint Paul College	9,855	120
South Central College	6,152	104
Vermillion Community College	976	23

Adapted MnSCU. (2013). *Go MN, Your 2013-14 Guide to Minnesota State Colleges and Universities*, St. Paul, MN. MSCF. (2013). *Minnesota State College Faculty Hiring Practices: Academic Year 2012-2013*, St. Paul, MN.

Tentative Time-Table of Growth and Expansion

College	First Unit Completed	Activities Building	Expansion	Full completion
Anoka-Ramsey	1967	1968	1970, 71, 72, 73, 74, & 75	1975
Austin				1966
Brainerd	1964	1968	1970, 72, & 74	1974
Ely	1970	1970	1973, 75	1975
Fergus Falls	1967	1968	1970, 71, 73, & 75	1975
Hibbing	1967	1968	1971, 73, & 75	1975
International Falls	1970		1973, 75	1975
Itasca	1966	1970	1969	
Mesabi	1967	1968	1971, 72, & 74	1974
North Hennepin	1969	1970	1971, 72, 73, 74, & 75	1975
N.E. Metropolitan	1969	1970	1971, 72, 73, 74, & 75	1975
Rochester	1967	1968	1968, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, & 75	1975
S.E. Metropolitan	1969	1970	1971, 72, 73, 74, & 75	1975
S.W. Metropolitan	1968	1969	1970, 71, 72, 73, 74, & 75	1975
Thief River Falls	1969	1970	1973 & 75	1975
Willmar	1968	1970	1971, 72, & 74	1974
Worthington	1966	1968	1971, 72, 73, 74, & 75	1975

Adapted from MJCFA Facts. (1971). Your new junior college system, MJCFA brochure, St. Paul, MN, p. 5).

APPENDIX O

1970 Minnesota Junior College Lists of Programs and Activities

1970 Minnesota State Junior Colleges Occupational Programs Listing

MINNESOTA STATE JUNIOR COLLEGE OCCUPATIONAL PROGRAMS

AS LISTED IN 1970 CATALOGS

1970-71 Programs

	Clerk Typist & Clerk	Secretarial (2 Year)	Secretarial (1 Year)	General Secretarial	Agri Business	Business	Accounting	D. E. General	D. E. Special	Data Processing	Agriculture	Practical Nurse	A. D. Nurse	Medical Office Ass.	Dental Lab. Ass.	Dental Hygiene	Inhalation Therapist	Drafting Theor.	Mech. Arch. Ass.	Civil Eng. Tech.	Electrical Eng. Tech.	Related Eng. Tech.	Welding	Upper Pulp Technology	Corrections	Law Enforcement	Fire Science	Library	Recreation or Inv. Tech.	General Public Health	Occupational Therapy	Communications	Mass Media Technology	Urban Planning	Conservation Tech.	Chemical Lab. Ass.	Dental Lab. Ass.	Ophthalmic Assisting	Optometric Assisting							
Anoka-Ransey	X	X	X			X	X	X				X						X	X											X	X															
Austin	X	X	X				X										X			X																										
Brainerd																											X	X																		
Fergus Falls	X	X	X	X			X																				X	X																		
Hibbing	X	X	X	X							X						X			X																										
Inver Hills	X	X				X	X																																							
Itasca	X	X	X	X			X				X											X	X																							
Lakewood	X	X	X				X	X																		X	X	X	X														X			
Mesabi	X			X			X													X																										
Metropolitan	X	X	X	X			X	X			X																	X															X			
Normandale	X	X	X	X			X	X			X			X	X	X	X	X								X		X															X			
North Hennepin	X			X			X	X			X					X	X										X		X	X																
Northland				X																								X																		
Rainy River	X	X					X																					X																		
Rochester	X	X	X	X	X		X	X			X		X							X	X					X																				
Vermilion	X	X	X	X			X	X																																						
Willmar				X							X																																		X	
Worthington	X	X	X	X	X						X	X																X																		X

Adapted from Jottings. (1970c). Minnesota state junior college jottings, 2(6), September 23, MCCA, St. Paul, MN, p. 2)

1970 Minnesota State Junior Colleges Activity Programs Listing

ACTIVITY PROGRAMS OFFERED IN MINNESOTA STATE JUNIOR COLLEGES

	Anoka-Ramsey	Austin	Brainerd	Fergus Falls	Hibbing	Inver Hills	Itasca	Lakewood	Mesabi	Metropolitan	Normandale	North Hennepin	Northland	Rainy River	Rochester	Verdillon	Willmar	Worthington
PUBLICATIONS																		
Literary Magazine	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	
Newspaper	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Yearbook			X		X		X			X		X		X	X	X		
ATHLETICS																		
Baseball	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Basketball	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cross Country	X	X										X	X	X				X
Football	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X			X	X	X	X	X
Girls Athletics	X		X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X					
Golf	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hockey				X	X	X						X	X					
Intramurals	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tennis	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Track	X	X	X		X			X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wrestling	X		X	X		X	X			X	X		X	X		X	X	X
FINE ARTS																		
Forensics	X			X	X	X				X	X	X	X			X		
Instrumental Music	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Musicals	X	X	X		X	X		X						X	X	X		
Theater	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Vocal Music	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
OTHER																		
Cheer Leading	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Clubs - Organizations	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Convocations	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Girls Drill or Dance					X					X	X			X		X		
Social Activities	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Student Government	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Adapted from Jottings. (1972). Minnesota state junior college jottings, 2(22), November 27, MCCA, St. Paul, MN, p. 2).

APPENDIX P

1966 Minnesota Junior College Salary Comparisons With High Schools

Comparison of Salary Schedules for Instructors With M.A., 1966-67

Step	Minnesota Junior College						White Bear		South
	College	Ely ¹	Rochester	Osseo	Minneapolis	Anoka	Bloomington ²	Lake	St. Paul ³
0	\$5,800	\$5,880	\$5,850	\$ 6,050	\$ 5,900	\$ 6,142	\$ 6,000	\$ 6,000	\$ 6,050
3	6,700	6,825	6,800	6,963	6,550	7,245	6,960	7,100	7,685
6	7,600	7,770	7,850	8,014	7,675	8,347	8,400	8,300	9,320
9	8,500	8,715	8,900	9,224	8,925	9,450	10,020	9,575	10,951
12	9,400	9,030	9,875	10,617	10,400	10,552	11,100	11,100	10,951

¹ Reaches maximum at the 10th step.

² Reaches maximum at the 11th step.

³ Reaches maximum at the 9th step.

Adapted from MJCFA Facts. (1971). Your new junior college system, MJCFA brochure, St. Paul, MN, p. 7).

Comparison of the M.A. Degree Column for Thirty-eight Metropolitan Area School Districts and the Minnesota State Junior College System, 1966 - 1967

STEP	RANGE OF SALARIES		MEDIAN	STATE JUNIOR COLLEGE	MEDIAN DIFFERENCE	MAXIMUM DIFFERENCE	Number of School Districts Paying More Than Junior Colleges
	Min.	Max.					
0	\$5,700 -	\$ 6,300	\$ 5,986	\$5,800	— \$ 186	— \$ 500	31
1	5,925 -	6,650	6,295	6,100	— 195	— 550	31
2	6,150 -	7,140	6,600	6,400	— 200	— 740	31
3	6,375 -	7,685	6,982	6,700	— 282	— 985	32
4	6,600 -	8,230	7,385	7,000	— 385	— 1,230	32
5	6,900 -	8,775	7,825	7,300	— 525	— 1,475	32
6	7,150 -	9,320	8,268	7,600	— 668	— 1,720	34
7	7,450 -	9,865	8,641	7,900	— 741	— 1,965	35
8	7,800 -	10,410	9,092	8,200	— 892	— 2,210	35
9	8,112 -	10,951	9,475	8,500	— 975	— 2,451	35
10	8,424 -	11,130	9,907	8,800	— 1,107	— 2,330	35
11	8,736 -	11,130	10,298	9,100	— 1,198	— 2,030	35
12	9,048 -	11,130	10,675	9,400	— 1,275	— 1,730	34
13	9,200 -	11,130	10,735	9,700	— 1,035*	— 1,430	35

* This figure decreases because 34 of the 38 metropolitan school districts have reached the maximum salary by the twelfth year of experience while the junior colleges have a thirteenth step.

Adapted from MJCFA Facts. (1971). Your new junior college system, MJCFA brochure, St. Paul, MN, p. 8.

APPENDIX Q

1963 Junior College Law

Session Laws 1963, Chapter 837, Sec. 29 - The 1963 Junior College Law

The 1963 Junior College Law--

SESSION LAWS 1963 CHAPTER 837

Sec. 29. Subdivision 1. (1) Not to exceed 15 state junior colleges are hereby established under the management, jurisdiction, and control of a state junior college board which is hereby created.

(2) Three of said state junior colleges shall be situated within the counties of Ramsey, Anoka, Dakota, Washington, and Hennepin. The board shall determine the areas of the state for the location of the other state junior colleges and shall give consideration to the needs for a state junior college in northwestern Minnesota.

Subd. 2. (1) The state junior college board shall consist of five members appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate. They shall be selected for their knowledge of, and interest in junior colleges of Minnesota. Except as otherwise provided in clause (2) each member shall be appointed for a seven year term commencing on July 1 in the year in which the term begins. The governor shall in like manner fill for the unexpired term all vacancies on the board.

(2) The first state junior college board appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate shall consist of one member appointed for a seven year term, two members appointed for a five year term, and two members appointed for a three year term. The term of each such appointee shall commence on July 1, 1963.

(3) The state junior college board shall elect a president, a secretary and such other officers as it may desire. It shall fix its meeting dates and places. The commissioner of administration shall provide it with appropriate offices.

(4) Members of the state junior college board shall serve without compensation but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence and other reasonable expenses incurred in the performance of their duties and in the same manner as other state officers are reimbursed therefor.

Sub. 3. (1) The state junior college board shall possess all powers necessary and incident to the management, jurisdiction, and control of the state junior colleges established in subdivision 1 and all property pertaining thereto. Such powers shall include, but are not limited to, the enumeration contained in this subdivision.

(2) The board may determine the exact location and site for each junior college and shall report to the 1965 regular session of the legislature in regard thereto. Such report shall be filed not later than January 15, 1965.

(3) The board may locate a junior college at the place of an existing junior college. It may contract with the school district owning and operating such existing junior college by lease, or otherwise, upon such terms as may be mutually agreed upon for the operation thereof by the state junior college board notwithstanding any provision or limitations of any other laws inconsistent with the provisions of this subdivision. The state junior college board, however, shall not locate or take over the operation of an existing junior college prior to July 1, 1964, nor shall it locate and take over the operation of any junior college which was not in existence upon the date of the final enactment of this section.

(4) Subject to the other provisions of this section, the board shall appoint the heads of each junior college, the necessary teachers and supervisors, and all other necessary employees. All such appointed persons shall be subject to the provisions of Minnesota Statutes 1961, Chapter 43 in the same manner as such state civil service act is applicable to similar persons in the employ of the state college board. The board shall fix the compensation of its employees in the unclassified service unless otherwise prescribed by law. Personnel of an existing junior college taken over by the state junior college board pursuant to the provisions of this section shall continue as members of such retirement systems to which such personnel were eligible immediately prior to becoming employees of the state junior college board, and until such time as the legislature otherwise provides. The state junior college board is authorized to make the appropriate deductions and contributions to such retirement systems.

Subd. 4. (1) The board shall appoint a local advisory committee for each junior college composed of qualified persons with a knowledge of and interest in junior colleges residing in the area served by such junior college. The board from time to time shall consult with each local advisory committee on matters of courses of study to be offered at the junior college. The number of members and their terms of each advisory committee shall be fixed by the board. Advisory committee members shall serve without compensation and without reimbursement for expenses.

(2) The board shall prescribe the courses of study, including undergraduate academic programs, training in semi-professional and technical fields, and adult education, conditions of admission, fees and tuition to be paid by students, but not less than the fees and tuition required to be paid by students in state colleges, requirements for graduation, and such suitable rules and regulations necessary for the operation of such junior colleges. Rules and regulations so prescribed shall not be subject to the requirements of the administrative procedure act or any other law requiring notice, hearing or the approval of the attorney general prior to adoption.

(3) A junior college under the management, jurisdiction and control of the state junior college board as a state junior college is ineligible for junior college aids under the provisions of any law heretofore or hereafter enacted unless such law specifically provides therefor.

Subd. 5. Notwithstanding the provisions of Minnesota Statutes 1961, Chapter 130, or any other law to the contrary no junior college shall be established after the final enactment of this section until the requirements of such chapter are met and the establishment thereof is also approved by the state junior college board.

Sec. 30. SEVERABILITY. The provisions of this act are severable. If any provision or part of a provision is held to be invalid, it shall in no way affect the other provisions or any parts thereof in this act.

Adapted from MJCFA Facts. (1971). Your new junior college system, MJCFA brochure, St. Paul, MN, p. 9).

APPENDIX R

Original Roster of the MJCFA Organizational Meeting and Significant Photos

Original Roster of the MJCFA Organizational Meeting

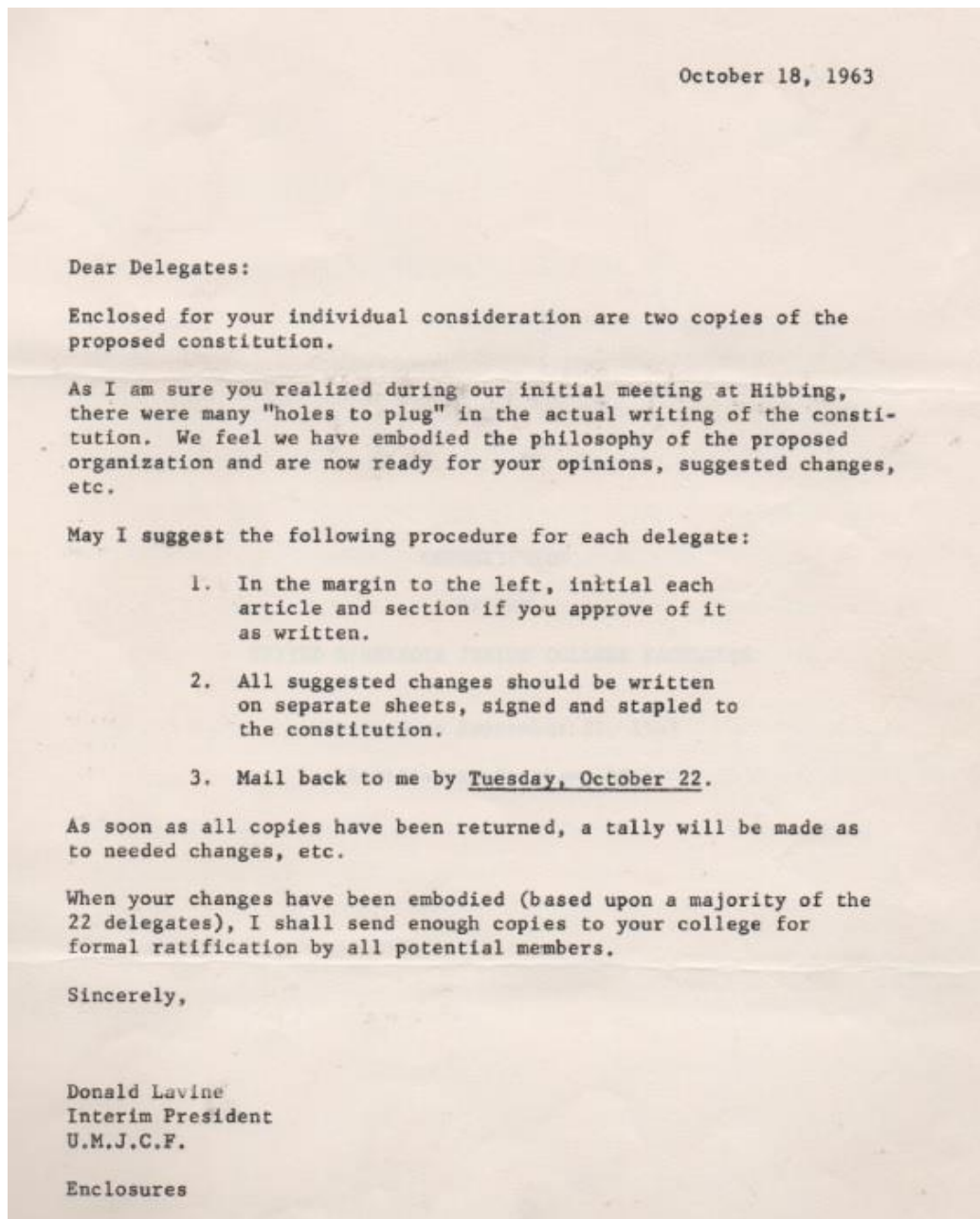
June 24, 1963
3:15 P.M. Room 242
Mac Lean Hall

ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING
ATTENDANCE

<u>Name</u>	<u>Mailing Address</u>	<u>College</u>
1. W. B. Treumann	Box 61	Moorhead State College
2. R. W. Detrick		Hibbing Jr. Col.
3. B. J. Golzen		Hibbing J. C.
4. H. H. Whitwell		Hibbing Junior College
5. Joseph Kise		Fergus Falls College
6. H. L. Collins	1110 N. Marion	Fergus Falls J. C.
7. Don Horkeom	3905 5 th Ave, N.W.	Rochester Jr. College
8. Ethel Erma	1301 - 1 st St. SW. Rochester, Minn.	Rochester Junior College
9. Monte McFadin	23 Seventh Ave SW Rochester Minn.	Rochester Junior College
10. Donald W. Hinz	Worthington, Minnesota	Worthington Jr. College
11. Ernest A. Guld	1040 Sunset Road Worthington, Minnesota	Worthington Jr. College

	Mailing Address	College
12.	Roll Peterson 9 Mad Lake trailers, Mt. Iron	Virginia Jr. Col.
13.	C. Don Miller 146 East Chapman, Ely, Minn.	Ely Junior Col.
14.	Jim Wigner 814 7 Ave SW Rochester, Minn.	Rochester Junior College
15.	Gerald H. Paul 1013 8 Ave. S.E. Rochester, Minn.	R. J. C.
16.	Joe Rockinbach 727 14 th St + N.W. Rochester, Minn.	
17.	Robert O. Wise Jr. 963 14 th Ave. S.W. Rochester, Minn.	
18.	S. W. Ihlenfeldt 1897 Liberty St.	Marquette, Wis.

Original Letter from UMJCF President Donald Lavine



Original Door Sign of the MJCFA

MINN. JUNIOR COLLEGE FACULTY ASSN.



Architects of the Strike -
MCCFA President Jim Durham and MEA President Don Hill (1979)



Architects of the Merger -
MCCFA President Larry Litecky and Senate Majority Leader Roger Moe (1995)

APPENDIX S

1963 MJCFA Welfare Committee Survey

1963 MJCFA Welfare Committee Survey

General Working Condition Statements	Yes	No
Tenure		
1. Only new beginning teachers should be put on probation	25	2
2. Teachers who have had many years in the profession should not have to qualify under any probationary regulation	27	0
3. All teachers should have to serve some type of probation	0	27
Sick Leave		
4. Should be accumulative at the rate of one day per month	20	7
5. Should accumulate to become indefinite with no severance	3	24
6. Should accumulate to a maximum of 90 days with severance pay	17	10
7. Teachers with many years of service in the system should be granted the sick leave they have accumulated until a new policy can be set up	27	0
Health and Sickness Insurance		
8. Recommend to the board to provide Minnesota Blue Cross and Blue Shield	27	0
9. Board to retain teachers present plan until new arrangements can be made	27	0
Salary Schedule		
10. Should be based on other state college schedules	1	26
11. Retain the local schedule as set up in the public school system	18	9
12. Develop a new separate junior college schedule	27	0
School Calendar		
13. Should coincide with other state colleges	0	27
14. Should be controlled by local administration	20	7
15. A new uniform schedule should be worked out for all junior colleges	7	20
Class Load		
16. A policy of class load should be determined by the state board not to exceed 15 hour maximum	27	0
Summer School and Night School Teaching		
17. Controlled by the local administration	27	0
School Day		
18. Controlled by the local administration	7	20
19. Should be left up to the discretion of the teacher	20	7
Extra Assignments		
20. Worked out on local bases	26	1
Retirement		
21. Obtaining a formula plan such as is used for other government employees (MJCFA Survey, 1963).	27	0

APPENDIX T

1956 Faculty Satisfaction Survey

Table A. Minnesota Junior College Faculty Major Satisfactions, 1956

	1956 (N=130)	
	<i>n</i>	%
Nature of the Work		
Association with college students	43	33.1
Helping students grow	25	19.3
Observing students' growth & success	33	25.4
Transmitting knowledge	8	6.2
Working and studying in own field	28	21.5
Opportunities to influence students	12	9.2
Sheer enjoyment of teaching	2	1.5
Range & variety of activities	1	0.8
Other	3	2.3
Working conditions		
Able and well-motivated students	29	22.3
Fine colleagues and administrators	18	13.8
Intellectually stimulating associations	35	26.9
Opportunities for research	1	0.8
Opportunities to attend professional meetings	0	0.0
Desirable environment	2	1.5
Freedom & independence in work	20	15.4
Other	4	3.1
Appreciation & Rewards		
Security (salary, tenure, etc.)	2	1.5
Prestige or general recognition	6	4.6
Sense of social usefulness	11	8.5
Appreciation expressed by students	5	3.8
Recognition by administrators	0	0.0
Personal satisfaction	10	7.7
Other	1	0.8

Adapted from Stecklein, J.E., & Eckert, R.E. (1958). *An exploratory study of factors influencing the choice of college teaching as a career*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

Table B. Minnesota Junior College Faculty Major Dissatisfactions, 1956

	1956 (N=130)	
	<i>n</i>	%
Demands of the Work		
Too heavy class load	12	9.2
Too long hours	8	6.2
Too much preparation	9	6.9
Too much work outside teaching	19	14.6
Excessive committee work	7	5.4
Too much red tape and routine duties	12	9.2
No time for study	6	4.6
No opportunities for research	3	2.3
Other	7	5.4
Working conditions		
Poor or unmotivated students	19	14.6
Poor faculty attitudes	2	1.5
Narrow interests of colleagues	4	3.1
Poor intra-faculty relations	3	2.3
No policy making by faculty	5	3.9
Poor facilities	5	3.9
No opportunity to attend professional meetings	0	0.0
Classes too large	1	0.8
Other	5	3.9
Appreciation & Rewards		
Poor salary	57	43.9
Low status of profession	4	3.1
Inadequate appraisal of work	1	0.8
Little student appreciation	3	2.3
Little recognition for good teaching	1	0.8
Little appreciation of contributions	2	1.5
Degrees overemphasized	2	1.5
Stress on research too great	0	0.0
Slow promotion	2	1.5
Other	5	3.9

Adapted from Stecklein, J.E., & Eckert, R.E. (1958). *An exploratory study of factors influencing the choice of college teaching as a career*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

APPENDIX U

1968 Faculty Satisfaction Survey

Table A. Reasons Given by Minnesota Junior College Faculty for Selecting Current Positions, 1956 & 1968

	1956 (N=130)		1968 (N=375)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Reasons Related to Type of Institution				
Religious reasons	11	8.7	23	6.1
Assigned	9	6.8	0	0.0
Background	9	6.8	49	13.1
Liked type of college	15	11.6	28	7.5
Contact with students	5	3.8	8	2.1
Age and type of students	8	6.1	59	15.7
Types of associates	5	3.8	5	1.3
General atmosphere	10	8.0	0	0.0
Quality or excellence	0	0.0	6	1.6
Reasons pertaining to job	0	0.0	52	13.9
Other	3	2.3	110	29.3
No Response	67	51.5	0	0.0
Reasons Related to Job Itself				
Suitable position available	24	18.6	NA	NA
Salary	10	7.8	NA	NA
Growth opportunities	7	5.4	NA	NA
Field of choice	27	20.7	NA	NA
Research opportunities	10	8.0	NA	NA
Location	11	8.7	NA	NA
Stimulating job	4	3.1	NA	NA
Working conditions	5	3.8	NA	NA
Reputation of school	12	9.2	NA	NA
Other	4	3.1	NA	NA
No response	42	32.6	NA	NA

Adapted from Eckert, R.E., & Williams, H.Y. (1972). *College faculty view themselves and their jobs*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

Table B. Minnesota Junior College Faculty Desired Changes in Distribution of Time, 1956 & 1968

	1956 (N=130)		1968 (N=375)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Desired Change in Distribution of time				
More for:				
Teaching	29	22.2	127	33.9
Counseling	19	14.9	79	21.1
Other student services	5	3.8	26	6.9
Research and writing	80	61.6	91	24.3
Committee and Adm.	5	3.8	15	4.0
Off-campus service	12	9.2	36	9.6
No response	5	3.8	14	3.7
No Change Desired	NA	NA	84	22.4
Desired Change in Distribution of time				
Less for:				
Teaching	19	14.6	43	11.5
Counseling	11	8.5	13	3.5
Other student services	7	5.4	24	6.4
Research and writing	1	0.7	8	2.1
Committee and Adm.	45	34.6	151	40.3
Off-campus service	10	7.7	12	3.2
No Response	36	27.7	71	18.9
No Change desired	19	14.6	84	22.4

Adapted from Eckert, R.E., & Williams, H.Y. (1972). *College faculty view themselves and their jobs*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

Table C. Measures Recommended for Improved Minnesota Junior College Faculty Recruitment, 1956 & 1968

	1956 (N=130)		1968 (N=375)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Recruitment & Preparation				
Publicize opportunities	27	20.8	28	7.5
More scholarships & financial aids	26	20.0	0	0.0
Better "selling" efforts by faculty	15	11.5	0	0.0
Better counseling & guidance	17	13.1	0	0.0
Better pre-service training	6	4.6	0	0.0
Encourage	0	0.0	24	6.4
Provide stimulating atmosphere	0	0.0	20	5.3
Offer better professional courses	0	0.0	25	6.7
Other	7	5.4	0	0.0
Program Adjustments				
Reduced Workloads	12	9.2	54	14.4
More time & money for research	9	7.0	9	2.4
Improved working conditions	9	7.0	54	14.4
Stress on quality of teaching	5	3.8	0	0.0
More clerical & other help	3	2.3	0	0.0
Other	15	11.6	0	0.0
Increased Rewards				
Higher salaries	78	60.0	205	54.7
More prestige for faculty	7	5.4	0	0.0
More recognition of good teaching	4	3.1	0	0.0
Better security (tenure, retirement)	11	8.5	0	0.0
Other	10	7.7	0	0.0

Adapted from Eckert, R.E., & Williams, H.Y. (1972). *College faculty view themselves and their jobs*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

Table D. Suggested Measures to Improve Minnesota Junior College Faculty Retention, 1956 & 1968

	1956 (N=130)		1968 (N=375)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Program Adjustments				
Lighten workloads	23	17.7	92	24.5
Better atmosphere for work	16	12.3	40	10.7
More time for research	4	3.1	0	0.0
More time for study & preparation	4	3.1	0	0.0
Better facilities	8	6.1	30	8.0
Improve in-service programs	0	0.0	13	3.5
Other	9	6.9	0	0.0
Faculty-Adm. Relations				
Sustain academic freedom	10	7.7	43	11.5
More policy-making by the faculty	1	0.8	40	10.7
Better communication	3	2.3	0	0.0
More cooperative or competent administration	1	0.8	18	4.8
Other	4	3.1	0	0.0
Increased Rewards				
Higher salaries	93	71.6	174	46.4
Increased prestige for college teachers	9	6.9	0	0.0
More recognition of good teaching	12	9.2	12	3.2
More security and fringe benefits	13	10.0	0	0.0
Increased provisions for study leaves	5	3.8	0	0.0
Promotions and other recognition based on merit	11	8.5	0	0.0
Commendation for individual achievement	4	3.1	0	0.0

Other

10

7.7

0

0.0

Adapted from Eckert, R.E., & Williams, H.Y. (1972). *College faculty view themselves and their jobs*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

APPENDIX V

1980 Faculty Satisfaction Survey

Table A. Total Satisfaction Levels of Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty, 1956, 1968, & 1980

Total satisfaction	1956	1968	1980
High (Very satisfied + Satisfied)	86.2%	86.7%	88.1%
Low (Undesirable + Very Undesirable)	6.9%	4.8%	9.0%
Uncertain	4.6%	8.0%	2.2%

Adapted from Willie, R., & Stecklein, J.E. (1982). A three-decade comparison of college faculty characteristics, satisfactions, activities, and attitudes. *Research in Higher Education*, 16(1), 81-93.

Table B. Characteristics (Gender, Highest Degree Earned, & Age) of Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty, 1956, 1968, & 1980

	1956 (N=130)		1968 (N=375)		1980 (N=134)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Male	91	70.0	278	74.1	101	75.4
Female	39	30.0	97	25.9	33	24.6
No Degree	1	0.8	2	0.5	0	0.0
Bachelor's	22	16.9	62	16.5	21	15.7
Master's	102	78.5	304	81.1	104	77.6
Doctorate's	5	3.8	7	1.9	9	6.7
Under 25	3	2.3	NA	NA	1	0.7
25-34	29	22.3	NA	NA	14	10.4
35-49	48	36.9	NA	NA	94	70.1
50-64	44	33.8	NA	NA	24	17.9
>65	6	4.6	NA	NA	1	0.7
Median age	45		41		42.8	

Adapted from Willie, R., & Stecklein, J.E. (1982). A three-decade comparison of college faculty characteristics, satisfactions, activities, and attitudes. *Research in Higher Education*, 16(1), 81-93.

Table C. Distribution of Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Time and Activities Faculty Spent No Time On, 1956, 1968, & 1980

	1956 (N=130)		1968 (N=375)		1980 (N=134)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Distribution of Faculty Time						
Teaching activities	97	74.6	319	85.1	107	79.9
Counseling	10	7.7	37	9.9	7	5.2
Other Student Services	8	6.2	0	0.0	1	0.7
Research & Scholarly Writing	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.7
Committee and Adm. Duties	10	7.7	14	3.7	7	5.2
Off-campus Services	4	3.1	5	1.3	1	0.7
Activities Faculty Spent No Time On						
Teaching activities	0	0.0	NA	NA	3	2.2
Counseling	11	8.5	NA	NA	34	25.4
Other Student Services	32	24.6	NA	NA	90	67.2
Research & Scholarly Writing	97	74.6	289	77.1	106	79.1
Committee and Adm. Duties	18	13.8	NA	NA	39	29.1
Off-campus Services	49	37.7	NA	NA	77	57.5

Adapted from Willie, R., & Stecklein, J.E. (1982). A three-decade comparison of college faculty characteristics, satisfactions, activities, and attitudes. *Research in Higher Education*, 16(1), 81-93.

Table D. External Factors Influencing Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Career Choice, 1956, 1968, & 1980

	1956 (N=130)		1968 (N=375)		1980 (N=134)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
High School Staff Member	6	4.6	15	4.0	0	0.0
College Teacher	30	23.1	78	20.8	2	1.5
College Adm. or Counselor	27	20.8	68	18.1	1	0.7
Parents, relatives, or friends	18	13.8	34	9.1	0	0.0
Graduate Assistantship	18	13.8	53	14.1	4	3.0
College Teaching Job Offered	63	48.5	137	36.5	9	6.7
G.I. Benefits Aid	20	15.4	35	9.3	0	0.0
Armed Forces Training	3	2.3	5	1.3	0	0.0
Spouse in same career	1	0.8	8	2.1	0	0.0
Just "Drifted" into College Teaching	12	9.2	47	12.5	2	1.5
Other	15	11.5	0	0.0	5	3.7
No Response	7	5.4	0	0.0	0	0.0

Adapted from Willie, R., & Stecklein, J.E. (1982). A three-decade comparison of college faculty characteristics, satisfactions, activities, and attitudes. *Research in Higher Education*, 16(1), 81-93.

Table E. Internal Factors Influencing Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Career Choice, 1956, 1968, & 1980

	1956 (N=130)		1968 (N=375)		1980 (N=134)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Interest in subject warranted continuation	44	33.8	85	22.7	7	5.2
Work with college students	94	72.3	240	64.0	17	12.7
Job with security and prestige	23	17.7	52	13.9	0	0.0
Contribution to field through teaching	40	30.8	137	36.5	4	3.0
Pursue research activities in field	16	12.3	28	7.5	0	0.0
Contribution to society in area	43	33.1	113	30.1	6	4.5
Liked working conditions	58	44.6	235	62.7	12	9.0
Be part of academia and social life	24	18.5	105	28.0	1	0.7
Desired to emulate certain professor	10	7.7	33	8.8	1	0.7
Intellectual challenge	59	45.4	169	45.1	7	5.2
Other	11	8.5	38	10.1	33	24.6
No Response	2	1.5	0	0.0	30	22.4

Adapted from Willie, R., & Stecklein, J.E. (1982). A three-decade comparison of college faculty characteristics, satisfactions, activities, and attitudes. *Research in Higher Education*, 16(1), 81-93.

Table F. Minnesota Two-Year College Faculty Attitudes Towards Their Academic Career, Readiness to Reaffirm Academic Career Choice, and Attitudes Toward Collective Bargaining, 1956, 1968, & 1980

	1956 (N=130)		1968 (N=375)		1980 (N=134)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Faculty Attitudes Toward Their Academic Career						
Very Satisfied	40	30.8	163	43.5	49	36.6
Satisfied	72	55.4	162	43.2	69	51.5
Indifferent	6	4.6	30	8.0	3	2.2
Dissatisfied	3	2.3	6	1.6	8	6.0
Very Dissatisfied	6	4.6	12	3.2	4	3.0
No Response	3	2.3	2	0.5	1	0.7
Faculty Readiness to Reaffirm Academic Career Choice						
Yes	90	69.2	308	82.1	95	70.9
No	18	13.8	15	4.0	14	10.4
Uncertain	21	16.2	53	14.1	25	18.7
No Response	1	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Faculty Attitudes Toward Collective Bargaining						
Highly Desirable	NA	NA	232	61.9	61	45.5
Desirable	NA	NA	↑	↑	40	29.9
Uncertain	NA	NA	94	25.0	13	9.7
Undesirable	NA	NA	↓	↓	5	3.7
Highly Undesirable	NA	NA	49	13.1	10	7.5
No Response	NA	NA	NA	NA	5	3.7

Adapted from Willie, R., & Stecklein, J.E. (1982). A three-decade comparison of college faculty characteristics, satisfactions, activities, and attitudes. *Research in Higher Education*, 16(1), 81-93.

Table G. Major Satisfactions Listed by Minnesota Community College Faculty, 1980

*Total % is calculated by assigning first order scores x3; second order scores x2; third order scores x1 for total student counts/402

Sources	First		Second		Third		Total (N=402)*	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Students	62	46.2	21	15.7	9	6.7	237	59.0
Faculty	5	3.7	14	10.4	10	7.5	53	13.2
Administration	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.2	0.7	1	0.2
Intellectual environment	6	4.5	9	6.7	8	6.0	44	10.9
Work characteristics	24	17.9	38	28.4	17	12.7	165	41.0
Nature of work	18	13.4	15	11.2	7	5.2	91	22.6
Personal development	2	1.5	11	8.2	3	2.2	31	7.7
Recognition	2	1.5	3	2.2	3	2.2	15	3.7
Other	13	9.7	12	9.0	15	11.2	78	19.4
No response	2	1.5	11	8.2	61	45.5	89	22.1
Total	134	100.0	134	100.0	134	100.0		

Adapted from Willie, R., & Stecklein, J.E. (1982). A three-decade comparison of college faculty characteristics, satisfactions, activities, and attitudes. *Research in Higher Education*, 16(1), 81-93.

Table H. Major Dissatisfactions Listed by Minnesota Community College Faculty, 1980

*Total % is calculated by assigning first order scores x3; second order scores x2; third order scores x1 for total student counts/402

Sources	First		Second		Third		Total (N=402)*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Students	5	3.7	5	3.7	3	2.2	28	7.0
Faculty	1	0.7	4	3.0	0	0.0	11	2.7
Administration	14	10.4	25	18.7	7	5.2	99	24.6
Intellectual environment	7	5.2	3	2.2	6	4.5	33	8.2
Work characteristics	31	23.1	20	14.9	5	3.7	138	34.3
Support	3	2.2	6	4.5	6	4.5	27	6.7
Salary	54	40.3	9	6.7	5	3.7	185	46.0
Lack of extrinsic rewards	5	3.7	2	1.5	2	1.5	21	5.2
Other	11	8.2	14	10.4	6	4.5	67	16.7
No response	3	2.2	46	34.3	94	70.1	195	48.5
Total	134	100.0	134	100.0	134	100.0		

Adapted from Willie, R., & Stecklein, J.E. (1982). A three-decade comparison of college faculty characteristics, satisfactions, activities, and attitudes. *Research in Higher Education*, 16(1), 81-93.

Table I. Percentage of Time Devoted to Instruction, Counseling, Student Services, Research, Administrative Activities, and Off-Campus Services, 1980

	0-9%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40-49%	50-59%	60-69%	70-79%	80-89%	90-100%
Time devoted to instruction	2.2	1.5	1.5	2.2	0.7	6.7	9.7	16.4	26.9	32.1
Time devoted to Counseling	69.9	27.6	4.5	1.5	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Time devoted to Student Services	37.3	3.7	3.0	1.5	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Time devoted to Research	93.3	6.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Time devoted to Administrative Activities	73.9	15.7	8.2	0.0	0.7	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Time devoted to Off-Campus Services	92.5	5.2	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Adapted from Willie, R., & Stecklein, J.E. (1982). A three-decade comparison of college faculty characteristics, satisfactions, activities, and attitudes. *Research in Higher Education*, 16(1), 81-93.

APPENDIX W

1987 MCCFA Internal Assessment Survey

1987 MCCFA Internal Assessment Survey

Academic factors	% strongly agree/ tend to
Instructors have adequate representation in curriculum development groups	85.4
Instructors often work together developing inter-disciplinary curricula	40.0
Instructors have adequate teaching equipment available in or near their rooms	51.8
Instructors treat students with respect	96.9
The Campus President encourages and rewards educational experimentation	46.4
Instructors in this college feel their work is important	88.2
Current availability of classrooms in adequate	16.8

Working condition factors	% strongly agree/ tend to
I have an excessive teaching load	44.8
The MCCS has reasonable policies on summer school teaching	71.0
Instructors at this college can disagree on issues but still remain friends	81.4
There should be released time for membership on certain standing committees	73.9
I have confidence in the method of awarding salary increases	70.4
The Evaluation System as increased my effectiveness as a teacher	29.3
The administration is more concerned with business than with education	67.1
I feel secure in my position at this college	73.1
The Faculty Handbook as it is now maintained is functional	59.0
The Campus Administration views faculty evaluation as a means for self-improvement	57.3
I am confident I will not be discriminated against by arbitrary actions	58.7
Instructors help determine policy regarding scheduling and placement of students	53.6
Instructors are assigned nonteaching tasks at this college	19.6
Our Campus President deals with criticism of instructors in a professional manner	64.3
Working under the present evaluation system is very frustrating	37.2
The administrative and support staff are friendly and cordial	89.4
Instructors in this college are quick to help each other	82.3
The Campus Dean of Instruction supports efforts to upgrade the educational program	73.2
The Campus Dean of Student Services is well prepared to perform his function in this college	63.6
Our Campus President rarely praises a job well done	43.7

Governance factors	% strongly agree/ tend to
The administration welcomes faculty opinion	57.8
The Shared Governance system is working well	52.8
We are seldom consulted about policy revisions that are under consideration	54.0
Faculty input should be increased in planning course offerings	80.9
Instructors help determine policy regarding scheduling and placement of students	53.6
The Campus President keeps the promises he makes to instructors	59.6
Instructors in this college willingly speak up and defend their point of view	83.3
We are encouraged to make constructive suggestions regarding college policy	63.2

Overall satisfaction statements	% strongly agree/ tend to
I am often unhappy and frustrated with my present job	26.9
My morale is good	77.0
Faculty morale in this college is good	58.4
Instructors are kept “in the dark” about many things they should know	58.7