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Leadership in Policy Issue Networks: The New Community College of Baltimore

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LEADERSHIP IN POLICY ISSUE NETWORKS:
THE NEW COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE

by

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ABSTRACT

LEADERSHIP IN POLICY ISSUE NETWORKS: THE NEW COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE

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The policy-making process is a complex human endeavor characterized by interactions among leaders and followers who do leadership by placing policy innovations on the political agenda and utilizing their resources to attempt change. If innovative change is accomplished, then the new policy must be implemented at the local level, in ways which may or may not reflect the intentions of those who desired the change, or those who created the new policy.

This research focuses on an example of policy making in state government in the area of postsecondary education. The objectives of the study were to determine how coalitions form during the policy-making process, the ways in which leaders and followers enter and leave those coalitions, and the degree to which a systems model explains the process in this case. The study was also intended to examine the role of values in the policy-making process.

The researcher utilized qualitative methodologies to explore the chronology of events in the takeover by the state of Maryland of the Community College of Baltimore, a small, urban college which attempted to serve the educational needs of underprepared students, primarily from the African-

American community. The study includes information on the ways in which the policy was implemented at the college.

The findings of the study indicate that coalitions form and are maintained on the basis of core values, and that two systems models together are more helpful in explaining the policy-making process than either of them is alone. The researcher concluded that policy issue networks on the state level are made up of coalitions of leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes. These coalitions may remain in place after the policy-making process has been completed, and may play a significant role in the successful implementation of innovative policies.

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DEDICATION

This study is respectfully dedicated to

the students of the New Community College of Baltimore

past, present and future

who represent our best hope

and to my loving family and friends

for their unwavering support

And so the silences that wait sometimes
Like a tired giant thinking, so they all
Return and go, then come again and fall,
Evenly, unevenly, as rhymes
Rival the pure chimes
Of never-ending truth, that for so long
Has sung to such as me this undersong.

Van Doren (1960), "Undersong," Morning Worship

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CHAPTER ONE

STATEMENT OF THE ISSUE

Liberty is to faction what air is to fire, an ailment without which it instantly expires. (Madison, 1787)

The most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distince interests in society. . . .The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government. (Madison, 1787)

Introduction

Educational policymaking has been studied, for the most part, in connection with the venue which has had primary responsibility for a particular educational level. At the K-12 level, for example, local school boards implement policies developed by state legislatures, so K-12 educational policy research has focused on the policy-making process at the state and local levels. Where K-12 systems are impacted by federal legislation or rulings, such as Brown v. Board of Education in 1954 which struck down the concept of "separate but equal" educational systems for Anglo-Americans and other ethnic groups, primarily African-Americans, researchers have studied the nature of the impact of these rulings or policies on local and state levels.

In general, higher education policies are the responsibility of state boards, which work with legislative committees to prepare and present bills which affect colleges and universities. As in K-12 policies, research has been conducted on the policy-making and implementation processes when federal

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statutes or rulings impinge on colleges and universities.

Few researchers, however, have reported on the involvement of state legislators in educational policy making in higher education. Ordinarily, state legislators who have been involved in educational issues were teachers or administrators, school board members, or individuals who have an interest in educational issues. The majority of these legislators have been involved in the formulæ used to arrive at funding figures for K-12 education. There has been little crossover between educators involved in K-12 issues and those involved with higher education.

Purpose of Study

In this study, I present models and theories of policy making which are intended to be of practical interest to legislators and to members of state boards or commissions of higher education, and of theoretical interest to political scientists and educators who are involved in research on issues involved with higher education. I agree with Edward Lawler that

> Theory and practice are not competing mistresses. Indeed, research that is useless to either the theoretician or the practitioner is suspect. If it is useful to the practitioner but not the theoretician then one must wonder whether it is a valid finding and whether it has addressed the correct issue. If it is useful to the theoretician but not to the practitioner, then one must wonder whether the research is capturing a critical issue. . . .If it fails either of these tests, then serious questions should be raised. (1985, p. 4)

This study arose from my interest in analyzing a case study which I had

written concerning the takeover by the state of Maryland of a small urban community college, which had previously been funded by the city of Baltimore. In the course of meeting with administrators, politicians and educators to discuss the policy-making issues and processes illustrated in the case study, I became convinced that passage of Senate Bill 381 by the Maryland House of Delegates in one legislative session could best be studied through policy-making models.

In April, 1990, I visited Annapolis, Maryland, just after the passage of Maryland Senate Bill 381, creating the New Community College of Baltimore. I had the remarkably good fortune to have dinner with the Secretary of Higher Education for the state of Maryland, Dr. Shaila Aery, who discussed some of the complexities of getting the bill introduced and passed within one legislative session. The writing and passage of SB 381 had occupied Aery's attention since the fall of 1989, and she was willing to discuss her involvement in the design of community college education for urban students, mostly African-American, in Baltimore. In addition, Aery perceived the importance of research in policy making and implementation with regard to higher education, and was willing to provide me with access to key persons who had worked with her to get SB 381 passed.

I met with and interviewed these people during the fall of 1990, and they were both willing and able to provide a wealth of information about their involvement in the process. As I analyzed their contributions and wrote a case study of the passage of SB 381, I noted interactions among a number of coalitions, some formal and some informal, involving many persons who could be described as leaders and the followers whom they mobilized. I observed

how these leaders and followers "did leadership," (Rost, 1991, p. 109), and how some of these individuals switched roles on occasion as the process continued. The structures and procedures of any legislative body "encourage deliberation, collegial decisionmaking, dissent, openness, participation, and accessibility. These qualities lead to the need for coalition politics at every stage of the process and they underscore the importance of bargaining and accommodation" (Oleszek, 1978, p. xiv).

As I analyzed the case study, I began to think in terms of models which would help me to organize my thinking about the policy-making process. Allison's models of policy making, which he described as *rational*, *organizational* and *political*, held part of the key, but something was missing (Allison, 1971). I began to look for other models, preferably systemic in scope, which could provide a framework for analysis of the process as well as the outcome of policy making on the state level.

In the course of this research project, I have examined and analyzed systems, organizational, political, and leadership models of policy making. I found that systems models offered the strongest framework in analyzing this example, despite the weakness of a global approach which neglects small, day-by-day interactions. I found the concept of policy issue networks, a term first coined by Hugh Heclo and later adapted by Paul Sabatier, a professor of political science at the University of California at Davis, to be most compelling as an analytical tool. However, Sabatier designed his model for use in the analysis of federal, rather than state, policy making, and required that the analysis take a long time frame (measured in decades) into account. I also examined Tim Mazzoni's policy-making model, which described issue networks

as a stressor on the system, rather than as the primary vehicle in which policy making is driven.

I was interested in whether I could adapt any of these models to the state level, and to an analysis involving a fairly short time frame. In particular, I wanted to investigate whether state policy makers formed or entered policy issue networks on the basis of core and secondary values, as postulated by Sabatier. The purpose of this research is to analyze the utility of models based in part on the concept of issue networks to examine the policy-making process involved in the passage of SB 381, and to determine how well these models describe the implementation of this bill in the creation and operation of the New Community College of Baltimore.

The four goals of this study are to:

1. Discuss the policymaking process through an analytical narrative;

2. Describe and analyze several models of educational policy making, and discuss their theoretical and practical strengths and weaknesses in connection with the policymaking process in community college higher education at the state level;

3. Discuss implementation as part of the policy-making process through an analytical narrative; and

4. Contribute to studies of leadership for the twenty-first century.

Research Questions

The first researcher to use the phrase "issue networks" was Hugh Heclo (1978), who was not satisfied with the traditional "iron triangle" model of policy making. The iron triangle model described policy makers as members of

the bureaucracy, key legislators, or leaders of powerful special interest groups, and excluded the possibility of involvement by others in the process. Heclo's work was expanded by Paul Sabatier, who intended his model for use in the analysis of federal, rather than state, policy making, and required that the analysis be conducted over a time frame of at least ten years.

Part of my reason for focusing on Sabatier's model is that it emphasizes the role of values in the formation of these networks, and part of the reason is my long-held interest in a systems approach to analysis, not in the rather mechanistic and quantitative sense in which systems theories are sometimes presented, but in a holistic approach which might make it possible to bring "greater theoretical coherence to the multilevel, multimethod approaches emerging in policy analysis and evaluation, as well as providing vital links to complementary studies in institutional economics, and macro- and organizational sociology" (Daneke, 1990, p. 47).

I was interested in the use of models as frameworks within which policy analysis could take place, and specifically in the degree to which systems-based models could answer the needs of analysts for an overarching model or theory. Models and theories seem to act not only as structural frames between facts and paradigms, but also as sieves or filters through which certain facts are included in a given paradigm while others are excluded (Seashore, 1985, p. 62). If Sabatier's model is the model of choice, able to be used both as a frame and also as a filter, I want to investigate the degree to which it could be adapted to the state level, and to an analysis of an ongoing, rather than a retrospective, issue. If Sabatier's model cannot be adapted, or does not prove satisfactory for the purposes of this study, perhaps Mazzoni's model, or some other model

already in the literature, would serve better. If none of the policy-making models in the literature prove useful in this study, then I want to create a model which might provide more insight into the making of policy.

My research centered around the following questions:

1. a.   Do state legislators form or enter policy issue networks on the basis of core and secondary values?

1. b.   What is the nature of the personal values around which policy issue networks form?

2.   How do policy issue networks interact on the state level in policymaking?

3.   How do members enter and leave these networks?

4.   How do leaders and followers do leadership within the networks?

5. a.   Can Sabatier's model best explain the policy-making process in the creation of the New Community College of Baltimore?

5. b.   If not, what model explains the process better?

Definitions

The following definitions give the reader an understanding of how I am using these words.

Boundaries: Human-created circumscriptions of activity or involvement. According to Levine, boundaries function to maintain the status quo (1980, p.12).

Competence: The condition of being able to perform tasks and functions which measure up to an arbitrary set of standards in a given situation. Standards for implementation are set, both formally and informally, by

powerholders in the policy-making and implementation processes. These powerholders determine recognized levels of competence. Sometimes competence is related to an individual's skills; sometimes it is more closely related to the match between the requirements of the situation and an individual selected to function within that situation (Bardach, 1977).

Cultural capital: "The capacity to decipher and manipulate complex structures" through language which, along with a richer vocabulary, results in the success of the dominant culture group's offspring (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977, p. 73). In the case of higher education at an urban community college, cultural capital refers to the skills possessed by members of the dominant group which are regarded as important for subordinate groups to acquire. Fluency in standard English is an example.

Emic: Concepts understood from an informant's inside viewpoint.

Etic: Concepts understood from an outsider's viewpoint.

Goals: The commonly accepted purpose and direction of the organization, which are reflective of organizational values and attained according to organizational norms (Levine, 1980, p. 11).

Grounded inferences: "Statements of relationships between variables that stay close to the action and frequently become hypotheses for further exploration" (Spindler & Spindler, 1987, p. 31).

Implementation: "A process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieving them" (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984, p. xx).

Leadership: "An influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes" (Rost, 1991, p. 102).

Nomethetic: Lawful generalizations regarding a body of knowledge,

derived quantitatively and as part of a positivistic paradigm (Thompson, 1989, p. 27).

Norms: "The commonly prescribed guides to conduct in the organization--means of communication, patterns of authority and control, rules of membership, and all the other characteristics that describe the way people should interact" (Levine, 1980, p. 11).

Policy: Although the concept of policymaking seems self-explanatory, in fact the definition of policy varies in part according to the paradigm in which one operates. A fairly qualitative definition is: Statements about practice--the way things could or should be--which rest upon, derive from, statements about the world--about the way things are. They are intended to bring about idealised solutions to diagnosed problems. Policies embody claims to speak with authority, and they legitimate and initiate practices in the world, and they privilege certain visions and interests. They are power/knowledge configurations *par excellence* (Ball, 1990, p. 22). A more quantitative definition is: "A decision to act which is made in the name of a particular social group, which has complex implications, and which constitutes an intent to influence the group members by the provision of sanctions" (Mayer & Greenwood, 1980, p. 5). In this study, I will use the first definition, since it underlines the complex interactions of policy, power and knowledge.

Policy analysis: Ten years ago, a noted scholar defined policy analysis as "the study of the nature, causes, and effects of alternative public policies" (Nagel, 1980, p. 15). Recently, that same scholar has changed his definition to "[the determination of] which of various alternative public or governmental policies will most achieve a given set of goals in light of the relations between

the policies and the goals" (Nagel, 1990, p. 1). This second definition is much more process oriented than the first. In addition, it acknowledges the importance of the match between policies and goals, as well as the fact that the analyst may have to be content with which of several alternatives provides the best match among several which do not provide an optimal match. I use Nagel's 1990 definition in this study.

Policy culture: "The meanings, values, and norms regarding the purposive actions of government as these mental phenomena are externalized in the overt behaviors and material vehicles of individuals and groups" (Smith, 1988, p. 207).

Policy decisions: Such decisions involve what Mayer and Greenwood describe as "intended courses of action at the highest or most inclusive levels of decision making," and incorporate "consideration of complex implications anticipated from the proposed action" (1980, p. 4).

Political: In this study, I have adapted Iannaccone's definition: "That segment of social life involving the activities and relationships of individuals, groups, and associations resulting in, or intended to result in, decisions by any governmental policy-making body" (1967, p. 4). I include those activities and relationships leading to, or intended to lead to, decisions by many policy-making bodies, formal and informal, governmental and nongovernmental.

Praxis: Transformative actions "which will yield the search for a just and equal state" (Foster, 1986, p. 18)

Pressure: "A method or a category of methods that may be used by an interest group to achieve its objectives" (Truman, 1971, p. 39). Further described by Bardach as "Bargaining and maneuvering, pulling and hauling in

the policy-adoption process and in the policy-implementation process" (1977, p. 38). Bardach's definition gives more of the flavor of pressure being exerted.

Program: "An activity or group of activities undertaken by a government to provide a service to the public" (Hatry, Winnie & Fisk, 1973, p. 8).

System: "A complex of elements in mutual dependence" (Iannaccone, 1967, p. 12).

Undertaking: "A course of action that duly constituted officials of government pursue in order to preserve or alter a situation in the social system in such a way that the results are consistent with a goal or goals decided upon by them or their predecessors" (Rosenau, 1968, p. 222).

Values: "The commonly shared beliefs and sentiments held by people," either as individuals or as part of an organization (Levine, 1980, p.11).

Background: Modernism and Postmodernism

The industrial revolution in nineteenth century Europe provided the means by which twentieth century America was shaped. However, the roots of this revolution lie in the sixteenth century, in the period known to historians as the Renaissance, when the holistic universe of medieval Europe was rent by discoveries in the physical world that promised to give scientists and engineers the ability to dominate the natural world. By the nineteenth century, these discoveries had begun to produce what Marshall Berman described as "the maelstrom of modern life," involving many factors, including:

> Great discoveries in the physical sciences, changing our images of the universe and our place in it; the industrialization of production, which transforms scientific knowledge into technology, creates new human

environments and destroys old ones, speeds up the whole tempo of life, generates new forms of corporate power and class struggle; immense demographic upheavals, severing millions of people from their ancestral habitats, hurtling them halfway across the world into new lives; rapid and often cataclysmic urban growth; systems of mass communication, dynamic in their development, enveloping and binding together the most diverse people and societies; increasingly powerful national states, bureaucratically structured and operated, constantly striving to expand their powers; mass social movements of people, and peoples, challenging their political and economic rulers, striving to gain some control over their lives; finally, bearing and driving all these people and institutions along, an ever-expanding, drastically fluctuating capitalist world market. (1988, p. 16)

Commentators have been writing about America since its inception as a great experiment in democracy, seemingly free from the stratifications of class which rigidified Europe, and blessed with natural resources with which to build a modern society. Alexis de Tocqueville wrote about the potential for individualism to overcome American mores of commitment, which he described as "habits of the heart," and saw as more powerful than laws or circumstance in the shaping of the democracy (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler & Tipton, 1985, p. 37). This battle between individualism and commitment to the democratic state rages on today, and one field of that battle is the system of postsecondary education through community colleges, intended to provide opportunities for ordinary people to acquire the tools by which achievement could be substituted for ascription "as the ideal basis for the distribution of

rewards in contemporary society" (Katz, 1988, p. 105).

At issue here is the sort of democracy which we, the citizens who make up the democratic polity, intend to create and maintain. The grounding for these issues centers around legislative policy making; our wishes are inevitably made flesh through the legislative process, through the creation and maintenance of programs for which we, the taxpayers, are willing to pay. The questions remain:

> Should the individualism that Tocqueville found regnant in the 1830s and that many conceived to be synonymous with American liberty remain the dominant motif of church and school teaching, or should it be leavened by the communal emphasis at the heart of Washington Gladden's Social Gospel and John Dewey's social philosophy? Should equality mean the cultivation of the most talented in the nation's colleges and universities, or the nurturance of the average, or the compensatory encouragement of those long discriminated against?. . .In sum, how should the legitimate but often unclear and conflicting demands of liberty, equality and comity be resolved in and through programs of education? And who, in a nation where education had moved to the heart of politics, should do the resolving? (Cremin, 1988, p. 13)

This discussion, then, centers around the nature of the common good, and around the means by which that good is expressed within the democracy. We, as citizens, create and recreate the democracy through a myriad of decisions, and in each decision, expressed politically through the legislative process, answer the question of "what kind of America [is] worth having, what kinds of men and women would constitute that America, and what kinds of educational arrangements would bring such men and women into being"

(Cremin, 1988, p. 39).

Background to the Creation of the New Community College of Baltimore

The legislation in question, Senate Bill (SB) 381, was part of a higher education package discussed by Maryland Governor William Donald Schaefer during his 1988 gubernatorial campaign. Schaefer had served two terms as mayor of Baltimore, which is universally described as "Baltimore City" by local journalists and writers, to separate its interests and concerns from those of Baltimore County. Schaefer was responsible for the renovation and redevelopment of the Inner Harbor area of the city while he was mayor, and his relations with the Community College of Baltimore were distant and sometimes strained. During his first gubernatorial campaign, however, Schaefer discussed his plans to overhaul the higher education system in such a way as to provide educational opportunities to Maryland's underserved populations (mostly African-Americans) which tied in with the state's economic plans and foci.

Postsecondary education had become a top priority in Maryland after World War II, with legislators and businessmen agreeing that "education seemed to be the golden door to individual and social improvement" (Callcott, 1985, p. 105). Until 1954, however, the golden door was open mainly to white Marylanders. This northernmost of the segregated states had established a legal code that called for blacks to be

> segregated by law into separate parts of town, separate railroad cars and buses, separate parks and sporting events, separate restaurants, water fountains and toilets, separate hospitals and jails, and, usually, separate stores and separate menial jobs. Baltimore was the only major city in the

nation which had legally separated blocks for black and white residents. (Callcott, p. 145)

Despite the iron strictures of racism, by the mid-1950s Baltimore was home to a large number of relatively prosperous blacks, who had developed their own strong sense of community. In fact, two years before the watershed Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court ruling, Baltimore's superintendent of schools had persuaded the school board to admit fifteen black students to the prestigious Baltimore Polytechnic High School. In 1954, Maryland became the first legally segregated state to accept integration, a full year ahead of mandatory compliance (Callcott, p. 151).

In 1962, Governor J. Millard Tawes appointed a commission which recommended a "tripartite system of higher education: the University of Maryland would be at the top, six state teachers colleges would be elevated into liberal arts institutions to occupy the middle, and an indefinite number of community colleges would reign below--all to be coordinated by an advisory Commission for Higher Education" (Callcott, p. 180). By 1988, this Commission had become the Maryland Higher Education Commission, known as "M-HECK" to Commission members and those who testified at regular meetings and hearings on issues concerning postsecondary education.

Of course, governors delegate responsibility for the implementation of their policy proposals to members of their staffs. Schaefer established a cabinet-level position of Secretary for Higher Education in 1989, and appointed Dr. Shaila R. Aery to the post. Aery had spent some time in a similar position in Missouri, where part of her program consisted of assisting in the state takeover of a small teachers college in St. Louis, Harris-Stowe. Her experiences in

Missouri served her in good stead as she determined that the Community College of Baltimore (CCB) stood out from all other Maryland community colleges in its precipitous drop in student enrollment, and in the disastrous relations among administrators, faculty and state bodies charged with overseeing the college.

In some respects, CCB resembled hundreds of other urban community colleges within the industrial Northeast. The college, founded immediately after World War II, served the needs of returning veterans who wanted to take advantage of the GI Bill to obtain postsecondary education. In the forty years since, the demographics of the student body had changed to reflect increasing numbers of black inner-city residents. These students, frequently underprepared for college-level work, presented new requirements for remediation and preparation to these urban colleges. However, commentators agree that community colleges represent the best hope these students have for acquiring the skills and cultural capital of America's middle class, which translate fairly directly into their opportunity for advancement within today's postmodernist environment.

The old manufacturing jobs which provided men with high-paying jobs with or without educational and technical skills are gone, and the consensus is that they will not return. Too many Third World countries stand ready and eager to provide manufacturing capability at far less cost than unionized American workers used to earn. As the United States moves towards the twenty-first century, workers require the skills and abilities of those who can successfully manipulate information, not sheet metal. Enlightened self-interest walks hand in hand with the philosophical desire for democracy, since "the job structure is

demanding increasingly high levels of higher order skills in workers, and it is vital to business that these skills are possessed by entry-level workers" (Hodgkinson, 1983, p. 7). The American Creed, defined fifty years ago by Gunnar Myrdal (1958), demands that we provide equal opportunities to acquire those skills to all, regardless of class, caste, ethnicity, gender or race, to name a few of the divisive factors in our society today.

Affirmative action programs are increasingly divisive in this culture, as whites resist the set-aside of jobs, scholarships or entry for minorities who have felt the bitter scourge of racism and discrimination. In fact, these programs backfire if their result is to enable whites to dismiss members of target groups as able to obtain employment or entrance only on the basis of membership in a minority group. The ultimate racism lies in the widely-prevalent belief that a rather mediocre and ill-prepared black candidate for some important position represents the best that the African American community has to offer.

What is required, then, is not a plethora of affirmative action programs, but a leveling of the playing field of opportunity, and that playing field lies within the grounds of urban community colleges. However, many factors intrude on the ability of those colleges to serve underprepared students who have emerged from the horrific urban school systems with which Jonathon Kozol and other urban reformers have familiarized us (Decker, 1969; Fader, 1971; Jones, 1972; Kohl, 1969; Kotlowitz, 1991; Kozol, 1975, 1991; Rothman, 1971).

The collapse of the manufacturing base of the industrial Northeast has produced a series of fiscal emergencies, even bankruptcies, in Northeastern cities. New York, Newark, Pittsburgh and Baltimore have all undergone wrenching changes as their industrial tax bases have evaporated. Community

colleges, intended to be funded and controlled by a local education authority, have seen their funding sources dry up as the American economy has changed directions. Students who might have sought to advance through education at their local community colleges have found increased class size and tuition bills along with decreased numbers of programs and/or classes. A permanent underclass now exists, made up primarily of inner-city people of color, resulting in urban areas that are increasingly ungovernable (Auletta, 1982).

The Community College of Baltimore was clearly unable to meet the needs of a student body drawn largely from that underclass. Enrollments had fallen nearly 50% over a ten-year period, at the same time other community colleges in Maryland had experienced a 25% increase ("Governor William Donald Schaefer," 1990, May 2). Baltimore City's shrinking tax base had rendered it unable to continue funding the college. The obvious choice, was to close the school, despite "the great political difficulty in closing a public institution of higher education [which results in] the legislature [serving] as their heart-lung machine" (Hodgkinson, 1985, p. 15). In this case, the legislative machine had not even been wheeled into the operating room.

Leadership, however, is a process characterized historically by making choices other than the obvious. Both Schaefer and Aery were determined not to close off a pathway by which Baltimore's black youth could enter the world of productive employment. The question was how to engineer changes in the governance and functioning of CCB to revitalize the institution.

In this study, I use case study methods to describe the state takeover of the college, the implementation of the legislation responsible for the takeover, and models which offer insight into the processes of leadership,

policymaking and implementation. I have placed this case in context as much as possible, following Pettigrew's statement:

> We have to bring socioeconomic and political contextual factors into our analyses, not only because they are in today's world so empirically crucial but also because incorporating such a broad treatment of context into our analyses will release organizational analysis from much of the misdirected and in many cases impotent managerialism that informs "theories" guiding management practice. (1985, pp. 242-243)

Underlying the specifics of policy making and implementation in this case is the leadership process, involving leaders and followers and their intentions to accomplish real change. In the absence of leadership, one can surmise that enrollments would have continued to drop at CCB and that the college would have closed its doors. In the presence of leadership, the Community College of Baltimore has indeed closed, but in its place is the New Community College of Baltimore, positioned to offer education and training which will provide opportunities to Baltimore's youth into the next century.

Of particular importance is that this example of policy making was accomplished at least in part because of a vision of transformational leadership which was shared by leaders and followers. No one could argue that in this case leaders and followers had raised the argument to a higher moral level; continued funding for an urban community college in Baltimore is clearly the right thing to do. My hope is that this report will serve as a road map to others involved in making postsecondary opportunities available to all, but particularly to those who might otherwise be consigned to America's permanent underclass.

Background Assumptions

This study falls into the research type described by Egon Guba and Yvonna Lincoln as "naturalistic inquiry" (1985 , pp. 39-43). As discussed by Nancy Zeller, the assumptions which underlie such a study include the following:

- The researcher studies multiple realities holistically.

- There is, of necessity, an interactive relationship between those who do a study (or conduct research) and those who are studied.

- The causes of human events are complex, and the effects which result are intertwined with those causes.

- Such an inquiry is value-laden.

Values underlie the hermeneutic paradigm, as well as the case under investigation. Within that paradigm, I believe that it is not possible for the researcher to remain objective, or to attempt to stand outside of the project. Researcher and subjects interact in the course of a naturalistic inquiry, and the interactions themselves are part of the investigation. In my opinion, a research report should include some description of those interactions, and of the settings in which they occurred.

I spent a considerable amount of time during this investigation thinking about my own biases, background assumptions and values, since these are issues of critical importance in this study. I tried to consider the effects of my biases on data collection and analysis, and in particular have attempted to avoid what Hayakawa described as "slanting," in favor of a presentation of multiple points of view (Hayakawa, 1964, p. 43). I think of the researcher's task as examining those points of view, and making transparent to the reader the

means by which meaning is derived from them. I have tried to avoid "impalement on one or the other horn of a critical dilemma: Either he [/she] will be called down for having presented mere facts without conceptualization; or, if he [/she] fits facts into a preconceived theoretical framework, he [/she] will suffer the critical wrath of those who espouse other general theories and say he [/she] has chosen facts to fit pre-existing ideas of his [/her] own" (Holt, 1978. p. 310).

Researchers whose work lies within a positivistic paradigm attempt to distance themselves from the setting, and one of the ways in which that is evidenced is the use of objective, third-person writing. Zeller discussed the appropriate use of what she terms "new journalism" in writing the report of a naturalistic inquiry; she cited the importance of a vivid, lively writing style, and the importance of the use of first person, in order to keep the researcher visible within the investigation (1987, p. 1). I agree with her positioning of new journalism at the juncture of objective and subjective writing styles, although I do not prioritize these styles hierarchically (see Figure 1). A better representation might be a continuum, with objective writing at one end and subjective writing at the other, and with each of the other writing styles overlapping along the continuum. New journalism, in which the use of the first person is critical, would lie somewhere near the center of the continuum. In this report, then, I use the first person both for its ability to keep the report as lively as possible, and also for its placement of me-as-researcher within the research scene. The study should be a product of the evaluation process, rather than a record of it (Zeller, 1987).

New Journalism
Ethnography   Nonfiction novel
Discourse in the humanities   Naturalism
Philosophical treatises   Social realism
Technical reports in social sciences   Blank verse
Technical reports in biological sciences   Epic poetry
Technical reports in physical sciences   Lyric poetry

Objective writing styles   Subjective writing styles
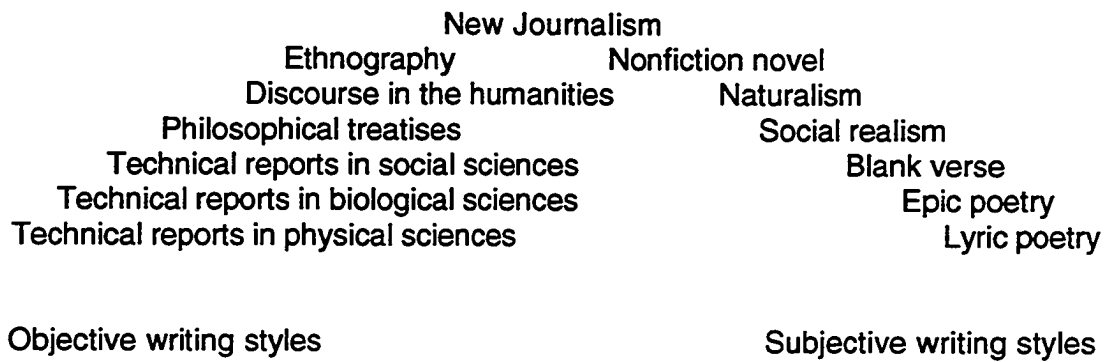
Figure 1.   Fictivity and understandability in writing styles. Adapted from

Zeller, 1987, p. 68

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Moral dilemmas are aspects of basic questions of social hierarchy and human purpose which haunt all men [and women] in an age when inherited institutions and customary relationships no longer appear natural, inevitable, immutable. . . . Toward what ends should human capacities be directed? (McNeill, 1963, p. 801)

Good and wise men [and women] in all parts of the world have seldom counted for more, for they can hope to bring the facts of life more nearly into accord with the generous ideals proclaimed by all--or almost all--the world's leaders. (McNeill, 1963, p. 807)

Introduction

I deal with three major areas in this literature review: leadership, policymaking, and community colleges as a particular branch within postsecondary education. Each of these areas has a history that is reported in the literature, and embedded within the industrial paradigm. Within each area, scholars and practitioners have learned "the way we do things," which has generally reflected the hierarchical and masculine power structure and point of view which prevails.

Each area also has a future, however, in which the industrial paradigm has given way to the postindustrial, and in which we are called to proceed within an increasingly diverse culture. Old ways of knowing, seeing, and doing must inevitably give way to new ways, and these particular areas of interest are on point. My discussion of the industrial and postindustrial paradigms is intended to link this project with that body of knowledge which has been

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regarded as true heretofore, and to show the direction toward which that body is headed in the last decade of the twentieth century.

Leadership is the process by which intentional change is argued; policymaking is the process by which the instruments of those changes are designed and implemented; and, in this case, the community college system is the venue in which those processes occurred. In many instances, explanations of these areas in the literature have been simplistic in the extreme.

Leadership, policymaking and change are complex, dynamic processes, which take place within complex and dynamic institutions. Theories and models of these processes have themselves been rooted within the industrial paradigm, and have shown themselves to be inadequate in providing the needed perspective or "way of seeing" that enables us to derive meaning from seeming chaos (Foster, 1986a, p. 12).

The dynamic qualities of leadership and policy making are best described by references to the literatures of many disciplines, including anthropology, biology, literature, natural sciences, and philosophy. In this regard, I have followed the pathway of what Zeller (1987) described as "the new journalism," since illumination on such complex issues is best informed by reference to multiple bodies of knowledge, rather than any one alone. I have attempted throughout this document to place knowledge and events within a scene, rather than reporting data in isolation (Zeller, p. 93). I have also followed Zinsser's (1990) guidelines on writing itself, aiming for a style of simplicity and clarity to discuss issues which are complex and murky.

Leadership

The industrial paradigm within which leadership studies have been written in the past began to be shaped in sixteenth century Europe, when philosophy and theology began to reflect an increasingly anthrocentric point of view as we began to try to understand life by studying parts of life (Hubble, 1991). Walk across the piazza towards the Vatican, and one sees the sixteenth century point of view frozen in marble for millennia. No blade of grass breaks through the expanse of marble. Bernini's colonnade of male human figures directs the eye and person towards the Vatican itself, crowned by Michelangelo great Renaissance dome. Inside the Vatican, marble statues of humans, mostly men, reflect the Renaissance belief in the supremacy of (European) people over nature. The sixteenth century viewpoints of human control over natural forces, of reality as discrete and knowable, and of mankind as the pinnacle of the forces of creation, are the underpinnings of the industrial paradigm.

One of my difficulties in analyzing the philosophical and theological bases for Renaissance anthrocentrism is that I am overwhelmed by the beauty of the artistic works in which these bases are codified. Michelangelo technical skills as sculptor, painter and architect combined with the sixteenth century's focus on the human body as the peak of creation to produce artistic works of breathtaking beauty. When I stood before the Pieta in St. Peter's basilica in the days before it was placed behind bulletproof glass, I was overcome by the sense of resignation to a higher order and will, which Michelangelo had codified in a piece of stone.

The society in which we live offers great creature comforts to the majority

of its members, and those comforts can be traced in a direct line to the development of technology, begun in the fifteenth century, on which our capitalist economy is based. As Europeans came increasingly to live in great cities, particular problems of drainage, water supply, construction, and production came to the fore, and inventors devised technical ways to overcome these problems (Braudel, 1979a, p. 434). Progress in technological innovation was neither swift nor unopposed; as Braudel stated,

> Historians are often criticized for misusing the word *revolution* which, it is argued, ought to be used in the original sense, to refer only to violent and rapid change. But when one is talking about social phenomena, rapid and slow change are inseparable. For no society exists which is not constantly torn between the forces working to preserve it and the subversive forces--whether perceived as such or not--working to undermine it. Revolutionary explosions are but the sudden and short-lived volcanic eruptions of this latent and long-term conflict. In any attempt to analyse the revolutionary process, the most difficult part is always making the connection between the long and the short-term, recognizing their relationship and the links between them. The industrial revolution is no exception. It consisted both of a rapid sequence of events and of what was clearly a very long-term process: two different rhythms were beating simultaneously. (1979b, p. 538)

In fact, more than two rhythms beat together in any discussion of the nature of good, of progress, of paradigms. In the latter part of the twentieth century, we exist within two paradigms simultaneously, in a swirling, constantly-changing vapor of industrialism and postindustrialism.

Nevertheless, we can identify the components of both paradigms, regardless of which dominates in any given situation.

Within the industrial or positivistic paradigm, social reality is held to exist independent of human beings, as physical reality does. Absolute truth is concrete, discrete, and knowable, and knowledge is best studied through deductive hypotheses. Rost discussed how the viewpoints of the industrial paradigm have ordered leadership studies in the past:

> Analyzed individually or in toto, these leadership theories have been (1) structural-functionalist, (2) management-oriented, (3) personalistic in focusing only on the leader, (4) goal-achievement-dominated, (5) self-interested and individualistic in outlook, (6) male-oriented, (7) utilitarian and materialistic in ethical perspective, and (8) rationalistic, technocratic, linear, quantitative, and scientific in language and methodology. (1990, p. 27)

These viewpoints have been reflected in the leadership models based on the principles of management devolved during the industrial revolution which became the driving economic force of Europe and the North American continent during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The metaphor for industry was the well-oiled machine, designed by an inventor to solve a mechanistic and rational problem, and operated by men within an organization ordered by "a structure appropriate to the goals, the environment, the technology, and the participants" (Bolman & Deal, 1984, p. 31).

Industrial psychologists such as Taylor (1911), Fayol (1919/1946), Urwick and Gulick (1937) focused on "developing a sense of principles for managers about specialization, span of control, authority, and delegation of responsibility"

(Bolman & Deal, 1984, p. 30). At the same time, the German sociologist Max Weber (1921) formulated principles by which organizations could move beyond the control of a single, patriarchal figure who operated on personal whim. Weber's model of bureaucracy showed how to replace the particular desires of a patriarch (such as Bob Crachit's boss in Dickens' A Christmas Carol, Ebenezer Scrooge) with the more objective and general needs of a modern organization.

Leadership as a phenomenon began to be studied early in the twentieth century, about the same time Weber was outlining the tenets of a modern bureaucracy. Early leadership scholars outlined the great man theory, in which studies centered around those few great men (and a few women, thrown in for good measure) who were thought to possess leadership qualities, examined retrospectively on the basis of some event(s) believed to show those qualities. Researchers pored over biographical data in the hopes of uncovering those special attributes by which leaders could be recognized.

By the 1930s, the idea of a great man born to leadership had given way to a search for leadership traits, still thought to be inborn, but shared by larger numbers of people. Neither the context within which leadership took place nor the process itself was thought to be important. Interestingly, although the trait theory of leadership was challenged by Stodgill in 1948 on the basis of exclusion of change within the definition of leadership, it lives on today in the work of excellence theorists, who include such traits as "high energy, trustworthiness, charismatic persona, visionary purpose, honest communication, [and] obsession with goals" as critical to leaders (Rost, 1990, p. 18). Peters and Waterman (1982) are among the best-known of these writers.

As the search for leadership traits proved elusive, researchers in the 1950s turned to the examination of behavioral acts by which leadership could be identified; at Ohio State and Michigan, researchers developed factorial models with which leaders were supposed to be able to assess their rankings on "consideration," dealing with the degree to which the leader was people-centered, and "structure," dealing with goal achievement and task orientation. A leader was supposed to occupy the quadrant of the grid indicating high rankings on both measures, leading to the accomplishment of the leader's goal. Put another way, leaders were to be trained to use people instrumentally to accomplish some task, leading to a measurable output.

In 1967, Fiedler published his contingency theory, in which leaders were told to analyze existing situations and alter their behaviors to match the situation. Fiedler believed that the leader's style is unchangeable, so that organizations should seek to match the particularities of their situations with a leader's style, either by changing leaders, or by changing organizational conditions. The organizational goals outlined by Fiedler are short-term rather than long-term, and followers are regarded as passive tools whom the leader could use to accomplish those goals.

This passive notion of followers gave way during the late 1960s and early 1970s to a number of studies which described the importance of getting followers to buy into the leader's point of view. Hersey and Blanchard's definition of leadership serves as an example of this idea: "Leadership is the process of influencing the *activities of an individual or a group in efforts toward goal achievement in a given situation*" (1972, p. 68, emphasis in the original). For example, in House's (1971) view, the task of the leader was to define a path

toward which followers could move to achieve organizational goals. Other examples included decision charts and trees, which were designed to assist leaders to identify and follow a critical leadership pathway, depending on whether the correct decision-making process was thought to be autocratic or democratic (Vroom & Yetton, 1973); and grids, designed to help leaders match situations and styles (Blake & Mouton, 1978).

Other scholars studied whether leadership took place in a dyadic relationship, with leaders singling out particular subordinates who gain influence and autonomy in exchange for loyalty and assistance to the leader, resulting in an influential "in group" which assists the leader in controlling the organization (Graen & Cashman, 1975). Sociologists such as Sonja Hunt (1984) developed attribution theories which stated that followers generalize about leadership on the basis of individual assumptions regarding leadership behaviors, and use those generalizations to make sense of events and organizations. In these studies, the definition of leadership is secondary to the importance of how followers and others attribute leadership to certain people.

By the 1980s, practitioners of the excellence school of leadership had rolled many of these concepts and theories into one grand theory, in which charismatic individuals with certain leadership traits choose leadership behaviors that enable them to "do the right thing" in a given organizational circumstance by motivating followers to do what the leader want. Practices such as responsibility charting (Galbraith, 1973) and Management by Objectives (MBO) were designed to help leaders to understand formal and informal structures within organizations. As excellence scholars such as Peters and Waterman outlined the need for leaders to persuade followers to do what

they wanted, MBO gave way to MBWA: Management by Walking Around.

Lest the reader get the idea that, as one area of leadership was discredited or fell out of favor, another sequentially took its place, I should point out that, like old soldiers, old leadership ideas never die. In fact, they don't fade away, either. Sales of popular studies of such industrial leaders as Lee Iaccoca (1984) (or, for that matter, Atilla the Hun) (Roberts, 1987) demonstrate that the great man theory is alive and well. Ken Blanchard's (1985) enormously successful series on managing employees in one minute or less is based on the premise that a leader can reinforce desired behavior by matching his/her response to the specifics of a given situation, without prolonged engagement with followers. Leader traits and behaviors have been studied within the last ten years by Bennis and Nanus (1985), Kotter (1988), Kouzes and Posner (1987), and Maccoby (1981). Contingency theories were updated by Hunt (1984) and Fiedler and Garcia (1987). Bass (1985) and Conger (1989) continued to write about charismatic leadership.

All of the studies discussed so far can be grouped under a "manager as leader" umbrella, in which leadership is positional within a hierarchical organizational setting. As Rost pointed out, "leadership scholars and practitioners were playing an industrial tune. . .[and] the melody they sang was "Ode to Industrialism," wherein the central theme was the leader as good manager. . . .The basic distinction between just plain management and good management does it" (1990, pp. 93-94).

The first leadership study to point in a different direction was Selznick's Leadership in Administration, published in 1957. Readers today must overlook

Selznick's continuous use of the masculine pronoun in order to see that, for the first time, a leadership researcher was placing as much emphasis on followers as on leaders. In addition, Selznick discussed the role of the leader in *"the promotion and protection of values"* (1957, p. 28, emphasis in the original). He also discussed the fact that leadership is not necessarily positional, and not required for all organizational social processes.

Within a political framework, James MacGregor Burns' Leadership, published in 1978, has proven to be truly revolutionary within leadership studies. Burns is a political scientist, who examined the biological, sociological, psychological and political roots of leadership. His book has roots in the great man theory, demonstrated by his analyses of the great political leaders of the Second World War, but breaks new ground with his definition of leadership:

> *Leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers.* (p. 18, emphasis in the original)

In this definition, Burns acknowledged that followers' motives are intertwined with those of the leader. The leader here is not using people to accomplish what the leader wants; s/he regards followers as people, not as objects. In addition, Burns included the political concepts of competition and conflict as intrinsic to the process of leadership.

Burns' primary contribution to leadership studies is the differentiation between two types of leadership: transactional, in which leaders and followers intend an exchange of valued goods, and transformational, in which the leader

attempts to raise the goals of followers to a higher moral plane. Transactional leadership, according to Burns, follows the well-known political model in which leaders assess followers' goals, motives and needs, and attempt to satisfy them to the extent necessary to obtain some desired thing, such as votes. Transformational leaders, on the other hand, are "moral but not moralistic. Leaders engage with followers, but from higher levels of morality; in the enmeshing of goals and values both leaders and followers are raised to more principled levels of judgment. . . .Much of this kind of elevating leadership asks *from* followers rather than merely promising them goods" (1978, p. 455). In Burns' view, ethics, power and values are all essential components of transformational leadership.

This idea of leadership as a process in which both leaders and followers are engaged to achieve mutually-held purposes was revolutionary. Followers are now an active part of leadership, and both followers and leaders play a part in setting the goals to be met. I found potential areas of disagreement with Burns on three points: (1) the nature of power and its relationship to leadership (are power-wielders leaders?); (2) the degree to which his definition is gender-bound (Burns himself simply stated that he had never considered including women in his studies); and (3) whether or not the goals set by leaders and followers had to be met for leadership to have occurred (Burns stated that they did, but I disagree).

The question of power is interesting, in that power resources are certainly mobilized by leaders and followers, yet at some point authority, which contributes to those resources, shades into power wielding, which removes the element of choice from the leadership stew. Virgil Blanke defined power as "the

ability to create and maintain a dominant coalition which can mobilize resources, get others to accomplish a plan, prevent having that plan modified in undesirable ways, and induce most members to accept the dominant coalition's decisions as binding" (Blanke, n.d., p. 176). This definition of power is relational, as is Anthony Gidden's:

> Power within social systems can thus be treated as *involving*
> *reproduced relations of autonomy and dependence in social interaction.*
> Power relations therefore are always *two-way,* even if the power of one
> actor or party in a social relation is minimal compared to another. Power
> relations are relations of autonomy and dependence, but even the most
> autonomous agent is in some degree dependent, and even the most
> dependent actor or party in a relationship retains some autonomy.
> (1979, p. 93, emphasis in the original)

The idea of power as relational has "a descriptive and a normative aspect: one is never neutral in calling a relation 'power'" (Burbules, 1986, p. 104). The descriptive aspect enables one to identify and call out situations in which others may not perceive power relationships. The normative aspect underscores the conflict that is inherent in power, since "power is not simply a matter of getting people to do things (or not do things), but a relation of human attitudes and activities against a background of conflicting interests" (Burbules, 1986, p. 104).

Blanke differentiated between power and authority, with authority defined in terms of structure, and perceived as resting in an individual within a given structure. An individual can then give authority to an individual (as in an employment situation, wherein the employee gives authority to her/his

supervisor) or to a group (as in the more hidden authority which each citizen grants to doctors, judges, and teachers), with relational power created as a result.

Blanke also differentiated between various sorts of power. In a situation which he calls *power over*, the privilege enjoyed by the dominant coalition is key.

> Symbolic status, which clearly distinguishes the privileged and separates them from the powerless, is crucial if one is to maintain a system using power over. The major motivator is intimidation induced by fear [of bodily harm or death, violence, or public humiliation]. . . .Rewards go primarily to members of the privileged class [and] all the planning and invocation in decision making is the right of the privileged class and those few members of the second class who have given their authority to the privileged. (pp. 177-178)

In a power over system, then, a dominant class, which Blanke believed is created by birth (as in a feudal aristocracy) but which could also be created by might (as in revolution), rules over one or more subordinate classes. If such a society is to survive beyond its early years, members of subordinate classes must come to accept their status as inevitable, or most of the resources of the society will continually be required to maintain the dominant class's position. In fact, some members of subordinate classes will be co-opted and given special privileges (which can be withdrawn at the whim of the dominators) in return for assisting in the maintenance of the class structure. The obvious co-optees are members of an army or police force who help to maintain order over their fellow subordinates; the less obvious are ministers, who inculcate into subordinates

an acceptance of their role, and teachers, who inculcate into children those values which support the status quo.

It is not difficult to find examples of power over systems in the world today, or in the world which existed in the recent past. Eastern Europe under Stalin's iron fist, South Africa when Steven Biko was murdered by police, Iran under the Ayatollah Khomeini, China as seen in Tienamen Square, and Iraq under Saddam Hussein are all power over systems, in which resistance by members of the underclass brings torture or death.

In a *power through* system, structured organizations accumulate enough energy and authority to accomplish the dominant coalition's plans, and intimidation is cloaked (as in the ability to terminate someone's employment). Blanke cited both the American military establishment and the Roman Catholic Church as examples of such a system, in which a "managerial elite [applies universal rules] in a just system which rewards people who produce and punishes or does not reward people who are relatively unproductive" (Blanke, p. 182). The sort of bureaucracy described by Max Weber (1921) is a power through system. Since less naked power is required to keep subordinates in line, less psychic energy is needed to maintain the system, but much more competition exists, since subordinates have some means at their disposal to raise their own status or their children's status.

Blanke described the role of coalitions in a power through system, with greater power accruing to coalitions which are central, immediate, and which engage in activities for which no substitute can be found. He stated that competition between coalitions is inevitable. This implies that subordinates can learn how this system works, and join or mobilize coalitions which will increase

their power resources. In such a situation, subordinates will "become more aggressive or assertive in their relationships with other human beings. Competence and competition are the keys to gaining power. The powerless are perceived as stupid, lazy, and too soft. . . .The powerless doubt their own competency and hate themselves. Guilt and incompetence are the negative feelings of the powerless" (Blanke, pp. 184-186).

Dominators in a power through system don't want to have to expend power resources unless they have to, and social norms which give legitimacy to the status quo can help to "render power relations more impersonal and reduce the tensions associated with the exercise of impersonal power" (Blanke, p. 188). In establishing these norms, evaluative procedures for resource allocation and use will assist the dominant class "to deal with the uncertainly of power and the art of politics" (Blanke, p. 190).

We don't have to look far for examples of power through systems. Almost all American business organizations, educational institutions, and political organizations utilize this model. This may be the source of some of Robert Bellah's discomfort with political activists, who work with subordinate groups to gain the knowledge and competencies to join coalitions and mobilize power resources, but fail to question the power through system in which they are working (Bellah et al., 1985, pp. 17-20). Clearly the dominators in the American society of the late twentieth century are white males; subordinate groups include most women and most people of color, although lively discussion takes place whenever the power through system is debated as to how those subordinate groups rank. In 1992, I think men of color and white women vie for second class status, with women of color below them and social outcasts who

violate society's norms (such as the homeless, people with AIDS, our cities' permanent underclasses, homosexuals, and convicts, among others) at the bottom of the heap.

Power with systems are described by Blanke as supportive, collaborative, trusting, cooperative environments in which "competition and entrepreneurship take a back seat to collaboration and helpfulness. . . .The major motivators are a desire for an active participation in one's life, a feeling of belongingness in the groups with which one is identified, a sense of human potential in all people, and the valuing of cooperation rather than competition" (Blanke, p. 194). I am reminded of the high school students interviewed by Carol Gilligan, who regarded these concepts as "hippie" or impractical at best (1989, p. xxii).

The last time students saw a major mobilization of power with systems in America was in the communes of the late 1960s, most of which disbanded as their members came up against the fact that "freedom demands confrontation and mutual responsibility. A power with system can be equitable and very productive if cooperation is linked with confrontation" (Blanke, p. 198). However, Blanke did not discuss other costs connected with the power with systems, such as the amount of time required for lengthy process methods of decision making, and the same sorts of "internal blinkers" that Bellah et al. (1985) discussed in connection with lifestyle enclaves.

Finally, Blanke described *power against* systems, in which the focus is on the powerless. Leaders of the powerless use "disconfirmation" through nonviolence or terrorism to throw the powerful off guard, in an attempt to disrupt the system completely. Either revolution or war is a possible outcome if the

powerful attempt to crush the effort; however, as the civil rights movement in America demonstrates, massive social change is also a possible outcome. Blanke cited the need for the majority of the people in the system to believe in its injustice for these strategies to work effectively: "The issue and the target must be clearly addressed and must be seen as unjust to the general population. It is the general population and their [sic] advocates that the dominant coalition fears, not the aggressively powerless" (Blanke, pp. 209-210). Leaders of power against systems must be ideological, in that they "live the strategy," and pragmatic, as they determine whether to use violent or nonviolent means.

These power systems, then, underlie the power resources which leaders and followers must mobilize in order to achieve Burns' "real, intended change." The nature of the power system must be ascertained before one can answer the question raised by William Schultze: "Is there a power elite or establishment which holds the ultimate political power in this country?" (1971, p. 397) In the sense of power-over or power-against systems, the answer is "no." However, photographs of the current or past members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, along with members of the federal judiciary and cabinet-level administrators, reveal that persons of color and women, are not, for the most part, members of whatever passes for a power elite in the United States. Their power lies in discontinuous centers of power and resistances (Pal, 1988, p. 152).

In the postsecondary establishment in the United States, white males still form the dominant group, particularly in administration, with women and people of color forming subdominant groups. The power relationships among these

groups must be considered in several settings: within the relationship between legislators and state administrators, within the relationship between state and institutional administrators, and specifically for this study, within the institution itself, the [New] Community College of Baltimore. Each of these areas alone, or any combination, could serve as a source of structural change (Boyd, 1991, p. vii; Brint & Karabel, 1989, p. 219; Willie, 1991).

In addition to power systems, one must also consider the role of conflict in the system. Burns, whose leadership model is political to the core, acknowledged that leaders and followers compete for scarce resources through competition and conflict with other groups of leaders and followers, and implied that, in times of abundant resources, both competition and conflict will be lessened. However, a certain amount of competition and conflict also occur within a group, requiring that members of the group resolve these conflicts before they can compete effectively with other groups: "Conflict, even severe conflict, can occur within a context of fundamental agreement. The best clarifying analogy is to a game--wherein complete agreement on the fundamentals (rules) enables complete opposition of interests which seek the rewards of the game" (Schultze, 1971, p. 402).

A successful policy-making model must include analytical points where conflict and power are considered. In this study, I have examined both the process and the content of those conflicts, since leadership "should be understood as processual in character, in a constant state of flux, where human agents both constitute and are constituted by the structures in which they find themselves" (Watkins, 1989, p. 30). These conflicts and tensions within the leadership process require a discussion that is both dialectical and critical

(Denhardt, 1981, p. 73).

Several leadership scholars have built on Burns' model of transformational leadership. Bennis (1984) described leadership qualities of vision, communication and alignment of leader and followers' goals as necessary for an organization to develop transformational power:

> The transformative power of leadership stems less from ingeniously crafted organizational structures, carefully constructed management designs and controls, elegantly rationalized planning formats, or skillfully articulated leadership tactics. Rather, it is the ability of the leader to reach the souls of others in a fashion which raises human consciousness, builds meanings, and inspires human intent that is the source of power. (p. 70)

Schein (1985) separated definitions of leadership and management to "link leadership specifically to creating and changing culture" (p. xi). He discussed the mutual involvement of leaders and followers in "a complex interplay between individuals attempting to exercise leadership and group members attempting to solve problems of authority, intimacy, and identity for themselves" (p. 313), and described the painful consequences of discrepancies between theories espoused and theories in use, which precipitate crises when "a public and visible scandal that cannot be hidden, avoided, or denied" arises (p. 289). Schein's discussion, like Burns', requires an examination of values and how they influence organizational culture and the leadership process.

The nature of the vision, and the values on which it is based, is of primary importance to leadership scholars who use a critical definition of leadership, placing the process within the social context in which it occurs. Grob (1984)

described leadership using the metaphor of the midwife, assistant in the birth process but not the creator. The importance of the language with which we discuss leadership was emphasized by Pondy (1978), who stated that *"in placing stress on language overlap and meaning creation, we may be missing an obvious point--that the leader's subtle use of the language may also be an important factor in determining his [/her] effectiveness, both in enhancing his [/her] credibility and in managing the influence process"* (1978, pp. 93-94, emphasis in the original).

Lakoff and Johnson discussed the idea that, in fact, "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language, but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (1980, p. 1). Grob's use of the "leader as midwife" metaphor, then, removes the leader from a position of power over, and places him/her in a position of power with or power through, to use Blanke's terms. In fact, Grob described the process of leadership drying up and becoming "the mere wielding of power on behalf of static ideals" that occurs when leaders fail to examine their own purposes, values and background assumptions (Grob, 1984, p. 270). Grob's notion of leadership is, according to Williams, "a dialogue in a political sphere" (1991, p. 29).

Foster described the essence of leadership as "the desire and attempt to change the human condition. It is a political *and* courageous act to attempt to empower followers. . . .Leadership is conscious of conditions and conscious of change. Its twin concerns of empowerment and transformation focus on the same goals as the spirit underlying critical theory--to release us from our prisons of ideology and to give vision" (1986a, pp. 187-188). He described his

leader's vision in terms of "a just and equal social order," requiring statements of value as part of the dialogue (p. 188).

Within the orchestration of the discussion on leadership, an ostinato on women in leadership, heard *sotto voce*, has been playing since the 1960s, when Carl Degler, reviewing the 1964 edition of Daedalus entitled "The Woman in America," outlined five questions as frames:

> What in history may be said to be enduring, and what is subject to social and historical modification? To what extent is women's psychological life determined by her anatomy and biology, and to what extent can we speak of a specific feminine psychology? What opportunities does American society hold out to its women, and are these appropriate to their needs? What are the special problems and potentials of highly educated women? Are there ways in which women can make special contributions toward the particularly grave dilemmas which now confront the world? (1989, p. 200)

Feminist scholars have attempted to answer the question of whether leadership for women is different in substance or kind than leadership for men, and two basic schools of thought can be discerned within the feminist literature. Carol Gilligan, in her groundbreaking work In a Different Voice (1982), paved the way for what has proved to be an outpouring of materials linked to the old historical premise that women are nurturing, intuitive, collaborative, expressive, interested in process, and operate primarily through an ethic of care, in contrast to men, who are rational, objective, competent, linear, interested in products and goals, instrumental, and operate through an ethic of justice (see Rost, 1988, p. 3, for a discussion of this point of view).

The critical feminist community of scholars, who distinguish between various schools of thought regarding gender, have attempted to clarify the subject of whether women's leadership is inherently different from men's leadership. Jill Conway et al. wrote:

> Implicit in the new definitions of gender is a rejection of the idea that "biology is destiny"--that there is some sort of biological determinism at work in the world and that this force derives principally from sexual difference. The new scholarship emphasized the cultural, social, political, and economic forces that influence social behavior and create specific patterns in the relations between men and women. . . . Gender studies challenge conventional views of male and female attributes in which society is characterized by a division of labor based on the male's characteristic *instrumental* behavior pattern and the female's characteristic *expressive* behavior pattern. (Conway, Bourque & Scott, 1989, p. vii, emphasis in the original).

Conway and her colleagues differentiated between Marxist feminists, who tend to "emphasize the oppression inherent in sexual division of labor," and maternalists, who "insist on the significance of women's experience as mothers and are hostile to the male individualist world view with its limited notion of citizenship" (Conway, Bourque & Scott, p. ix). Now the nature of the "women's way" writings characteristic of one side of this debate becomes clearer. Most of these authors would be described by Conway as maternalists, and as such, their views fit nicely into the present-day conception of male and female gender roles in this culture (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Mason, 1990; J. Miller, 1976; Noddings, 1984; Tannen, 1991). Women

are still expected to fulfill a maternal role, whether or not they work outside the home, and irrespective of social support in such matters as parental leave or child care. Even authors such as Riane Eisler (1988), regarded by some feminists as a radical because of her views about the existence of matriarchal cultures which, according to Eisler, operated on a partnership rather than a dominator model, are really basing their work on the maternalist model of women that "stresses the peaceful nature of women in contrast to the aggressive and combative nature of men" (Degler, 1989, p. 201).

Mary Dietz discussed some of the inadequacies in what could be described as the liberal feminist position, which correlates to Conway's maternalist model. "Maternal feminism criticizes 'statist' politics and individualist persons, and offers in their place the only other alternative it sees-- a politics informed by the virtues of the private realm, and a personhood committed to relational capacities, love, and caring for others" (Dietz, 1987, p. 11). She also foresaw that this maternal feminism would lead inexorably to "reliance on the law, the state, interest groups, and state-instituted reforms as the source of social justice, individual equality, and 'access'" (p. 8).

This discussion implies that leadership for men and for women is best founded on a particular political model, based on mobilization of interest groups and a win-lose philosophy in which limited power and money pies must be divided among many hungry recipients, since "special interest influence is the most familiar way to get needs met, [but] it is also a proven way to disenfranchise less influential, smaller groups and individuals" (Jeffries, 1988, p. 18). This basic concept of groups pitted against each other is reflected in the commonly accepted gender characteristics of instrumental males and

expressive females, but other descriptors can also be added to the list:

Male descriptors	Female descriptors
Individualistic	Nurturing
Engineered	Naturally procreative
Reasoning	Intuitive
Scientific	Natural
Creator	Server
Exploiter	Conserver
Classical	Romantic
Universal human	Biologically specific
Political	Domestic
Public	Private

(after Conway et al., 1989, p. xxix)

The problem with these binary descriptors is that "they obscure much more complex social and cultural processes in which differences between women and men are neither apparent nor clear-cut. Therein, of course, lie their power and significance (Conway et al., 1989, p. xxix).

As Connell points out, "in fact the main finding, from about eighty years of research, is a massive psychological *similarity* between women and men in the populations studied by psychologists. Clear-cut block differences are few, and confined to restricted topics. Small differences--on average, in the context of a very large overlapping of the distributions of men and women--are usual even with traits where differences appear fairly consistently" (1987, p. 170). Even these small differences are contextual, rather than inherent, with masculinity or femininity formed in relation to the experience of living within one's gendered

body, and in relation to the social definitions which arise as we live certain relationships (p. 179).

What is important, then, is the degree to which gender is a critical factor in this society today. The old, familiar ways of looking at gender issues seem unable to assist us to find answers to our problems. Connell goes on to say,

> The scope of gender relations historically is variable, and their power to determine cultural processes in general must be variable too. But a more limited strategic claim may be right. There are likely to be historical moments where the possibility of general change in consciousness and culture depend more crucially on the dynamic of gender relations than on any other social force. It can be argued that we are in such a moment now. (p. 253)

Conway et al. agreed, stating "If it is no longer possible for us to accept the conventional notions of male and female nature, neither can we accept the idea, so congenial to certain psychoanalysis, of 'women's vision and creativity.' These are myths; the categories of male, female, mind and nature need to be completely reconceived" (1989, p. xvii).

Another description of the leader-follower relationship must be included, however, of instances where women's leadership occurred largely through men. Rost raised this point when he stated, "Feminists have not been good at recounting the real leadership exerted by women as wives, lovers, mothers and friends of executives, owners, board members, and sometimes leaders of local, state and national organizations, public and private" (Rost, 1988, p. 9). Personally, I found myself becoming defensive and irritated at having to discuss women's leadership accomplished through men, implying that we women

require men to "front" for us. I heard in my mind, "I did it *my way*, or "you've gotta do it *by yourself*, " to quote an old spiritual. This sort of reaction may account for the dearth of accounts of this type of leadership in the feminist literature, but is also indicative of a requirement for further thought on this subject.

In fact, my defensive reaction got in my way here. When postindustrial leaders and followers do leadership, examples of "with and through" leadership abound. In the past, women did leadership through men because they had no opportunity to do leadership any other way. Rost stated, "This kind of 'with and through' leadership will happen in the 1990s and into the new millenium and may be more prominent than the single actor leadership of the 1900-1980s. Both men and women will do with and through leadership, and not just with the same [gender]. To that extent, there will be lots of women who do leadership with and through men. Likewise, there will be lots of men who do leadership with and through women" (personal communication, February, 1992).

John Gardner, who served under six American presidents in various cabinet-level capacities, acknowledged that leadership is a process in his definition: "Leadership is the process of persuasion or example by which an individual (or leadership team) induces a group to pursue objectives held by the leader or shared by the leader and his or her followers" (1990, p. 1). He also acknowledged the expenditure of effort and energy that are required of the leader ("more than most people care to make"), and distinguished between managers and leaders:

1. They [leaders] think longer term--beyond the day's crises, beyond the quarterly report, beyond the horizon.

2. In thinking about the unit they are heading, they grasp its relationship to larger realities--the larger organization of which they are a part, conditions external to the organization, global trends.

3. They reach and influence constituents beyond their jurisdiction, beyond boundaries. Thomas Jefferson influenced people all over Europe. Gandhi influenced people all over the world. In an organization, leaders extend their reach across bureaucratic boundaries--often a distinct advantage in a world too complex and tumultuous to be handled "through channels." Leaders' capacity to rise above jurisdictions may enable them to bind together the fragmented constituencies that must work together to solve a problem.

4. They put heavy emphasis on the intangibles of vision, values, and motivation and understand intuitively the nonrational and unconscious elements in leader-constituent interaction.

5. They have the political skill to cope with the conflicting requirements of multiple constituencies.

6. They think in terms of renewal. The routine manager tends to accept organizational structure and process as it exists. The leader or leader/manager seeks the revisions of process and structure required by ever-changing reality. (1990, p. 4)

Gardner also included a moral element in his leadership, and discussed power in relation to leaders, but in my opinion fell down in two areas: he included power wielders such as Idi Amin and Adolf Hitler as leaders, although he described their leadership as morally unacceptable, and he stated that *"in a sense, leadership is conferred by followers "* (p. 24, emphasis in the original).

This implies that, once leadership has been conferred, the major responsibility for leadership lies with the leader, and that followers may assume a more passive stance again. This is a very different concept of the leader-follower relationship than that envisioned for feminists by Carolyn Heilbrun, who saw the need for leaders and followers to "question the gender arrangements in society and culture (all societies and all cultures) and work to change them; the desired transformation gives more power to women while simultaneously challenging both the forms and the legitimacy of power as it is now established" (Heilbrun, 1990, p. 3).

Sally Helgeson also wrote of "women's ways of leadership" in terms of continual involvement and engagement of all parties. In addition, she discussed her concept that women have a different view than men of the "big picture," as something that "encompasses a vision of society--they relate decision to their larger effect upon the role of the family, the American educational system, the environment, even world peace. . . .They feel they must make a difference, not just to their companies, but to the world" (Helgeson, 1990, p. 25). I have my usual discomfort with describing this as women's leadership, but agree with the necessity for a larger vision.

The issues of power wielding, positional influence, and leader-vs.-manager are best handled, however, in Rost's definition of leadership as "an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes" (Rost, 1991, p. 102). Rost stated categorically that neither power wielders nor those in authority can do leadership with followers, since both of those conditions imply inability of the followers to choose purposes freely. He, along with Gardner, acknowledged that leadership

can and does arise at any level of society, organization, or group, and discussed the ability of leaders and followers to change places repeatedly in the course of doing leadership. He also stated that "the relationship is inherently unequal because the influence patterns are unequal;" that is, leaders acquire power resources of influence, access to media, competency, knowledge of the political system, and choose to expend those resources in doing leadership with their followers (p. 112).

My concern with Rost's discussion centers around the power resources which are required for leadership, since in our present system, access to situations in which those resources could be acquired is severely limited by white men. In the past, these men, like others at the top of the hierarchy, have proven themselves largely unwilling to assist women or any other subordinate group in the acquisition of those resources. This is hardly surprising, since subordinates' acquisition and mobilization of power resources would probably lead to a diminishing of the power rewards enjoyed by white males today. People who have power and rewards rarely want to part with them, particularly when they make life much more comfortable and calm for the holders. Where women, or people of color, have accumulated the power resources required for leadership, scholars and commentators would do well to discuss how that occurred.

In this study, then, I attempt to analyze leadership as an influence relationship in which leaders and followers intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes. I operate on the belief that, particularly within the field of educational politics in the United States today, most practitioners are most comfortable with what could be described as a masculine model of leadership,

which can be practiced by men or by women. I believe that this model is in common use because most of the policy makers and administrators in postsecondary education continue to be men. An American Council on Education survey of over 2,000 colleges and universities, conducted in 1988, found that only about 10% of these institutions had women presidents, and that their numbers had declined since 1984 (Mooney, 1988, pp. 14-15).

However, this study also involves leaders within the educational policy-making model who appeared to be more comfortable with what could be described as a feminine model of leadership, considerably more process-oriented than the masculine model, and practiced by both men and women. Perhaps it would be helpful to the ongoing discussion if scholars and practitioners were to find new, nongender-related terms for these leadership models.

In the literature today, traditional gender terms are still clearly in evidence, and some researchers continue to report leadership behaviors as feminine (practiced by women) and masculine (practiced by men). Roueche, Baker and Rose, for example, surveyed 950 community colleges to find 50 CEOs whom they described as "blue chippers," and studied these CEOs as well as their administrative teams. They discussed five themes as common to transformational leaders (influence, people orientation, motivation, values and influence) and reported no gender differences on the basis of these cluster dimensions. However, they did find gender differences in leadership behaviors. They reported these behaviors in the following table (See Figure 2); it should be noted that they listed behaviors in the "vision" and "values" categories as showing uniquely feminine characteristics, without any corresponding

behaviors under masculine characteristics. They derived these results from item analysis of the Multifactor College Leadership Questionnaire which they developed; I find their results particularly interesting in light of the fact that the researchers are all men.

LEADERSHIP BEHAVIORS

Feminine Characteristics	Masculine Characteristics
Vision	
Takes appropriate risks to bring about change.	
Influence	
Is able to cause followers to solve problems to work together.	Is characterized by a bias for action.
People	
Demonstrates respect and caring for individual differences.	Rewards others contingent on their effort and performance.
Values	
Builds openness and trust through personal and professional behavior.	

Figure 2. Leadership Behaviors. After Roueche, Baker and Rose, 1989, p. 240

Other researchers, however, have abandoned the use of gender-specific terms for leadership, preferring to describe examples of leadership in terms of the nature of the influence relationship (Astin & Leland, 1991; Twombly, 1991).

Charlotte Bunch, in her introduction to Helen Astin and Carole Leland's study of women leaders, stated:

> They not only shed light on women's specific leadership experience but also point to models for empowering leadership that are applicable generally. This is much richer, more provocative, and more useful material than the debate over whether there are innately female leadership styles. For that is not really the right question. It is more important to ask why there has been so little attention paid to women leaders over the years as well as why the styles of leading more often exhibited by women are particularly useful at this critical moment in history. . . .It is important to break down the mind-set that labels [empowering, cooperative approaches] "feminine," serving to stigmatize it as weak, or less desirable than real leadership, especially at the highest echelons of patriarchal power. (Bunch, 1991, p. xii)

The examples used in these studies involve men and women who demonstrate their involvement in doing leadership, to use Rost's phrase, in ways that bring Lerner's definition of feminism to life: "A system of ideas and practices which assumes that men and women must share equally in the work, in the privileges, in the defining and the dreaming of the world" (1984, p. 33). Many of these leaders and their followers indicate their discomfort with the language or politics that have come to be associated with feminism in the last decade of the twentieth century, but their leadership fits the definition, nonetheless.

When I first entered the system of postsecondary education in the United States in 1960, women were educated "for the greater pleasure and support

they could provide as wives and mothers, as school teachers and research associates, but not for what they might accomplish in their own right" (Bunting, 1972). Women were systematically excluded from the fields of medicine, law, politics, and higher education itself, although this last field was the first to begin the lengthy process of change. Although they continue to be underrepresented in the administration of postsecondary education, there are examples of women serving in posts other than dean of women or in the home economics department today.

Women are much less common in politics, where two of one hundred United States senators are women, and in cabinet-level political appointments, both of which factors make Shaila Aery unusual. She was appointed by Governor Schaefer as the first cabinet-level Secretary of Higher Education in Maryland, where she has interacted every day with state legislators who deal with her policy agenda. Later in this study, I will discuss her background and role in educational leadership. Clearly, she is a leader who should be included as one of Astin & Leland's Women of Influence, Women of Vision (1991).

Policy Making, Policy Analysis and Implementation

Before the 1970s, analysts conducted policy analysis before the fact by "solving analytic problems, that is, identifying preferred proposals for attacking a defined policy problem" (Allison, 1971, p. 267). These proposals were ranked according to rational criteria, using such quantitative tools as cost-benefit analysis (Andrieu, 1977). As American citizens confronted the normative and evaluative conflicts involved in the civil rights movement, urban riots, the Vietnam war, feminism, the environmental movement, and the abortion issue, to

name a few, "in the minds of many people the question began to shift from efficiency per se to "efficiency for what?" (Fischer & Forester, 1987, p. 12). Members of an interdisciplinary study group sponsored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences "soon came to the conclusion that the core problem they were dealing with was not merely the inability of cost-benefit analysis to incorporate soft values, but the inability of policy analysis as a whole to approach issues where conflicting values were at work" (Amy, 1987, p. 47).

As a result of work done in the last twenty years, evaluative analysis has changed to include such crucial but nonrational questions as:

Is the desired action on the agenda of issues that will arise in the current climate? If not, can it be forced onto the agenda? What are the various bundles of action-channels and sequences of action-channels for producing the desired action? Can new action-channels be devised? How will the key players along those action-channels regard this proposal? Which players will have to agree and which to acquiesce? What means are available to whom for persuading these players? Is the desired action consistent with existing programs and SOPs [Standard Operating Procedures] of the organizations that will deliver the behavior? If not, how can these organizational procedures be changed? (Allison, 1971, 268)

The questions themselves imply that new models of policy making, policy analysis and implementation may be required for the postindustrial era, to replace or supplement those that are based within the industrial paradigm (Anderson, 1987, pp. 23-24; Fischer, 1980; Lasswell, 1936; Lasswell, 1966; Tolchin, 1987, pp. 256-267); this review of the literature will include a discussion

of the strengths and weaknesses of current models.

Policy Making

The modern study of policy making, in content and process, began in 1927 with the establishment by the American Political Science Association of "a national 'Committee on Policy' charged with the tasks both of clarifying the organization's role in the public domain and of fostering professional involvement in the resolution or urgent 'policy' problems" (Dallmayr, 1986, p. 45). Through the end of the 1950s, political scientists were primarily concerned with the use of methodologies based on physical and natural sciences in their studies. Social problems such as the turmoil surrounding civil rights and racial tensions in the United States, controversy over the war in Vietnam, Watergate, sea changes in the economy of the country as a whole, and the changing status of women in contemporary society contributed to a change in focus for political scientists.

David Easton was responsible for the birth of the modern field of policy studies in 1969, when he delivered the presidential address titled "The New Revolution in Political Science" at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association (Dallmayr, 1986, p. 43). He called for a shift in direction of political science away from abstract explanations and towards "the solution or amelioration of the major social and political problems of the time" (p. 44). His widely-used systems model of policy making was adapted by Rost (1973) to include outcomes (see Figure 3). Nevertheless, his call for a move from pure to applied research was indeed revolutionary.

Policy making is studied today through three overarching frameworks, although within each of these frames researchers and commentators view the

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POLITICAL SYSTEM

POLITICAL SYSTEM

FEEDBACK LOOP

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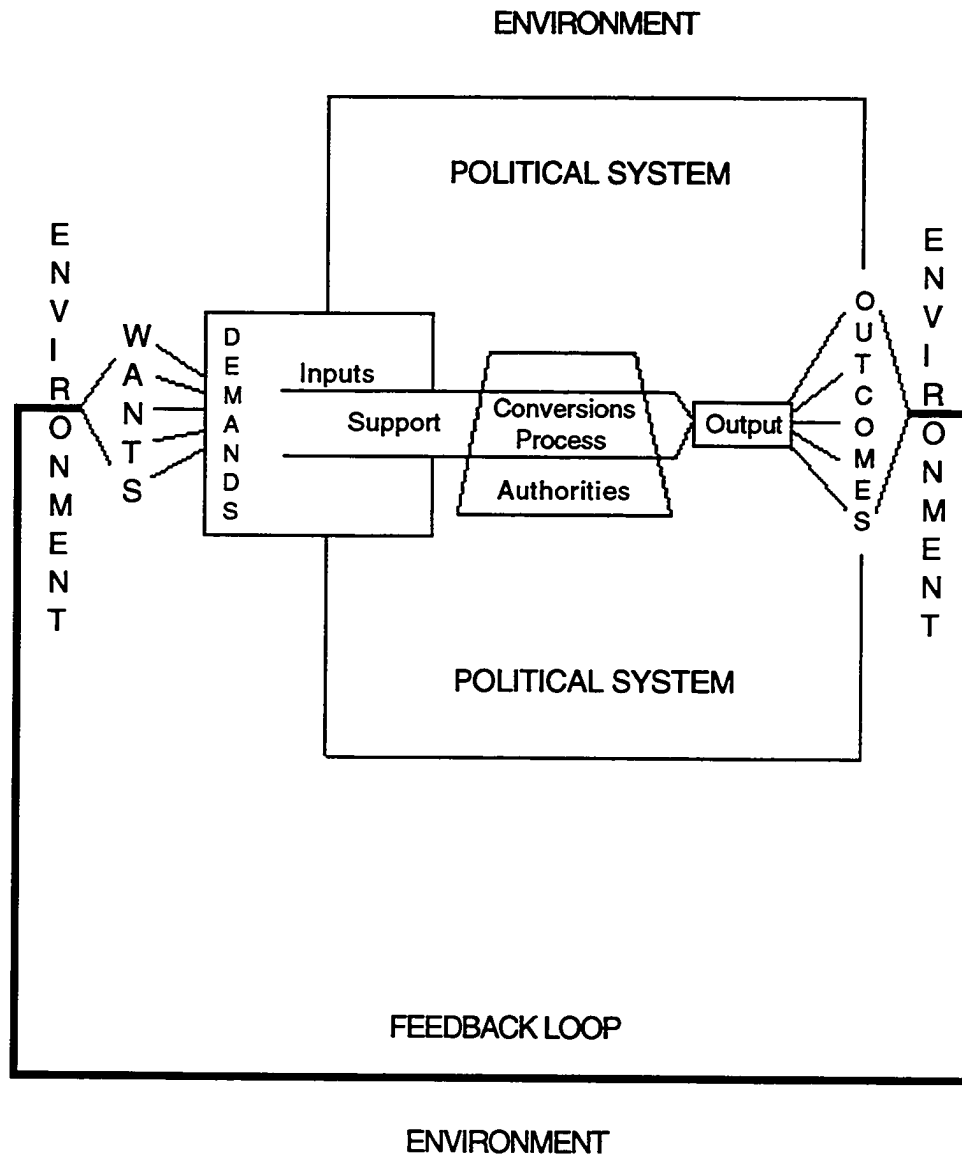
Figure 3. Systems Analysis Theory of Political Life.
After Rost, 1973, p. 478

process and content of policy creation through different lenses. The frames used today center around rational, organizational and leadership processes (Rost, 1986).

Earlier, Graham Allison (1971) also used overarching frameworks to analyze the Cuban missile crisis, although the frames he used were different. In his groundbreaking work on policy making, Essence of Decision, Allison wrote on the policy-making and decision-making processes involved in the actions of the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cuban missile crisis, against a background in which policy analysis was based on rational means within a positivistic paradigm. Before Allison, analysts conducted cost-benefit analyses, determined which of several solutions promised the best return for the lowest cost, and made a recommendation, secure in the knowledge that they had identified the best solution to a policy problem.

Allison analyzed the Cuban missile crisis using three lenses: rational, organizational, and political. Within the rational model, a person or persons at the top of the hierarchy within a bureaucratic system determined the best answer to a problem (sometimes advised by policy analysts using such rational evaluative tools as cost-benefit analysis), created a policy which mandated that solution, and implemented it. Policy making was a matter of creating "a governing body's standing decisions by which it regulates, controls, promotes, services, and otherwise influences matters within its sphere of authority" (Guba, 1984, p. 66).

Within the organizational model, Allison discussed policymaking in terms of standard operating procedures, interest groups, fractionalization, parochialism, and suborganizations. Within this model, policy making would be

defined better as "a strategy undertaken to solve or ameliorate some problem," or "the output of the policymaking system: the cumulative effect of all the actions, decisions, and behaviors of the millions of people who work in bureaucracies. It occurs, takes place, and is made at every point in the policy cycle, from agenda setting to policy impact. As such, policy is an analytic category" (Guba, 1984, pp. 67 & 69). These two definitions bring organizational and interest group factors to the fore, including the ways in which large bureaucracies operate when they are in a noncrisis mode. Truman (1971) also discussed policymaking as dominated by interest groups, with protection of self-interest as the primary variable in the policymaking process. Figure 4 represents Rost's (1973) adaptation of Truman's organization/group model of political life.

Allison's political model focused on power, negotiating, bargaining, conflict, partisanship, and symbolism, with many actors as players pulling in different directions. Within this model, coalitions compete for scarce resources, and negotiate for what they want. Policy would be defined as "a strategy undertaken to solve or ameliorate some problem" (Guba, 1984, p. 67).

Allison's models were particularly useful as frames for looking at the policy-making process, and at the results of that process; for example, the organizational model provided an explanation for why the missile sites constructed in Cuba were identical to those built in the USSR, whereas the more common rational model would offer no good reasons why local plans were not used. In fact, the "signature" of Soviet missile sites around San Cristobel enabled the Americans reviewing overflight photographs of the sites to conclude that the Soviets were indeed building missile bases in Cuba.
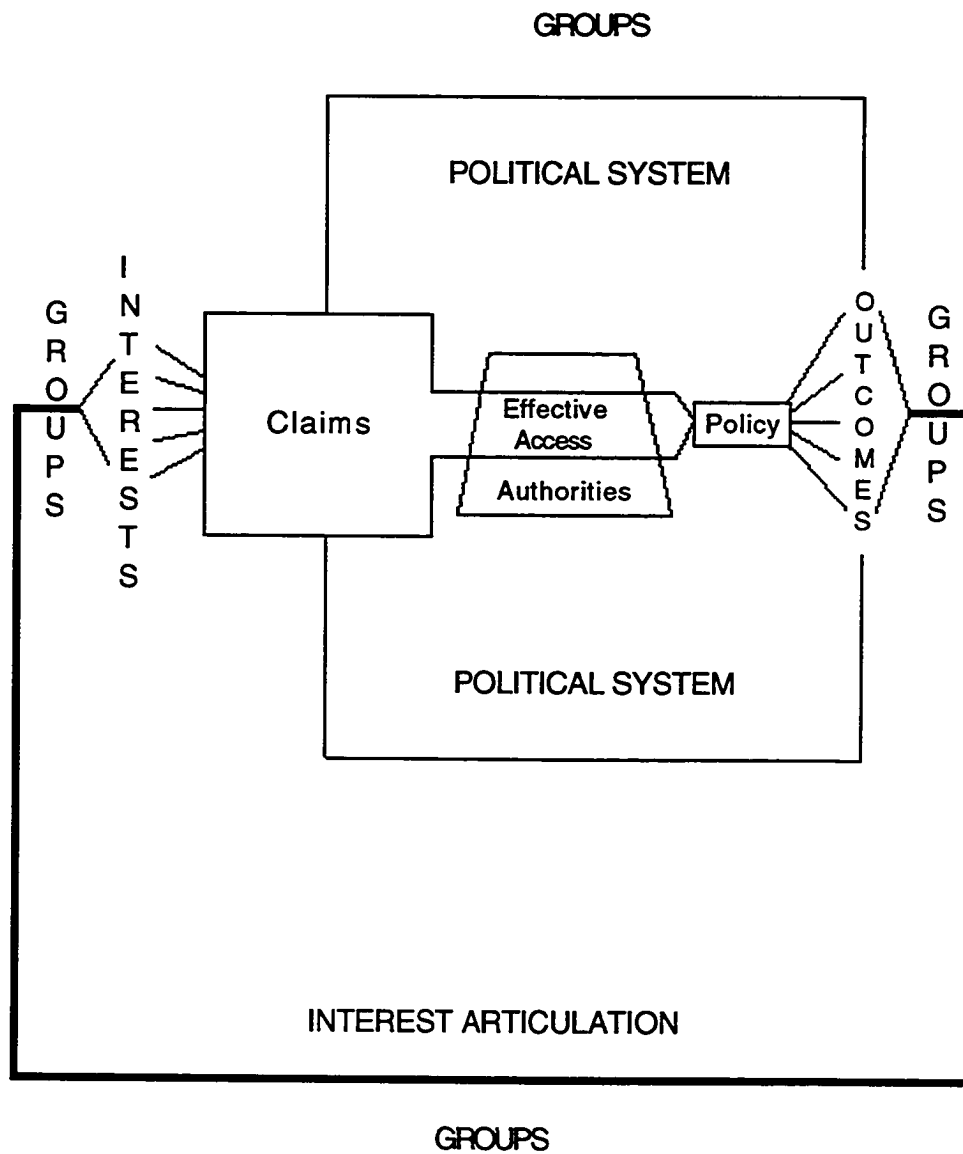
GROUPS

Figure 4. Organization/Group Theory of Political
Life. After Rost, 1973, p. 500

The rational policy process uses systems theories, which are holistic in their outlook, as a foundation, attempting to provide something like a roadmap to a process as complex as the Los Angeles freeway system (see Figure 3). In Easton's model, internal and external systems produce a flow of effects from environments which result in inputs to the policymaking system. These inputs, in turn, generate demands and stressors on the system, which are converted to outputs, or policies, through a "black box" in which decisions occur. Criticism of systems theories centers around two main areas: social realities are so complex that systems models must perforce be too complex to be useful to scholars and practitioners, and scientists have, in general, attempted to study these models using quantitative instruments and methods that overlooked or ignored qualitative aspects (Backoff & Mitnick, 1986, pp. 23-40).

While it is true that systems theorists agree that "systems as wholes are more than additive summations of aggregates [and that] it is the couplings of the system's components, or the actions of some parts on others, that is of central importance," this is not necessarily a weakness in the social sciences, where realities are acknowledged to be extremely complex (Backoff & Mitnick, 1986, p. 30). The principle of parsimony, or Ockham's razor, which calls for the simplest model possible which accords with scientific observations, does not necessarily lead to better social theories for complex systems; it may lead to satisficing in research, in which scholars would generate the simplest theory commensurate with observations, without proceeding into the vexed issues presented by negative analysis.

E. E. Schattschneider's pluralist model of policymaking, which he discussed in The Semisovereign People (1983), falls into Allison's political

Model III. Pluralism adds the concept of privatizing and socializing conflict to the policy-making process, with public authorities responsible for defining alternatives and enlarging the scope of conflict (Schattschneider, 1983).

The concept of a pluralist model was first discussed by Dahl (1961), who attempted to answer the same question Harold Lasswell had asked: "Who gets what, when and how?" (Lasswell, 1936). However, where Lasswell found that influence was "concentrated in a particular stratum of people," Dahl maintained that "in contemporary representative democracies influence is dispersed among many diverse interest groups" (Weinstein, 1971, p. 92). To Dahl, political processes were basically decision-making processes, in that "the greater the share that one has in determining the content and enforcement of decision, the greater the influence that one possesses" (Weinstein, 1971, p. 93). Figure 5 represents Rost's (1973) adaptation of Dahl's model.

Although political scientists have downgraded the pluralist model as explanatory for policy decisions in the last decade of the twentieth century, a new spirit of communitarianism has revived interest in the concepts of pluralism and its strengths within this democracy in the last five years (Bellah et al., 1985; Bellah et al., 1991; Hofferbert, 1990, p. 155). One reason for this revival might be a reaction against more elitist theories such as Charles Lindblom's (1980), which described partisan analysis by competing groups as a way of bringing agendas into the analytical framework. In fact, Lindblom found that leaders such as Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt had utilized partisan analysis to persuade the masses of the rightness of their course:

> Extraordinary attempts at and sometimes success in persuasion through partisan analysis have marked some of the high points in American

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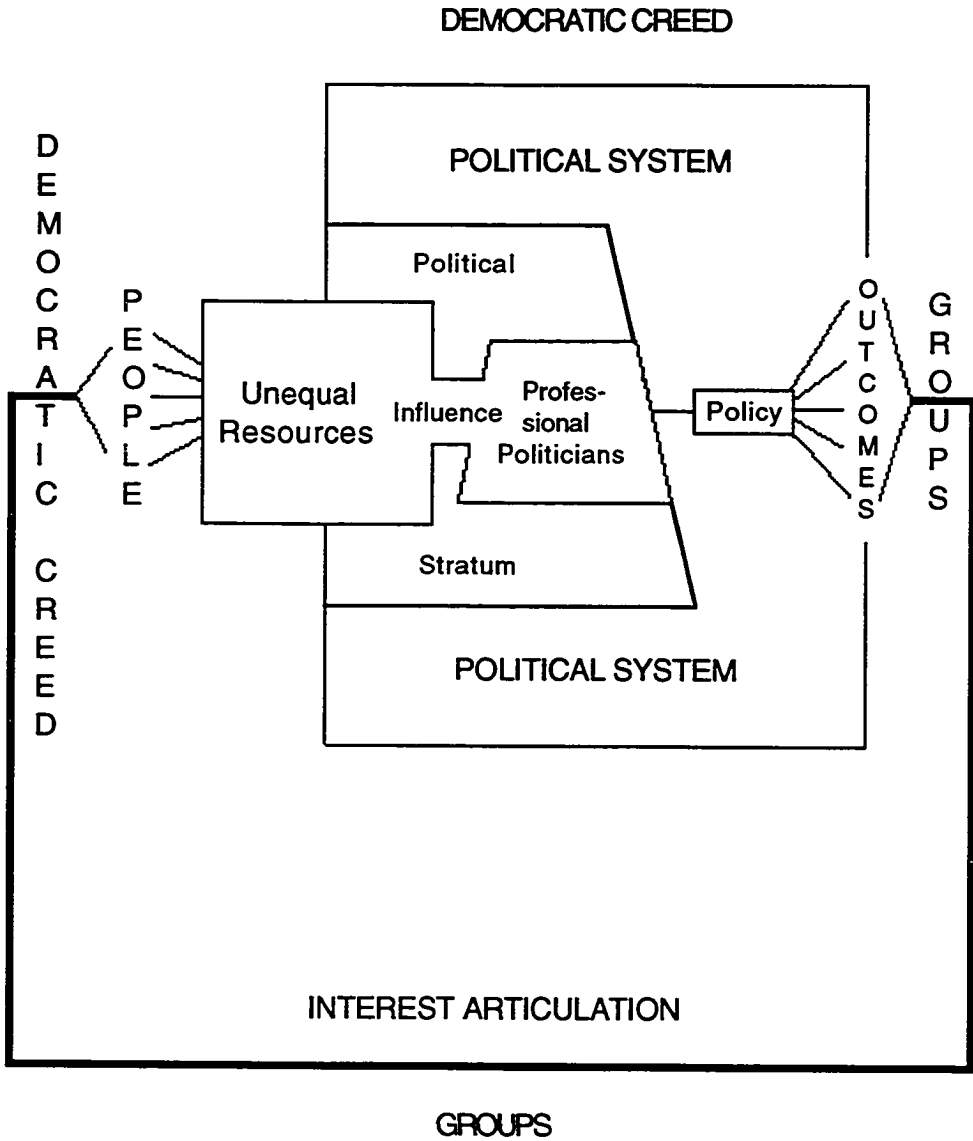
Figure 5. Pluralist Theory of Political Life. After Rost, 1973, p. 592

history on occasions in which a political leader sets out to convince the various major groups in the population that each of their interests will be served by their joining a new coalition of interests. . . . Leaders who can analyze discord, find some common interests, and persuade each discordant group that its interest lies in pursuing a new set of goals will often take their places in history as the great political figures of their times. (p. 32)

Rost's leadership model (1973) included pluralism, common vision between leaders and followers, and critical theory to determine what organizational elements need to be retained and which can be eliminated or substantially modified (see Figure 6). Within the leadership model, leaders and followers mobilize slack resources and use influence, persuasion and power to accomplish change through policy enactment and implementation (Rost, 1986).

One variant on the organization/group theory of policymaking was discussed by Samuel Beer (1977), in terms of a professional-bureaucratic complex within government itself and the relationship between that complex, powerful special interest groups (SIGs) and key legislators, usually chairs of committees to which key legislation is assigned through standard operating procedures (SOPs). Beer discussed the importance of governmental civil servants, many with specialized and professional training, in conceiving and shaping the programs of Johnson's Great Society, and expanded on a concept known as the "iron triangle," in which civil servants, key legislators and interest group leaders controlled the policy-making process.

Hugh Heclo (1978) rethought the rather rigid model of the iron triangle, which he regarded as "disastrously incomplete" in that it was "preoccupied with

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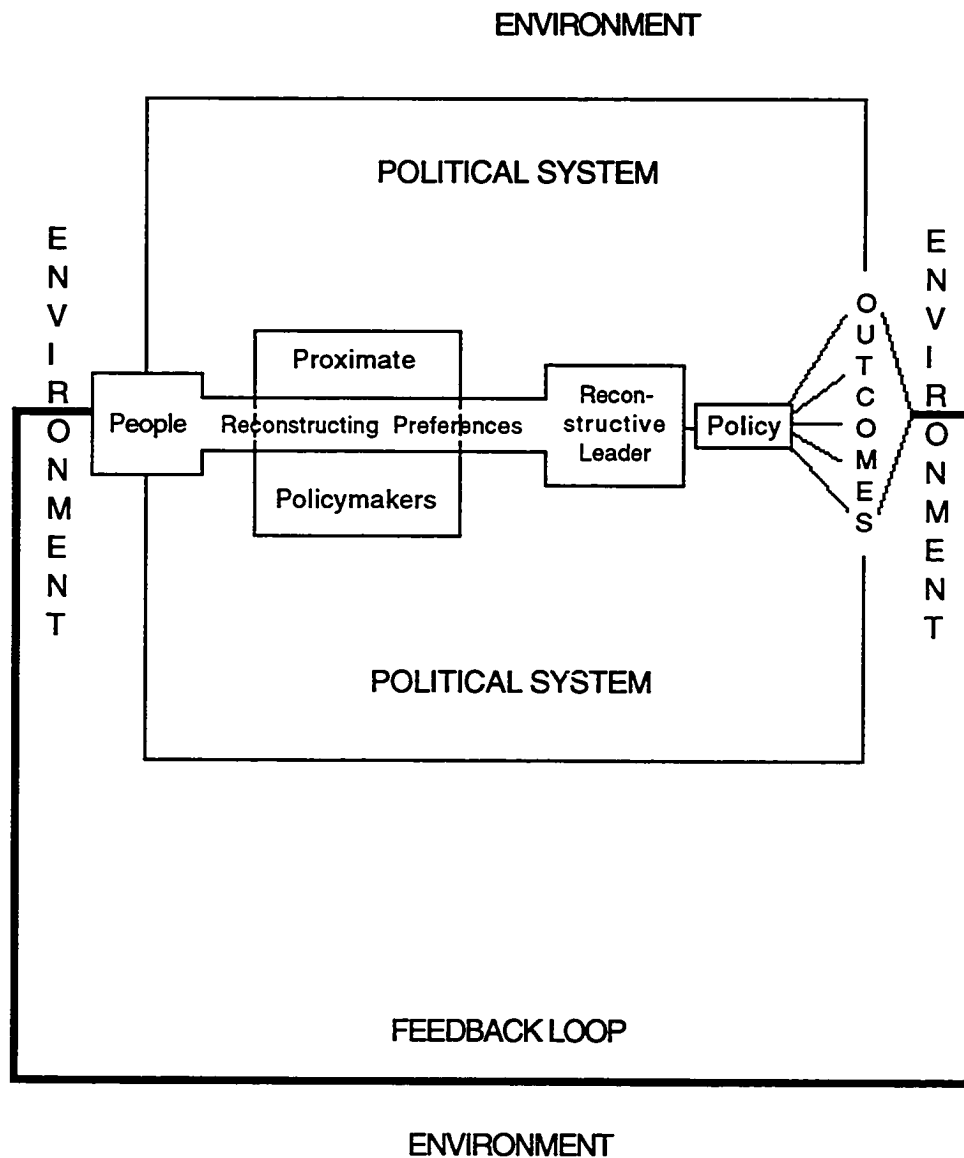
Figure 6. Leadership Theory of Political Life. After Rost, 1973, p. 611

trying to find the few truly powerful actors, [with observers tending to] overlook

the power and influence that arise out of the configurations through which

leading policy makers move and do business with each other. Looking for the

closed triangles of control, we tend to miss the fairly open networks of people

that increasingly impinge upon government" (p. 88). Heclo termed these

networks "policy issue networks."

> Issue networks. . .comprise a large number of participants with quite
>
> variable degrees of mutual commitment or of dependence on others in
>
> their environment; in fact it is almost impossible to say where a network
>
> leaves off and its environment begins. Iron triangles and
>
> subgovernments suggest a stable set of participants coalesced to control
>
> fairly narrow programs which are in the direct economic interest of each
>
> party to the alliance. Issue networks are almost the reverse image in
>
> each respect. Participants move in and out of the networks constantly.
>
> Rather than groups united in dominance over a program, no one, as far
>
> as one can tell, is in control of the policies and issues. Any direct or
>
> material interest is often secondary to intellectual or emotional
>
> commitment. Network members reinforce each other's sense of issues
>
> as their interests, rather than (as standard political or economic models
>
> would have it) interests defining positions on issues. (1978, p. 88)

This model is certainly less rigid than the iron triangle model, and has

the advantage of making space for individuals outside the triangle with power

resources and an interest in utilizing those resources for achieving real,

intended change. Ziegler (1983) described these networks as "policy clusters,"

in which increasingly professional legislators were influenced by skilled,

pragmatic individuals who became part of the issue network along with administrators, legislative committee members, and interest group leaders. Michael Kirst, Gail Meister, and Stephen Rowley (1983) discussed network structures that facilitate effective communication among network members.

John Kingdon (1984), building on the garbage can model of organizational choice (Cohen, March & Olsen, 1972), discussed policy making in terms of three streams: (1) a problem or agenda stream, in which current problems and past interventions are considered; (2) a policy community stream, in which researchers and analysts consider possible policy alternatives; and (3) a political stream, in which elected officials and legislative leaders consider the political costs of possible alternatives (pp. 21-22). Kingdon used the metaphor of a window of opportunity, or "policy window," as a necessary component of major policy reform (1984, p. 94). Paul Sabatier (1991) described this window as the time frame during which, "in response to a recognized problem, the policy community develops a proposal that is financially and technically feasible, and politicians find it advantageous to approve it" (p. 151).

One of the strengths of Kingdon's presentation is his acknowledgment of fortuitous events, or serendipity, in the policy-making process. Certainly chance plays some part in agenda setting, economic feasibility, and the location of key members of issue networks who are willing to expend power resources which they have already accumulated in creating, passing, and implementing major policy, as in Pal's "policy stew" (Pal, 1988, pp. 153-154).

Fazal Rizvi (1989) discussed the expansion of discussions which either placed a policy issue on the political agenda, or facilitated decisionmaking, to include persons other than those perceived as experts on a given policy issue.

Robert Salisbury (1990) discussed the destabilization of the policymaking process because of an increase in the number and political sophistication of SIGs, an increase in the intensity and resistance to compromise of expressive groups of citizens, a diffusion of power due to weakening of the seniority system with state and federal governments, and widespread diffusion of information, which he described as "a resource of central importance in the policy process" (p. 213).

Paul Sabatier (1988) used Heclo's concept of policy issue networks to create a systems model of policy making (see Figure 7). In creating a systems model, Sabatier addressed "factors affecting policy formulation and implementation, as well as the subsequent effects of policy. . .[in order to apply and integrate] the discipline's accumulated knowledge concerning political behavior in various institutional settings" (Sabatier, 1991a, p. 144). Within this model, Sabatier envisioned a policy subsystem consisting of "those actors from a variety of public and private organizations who are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue" (Sabatier, 1988, p. 131). He saw these actors as organized in coalitions within a policy subsystem, utilizing various strategies "envisaging one or more institutional innovations which [they] feel will further [their] policy objectives" (p. 131). He also described "policy brokers" as individuals "whose principal concern is to find some reasonable compromise which will reduce intense conflict" (p. 133). The role of conflict is critical, since it helps to determine the nature and amount of the power resources which leaders and followers must expend to try to achieve the change they intend.

Sabatier's model of long-term, policy-oriented learning, which requires analysis of a period of at least a decade, must be adapted to changes that take
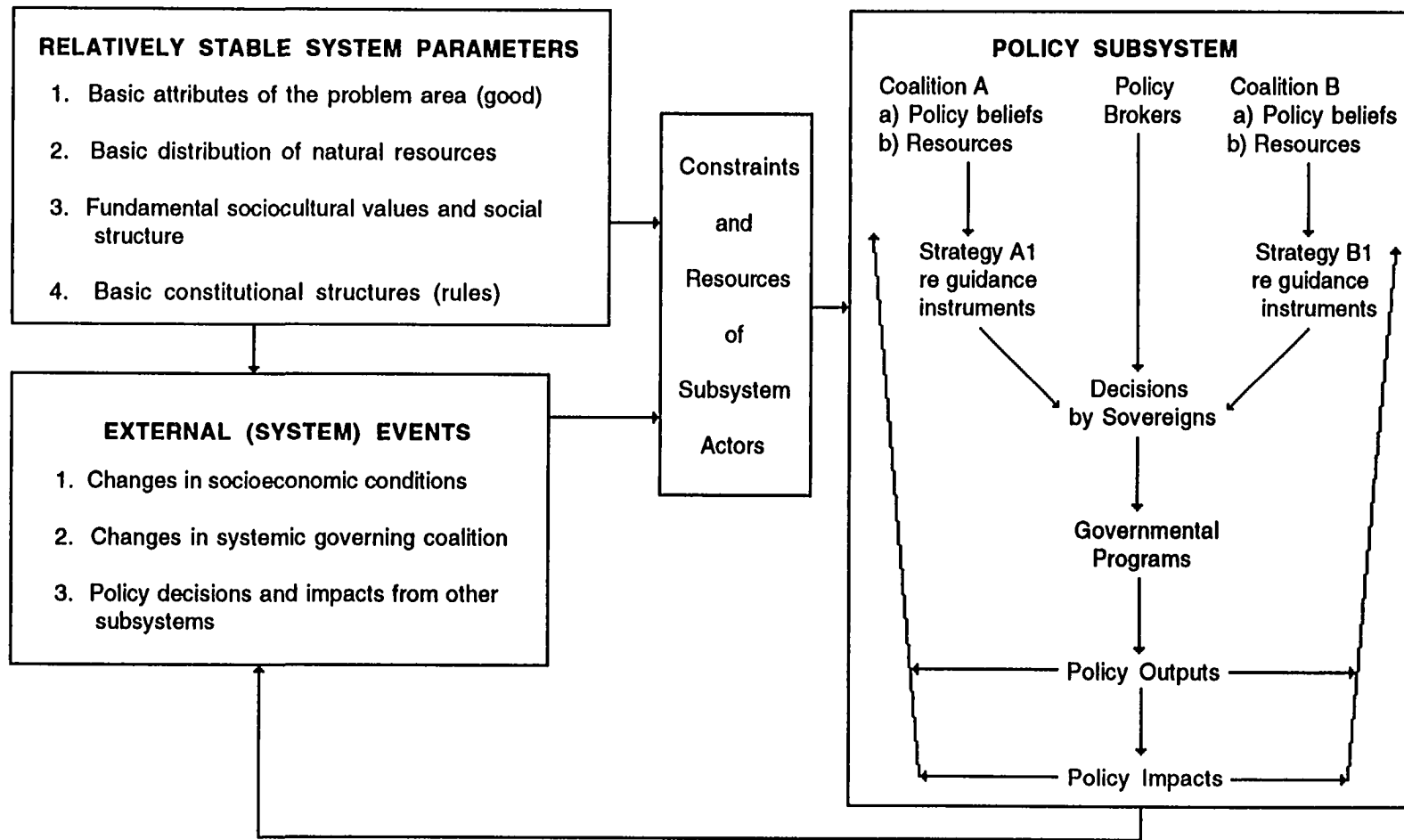
Figure 7. General model of policy change focusing on competing advocacy coalitions within policy subsystems. After Sabatier (1988), p. 133.

place in the short term, between policy initiation and policy output (see Appendix B for Sabatier's hypotheses). His inclusion of core beliefs, or policy values, as critical to the organization of issue coalitions, requires that the researcher address the question of values within the analysis.

Tim Mazzoni (1991) developed what he called an "arena" model of policy making, which, like Sabatier's, is a systems model (see Figure 8). Unlike Sabatier's model, however, which is structural in nature, Mazzoni's model is process oriented. Like Sabatier, Mazzoni acknowledged a debt to Kingdon's "policy stream/windows of opportunity" model. In describing Minnesota's innovative policies which created a public school choice system in 1986 for the K-12 school system, Mazzoni defined four state policymaking arenas: subsystem, commission, leadership and macro (p. 129). The leadership arena seems particularly germane to the Maryland situation, and may provide answers to process questions which Sabatier's model leaves unanswered.

Leadership Arena

1. Scope

Essentially stable. Consists of a tiny, institutionalized set of the state's top-level executive and legislative office holders (and, perhaps, behind-the-scenes private influentials).

2. Process

Elite bargaining to forge working alliances. Somewhat orderly and predictable ratio of power as only few leaders are involved.

3. Visibility

No media coverage or visibility to general public. Low visibility to many interested stakeholders.

Pressures for Change
- Challenging groups
- Issue networks
- Social movements
- Mass media & public opinion
- Crisis events

ORGANIZATIONAL ELITES & POLICY ENTREPRENEURS

ENVIRONMENT

CONVERSION

ARENA SHIFT
From Subsystem to

OUTPUT

Influence

Demands

Revenues

Available revenues

T O P O F F I C I A L S

MACRO ARENA

COMMISSION ARENA

LEADERSHIP ARENA

- Relative strength of reform-oriented coalition
- Power and leadership of political champions
- Media/Popular demands for policy change
- Open, accessible institutional arrangements

- Set up by top officials as agenda setter for innovative policy
- Well represented, persistent, skillful change advocates among members
- Flexible, pragmatic reform opponents among members
- Media/Popular demands for policy change

- Unity, commitment, activity of officials pushing for innovative policy
- Low visibility of issue/decision process to outsiders
- Weak countervailing power friom stakeholder groups, constituencies, or publics
- Centralized, insulated institutional decision sets

Strategically-placed
IDEA CHAMPION

Some Chance

Little Chance

Most Chance

Major Policy Innovation

Figure 8. Political initiation of policy innovation.
After Mazzoni (1991), p. 132

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4.   Outcome

Can on occasion produce breakthroughs on structural policy by persuading, inducing, or intimidating issue opponents; and by manipulating agendas, structures, and procedures in the legislative workflow. (Mazzoni, 1991, p. 129)

Policy Analysis

The Morrill Act of 1982 "established a procedure for federal support of agricultural colleges in universities, agricultural research stations, and an extension service. Thus was begun a system for research, technology development, and delivery of innovations" that laid the groundwork for the collaboration of university-based research centers "closely linked to state and local policy-making bodies" (Hofferbert, 1990, pp. 23-24). Little Hoover Commissions, charged with the modernization of state and local governments after World War II, were instrumental in the establishment of these centers, usually within political science departments of universities located in or near state capitals.

In the fifty years since World War II, these university-based centers have been supplemented by a network of policy analysis think tanks such as the Brookings Institution. Policy analysis, which reached its apex in terms of numbers of researchers and practitioners as well as in number of funded projects during the Johnson administration and the War on Poverty, is now deeply divided over issues of quantitative vs. qualitative methodologies, as well as the range of phenomena which are included under the discipline's umbrella.

As an example, David Garson (1986) described a six-dimension framework involving more than *four thousand* partitions which would be

required to map the policy analysis field. Clearly a framework of this size and complexity is of little use to policy analysts on a day-to-day basis; rather, it speaks of a rather ill-defined field without clear direction, which is reflected in the variety of methodologies being used in the field today.

Values as a Critical Part of Policy Analysis

One of the reasons for this lack of direction lies in the question of the values which underlie any policy analysis. Values are defined by Brawer as "beliefs that guide actions and judgments across specific objects or situations and beyond immediate goals" (1971, p. 18). These beliefs are fundamental and resistant to change, except by what Argyris and Schon (1978) described as double-loop learning. The discussion about the importance of fundamental beliefs in policymaking has been part of the agenda in this country since the early 1960s (Jacob & Flink, 1962, p. 22). An important part of this American agenda is for citizens to bring their practices into line with their creed, which demands equality of opportunity (Cremin, 1988, p. 673; Myrdal, 1944,1958). At times, this agenda may conflict with the central value of institutions, which is to preserve existing structures and power (Denhardt, 1981); it is particularly important that researchers include discussions of their own biases in relation to the subject matter in context, since these biases will inevitably color research methods and findings (Dollard, 1937, pp. 39-40; Moharty, 1986, p. 168).

Analysts, who are often trained as economists before they enter the field of policy analysis, tend to steer clear of discussions of ethics and values for several reasons. One reason is that they tend to work in bureaucracies, "characterized by strongly hierarchical power relationships, where subordinates are expected to follow orders and to promote agency goals and values.

Bureaucracies are not egalitarian debating societies, and they are not designed to encourage frank discussion and dissent" (Amy, 1987, p. 54). Another reason is what Irving Janis described as "groupthink," which comes into play as analysts discuss their conclusions with their colleagues. Two factors which affect outcomes are (1) "the self-censorship of deviations from apparent group consensus, reflecting each member's inclination to minimize to him[/her]self the importance of his [her] doubts and counterarguments," and (2) "direct pressure on any member who expressed strong arguments against any of the groups' stereotypes, illusions, or commitments, making clear that this type of dissent is contrary to what is expected of all loyal members" (Janis, 1982, p. 175).

One of the effects of analysts' adherence to bureaucratic principles and groupthink, however, is to render analysis less than useful to policy makers, who intuitively or formally consider values as they are manifested in policies whose effects are felt by various constituencies. Kenneth Dolbeare thought it essential to study "the values and priorities which actually (rather than rhetorically) animate the major actors in politics," particularly as they relate to "some of the widely celebrated values of the culture, such as equality" (1971, pp. 99-100). William Dunn discussed the inclusion of values, "whose attainment is the main test of whether a policy problem has been alleviated or resolved," as essential if policy analysis is to become more than an adjunct to the policymaking process (1983, p. 831). Marilyn Ray discussed the ways in which values form "a hidden agenda affecting all aspects of the evaluation and policymaking process in implicit rather than explicit ways" if they are not openly discussed in terms of the relationship between a proposed policy's values and prevailing social norms (1990, p. 61).

One of the strengths of Sabatier's model is its inclusion of values within the model, requiring that analysts, policy makers and administrators address the question of values at all stages of the policy-making process. According to Daneke, a systems model "provides devices for integrating various noneconomic indicators (from moral issues to environmental and social impacts) into the procedures of analysis and evaluation" (1990, p. 55). This type of approach should enhance the ability "to foresee changes in the environment that will stimulate new policy proposals, to predict the educational outcomes of proposed alternatives with confidence, and to make timely adjustments," which Coombs described as gaps in educational policymaking (1983, p. 609).

In particular, inclusion of values helps to address issues of coproduction and counterproduction of policy goals by target populations, who "promote or thwart the achievement of policy purposes by the nature of their responses to policy initiation" (Schneider & Ingram, 1990, p. 85). Holderness included a fit between policy alternatives and dominant values in relation to Kingdon's (1984) political stream, in which alternatives must be able to float in order to reduce conflict (1990, p. 25).

Value conflict, or "disagreement within society over the ends or objectives of policy," may polarize target groups, particularly in the fact of inequities of wealth, income, prestige, and position which are sometimes referred to as class or caste distinctions (Rogers, 1988, pp. 64-68). This conflict may be minimized by discussions throughout the policy-making process which center around four questions outlined by T. Alexander Smith:

1. To whose end or benefit ought policy to be directed?

2. Which primary value, liberty or equality, ought to be advanced more strongly?

3. Who ought to control the enactment of policies? That is, where ought the locus of power to be?

4. What ought to be the nature of the controls? That is, what kinds of legal or other controls (directions or rules) make more sense? (1988, p. 207)

Trudi Miller developed a justice model, based on the premise that "an ideal 'just' social structure is one in which material rewards are allocated in rough accord with shared definitions of virtue" (1990, p. 124). Her model predicted that "shared altruism--shared beliefs about the public interest and its implications for behavior--will not lead to appropriate behavior under conditions where individuals face severe injustice" (p. 132). In other words, her model predicted that, although democratic citizens agree on the end-value of justice, they disagree on the means by which justice should be achieved, and will not act altruistically if their own interests would be compromised. The model is consistent with John Rawls' concept of "reflective equilibrium," whereby individuals move from consideration of moral intuitions to the moral principles that underlie these intuitions, to develop a theory that could be applied consistently across individual cases in the form of a moral stance or stand (1971, pp. 48-51). This concept provides a way of assessing the values that cause individuals to enter and/or leave policy issue networks, without attributing nonaltruistic values to participants of competing networks.

Implementation

Before the 1970s, when political scientists considered the question of implementation, they utilized models that described a linear process in which clear-cut policy goals were implemented in such a way that evaluation could demonstrate that those goals had been met in a timely and cost-effective manner (Berman & McLaughlin, 1967; Gross, Giacquinta & Bernstein, 1971). If the goals had not been met, researchers looked for rational reasons, both in the implementation process itself and also in the means used to measure that process, such as rater unreliability, instrumentation, etc. (Farrar, DeSanctis, & Cohen, 1980, p. 167).

In 1973, however, after studying the implementation of a federal policy involving funding for a public project in Oakland, California, Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky reported that implementation depends on the number of potential actors involved, with possible breakdowns at each step along the way. In fact, Pressman and Wildavsky found that the number of potential breakdowns increased exponentially as the implementation process became more complex. They described a "decision point" occurring "each time an act of agreement has to be registered for the program to continue," and a "clearance" as "each instance in which a separate participant is required to give his [/her] consent" (1984, p. xxiv). Participants need not take active steps to oppose implementation; they can simply fail to act at all to avoid giving clearance.

Whether or not participants agree with the goals of a given policy, they may avoid clearance because of:

1. Direct incompatibility with other commitments

2. No direct incompatibility, but a preference for other programs

3. Simultaneous commitments to other projects

4. Dependence on others who lack a sense of urgency in the project

5. Differences of opinion on leadership and proper organizational roles

6. Legal and procedural differences

7. Agreement coupled with lack of power (1984, pp. 99-102).

This discussion assumes that policy goals are both clear and implementable, but neither of those assumptions is necessarily true. Pressman & Wildavsky stated:

Policy implementation is made difficult when experience reveals that legislators want incompatible things. They want to help people in areas of low employment by attracting new industries or expanding old ones. But they do not want to subsidize competitors against their own people. When their constituents complain that government funds are being spent to support business competitors, the congressmen [/women] naturally write in provisions stating that aid to industry must not compete with existing firms. Since most conceivable enterprises compete in some ways with others, the dilemma is passed on to the administrators who discover that they cannot apply the criteria with any consistency. (1984, pp. 70-71)

Hatry, Winnie and Fisk also told evaluators to ask questions about the implementation process that include nonrational processes:

1. What are the program's intentions? What is accepted as evidence of success?

2. What are possible immediate and long-term side effects?

3. Who are the intended target groups? Who else might be affected?

4. What would the consequences be if the program were eliminated? Who would complain? Why? Who would be glad? Why? (1973, p. 36)

This discussion lead to the development of implementation models of games (Bardach, 1977), garbage cans (Kingdon,1984), lawn parties (Farrar, DeSanctis & Cohen, 1980), evolution and adaptation (Browne & Wildavsky, 1983a; Majone & Wildavsky, 1979), exploration (Browne & Wildavsky, 1983b), and trains (Benveniste, 1989), among others. The games metaphor implies that there are rules for implementation known to all the players, that strategies are considered and adopted on the basis of their ability to further the goals of one or more players, and that winners and losers are involved. Bardach stated, "Implementation politics is distinguished from policy-adoption politics by the characteristic absence of coalitions and the characteristic presence of fragmented and isolated maneuvers and countermaneuvers" (1977, pp. 42-43). He described several games whose goal was to block or substantially modify implementation of the original policy goals, and stated, "There is perhaps only one sure way to know whether successive modifications are acceptable to the original (idealistic) sponsors: the sponsors must be participants in the process of program or policy modification, and the scholarly observer must be able to note their actions and reactions" (1977, p. 314).

The lawn party metaphor implies that policy spreads a potential picnic before guests, some of whom are invited, some uninvited. Guests may arrive

early, on time, or late, and help themselves to the picnic whenever they are hungry. In the meantime, they may throw together a softball game, or horseshoes, or volleyball, depending on where the picnic is held and what guests bring with them in the way of equipment, skills and interests. As Farrar, DeSanctis and Cohen stated, "These guests do not attend for the same reasons. Some have come for the food, some to hear the music, some to talk with friends, some from a sense of obligation; and some aren't sure why they've come. And they have different ideas about what they want the party to be and what they hope to gain by attending it" (1980, p. 168). Obviously, the larger the party, the more potential exists for implementation that does not match up well with the original goals of policy sponsors.

The garbage can model is similar to the lawn party model in that the sponsors have no control over what happens to a program once policy moves into the implementation phase. However, while the lawn party metaphor implies that guests will find various things that please them, the garbage can model implies that neither order nor pleasure is part of the implementation process. Policies are thrown into the can, and people pick things out of the can as they are able, with items on the top more desirable than things on the bottom, because of the unaesthetic nature of rummaging through the garbage.

The evolution and adaption models are linked to current understanding of the evolutionary process, which has developed considerably since Darwin (1858) first discussed how organisms adapt to their environments. Current thought in the biological sciences centers around chaos theory and Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, in which researchers can study either location or velocity of subatomic particles, but not both, since knowing one

prevents the researcher from knowing the other. Darwin thought that a series of small, random changes in genetic material resulted either in a species' improved adaptation to a particular environmental niche, or to less successful adaptation, which would lead to extinction; chaos theory states that changes may be sudden and large, either in the genetic pool or in the environment or both, and may prove cataclysmic.

The evolution metaphor for implementation used forward mapping as its foundation, implying that plans for implementation are mapped out, like genes along a chromosome, "in anticipation of compliance with the original mandate of a statement of congressional intent" (Browne & Wildavsky, 1983a, p. 207). Strategies for compliance, then, are coded, along with "the means of encouraging political support, and the methods for the transfer of technology. The basic premise of forward mapping holds that the more explicit the policy, the more of its implementation can be controlled by those who mandated it" (1983a, p. 207).

However, both the evolutionary model and the exploration model go on to describe a unitary policy-implementation process in which each interacts with the other to produce a result that may or may not resemble the original policy goals:

> At each point we must cope with new circumstances that allow us to actualize different potentials in whatever policy ideas we are implementing. When we act to implement a policy, we change it. When we vary the amount or type of resource inputs, we also intend to alter outputs, even if only to put them back on track where they were once supposed to be. In this way, policy theory is transformed to produce

different results. As we learn from experience what is feasible or preferable, we correct errors. To the degree that these corrections make a difference at all, they change our policy ideas as well as the policy outcomes, because the idea is embodied in the action. (Majone & Wildavsky, 1978, p. 114)

Sabatier and Mazmanian also utilized an interactive model to describe five stages in implementation:

1. Policy outputs, which require

2. Compliance, which leads to

3. Actual policy impacts, which result in

4. Perceived impacts, which affect the original output through

5. Evaluation by the political system (1979, p. 500).

Since policy implementation is bound to impact some individual or group negatively, this evaluation is perceived as unavoidable (Browne & Wildavsky, 1983b, pp. 243-244), and continued attention from "legislative sovereigns" is critical (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1983, pp. 159-161).

The train metaphor implies that policy serves as a track, with policy goals as stations along the way. An engineer guides the train, making scheduled stops at stations for people to enter or leave the system. The expectation is that the train will arrive at its final destination in a timely manner; derailment is a rare occurrence, sometimes due to circumstances beyond the operator's control, sometimes due to things that could have been foreseen (endless modification, postponement, massive extinction, or piling too much baggage onto the train) (Benveniste, 1989, pp. 231-233). The train also fits into the larger system of the railroad, with tracks extending outward from the immediate, local area serviced

by the train, and a schedule (agenda) established at a distant site by a person or persons unfamiliar with the local terrain.

Change as Part of the Implementation Process

Inevitably, evaluators and researchers of the implementation process have come to focus on the process of change in organizations and institutions. Change is a stressor on the system whether it is desired, predicted, or neither, and whether the results are positive or negative. In the business sector, the industry of organizational development has evolved to help large companies and organizations to manage change as best they can.

As in the field of implementation studies, there is a body of literature that regards change as evolutionary, with organizations changing randomly and in small ways. Some of those changes may prove advantageous in positioning the organization within a particular niche or within the environment as a whole, so that organizations which adapt succeed and prosper (Aldrich, 1979). There are two problems with this approach; first, it is unprovable and untestable, since any organizational failure can be attributed to unsuccessful adaptation, and second, it doesn't take the sort of cataclysmic environmental change discussed in chaos theory into account.

Berman & McLaughlin (1967) and Havelock (1973), among others, discussed a rational-managerial approach to change, in which a change agent diagnoses organizational problems, determines economic and personnel resources available for change, decides on a solution, communicates that solution to others, assists the organization to adopt the preferred solution, and stabilizes the innovation. The problem is that individuals do not always use

rational means to make decisions, and that other forces (economic, political, cultural, symbolic) may influence the change process more than rationality.

Since organizations are made up of individuals, and since the process of individual change is part of the American Creed, one model for organizational change centers around the personal-therapeutic level. The focus on individual change in this culture is so pervasive that Alasdair MacIntyre described the Therapist as one of the characters who symbolizes American life in the late twentieth century (the others are the Rich Aesthete, a la Donald Trump, and the Manager) (1984, pp. 27-35). Lewin (1951) discussed individual change in terms of unfreezing, changing, and refreezing, and this concept has been expanded to organizational systems as a whole by Schein (1985). Scholars who view change from a personal-therapeutic standpoint regard cognitive dissonance, or the recognition of a misalignment between personal values and some aspect of the larger system, as essential for the change process. One researcher who used cognitive dissonance to create an atmosphere for change in social settings is Alderfer (1982), who used personal identification as a white male to examine race relations in this country.

Systems theories of organizational change center around a concept of three layers of intraorganizational interaction: interpersonal, subsystem (departmental or regional) and system. Consultants in organizational development (OD) assist people with their interpersonal communication skills, with more of an eye towards an individual's ability to affect the organization as a whole than is found in the personal-therapeutic model. On the subsystem level, individuals work as members of teams or units which interact in ways that go beyond the level of the interpersonal. Finally, these teams and units make up

the organization as a whole, which is positioned within an environment in such a way as to respond to external factors successfully, and to become proactive rather than reactive within that environment.

The concept of organizational learning, coined by Argyris and Schon (1978), is part of this systems approach to change. Argyris and Schon examined background assumptions and values as expressed within organizations and institutions, particularly with regard to discrepancies between what people *said* they stood for (or espoused theories) and their behaviors (or theories in use). Argyris and Schon developed two models, the first for single-loop learning, in which an individual or organization brings behavior in line with espoused theories, and double-loop learning, in which the individual or institution experiences cognitive dissonance between espoused theories and theories in use, and makes changes in the espoused theories. Double-loop learning occurs only when core values are involved, and requires tremendous energy and focus, along with considerable support. Argyris and Schon contended that meaningful, long-lasting change within institutions must involve double-loop learning.

Another model of change involves institutions within a political-economic frame, which Foster discussed in terms of several characteristics. Foster sees the organization as a political system that has both real and symbolic resources, some of which are scarce. The organization cannot be considered merely as a unitary actor, however, since individuals within the organization act to maintain their own self-interests. These individuals form coalitions to "develop collective strategies for achieving mutual control" of scarce resources, and interaction between these coalitions is marked by conflict as an integral part of the political

environment. This model implies that "the manipulation of rewards, changes in supply and demand, and the development of interest groups have the most profound effect on organizational life" (1986a, pp. 158-160).

Finally, researchers have developed a model for organizational change that centers around culture, in terms of symbols, rituals and metaphors by which reality is interpreted. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) discussed how metaphors are used to shape reality, and Schein (1985) discussed how culture is formed and maintained within organizations, and how symbols and rituals are used within a culture. This model has been studied phenomenologically, with scholars looking for ways in which actors construct symbolic universes within organizations and institutions and then persuade others that these universes represent reality. Particularly within educational institutions, which meet Weick's (1976) description of loosely-coupled systems, the symbolic-cultural model, along with a garbage-can decision-making model, are powerfully descriptive of how change is accomplished on the front lines.

Leaders and followers need to become familiar with change models in order to begin the process of accomplishing "real changes that reflect their mutual purposes" (Rost, 1991, p. 102). No one model accounts for change within institutions, and no models can be overlooked. Leaders and followers who act or sound irrational, for example, would find themselves unable to proceed, no matter what changes they intend. Failure to acknowledge people as individuals, as well as members of an organizational system, leads to resistance. Focus on any one level of the system to the exclusion of others results in chaos. Failure to acknowledge the political realities of institutional life results in a failure to mobilize and/or utilize power resources which are required for leadership. Inattention to symbols, myths, rituals and metaphors leads to

lack of fit within the organizational culture, and subsequent exclusion.

Arthur Levine (1980) created a change model for educational institutions which he titled "holistic change," involving

> the adoption of a major institutional innovation characterized by a unified
> and coherent purpose. . . .It is the most defensible when major change is
> necessary; the most efficient since it involves substituting new programs
> for old rather than new additions; the most difficult to get adopted; the
> least likely to succeed, particularly in large organizations; and the least
> common. It is risky because it involves already established institutions
> with built-in resources, habits, and staff--and a staff usually lacking in
> consensus about institutional purposes. (p. 5)

Levine discussed regulations and policies as the boundaries of innovations and organizations, and described four possible outcomes for proposed changes: diffusion, enclaving, resocialization, and termination (see Figure 9). If the system is expanding, and if the proposed change is both effective and also compatible with the organization, it will be diffused throughout the system. If it is effective and compatible with some part of the organization but not the whole, it will become enclaved within the compatible part of the system. If the system is contracting, and if the change is effective and compatible, resocialization will occur, and the culture of the system will change. If the change is ineffective, and/or incompatible in a contracting system, it will be terminated. Leaders and followers must adapt to the expansion or contraction of the system, as well as assess the effectiveness and compatibility of a proposed change, and the degree to which single- or double-loop learning will be required for change to become institutionalized.
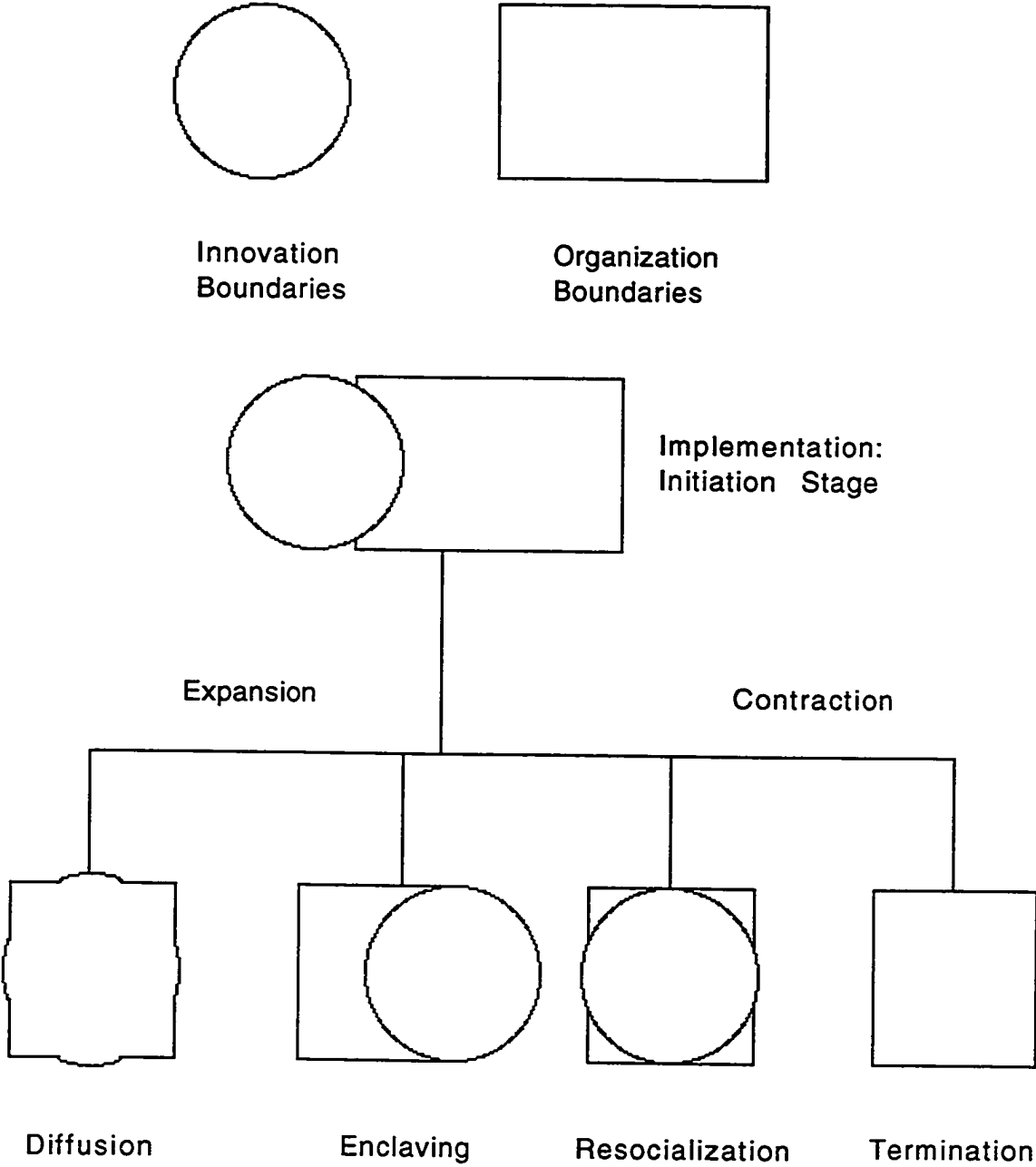
Figure 9. Institutionalization or Termination of Innovation in Organizations. After Levine (1980), p. 16

Community Colleges: Issues in Postsecondary Education

Background

Within this century, we have seen an upheaval in the nature of the inhabitants of a twelfth-grade classroom. At the beginning of the century, the teacher in front of such a class might or might not have possessed a baccalaureate degree. The student body consisted of the sons of the wealthy, being educated into the manners of the upper class and trained to enter the professions, and one or two of the smartest girls, being trained to become teachers after leaving this room, with the possibility of some further training at a state normal school. The rest of the students had dropped out long before, the boys to work alongside their fathers on the family farm or in the local factories, the girls to marry and begin raising families.

Demographic figures differ according to source, as is true of so much about community colleges: Arthur Cohen and Florence Brawer stated that, by 1924, 30 percent of this age group was graduating from high school; by 1947, and by 1960, 75 percent were graduating (1989, p. 5). George B. Vaughan, on the other hand, cited figures from the U. S. Bureau of the Census as showing that in 1947, "only slightly over 18 percent of white males and less than 23 percent of white females had completed high school, and only 6 percent of the white population had completed four or more years of college. For the black population, the figures were even more dismal: Fewer than 9 percent of blacks had completed high school, and less than 3 percent had completed four or more years of college" (Vaughan, 1983, p. 5). The important thing to consider here is not the exact numbers of students in any given year, but the trend of increasing years of formal education in the United States, and also the change

in perception from "college as privilege" to "college as right" during the second half of this century. Even more important issues arise in the questions: "Right to what?" and "Right for whom?"

After World War II, several factors combined to lead to an exponential growth in the number of community colleges: (1) passage of the G.I. Bill, which provided financial support to returning veterans who wanted to go to college; (2) the report of the President's Commission on Higher Education for American Democracy (popularly known as the Truman Commission) in 1947, which "advocated a network of locally controlled colleges which would place higher education within commuting distance of a larger number of Americans" (Vaughan, 1983, p. 6); (3) steady growth in the nation's Gross National Product, which reflects the country's ability to pay for higher education; (4) an increasing need for skilled workers, and an accompanying decline in the number of jobs available to unskilled workers; and (5) the postwar baby boom, which produced a "lump in the python" that has now moved about half-way down towards the python's tail.

Community colleges arose in urban, suburban, and rural areas, funded publicly and privately, as extensions of high schools upwards and universities downward. Their functions included two years of college education aimed at transfer to four-year institutions for the completion of the baccalaureate, career preparation and technical education, remedial education, community service, and continuing education for adults engaged in lifelong learning. Each of these statements of fact represents a cusp, an area of push and pull, since as one thing is included or emphasized, another is necessarily excluded or de-emphasized. The lack of clarity in definition of function leads directly to a

muddleheadedness in definition of vision, goal, mission, and leadership.

Today, with diminished funding, increased tuition and other charges, declining enrollments, increasing numbers of underprepared and/or "disadvantaged" students, and notable lack of advocacy from powerholders, community colleges are still faced with supplying the necessary conditions for

becoming what powerholders in this society deem well-educated, according to J.R. Searle: (1). the student should have enough knowledge of his/her cultural tradition to know how it got to be the way it is; (2) you need to know enough of the natural sciences that you are not a stranger in the world; (3) you need to know enough about how society works so that you understand what a trade cycle is. . .[along with] some knowledge of the subject matter that used to be called political economy;(4) you need at least one foreign language, since you can never understand one language until you understand at least two; (5) you should have enough philosophy so that methods of logical analysis are available to you to be used as a tool; and (6) you must acquire the skills of writing and speaking that make for candor, rigor, and clarity. (1990, pp. 34-42)

Students, Faculty, and Administration

In 1989, the U.S. News and World Report stated that "40% of America's 13.1 million college students attend one of the nation's 1,211 two-year schools" ("Academia's other half," 1989, p. 82). "Focused neither on research nor on faculty, the community college gears itself almost entirely to the educational needs of students," the report goes on. These numbers agree with those quoted in a front-page article in USA Today during the 1991 meeting of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC): "More than

5.7 million students are attending the nation's 1,200 two-year colleges, up 34% in five years. . . .Five years ago, 35% of all college students were on two-year campuses; today, that figure stands at 42%" (Ordovensky, 1991, p. 2A).

This student population, however, is markedly different from that served by community colleges during the 1950s. Although the median age of today's student body is still around 19 years, the range has widened to include everyone from an 11-year-old math whiz who started in community college math classes at the age of 9 and is now planning to attend Cal Tech in the fall to active elders in their 70s and 80s who take classes of personal interest at the local learning center. The motivations, degree of preparedness, and financial resources of the disparate groups who make up the student body of the average community college are dissimilar, and these factors must be weighed by those who attempt to lead, direct, or manage such an institution.

The issue of preparedness is one of increasing importance. As the secondary schools in the United States fail in their mission to produce literate, numerate high school graduates able and willing to participate in the polity, community colleges have been faced with numbers of underprepared students, from both dominant and subordinate cultures, from all racial groups, from all social classes, who demand education on the college level. Taxpayers have in general been willing to support public education through the twelfth grade in this country, on the premise that a high-school education should prepare students to take their place in a complex world. With a movement towards providing funding for community colleges on the state rather than the local level, the question on the agenda in the 1990s is whether or not those same taxpayers will remain willing to pay while these students acquire intellectual

skills they should have gotten in high school.

In most urban community colleges, the student body includes substantial numbers of people of color. Michael Olivas stated that, in 1976, minority students accounted for more than 20% of all enrollments in two year colleges. Fifty percent of these students were black, including 37% of the full-time students, and seven percent of the two year colleges in this country enrolled forty-two percent of minority students in the United States. He also stated that "ethnic institutions have emerged as alternatives to the mainstream educational system, which is perceived by minority communities as being unresponsive to their students' needs" (1979, pp. 25-32). However, he did not elucidate on whether he included community colleges with white administrators and faculty but a student body predominantly made up of ethnic minorities as "ethnic institutions." Nothing in the discussion about community colleges, it seems, is clear-cut.

Common perception is that these urban minority students are underprepared for college work, and that expensive remediation will be required if colleges are not to drop the instructional level at which teachers currently operate. However, other factors come into play here; Lois Weis found that "the interaction between student and faculty cultures produces and reinforces aspects of the lived culture of each," so that what seems "unpreparedness" to one observer may in fact demonstrate a clash of cultures instead (Weis, 1985, p. 105). Since the majority of community college faculty are white males, these cultural factors certainly come into play in colleges where the majority of the students are ethnic minorities.

Commentators note that community colleges must spend considerably

more to instruct an underprepared student, who may lack motivation to continue with a college course, basic study and time management skills, and who may also be working full- or part-time to get through school. If students are tracked by ability levels, then some sort of assessment procedure is necessary, despite opposition by those who denounce testing as culture-bound, class-bound and racist. Establishment of computer-assisted instruction for basic math or English skills seems to be an effective method of remediation, but is very expensive. Failure to track by ability results in a lowering of instructional levels (commonly known as "dumbing down the curriculum"). Assessment procedures without remediation closes the door to opportunity for underprepared students.

The questions of access, remediation, tracking, and financial support seem to be ideally suited to debate in the public arena. In many areas of modern life, our ability to achieve change has overtaken our abilities to deal with the results (medical ethics and biotechnology spring to mind). All too often, change occurs because it can, and we as a society deal with the aftermath in the courts (e. g., whether or not a woman who carries a fetus to which she is not biologically related and delivers a healthy infant is the mother of the child). Underpreparedness of large sectors of the college-bound cohort is a massive indictment of the public schools in this country.

It seems racist to me to assume that the intellectual abilities of minority students are lower than those of Caucasians, on the basis of numbers of ethnic minority students who have earned high school diplomas, but lack the ability to read above the fifth-grade level or perform simple numerical calculations. It also seems racist to me to assume that these students cannot learn on the college level, so that the curriculum must be watered down for them. Should we

not be working towards increased accountability for our public schools? President Bush's vaunted program of "choice" in education is one possibility; we don't seem to be exploring other options with much vigor. This debate needs to get beyond teacher-bashing, and begin to look at questions of equity in funding, residential segregation, issues of race, class and gender at top administrative levels, effective parental participation, and curriculum. We have an unexploded time bomb in this society right now, made up of hundreds of thousands of youngsters who have been exposed to mind-altering drugs *in utero*. Their behavioral and learning difficulties may force this debate into the public forum.

Most community college faculty members hold a master's degree in their subject area, and agree that their focus should be on effective teaching rather than on research. Howard London found four basic instructor perspectives at an urban school which he named City Community College:

1. Conservative

Students' problems are attributed to character weaknesses or intellectual deficiency. These instructors emphasize virtue (as in hard work), and tend to gain fulfillment by focusing on their best students.

2. Liberal

Students' problems are social problems. The solution to these problems is to change students' values and conduct. These instructors reduce their expectations of students, lessen the difficulty of coursework, inflate grades, and counsel their students. Their approach is one of "change the victim." Like conservative teachers, they focus on their better students.

3. Radical

Students' problems are social problems. Like their liberal colleagues, radical instructors tend to lower their standards and inflate grades. They challenge political and ideological beliefs held by students, and try to "sensitize students to causes and consequences of various social and political problems."

4. Vocational

These instructors are both teachers and practitioners. They feel common bonds with their students, and are "less dismayed than their liberal arts coworkers" (London, 1978, pp. 119-149).

Cohen and Brawer (1989) discussed the effects of community college recruiting drives on faculty, who have had little or no say in the make-up of the student body, but who are on the front line of changes in standards, ability levels and curriculum.

> Numerous instructors--who may have regarded themselves as members of a noble calling, contributing to society by assisting the development of its young--reacted first with dismay, then with apathy or antagonism to the new missions articulated by college spokespersons. Feeling betrayed by an organization that had shifted its priorities, they shrank from participation, choosing instead to form collectivities that would protect their right to maintain their own goals. The *Gemeinschaft* had become a *Gesellschaft*. (p. 67)

Certainly one outcome of this development was an increased interest in collective bargaining; more and more community college faculties are covered by union contracts, so that elements of their work environment, and their pay

scales and benefits such as tenure, sick pay, and vacation, are contractually set. The increase in state funding and control of community colleges may result in clashes between legislators interested in fiscal responsibility and union spokespersons interested in getting the best possible contracts for their members, as indeed occurred in the case of NCCB.

Most community colleges turned to part-time instructors as curriculum and instructional needs changed rapidly and funding levels diminished, and a considerable debate is taking place over whether or not the educational system is well-served by this turn of events. Hartleb and Vilter noted that for part-time instructors, "what is done in the classroom must satisfy the students by the end of the first week and be fairly consistent with the pedagogy of the department head or program director from the first day" (Hartleb and Vilter, 1986, p. 20). They saw that an increasing reliance on part-timers makes planning difficult, and discussed the fact that part-timers may not keep current in their fields, avoid out-of-class contact with students, are not available for advising students, and generally do not participate in the governance of the institution. Munsey, on the other hand, discussed the cost effectiveness of using lower-paid part-timers, as well as the flexibility afforded the college by being able to offer the curriculum of choice at lower cost, and a "hands-on" authority provided by part-time instructors who work every day outside the college in the field in which they instruct (Munsey, 1986, pp. 8-9).

Many of these issues center around professionalism within the ranks of community college faculty. Of course, questions about governance and administrative responsibility in American higher education have been raised since the seventeenth century, when institutions like Harvard shifted control

from faculty to strong boards of trustees, reluctant to allow young faculty members to assume positions of responsibility (Brubacher & Rudy, 1958, p. 31). Today, the sometimes adversarial relationships between the faculty and administration could be alleviated somewhat by involving faculty more in the governance of the institution, particularly in areas of curriculum, instruction, and changes of mission. If faculty are to be called upon to instruct underprepared students, this should be an up-front decision, involving ample opportunity for input and feedback. A change of this magnitude should not be allowed to sneak in through the back door. Instructors must be cognizant of the mission of the school, and must have a hand in major changes in that mission. They must also feel supported by administrators, not in conflict with them; everyone must be clear about standards for student retention, curriculum, and grading.

Community colleges are varied in their organizational structures, some answering to a board of trustees drawn from the community, some to a local school board that also oversees K-12 schools, some to a state board or commission. Cohen, Lombardi and Brawer looked at some of the issues involved in administration and governance in 1975.

> The external pressures [on community colleges] are societal forces such as state-level commissions and coordinating councils that mandate institutional roles, financial structures, and curriculum and instructional patterns. The internal forces are the preexisting institutional forms and the personal predilections of the staff and students. [This intersection] of these pressures, the points where external forces meet internal counterpressures. . .is a fruitful area for analyzing challenge and response, for assessing patterns of change in institutional functioning

and in personal approach to the work role. (Cohen, Lombardi & Brawer, 1975, p. viii)

They noted a move towards increased state funding and control, leading towards a role for administrators as interpreters of regulations and code books, rather than planners and implementors. They discussed stable funding as a potential benefit, but the breakdown of local control, unresponsiveness to the community, and a general movement towards bureaucratization as potential drawbacks. At the root of this discussion is a much older one concerning governance in institutions characterized by loose coupling and organized anarchy, as most educational institutions are. Ideally, administrators and faculty would see themselves as pulling in the same direction, but all too often, their relationships would be better described as adversarial. Certainly the tendency noted by Cohen and Brawer (1989) towards larger and more complex institutions accounts for some of the changes they noted in governance and administration.

I decided to discuss student services (registration, advising, extracurricular activities, job placement, orientation, financial aid, and activities that assist students in negotiating their way through college) as part of administration, since these functions are most often overseen by administrators. At NCCB, for example, new students enter the Admissions and Registration wing, where they receive an orientation packet and complete initial paperwork. Around the corner are admissions counselors who set up and administer preadmission screening tests, counsel students about their courses of study, make recommendations about the need for remediation, and assist new students with their class schedules. Further down the hall is the Financial Aid

office, where students submit forms for work study, grants, loans and scholarships. Student Services oversees all of these procedures, which have changed markedly for the better since CCB became NCCB.

Issues revolve around open access, preadmission screening, and remediation, as well as progress toward completion of a course of study. In the last ten years, community colleges have moved increasingly towards screening potential students and requiring remediation in language and math skills for underprepared students. NCCB has established a "Foundation Year," during which students make use of computer-assisted instruction labs, nontransferable courses, and very small classes. Students receive financial aid for this work as long as they demonstrate continued progress. If they stop attending classes, or withdraw, they are required to repay the financial aid they have received (Douglas Bucher, personal communication, April, 1991).

Deans at NCCB are anxious for faculty members to volunteer for student advising, but this request has become a bone of contention because of collective bargaining agreements limiting areas of faculty responsibility. In fact, the head of Financial Aid was unable to provide figures on student absenteeism, since faculty members are not required by their contracts to keep such records.

Student activities are another area of contention at NCCB; one dean pulled out a yearbook from 1968, showing students involved in a variety of extracurricular activities such as band, athletics, and clubs. The students were mostly white, and extensive text and photographs made up a yearbook that closely resembled that of a well-run high school. He compared this yearbook with the one produced in 1977, after a turnaround of the student body to a

predominance of African Americans. The 1977 yearbook was mostly photos, with a few captions and little text. Students were shown in classes and in the halls, but there were few extracurricular activities shown. The dean, who is African-American, regards this as an example of racism on the part of the faculty, who discontinued their involvement with extracurricular activities when the racial makeup of the student body changed. He did not discuss how the part-time student of today, who works and goes to school, and is frequently older and married, would find either the time or the energy to participate in these activities.

One issue for community colleges, then, is a factual one of the number of activities which the school offers; another is more symbolic, centering around the perceptions of staff and students of the reasons why there are fewer activities. If staff and students are satisfied with the present mix, no problem arises; however, if either group thinks that support for student services is being curtailed because of social forces based on racism, then an issue certainly exists.

Finances

This area represents one in which the majority of people take little or no interest, at least until funding sources change dramatically or dry up. In this century, the United States has operated on the assumption that compulsory education was desirable. Some considerable discussion centers around the reasons why this is so. One possibility is that the average citizen agrees that people who have received more education (i. e., have participated for more years in the educational process) are better equipped to take an active part in the duties and responsibilities that accompany citizenship. Another possibility

is that compulsory education keeps young people off the streets and out of the job market, where they might compete with older workers. A third possibility is that taxpayers agree that an educated person is personally more fulfilled, and that this fulfillment increases social stability. A fourth is that we think we are losing our competitive edge in the world marketplace, and believe that a better-educated populace will be more productive economically. There are other possibilities, but truth probably lies in a combination of these and others. What is certain is that there is some widely held belief that education is a common good, resulting in greater good for the community as a whole.

One of the difficulties we are experiencing in America today is that people are being forced to separate the ideal of "education" from the educational process with which we are familiar: elementary school, junior high or middle school, high school, and postsecondary education. We see youngsters with high school diplomas who cannot read well enough to complete a job application, who cannot cipher well enough to tell a customer what her total is, who respond to advertising in a way that indicates that they are unable to think critically about public issues. These young people have been through our public education system, yet do not match up with what most people regard as "educated." This discussion becomes important when we discuss financing for community colleges, since much of their agenda at present is to attempt to make up or fill in areas of educational deficiency.

Citizens in general will support public education at the K-12 level through property taxes and bond issues, although even these traditional financing sources have become more problematic since the late 1970s. The question is the extent to which these same citizens will support compensatory education to

teach the same things for which they have already paid, particularly if they perceive that a large bureaucracy may be part of the process. In 1975, Cohen and Brawer noted an increasing tendency towards moving the funding base for community colleges from local to state levels. The plus here is that inequities in local tax bases will impinge less on community colleges; the minus is that local community control of the institution may be eroded.

One of the questions to be answered is the degree to which state legislators will hold community colleges accountable, and for what outcome. When I attempted to find out what Maryland legislators would regard as "satisfactory progress" after the takeover of NCCB, I received answers ranging from "greater reliability in paying the bills on time" to "better service to the African-American community of Baltimore" (personal communications, April 1991). The background assumption seems to be that continued funding for NCCB by the state will result in fewer numbers on welfare, so that a net economic gain will be realized. In fact, these are the very arguments used during the legislative process that created NCCB.

This sort of discussion, centering around issues of administrative efficiency, is one of effective management: doing things right. Another discussion, centering around whether or not we are doing the right thing, is one of leadership, and that discussion does not seem to be taking place right now (Bennis & Nanus, 1985). Issues of financing lead directly to leadership: by financing community colleges, are we making better citizens? Are we requiring that community colleges not only provide equality of opportunity, but also equality of lifestyle? Are we expecting the community college system to be the vehicle by which differences in social class are obliterated? Faced with this sort

of question, people seem to retreat to questions of funding formulas and bill-paying. It would seem a better option to raise the level of these issues, and attempt to answer them, in the public forum.

<u>Instruction</u>

Interestingly enough, very little of the literature on community colleges centers on instruction, even though instruction is supposed to be the *raison d'etre* for these institutions. Pat Ordovensky reported Dale Parnell of the AACJC as saying, "It's big news that Stanford wants to return to an emphasis on teaching. In community colleges, we never left. That's all we do" (Ordovensky, 1991, p. 2A). The literature, however, discusses leadership, administration, access, students, collegiate functions, community service, quality control, culture, institutional distinctiveness. . . everything, in fact, except the very thing community colleges are supposed to do best (Cohen & Brawer, 1987; Cohen, Lombardi & Brawer, 1975; Dziech, 1986; London, 1978; Roueche & Baker, 1984; Townsend, 1989).

In <u>The American Community College</u>, Cohen and Brawer (1989) discussed methods, media and effects, and conclude that, although the field of instructional technology has much to offer community college instructors, most classrooms are still set up with a lecturer, a chalkboard, and students seated in desks, for a traditional lecture-discussion class format. In my observations at NCCB, only one of eight instructors I observed had provided students with course objectives. The science and math classes I observed were taught by lecture, which students could interrupt with questions. The remedial English class was more interactive, but students still sat in rows facing the instructor, who lectured for more than half the class. This instructor did use an overhead

transparency projector, but only to project a handwritten essay onto the rough surface of the wall, resulting in students experiencing great difficulty in picking out the points of interest in the essay.

Innovative technology was in place in two state-of-the-art computer-assisted instruction (CAI) labs, designed to provide remediation in English and math. A science resource center was equipped with television sets, video playback equipment and an extensive collection of video tapes, purchased in 1975 with a National Science Foundation grant. The science center was used extensively, although many of the tapes were outdated; the English and math labs were set up after the state takeover of NCCB in May, 1990, so their effectiveness has yet to be demonstrated. The weakest point I was able to find was what happened if a student failed two practice tests on the same material; the student was directed to seek personal assistance for additional tutoring, but this had to be done through a sign-up process.

These improvements in instructional materials available to underprepared students are particularly significant in light of the relationship between power and systems based on meritocracy. Nicholas Burbules discussed the ways in which

> faith in the *meritocracy* of our educational system also fosters power relations. . . . The ideology of meritocracy does not serve the interests of students who are for varying reasons handicapped or disadvantaged, when schools do not also offer realistic means by which those initial burdens can be overcome. Promulgating the ideology of meritocracy without providing the means of effectively identifying, rewarding, or promoting merit "blames the victims" of handicaps or disadvantages.

Meritocracy preserves and exacerbates power relations by convincing both the successful and the failed that their destiny is deserved. (1986, p. 110)

Cohen and Brawer discussed teacher responses to the concepts of mastery learning and competency-based education, both of which depend on the "specification of desired competencies to be exhibited by the students" (1989, p. 165). They indicated several reasons why this form of instruction is not more widespread.

It costs too much to develop and operate programs with a sufficient variety of instructional forms; it takes too much of teachers' and tutors' time; outcomes for most courses cannot be defined or specified in advance; allowing students time to complete course objectives interferes with school calendars; students may not be motivated if they are not in competition with their fellows for grades; employers and the public expect the college to sort students, not to pass them all through at prescribed levels of competency; accrediting agencies and other overseers demand differential grades. (pp. 164-165)

They described a study at the City Colleges of Chicago in which "about one-third of these instructors said that they had modified or abandoned the components [of master learning] because it was too time-consuming to construct program specification and tests and to give necessary feedback to the students" (p. 165).

These are exactly the sorts of arguments with which state legislators are likely to be most impatient. If there is one thing community college instructors are supposed to be able to do, it is teach. Those arguments which relate to

preparation time, interaction with students, and interference with the school calendar are specious if in fact instructors are paid to teach effectively, and this is the way to accomplish that. Arguments about expectations that community colleges will sort students can be refuted by any business owner who hires a community college graduate. The owner is not concerned with the student's GPA, but with the student's competencies; if the community college uniformly turns out graduates who can read, write well, calculate, reason, and analyze critically, then everyone benefits. The statement about the necessity of student competition as a motivator says more about the claimant's background assumptions than about how students learn effectively. Accrediting agencies and overseers would be delighted if graduates performed well on standardized tests, and could demonstrate their competencies on the job.

State legislators are likely to demand accountability, and mastery or competency-based education certainly provides demonstrable accountability. This seems to me to be an area of leadership in which the community college president could work with the faculty to establish effective teaching methods for given areas of the school, and for given student populations. It may be that these methods work best for remediation, and for introductory courses; here is an area in which community college faculty could either conduct practical, hands-on research, or cooperate with university schools of education in determining which methods are most effective for which curricula.

Career, Compensatory, Community and Collegiate Education

These areas group nicely around a discussion of appropriate function for a community college. These institutions are ideally placed to serve as centers for educational functions within "a reasonable commuting distance, around 25

miles," of 90-95 percent of the American population (Cohen & Brawer, 1989, p. 12). Whereas the diversity of focus has seemed a detriment to community colleges, perhaps herein lies their greatest strength: they are staffed and equipped to meet the educational needs of most Americans, whether those needs center around career choices, remediation, lifelong learning, or the collegiate function which results in a student transferring to a four year institution. What has been lacking in the past is the idea that the educational standards of the institution need not be reduced or diluted by this diversity. Effective learning is effective learning, whether in critical analysis of literature or in mastery of a craft.

Community colleges seem for the most part to have experimented with the idea that students should be allowed to take what they like, drop in and out of programs, attend if they wish to do so, and withdraw at will. The background assumption here is that mastery can be accomplished almost by osmosis. This idea is totally at odds with Alasdair MacIntyre's concept of a practice, tied to a tradition of excellence and achieved only through disciplined effort (MacIntyre, 1984). Some coursework should appropriately have prerequisites, which students must complete before registration. Other courses can be completed successfully without prerequisites. All, however, require sustained effort by students working with their instructors to master a practice.

In the area of career preparation, successful practitioners in the field know what must be mastered before the student is ready to enter a given occupation. We seem unwilling in this society at present to acknowledge that ability levels vary among individuals, and that some people will be able to achieve levels that others will not. One of the problems lies in the nature of

preassessment, which goes back to effective instructional strategies. If, in the past, students in a given occupation have acquired their knowledge base through print, educators seem reluctant to explore how that knowledge base could be transferred to other media. Is print really required for all areas of a field such as dental technology? Would art students not be served better by insisting that they become familiar enough with personal computers to perform bookkeeping functions on a personal computer, since in addition to creative skills and techniques, they will need the same practical skills as any other small business owner to be able to make a living in art? Are current methods of preassessment screening really sorting by ability, or are they sorting by ethnicity?

If in fact we could demonstrate that preassessment screening procedures sort students by their ability to succeed in a given program, then I think most of the hullabaloo about "race norming" and "quotas" would die down. If students do not possess adequate skill levels to participate in a given program, then taxpayers within this society should be discussing how much they are willing to pay to prepare those students. Are the benefits to society as a whole sufficient that we should fund these preparatory or remedial efforts? Can we doubt that governability of some urban areas depends on a national commitment to ensuring genuine equity of opportunity?

Community colleges seem ideally set to continue to provide career preparation for fields which do not require the intellectual skills required for the baccalaureate. One area in which community colleges could look for a revenue base or profit center is in training for specific industries or companies. Many companies hire instructional technologists to design and deliver training for

their employees, but they might be responsive to a well-presented campaign documenting community college expertise with adult learners in learning specific job skills. Businesses might be amenable to plans through which their employees could have tuition reimbursed by the company upon successful completion of a course or courses. Instructional technologists on the faculty of community colleges would be ideally suited to assisting the faculty as a whole with questions of the most effective learning strategies.

Taxpayer support for community education, or lifelong learning, seems to me to rest on the shakiest ground. Programs which enhance personal satisfaction, or enable students to master craft and hobby skills, should be self-supporting. It is possible that some foundation might wish to provide grant funds for such classes in impoverished areas, but in times of economic stringency, these programs should either support themselves or be canceled.

The collegiate function is the most problematic of these areas to me. I favor a system in which two-and four-year institutions of postsecondary education are so well coordinated that any student who can and is willing to do the work could complete general education requirements and transfer from a community college to a four year school. Standards should be sufficiently rigorous that four year institutions could count on the thorough preparation of students transferring into those colleges and universities. Students should be prepared to work at the college level, with appropriate accountability in terms of attendance and quality; if large numbers of students are underprepared but inherently able to do work of this quality, then the community college should link back to the secondary schools to assist in the national effort to raise standards of secondary education.

I was most interested in Cohen and Brawer's (1989) discussion of a general education faculty, charged with the responsibility of creating and implementing integrated programs which would enable students to communicate effectively, interact with others, understand their environment, and achieve greater control over their individual life paths. Courses in these areas would not be survey courses, nor would they be introductory courses providing vocabulary or methods of a given area of academic specialization. They would be required of all students, since these are areas in which everyone could become more skilled. They clearly would serve to enable students to take their place in the polity, in the body of informed citizens on which this democracy rests.

Cohen and Brawer cited the experience of Los Medanos College in California in developing integrated general education courses. They discussed administrative coordination, staff development, and the involvement of the faculty in the development of these courses, which all students were required to take. The most compelling part of the discussion centered around faculty involvement, since it seems to me that this is the weakest link in the community college chain right now. The heavy use of part-time faculty weakens faculty commitment to the institution; if full time faculty members are more expensive, or if they must be continually retrained to meet society's changing needs, then taxpayers must decide to meet those costs. Part-time faculty members are denigrated by being denied job security of any kind, health benefits, or even an area in which to meet with students or other faculty members. The present structure has created a group of second class academics, to our shame.

On the other hand, I have had the experience of meeting with tenured

community college faculty members who mention every aspect of their jobs except students. I heard all about vacation benefits, and the ability to cash in unused sick leave, and union activities, but I also perceived great reluctance to meet with students, whether for academic advising or for tutoring. I saw the crush of faculty pouring out of the parking lot in the middle of the afternoon, and heard students wistfully saying, "Oh, I guess she left early," at 2:15 p.m. These practices would not be tolerated in the business world, and everyone who works in the for-profit sector knows that job security is as near as your last paycheck. Citizens are ill-served by faculty members who hide unsatisfactory performance behind a cloak of academic freedom. Perhaps a focus on developing integrated general education courses that enhanced the education of all community college students would bring burned-out faculty members back to their best selves again.

The Social Role

Cohen and Brawer's discussion is strongest in the area of the engagement of community colleges "with people on the cusp, people who could enter the mainstream or who could fall back into a cycle of poverty and welfare" (1989, p. 363). I agree that no other institution is better placed to make a real difference in our social structure, in terms of making good on our implied promise of equality of opportunity. We lie if we say that such equality exists today; it does not. However, visionary community college leaders, community activists, and politicians could bring it closer. The more honest we are in terms of what is required for success in our culture, in terms of the personal investment which the student must make, the better our chances.

Since most community college students live within 25 miles of the

campuses they attend, there is little reason to rank one college against another, except in the area of special programs which should not be duplicated unnecessarily. Museums, government agencies, and other social institutions may be places where people gather for various reasons, but community colleges have specific expertise in the area of adult development and learning, which puts them out in front in the field of adult education.

I was surprised at the lack of commentary on the support system that surrounds the student. With a median age of 19 years, students have parents, partners, and spouses who are anxious for them to succeed, and who may be able to supply part of the motivation that individuals need to get through the hard slog of postsecondary education. Leaders should be tapping into that network, at the secondary schools, youth clubs, churches and synagogues, and other community forums where people congregate. Older students have even larger networks. A fruitful area for research lies in the nature of the complex motivational web in which the student is centered.

Toward the Millennium

At the end of the nineteenth century, people focused on the turn of the century as a time of re-evaluation and reassessment. In this last decade of the twentieth century, we are engaged in a similar process, perhaps more sanguine and less hopeful about the future than most Victorians. We must deal with seemingly intractable social issues of race, gender and class in a world in which other attempts to merge ethnic groups are falling apart. We are at once advancing in our status as the preeminent country in the western world, and falling behind in the global marketplace.

However, the same American Creed described by Gunnar Myrdal in

1958 still serves as the foundation for our system of values.

> Not only is the American system of ideals the most explicitly formulated,
> but all vehicles of communication are mobilized to indoctrinate everyone
> with its principles. The schools teach them, the churches preach them,
> the courts announce them in their decisions. The Supreme Court pays
> its homage when it declares what is constitutional. Editorials, articles,
> and public addresses all reflect this idealism. . . .The ideals of the dignity
> of the individual, fundamental equality, and certain inalienable rights to
> freedom, justice, and fair opportunity, were written into the Declaration of
> Independence , the Preamble of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and
> the constitution of the states. . . .One of the historical roots of the
> American Creed is the philosophy of the Enlightenment, with its belief in
> reason, the perfectibility of man [and woman], and his [/her] endowment
> with certain, inalienable rights; its belief in the existence of a harmony
> between equality of opportunity and liberty, and its faith in education.
> (pp. 65-66)

Community colleges certainly cannot solve problems of homelessness, recession, inflation, prejudice, rampant drug use, or the deterioration of the environment. What they can do is what they do well: raise standards of literacy and numeracy, provide the tools of equality of opportunity, and prepare students to take their places within a framework of civic republicanism. They can help us to close the gap between our principles espoused and our principles in use. They give students with "undistinguished academic records multiple chances to succeed," unlike their elitist counterparts in European countries who educate only the top ten to fifteen percent of a particular age cohort (Brint & Karabel,

1989, p. 221). In addition, they provide a venue for legislators to meet "strong pressure to expand opportunities to attend college, for the public has come to see higher education as the principal pathway to success in an increasingly credentialized society" (Brint & Karabel, 1989, p. 216).

Where changed circumstances require reform of an individual college, or of a community college system, involvement by dominant and subdominant groups will provide focus on input, process and output of postsecondary education, all of which are involved in a lengthy and substantive change process (Willie, 1991, pp. 191-192). Unlike potentially divisive programs such as affirmative action, the community college system in this country offers the nation its best hope for leveling the playing field in order to give all the citizens a shot at the goal.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

No conceptual scheme ever exhausts social reality. Each conceptual
scheme is a prism which selects some features, rather than others, in
order to highlight historical change or, more specifically, to answer
certain questions. (Bell, 1973, p. 3)

Introduction

The question of leadership is one which has occupied literally hundreds

of writers, working in any and all areas that deal with groups, organizations,

networks, and other ways in which people interact to achieve mutually-held

purposes. One group of leadership scholars has focused on various

behavioral models, including traits thought to be connected with leadership ex

post facto, behaviors thought to indicate leadership, contingencies in which

leadership occurs, attempts to match leadership behaviors with particular

situations in which an appropriate behavior could be selected by a would-be

leader, and decision-making trees and styles, again with the idea that an

appropriate style could be selected at a decision-making point with leadership

as a result (Foster, 1986b, p. 7). Another group includes leadership within a

political-historical model, with the researcher investigating great men (and,

increasingly, women) who have acted as leaders (Burns, 1978).

The dominant research frameworks for leadership studies have included

investigations of leadership tasks, influence, work groups, small and large

organizations, and political settings on the one hand, and a reification of the

idea of leadership as a thing possessed by an individual on the other. All of

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these studies have in common the researcher's acceptance of a positivistic paradigm, involving the researcher's beliefs that reality exists independent of human beings, that absolute truth is knowable, and that deductive hypotheses, examined objectively, can result in a theory of leadership (Thompson, 1989, p. 19). Positivists examine a nomethetic body of knowledge measured operationally "by selecting precise instruments that they hope will provide reliable and valid measurement in a given application" in order to generalize about reality (p. 22).

Within the paradigm described variously as postpositivistic, heuristic, hermeneutic, qualitative, constructivist, and naturalistic, the researcher believes that reality as it pertains to social constructs exists only in relation to humans, that absolute truth is not knowable, and that inductive hypotheses, grounded within a context, can be derived during the process of an investigation, but will never result in a grand theory (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As Thompson put it, "The qualitative paradigm under discussion here is idealist in its world view. . .to the extent that it presumes reality can only be known phenomenologically" (p. 24). Qualitative researchers examine an idiographic body of knowledge with the expectation that others will examine the data to determine relevance to their own situations, much as attorneys and physicians have traditionally studied legal and clinical precedents (Kennedy, 1979, pp. 671-675). Meaning, as it is derived from an investigation, is best understood by the word *verstehen*, with its implication that the researcher and those participating in a given research effort share meanings in context (Thompson, pp. 27-28).

Since these two paradigms are fundamentally different in their background assumptions, as well as in their approaches to research and

investigation, the researcher should describe the framework within which s/he operates and intends to conduct research. I prefer the terms *hermeneutic*, meaning "the art of explaining or interpreting," or *constructivist* as descriptors for my own research framework. I describe myself as a qualitative researcher, believing as I do that theories and hypotheses should be grounded within a given context, and that objectivity as it is described within the positivistic paradigm is impossible. Since any investigation involves a researcher, who alters the context as soon as s/he enters it, I believe the researcher has an obligation to describe as much as possible about the nature of that interaction along with other research findings.

With regard to the social sciences, I believe that certain realities exist outside of the participant, but that reality is at least in part constructed by participants as they interact in complex ways. I do not define myself as a deconstructivist, since I acknowledge some objective reality; however, I think that leadership and policy making can be studied most effectively through qualitative methods. I attempted to avoid the sort of paper-and-pencil, easily quantifiable analysis described by Lundberg, which leads to a "careful optimism" in describing complex institutional situations. Lundberg calls for researchers to include an "emotional tone" in their reports, to "dream more boldly, advocate more ardently, and let his [/her] passions as well as his [/her] intellect lay down challenges" for the users of the research product (Lundberg, 1985, p. 66).

Quantitative data gathering and analysis might, for example, disclose the average age of the legislators in Maryland's General Assembly in 1991, or the voting patterns of the constituents in a given election, but would be hard put to

show why particular legislators came on board with regard to Senate Bill 381. Human beings are simple and complex at the same time, and surely studies of motivation, leadership and involvement must acknowledge a complexity that cannot be described effectively using quantitative methods. This is not to suggest that quantitative data have no place in a qualitative report; I am not in agreement with the commentary on qualitative research which suggests that inclusion of quantitative material violates the researcher's fundamental viewpoint. The question is one of *focus*, not inclusion or exclusion.

However, I am also aware that qualitative studies are frequently lengthy in the extreme, and that potential audiences may not have time to wade through hundreds of pages of text. Some demographic information is useful in a social science analysis, and that data is best displayed using forms more common to the quantitative mode (Miles & Huberman, 1984). In addition, qualitative researchers would do well to summarize their material as much as possible by using meaningful headings, effective abstracts, and figures which display data effectively: "instead of 'Parent Attendance Patterns,' a heading might read 'Few Parents Attended PAC Meetings'" (Smith & Robbins, 1984, p. 130). I have included figures and headings in this document that should assist policy makers and others to get the gist of my material without having to spend considerable amounts of time reading every detail of the research.

The issue here is one of focus rather than, necessarily, method. A qualitative researcher approaches research with an overarching view, narrowing that view to theory or model as the research progresses; a quantitative researcher begins with a specific hypothesis, which s/he widens to the larger view during analysis. As Van Maanen stated,

Nor are qualitative methods necessarily tied to only narrative, natural language descriptions, since qualitative researchers are often quite able and proficient counters even though the counts that are performed rarely become the centerpiece of a qualitative research report. Even fieldwork of the most traditional ethnographic sort involves a refined combination of data-gathering ploys. If anything, it appears qualitative research is marked more by a reliance upon multiple sources of data than by its commitment to any one source alone. (1982, p. 15)

This sort of approach to data collection and analysis places me within the framework described by James Hunt as *critical pluralism*, in which "triangulation across different sources, methods, and researchers" enables observers critically to compare results obtained by subjective and objective means (Hunt, 1991, p. 53). This comparison feature, according to Hunt, separates critical pluralism from a relativistic viewpoint in which one is unwilling to make value judgments about either the data collection itself or its analysis (much like the position taken by emotive ethicists, to whom value judgments are nothing more than opinions). The strategic aspects of this type of approach were described by Bardach as separating policy research from other social science research (1974, p. 117); Bardes and Dubnick also cited strategic or problem-solving techniques, especially as they are applied "to questions concerning the expressed intentions of governments and those actions it takes or avoids in attaining those objectives" (1980, p. 102).

Whereas Miles and Huberman describe their approach as "soft-nosed logical positivism," I would describe my own as soft-nosed subjectivism (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 19). Practically, this means that I have used the third and

fourth options of Pondy and Rousseau's (1980) four-cell matrix for collection
and analysis, summarized by Hunt as follows:

- (Both public) standardized data collection and statistical data analysis
- (Both private) impressionistic data collection and interpretist data
analysis
- (Public/Private) standardized data collection and private, interpretist
data analysis
- (Private/Public) impressionistic data collection and public statistical
data analysis. (Hunt, 1991, p. 55)

Qualitative Case Study Research

Research Design

The complex nature of the policy-making area, along with the human
interactions that resulted in policy outputs, point to the use of naturalistic inquiry
in the preparation of a case study, rather than quantitative methodology. There
are a number of facets to be examined in this study: leadership, human
interactions within social systems, policy making (both process and content),
and the particularities of community colleges within the field of postsecondary
education. The prisms described by Bell (1973) have enabled me to focus on
different areas of interest in turn, each of which has its own unique contribution
to make to a research project. The features of a case study include the ability to
examine Individual motivations and complex interactions; these are best
researched through in-depth interviews and extended observations, as are the
leadership processes which are apparent here.

Much of the discussion within the communities of political scientists,

organizational researchers and educators about the methodologies employed to research a topic as complex as leadership has centered around the field of evaluation, in which researchers create and utilize models which help to explain the ways in which a particular policy is being or has been implemented. Every writer in this field acknowledges that those who implement a policy may or may not end up in the same ball park which the policy makers had so carefully constructed. Even the title of one of the best-known works on evaluation expresses the mindset of evaluators: Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington Are Dashed in Oakland, or, Why It's Amazing That Federal Programs Work At All, This Being a Saga of the Economic Development Administration As Told By Two Sympathetic Observers Who Seek to Build Morals on a Foundation of Ruined Hopes (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984).

As Guba and Lincoln (1989) discussed in Fourth Generation Evaluation, evaluation historically has revolved around measurement, description, and judgment, with evaluators working from within a positivistic paradigm in which social constructs are knowable and quantifiable. Naturalistic inquiry involves parameters and boundaries negotiated by all stakeholders, including the evaluator and those with whom the evaluator works (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Design is emergent, since the report is itself a product of the evaluation process, rather than a report of it (Zeller, 1987). The advance organizers for the design are the claims, concerns and issues identified by the stakeholders, not imposed by the evaluator. Constructions are seen as context-bound, rather than context-free, and "the evaluation must have an action orientation that defines a course to be followed, stimulates involved stakeholders to follow it, and generates and

preserves their commitment to do so" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 115). The evaluator works within a hermeneutic and constructivist paradigm, aware that outcomes represent meaningful constructions rather than absolute reality.

The dialectical process between evaluator and stakeholders is interpretive in character, involving comparison and contrast of divergent views to achieve a higher-level synthesis. My aim has been to expose and clarify different points of view, and to work with hypotheses until all data are included within the final construct. Negative case analysis has also proved useful, as I attempted to find alternative reasons for the particularities of what took place, when, and who was involved, and revised my hypotheses accordingly (Becker & Geer, 1960, p. 288). This is slightly different from looking for cases that do not fit within a particular pattern; I was trying to find instances that didn't seem to fit, acting something like a detective who "looks for clues that lead in different directions and tries to sort out which direction makes the most sense given the clues (data) that are available" (Patton, 1990, p. 463).

I have used documents and records, transient observations, professional literature, intensive interviews, inputs from others' constructions, and my own etic constructs (Murphy, 1980) to prepare a case study report which can be assessed on the bases of trustworthiness, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I have used these materials to prepare a well-constructed and well-executed case study that presents generalizable data, since extensive data, assessment from a variety of perspectives, and precision in description are needed in order for individuals to apply qualitative evaluation findings to their own situations (Kennedy, 1979). I have attempted to write a report that will prove useful for both theoreticians and practitioners, using

a variety of procedures which seemed to fit a given circumstance, following Van Maanen's description that "discovering how far one's perspective will carry, and then inventing, or, as the case may be, falling upon procedures and lines of inquiry to get there (or beyond) is the stuff of which good qualitative research is made" (1982, p. 18).

As Cahill and Overman pointed out, "the evolution of policy analysis is a field of study [that] is inextricably intertwined with the evolution of decision theory (that is, how decisions are made, from narrowly defined models of rationality to broader models based on a philosophy of logical reasoning and argumentation" (1990, p. 13). The basic shift that has taken place in the last five years in this field is an increase "in the capacity of policy analysis to discern and analyze 'meaning' within the decision-making process" (Cahill and Overman, 1990, p. 17). The concept of "meaning," of course, is ultimately highly subjective, and as such, is best approached through qualitative means, despite some researchers' qualms about lack of generalizability; the great corpus of legal and medical knowledge has managed this problem for years through case citation, and qualitative research has the same capacity.

In fact, this emphasis on meaning and values calls for "resonance between the world being studied and the methods we use to study it" (Gregware & Kelly, 1990, p. 36). Certainly our conceptions of social reality have undergone change in the immediate past, calling for changes in methodology as well:

> This change begins with calls for methods that assess the problems of "value neutrality" and unconscious value bias, including instrumental rationality as ideology, the emotivist conception of values, and the tacit

normative presuppositions of policy. This change continues on to the

acceptance that values are integral and necessary to policy inquiry. . .

There needs to be a greater recognition of a responsibility to promote

values, especially the value of participatory democracy and human

emancipation. (Gregware & Kelly, 1990, p. 36)

Although I began the investigation with some theories in mind, I

attempted to "hold [any] conclusions [at this stage] lightly, maintaining openness

and skepticism," until I was in a position to draw conclusions, "inchoate and

vague at first, then increasingly explicit and grounded, to use the classic term of

Glaser and Strauss (1967)" (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 22). My early

research followed the path described by Firestone and Herriott: "Classical

qualitative research begins with only the most tentative research problem, and

the first days in the field become an important time for fleshing out an

understanding of the phenomena of interest" (1984, p. 75). As recommended

by Becker and Geer, I remained committed to "an open theoretical scheme in

which problems, hypotheses, and variables [are] to be discovered rather than

with a scheme in which predetermined problems would be investigated by

isolating and measuring the effects of specified variables" (1960, p. 269).

Glaser and Strauss described the purposes of theory as:

1.   To enable prediction and explanation of behavior;

2.   To be useful in theoretical advance;

3.   To be useful in practical applications--prediction and explanation

should be able to give the practitioner understanding and some

control of situations;

4.   To provide a perspective on behavior--a stance to be taken toward

data;

5. To guide and provide a style for research on particular areas of
    behavior. (1967, p. 3)

In beginning the research process with field research, rather than a
thorough review of the literature, I followed Glaser and Strauss's
recommendation "in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not
be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas. Similarities and
convergences with the literature can be established after the analytic core of
categories has emerged" (1967, p. 37). During the process of analyzing the
case study of the policy-making process for NCCB, categories did indeed
"emerge, develop abstraction, and become related, their accumulating
interrelations [forming] an integrated central theoretical framework--*the core of
the emerging theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 40, emphasis in the original).
In fact, I conducted data collection and analysis continually, so that I have come
to think of theory generation and model building in terms of process as much as
content.

I also wanted to avoid a Type III error, described by McCall (1976) as
common in leadership research, in which researchers succeed in solving the
wrong problem. In this case, I was not attempting to solve a problem at all, but I
was piecing together data from a variety of sources into a model of educational
policy making at the state level; I would not so much have been solving the
wrong problem as trying to force pieces from different jigsaw puzzles into a
single frame. To make sure all my pieces came from the same puzzle box, I
investigated how the actors themselves regard their behavior within policy issue
networks, and their assessment of the impact of their behaviors.

Although this study took the form of a naturalistic inquiry, and involved my interviewing legislators, staff, administrators, and interest group representatives within the legislative setting, as well as administrators, staff, students, and faculty members at the New Community College of Baltimore (NCCB) and at Harris-Stowe College in St. Louis, Missouri, the study should by no means be considered ethnographic, since my emphasis was not on the nature of the culture of NCCB. As Patton points out, "ethnographers use the methods of participant observation and intensive fieldwork, but what makes the approach distinct is the matter of interpreting and applying the findings from a *cultural perspective* "(Patton, 1990, p. 68, italics in the original). An ethnographic study would have involved my presence within the legislative and community college cultures for an extended period of time, for the purpose of describing those cultures; my observations in Baltimore were not lengthy enough to meet this description, nor was my focus on culture. The results of my research would be more accurately described as a case study which includes an historical emphasis, examining "the phenomena in a bounded context" (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 79).

The necessity to center the data within context required that a great deal of historical information be included. A particular event is, after all, grounded by historical forces which shape and alter it from inception to finality. The context in which events take place is critical, and inclusion of details about the context is one way in which researchers can link theory and practice. Pettigrew stated,

> Systematic description of the properties and patterned relationships of
> any process and of the changes in context through which such processes
> emerge and, in turn, influence that context is a critical form of knowledge

for theoretical development and for practice. In conducting such process-in-context research, it is critical for theoretical developments in organizational analysis that context no longer be defined just as intraorganizational context and that organizational environment not be defined just in terms of the activities of other organizations. We have to bring socioeconomic and political contextual factors into our analyses, not only because they are in today's world so empirically crucial but also because incorporating such a broad treatment of context into our analyses will release organizational analysis from much of the misdirected and in many cases impotent managerialism that informs "theories" guiding managerial practice. (1985, pp. 242-243)

Brint and Karabel pointed out the importance of considering the constraints within which events take place, as part of that context.

A key task of the institutional analyst is to specify [the larger] field of power and social structure [within which development takes place] and to show how they shape and constrain the pattern of development of organizations operating within a particular institutional domain. Because organizational forms develop over time, such an analysis will almost necessarily be historical. (1989, p. 214)

Merriam described a case study as "an examination of a specific phenomenon such as a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group," representing a bounded system, particularly if the boundaries recognizably make sense (1988, p. 9). Yin defined a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are

not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (1984, p. 23). Yin's definition comes closer to my idea of a case study, particularly with his emphasis on multiple sources of evidence, which are also necessary for triangulation of the data.

Both of these definitions take into account that a phenomenon is studied in context, and both imply that a case study is particularistic (focusing on a particular situation, event, or program); descriptive (producing a "thick" description of the phenomenon being studied); heuristic (illuminating the reader's understanding of the phenomenon); and inductive (relying on inductive reasoning) (Merriam, 1988, pp. 11-13). These characteristics match well with Bardach's recommendations for information sources in policy analysis, namely "documents and people, first- and second-hand information, and multiple sources of information" (1974, pp. 121-126). Yin added that maintenance of a chain of evidence increases the reliability of information in the case study (1984, p. 96).

Since the takeover of a community college formerly funded by a municipality is rather rare in the United States, and since this case has implications for educational policy making in many areas, the case study format has proved, as Patton stated, "particularly useful where one needs to understand some special people, particular problem, or unique situation in great depth, and where one can identify cases rich in information--rich in the sense that a great deal can be learned from a few exemplars of the phenomenon in question" (1990, p. 54).

Lincoln and Guba described four criteria by which the trustworthiness of a naturalistic inquiry could be substantiated: credibility, transferability,

dependability, and confirmability (1985, pp. 39-43). Zeller discussed criteria for trustworthiness in collection, as well as in writing, which involved multiple sources of information, thick descriptors, multiple voices in the case report, coherence in narrative, and clarity in information (1987, pp. 18-19). She also discussed the phases of a case study investigation as orientation and overview, focused exploration of major issues, and member checks (pp. 19-20). I kept the issue of trustworthiness in the final report in mind throughout the planning and execution of this research project, bearing in mind Yin's suggestion that "when evidence comes only from a single site, the explanation can nevertheless be 'tested' by 1) attending to the pattern of results and 2) determining the degree to which the pattern matches that predicted by the explanation" (1982, p. 61).

The phases which Zeller described paralleled my own research course, which began with a historical presentation of the events leading to the passage of Senate Bill 381 by the Maryland General Assembly in April, 1990. I began a focused exploration of the issues after I had written a case study, so that the models and theories which I derived were firmly grounded in the data, as recommended by Glaser and Strauss (1967). They discussed effective strategy as "[ignoring] the literature of theory and fact in the area under study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas. Similarities and convergences with the literature can be established after the analytic core of categories has emerged" (p. 37).

Many qualitative evaluators have described participants as "stakeholders," a term which brings to the fore the importance of their individual stakes in the research outcome. The claims, concerns and issues of the

stakeholders are of primary concern, since they will inevitably be affected, positively and negatively, by the final report. However, whereas Guba and Lincoln recommend that researchers engage in a dialectical process with participants before the preparation of the final report, I did not send the entire document to each subject. Nor did I send copies of transcriptions to each person I interviewed; I relied on the process of informed consent, and the subject's knowledge that the interview was being taped or noted. Much of the data in this project was fairly volatile, dealing as it does with questions of importance to the society as a whole, as well as to Maryland policy makers, and I did not think it appropriate to raise questions of volatility in the subjects' minds after interviews were completed. This report is not primarily an evaluation of the implementation of SB 381, but rather an attempt to generate an effective model of state educational policy making, in which evaluation certainly plays a part. I sent relevant sections of the report to any participant who requested the opportunity to rebut my analyses, but did not engage in dialogue with subjects regarding my conclusions.

Site Selection: Maryland and Missouri

Initial site selection was obvious, since SB 381 concerned the involvement of the state of Maryland in the governance of a small college, the Community College of Baltimore. Maryland is a small state, so that legislators were available, either in Annapolis during session, or in their home locations, without a great deal of difficulty. I spent the majority of my time in Annapolis and Baltimore City, the places of immediate concern to those connected either with the General Assembly or with the college. I trust that users of this report will be able to determine its generalizability for themselves, as has always been true in

the fields of medicine and law, where case studies have always been the reporting medium (Kennedy, 1979).

During the course of my investigations, however, it became clear that another site was also key in understanding the passage and implementation of SB 381. Secretary Aery had come to the state of Maryland from Missouri, where she had worked in a position similar to her Maryland job. Harris-Stowe State College in Missouri, originally funded by the city of St. Louis to provide teachers for the St. Louis public schools, had been taken over by the state during Aery's time in Missouri, and she was instrumental in keeping legislative attention focused on the college. Since some of the people with whom Aery worked in Missouri assisted in the legislative process in Maryland, I also traveled to Harris-Stowe to conduct site analysis.

Participant Selection

The initial selection of participants was also obvious. All state and local officials who were involved in the planning, drafting, or passage of SB 381 were likely participants. My first contact was with Secretary Aery, who agreed to cooperate in this process because she felt that too many such projects in education went unreported due to a dearth of graduate students who wanted to study them. Aery, in turn, provided me with the names of legislators and others who worked on the bill.

As I interviewed the people named by Aery as active in the process, many provided me with names of others who had worked on the bill, either in favor or in opposition. I spent a considerable amount of time at the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore City reading commentary on the political agendas of that session, and uncovered more names. I also spent time on the campus of

the college, and met faculty members and administrators who had been actively involved. The process of participant selection, then, was one of ever-widening circles of information, so that my initial pool of subjects expanded as the research progressed. The fact that I was able to speak with individuals who strongly opposed the bill, as well as those who favored its passage, indicated that I had not overlooked a pool of subjects by working first with those named by key informants. I divided these subjects into several groups.

Group One

Group One subjects consisted of those legislators who were actively involved in the passage of SB 381, either in favor of passage, or opposed.

1. Senator Clarence Blount (D-Baltimore City) has served in the Maryland General Assembly since 1968. He was described in a recent article in the Baltimore Sun as "the godfather of the Maryland senate" (Smith, 1990, p. 1B). In 1990, Blount was chair of the Economic and Environmental Affairs Committee.

2. Senator Laurence Levitan (D-Montgomery County) was the powerful chair of the Senate Budget and Taxation Committee.

3. Delegate Nancy Kopp (D-Montgomery County) served as the Chair of the House Education Subcommittee in 1990 and President pro tem of the House of Delegates in 1991.

4. Delegate Howard ("Pete") Rawlings (D-Baltimore City), who, in addition to serving in the General Assembly, was also Assistant to the President of CCB and a member of the mathematics faculty at the college.

Group Two

Group Two subjects were appointed staff members who played a key

role in one of the issue networks.

1. Secretary Shaila R. Aery was appointed by Governor William Donald Schaefer as Maryland's first Secretary of Higher Education, a cabinet-level position.

2. Janet Hoffman worked the bill for Mayor Schmoke.

3. Eloise Foster worked the bill for Governor Schaefer.

Group Three

Group Three subjects served as intermediaries in the process. In several instances, Group Three subjects defused an issue such as race, that might otherwise have prevented the bill from reaching the legislative agenda. In other instances, Group Three subjects opposed the legislation and gave public testimony as to the reasons for their opposition. In some instances, I was not able to meet with or interview people who had appeared before various legislative committees, whether in favor of or opposed to the legislation. I used content analysis of their testimony to determine their stance on SB 381, and their reasons for involvement in the legislative process.

1. Dr. Henry Givens was President of Harris-Stowe State College, St. Louis, Missouri.

2. Bishop Robinson was Baltimore City's first African-American Chief of Police

3. The Committee for Montgomery was an ad hoc citizen's group, some of whose members had been active in Maryland's political scene in various ways.

Group Four

Group Four participants were connected in some way with the college, as

administrators or faculty, or members of the board of trustees, or members of the State Commission for Community Colleges, or involved with the unions that negotiated faculty, administrator and staff contracts for unionized groups at the college.

1. Dr. James Tschechtelin was chair of the State Commission for Higher Education during the consideration of SB 381 in 1990 and was then appointed interim President of NCCB in June, 1990.

2. Otis Warren was President of the CCB board of trustees before the passage of SB 381.

3. Marion Pines was Senior Fellow of the Policy Studies Institute at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, and was elected president of the board of trustees of NCCB after the passage of SB 381.

3. Robert Corrigan served as Assistant to the President of NCCB.

4. Eric Hallengren served as President of the Faculty Senate at CCB/NCCB during and immediately after the takeover.

5. Joan Finucci was elected President of the Faculty Senate at NCCB as of September,1991.

6. Joel Smith was an attorney who served as a negotiator for three unions at CCB, and who later filed wrongful action cases against the state and NCCB on behalf of tenured faculty members who received poor evaluations and whose teaching contracts were not renewed.

7. There were various deans, faculty members, administrators and students at NCCB and other sites, whom I have quoted anonymously to prevent individual identification.

Group Five

I placed all the other subjects with whom I spoke in Group Five. They ranged from local historians in Baltimore City to members of Baltimore's business community to reporters for Baltimore newspapers. Almost all of them requested anonymity, which I have been careful to honor.

Data Gathering

Transient Observation

Although this study cannot be described as an ethnography, I certainly used ethnographic techniques in data gathering. One of these techniques is participant observation, in which "the researcher makes firsthand observations of activities and interactions, sometimes engaging personally in those activities" (Patton, 1990, p. 10). This technique is particularly useful for researchers who spend weeks or months at a particular site, becoming quasi-members of an organization. My own technique was better described as "transient observation," in that I was very much an outsider, operating under considerable time constraints. The time I spent at the college, for example, was concentrated, but also repeated, giving me a chance to confirm or rebut my initial impressions. I did spend enough time in classes, in the cafeteria, in the library, and in other areas of the campus to get a feel for the culture of the college.

During my early research days, I "shagged around" Annapolis, Baltimore and the college campus, to use LeCompte and Goetz's phrase:

Getting acquainted with the participants, learning where they congregate, recording demographic characteristics of the population, mapping the physical layout, and creating a description of the context of the

phenomenon or the particular innovation under consideration. . . .In this way, the investigator examines how people categorize each other, the central issues of importance to participants, and any potential areas of conflict and accord. (1984, p. 43)

Much of my time in meetings, interviews and classes was spent in observing nonverbal behavior, interactions among people, and other small and subtle signs of power and authority in relationships. As an outsider, I noted with fresh eyes the wave of a hand, the sideline whispered conversation, the appearance of thick data books, through which experts and authorities inform others of their status. I watched the visible effects of these maneuvers on others, and was able to use these signs as a source of triangulation, particularly in differentiating between genuine and pseudo experts (Dean & Whyte, 1970, pp. 119-131).

I also experienced the ambiguities of this type of research which Merriam discussed: the balance between spontaneity and research, the concern about whether I was in the right place at the right time, worries over what was happening at some other place simultaneously, and a strong tendency to identify with informants. Several personal characteristics aligned me with faculty and administrators, and separated me from students; I am a white, middle-aged woman, like many faculty members, and unlike most students, who are black and, in general, younger than I am. At least one thing separated me from all other participants. As a result of childhood polio, I am disabled, and use braces and crutches to walk. During the time I spent at the college, I met two other disabled persons, both students, and both wheelchair users. There were no disabled faculty members or administrators at the school. Since my crutches

are metal, and make a distinctive tapping noise when I walk, any attempts at unobtrusive observations while walking up and down the corridors would have proved fruitless.

To a certain extent, any "observer-investigator affects that which is being observed. . . .The question is not *whether* the process of observing affects what is observed but rather 'how to monitor those effects and take them into consideration when interpreting data' (Patton, 1980, p. 189). I am sure that my race, age and gender made me appear more sympathetic to some people, and less so to others. I attempted to factor that into my ongoing analysis, which I conducted continuously as I gathered data (Becker & Geer, 1960, p. 270). The mindset behind this sort of approach is very different from that of a quantitative researcher, who believes that one can avoid contamination of the data and/or analysis by failing to inform subjects that they are being studied, or misinforms participants as to whether or not they are "being manipulated" (a telling phrase, indeed!) (Spector, 1981, p. 27).

In the course of this research, I spent many hours in meetings where I occupied a seat from which I would have a clear view of participants but where my presence would be as unobtrusive as possible. From the standpoint of commissioners or other public figures, I was easily ignored. I was startled, in fact, by the opposite response: at the college itself, the fact that I was conducting research at this particular site seemed on occasion to be regarded as a positive sign by some faculty members and administrators.

I recorded meetings and interviews wherever possible, but took extensive notes in addition, either during interviews or as soon afterwards as possible. Interviewees always had the ability to turn the recorder off if they

wanted something off the record, and on occasion people took advantage of the offer. However, one of the most insightful interviews I conducted took place at the end of a long work day, with no tape recorder and no immediate note taking. I found that my years of practice in memorizing music for performance stood me in good stead in reconstructing such interviews after they were over.

Extant Data

Human subjects, of course, are only one source of information about social systems. They tend to leave footprints behind them wherever they go, which include quantitative data in the form of demographics, statistical analyses, and reports, memos, briefings, press releases, and other bits of detritus that follow us around in this modern world. Participants may have different points of view about what happened in a meeting, but the reports which are distributed at the meeting as foci for discussion are mute evidence of factors for which the researcher must be able to account.

I used extant data to triangulate the materials I obtained from observing and interviewing human subjects, who tend to provide subjective data which is highly situational (Dexter, 1970, p. 123). Triangulation strengthens the case in qualitative research for objectivity, although in most instances humans also prepared and/or distributed the "objective" data which the researcher studies. In addition, this sort of triad approach enables the researcher to "cross-validate measures of the phenomenon, and break the singular focus that often accompanies monomethod research" (Faulkner, 1982, p. 81). The very process of triangulation reminds the researcher that "it takes multiples and complexity in the data collection to capture and preserve multiples in the phenomenon of interest" (Faulkner, 1982, p. 81). Especially in research involving a single case,

however, "each added item of information affords another instance with which to probe one's hypotheses" (Fielding & Fielding, 1986, p. 87).

I also studied physical surroundings, and the sorts of unobtrusive measures that Murphy described as telling, as when museum directors measure the success of exhibits by the wear on the carpeting: highlighting in memos and reports, underlining, dust, potholes, conditions in restrooms, the number of titles carried by the bookstore, etc. (1980, pp. 113-118).

Interviews

My research subjects fell into two broad categories, those who are in public life, and those who are not. In this last decade of the twentieth century, the decision to enter public life, particularly in the political arena, is one fraught with tension. Ordinary citizens coexist in an uneasy relationship with political figures, with an additional strain depending on whether those figures are elected or appointed. We are a long way from the citizen-farmer who served a term or two in his state legislature and returned to private life; the American public has invaded the lives of those in politics in a way which would have been unheard of even thirty years ago.

Public figures have responded to this sort of pressure by becoming guarded, alert, and extremely chary with information, since they are uncertain how that information will be used. Private individuals tend to be fearful of the type of exposure to which public figures are subjected, and are also wary of requests for information or opinions. These factors have made interviewing slightly more perilous than it has always been, but have not changed the nature of the dance in which interviewer and interviewee are engaging.

Lewis Dexter described the sort of interviewing which one conducts with

public figures in <u>Elite and specialized interviewing</u> (1970):

> Interviews should be undertaken, informants should be relied upon,
> when it is clear that the following conditions can be approached:
> a) alternative techniques have been seriously considered in terms of the
> research issues, b) the research issues have tended to determine the
> selection of techniques, rather than the reverse, and c) inferences drawn
> from the interviews can be subjected to some sort of independent
> criticism, or, preferably, vigorous test. (p. 13)

Dexter also mentioned his discomfort with the term <u>elite</u>, which carries
strong connotations of superiority, but quotes David Riesman: "Yet I have found
no other term that is shorthand for the point I want to make, namely, that people
in important or exposed positions may require VIP interviewing treatment on the
topics which relate to their importance or exposure" (Dexter, 1970, p. 5). He
discussed the process by which one enters into an interviewing or informant
relationship with elites:

> The most important thing to consider is what, on an immediate day-to-day
> basis, do informants get out of the relationship--part, I suppose, of the
> pleasure Horace Walpole got in writing to Sir Horace Mann, but how
> does one enhance that?, techniques of recruiting informants (I suspect
> there is a minuet of courtship with many elite members rather than a bare
> request, crudely offered or refused, and ways of reducing the risks that
> reliance upon informants may lead one to misinterpret or distort the data).
> (p. 75)

The researcher, then, must be highly creative in interviewing public
figures, approaching the interview with a guide rather than survey-type

questions, and allowing the subject considerable latitude in directing the interview. I tried to be thoroughly prepared as far as background information goes, able to focus concentrated attention for short periods of time on the subject, and able to shift gears rapidly if the subject changed direction. I practiced interviewing in order to increase my comfort levels with periods of silence, and followed Morrissey's recommendation to spread tough questions out in an interview, asking the subject "to respond to anonymous people not in the room" (Morrissey, 1970, pp. 108-118).

Once all of this background preparation has been completed, however, the best way to learn how to conduct in-depth interviews, particularly those involving ethnographic techniques, is to do as many as possible (Spradley, 1979). Of course, the researcher may get what Jack Douglas described as "self-presentational pseudorealities" from the subject, particularly if s/he is discussing sensitive material, and if s/he is involved in politics. Researchers, like journalists and others who interact with public figures, must be constantly on guard against being coopted by those in positions of power, and must be extra vigilant in seeking outside confirmation of information provided by elites.

Both public and private individuals may want strong assurances about anonymity, but subject-matter experts (known as SMEs to instructional technologists) may prove idiosyncratic: "If you propose to shroud [expert interviewees] in anonymity, you are proposing to steal their prized knowledge by putting it under your name. . . .It may only be fair to promise to quote them by name--in CAPITAL letters--and may be a vital source of motivation for them to cooperate" (Douglas, 1985, p. 65). I followed the wishes of participants about anonymity, except for those subjects who had made statements which were part

of the public record already.

Background to Analysis

Research students today are generally taught that each of the paradigms within which research is conducted has its own particular models for derivation of hypotheses and examination of data. Researchers within the quantitative paradigm examine the background of a given issue, create hypotheses which can be stated in the null form, set up experimental or quasi-experimental research situations for the purpose of establishing a quantitative data base, utilize that data base to describe the possibility of relationships between independent and dependent variables, and end up by stating the statistical probability that the null hypothesis can be discarded (e.g., that there is indeed a causal relationship between independent and dependent variables). The philosophical underpinnings of this deductive method lie in logical positivism, with its beliefs that truth is both knowable and quantifiable, that some things are true irrespective of the outlook of an observer, and that research should be as objective and value-free as possible, to increase the possibilities that a given study is reliable and valid (that the right "stuff" was studied in a way that permits analysts to generalize the results from a particular example to more general situations).

Most researchers working within a qualitative paradigm believe that hypotheses are best derived when a preliminary study has been done, following the lead of Glaser and Strauss (1967). Qualitative researchers, in general, believe that, particularly in the social sciences, truth is as much constructed by participants as it is objectively real, that truth is probably not knowable or quantifiable, and that it is impossible for a researcher to be

objective or value-free. The most radical qualitative spokespersons believe that no reality whatsoever exists outside of the humans who experience it.

Aside from questions about how research is established and conducted, quantitative and qualitative researchers also differ in the methods they use to analyze data. Quantitative researchers perform most of their intellectual labor at the front end of their research, in the statements of hypotheses. Once the null hypotheses are set, data collection methods fall into place. Powerful statistical analyses are performed to look for connections between variables; and probabilities that those connections exist and are causal can be looked up in tables. Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, do most of their work in the middle. Every commentator on qualitative data whom I've read has discussed the wealth of data--the plethora of data--which accumulates quickly, and the difficulties of analyzing that data (Miles, 1979; McCutcheon, 1981; Miles and Huberman, 1984; Fetterman, 1986; Simon, 1986; Merriam, 1988).

Analysis

Several things are critical here: the units of analysis, analytical strategies, and the display of that analysis once completed. Fielding & Fielding note, "Deciding what to count as a unit of analysis is. . .a choice that cuts to the core of qualitative methods--where meanings rather than frequencies assume paramount significance" (1986, p. 5). Ethnographers and anthropologists have developed methods for dealing with qualitative analysis which are invaluable to the fledgling researcher, who is quickly overwhelmed by the sheer volume of qualitative data. I looked for relevance in each instance or item that I determined should be part of the final analysis, and used triangulation of process and content to ensure accuracy (Mayer & Greenwood, 1980, p. 114).

Elaine Simon used Michael Agar's terminology of strips and breakdowns to analyze the success of implementation strategies in public schools. She described strips as "interaction settings that include participants," and breakdowns as "[participants'] expectations of each other (knowledge they needed) and the details of how they communicate this knowledge to each other" (Simon, 1987, p. 66). This example helped me to conceive of strips as the smallest unit of analysis, in which participants are acting congruently with their beliefs. I thought of breakdowns as times of cognitive dissonance, when a current belief or attitude rubs up against a new concept, with the potential of change. The extent of the change would depend on whether the belief was a core value or not; core values are changed with great difficulty, through what is described as "double-loop learning," while secondary values can be changed much more easily, through "single-loop learning" (Argyris and Schon, 1978).

Agar (1986) described breakdowns as times when he, as a researcher, didn't understand an action or an activity; however, he was conducting an ethnographic study in a culture foreign to him, and I am conducting case study research in a culture in which I am embedded. I found the concepts of strips and breakdowns most useful as I coded transcriptions of interviews for categories, adding new categories when I failed to understand why something occurred. Eventually, I was able to reduce the number of categories by looking for common underlying themes (Francis, 1990).

The most useful and practical tips on analysis came out of the field of ethnographic educational evaluation, where practitioners wrestle daily with a dissonance between the requirement of evaluation and their commitment to ethnography, a field in which evaluation is an oxymoron. Case study examples

of the use of ethnographic methods in educational settings provided the

clearest examples of how analysis should be done (Fetterman, 1984;

Fetterman, 1986; Simon, 1986; Fetterman, 1987). All of these analyses

followed the guidelines outlined by Jorgensen:

1. Identify the basic components of the phenomenon in question.

2. Look for "patterns and relationships" among those components.

3. Compare and contrast the patterns to derive meaning from

observations.

4. Ask different questions, or ask them in different ways, to see whether

your initial analysis stands up to negative analysis. (1989, pp. 107-110)

All of these ethnographic evaluators shared "an orientation clearly reflecting a

tradition committed to discovering how things are and how they got that way,"

rather than a more judgmental point of view in which the evaluator seeks to

determine the degree of fit between an individual policy and its implementation

(Wolcott, 1984, p. 180).

Analysis should be done in a forward direction, in which units of analysis

thought to be significant by the researcher are followed to see where they lead,

and also backward, as the researcher takes the end point (in this case, the

policy created through the legislative process) and works backward to

determine the nature of the influences on process and content. This sort of

backward mapping in analysis is an adaptation of a research strategy used in

studying implementation, in which the researcher "starts with a statement of the

specific behavior at the lowest level of the implementation process that

generates the need for a policy. . .and backs up through the structure of the

implementing agencies" (Elmore, 1982, p. 21). In essence, I followed

Hackman's recommendation to "carry out competing analyses for each interpretation of a case that we generate--one that seeks to make the best case possible for the interpretation and one intended to cast the greatest possible doubt on it" (1985, p. 138). I considered possible causes of various events and processes, and tried to come up with what Hackman described as "the special 'signature' of each one [so that] it is possible to use logical, historical, and microexperimental techniques to disentangle the probable causes of that outcome" (1985, p. 139).

I also tried to include, within the bounds of good taste and good ethics, as much of the nitty-gritty of the policymaking process as possible. I took seriously House and Coleman's remarks about how policymaking is *really* accomplished:

> One possible reason for this paucity of case histories on the evolution of public policy is that this sort of history is often subject to "laundering" for public consumption. The behind-the-scenes dealing, the repetitive analyses often focused on irrelevant minutiae, the glaring errors of analysis, the influence of personalities, the politics of the issue, the happy coincidences, the sheer bad luck are left out. And yet. . .these events so often are principal elements that influence specific policy decisions.
> (1980, p. 193)

As important as the analysis itself, however, is the effective presentation of qualitative data. First of all, ethnographers and anthropologists have always included a certain amount of quantitative data in their studies, usually in the form of demographic information about subject populations (Powdermaker, 1966). Second, the very people who could make best use of a case study analysis may not have time to wade through page after page of the final report.

Qualitative researchers can assist busy readers in several ways: by utilizing summaries, headings and first paragraphs to sum up information, leaving the details for those with the time to read them; by including tables that summarize data visually; and by using "illustrative vignettes" to discuss particular phenomena, without making the reader wade through an entire case study (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Smith & Robbins, p. 130).

Ethical Concerns

Qualitative researchers struggle with ethical concerns which differ from those of quantitative researchers. A qualitative researcher enters into the lives of subjects in ways not shared by quantitative investigators, and must always keep in mind the fifth of Governor Schaefer's wall aphorisms: "Would you want to live there?" (Aery, personal communication, October, 1990). Schaefer asks this question whenever staff people want to implement or cut programs that may affect his constituents right where they live, and qualitative researchers should also bear in mind that peoples' lives may be altered as a result of a particular investigation. Humphreys' Tearoom Trade is an example of a qualitative research project that has aroused controversy within the research community for its seeming disregard for this question; qualitative researchers must constantly ask themselves whether they would appreciate a particular research focus or trick if it were taking place in their own homes or communities.

Qualitative researchers also become involved with subjects on a more personal basis than quantitative investigators. For one thing, many interviews with public figures take place only after great persistence on the part of the researcher, so that interviewer and interviewee know of each other long before they actually meet. In a way, then, elite subjects exert the sort of structural

power or *structural influence* discussed by Brint and Karabel in relation to the influence that the business community exerts on community colleges, whether or not they interact directly with the colleges, by reason of their ability to hire or fail to fire community college graduates (1989, p. 210). Long before a researcher and an elite subject actually meet for an interview, the subject has influenced the direction of research and the interview process itself.

In addition, repeated interviews may provide a wealth of information that could not be obtained in one sitting, so that researcher and subject may get to know each other fairly well by the time the process is concluded. Finally, qualitative researchers need to bear in mind that a research project has a beginning, a middle, and an end, and that, although subjects may come to regard researchers as something akin to friends, research objectivity is still required for meaningful interpretation of data. That very objectivity may be used to analyze data in a way that would destroy a friendship, and research subjects may feel doubly violated when they read the investigator's analysis. Qualitative researchers walk an ethical tightrope, and must of necessity develop ways to shield themselves from intrusion into their personal space. They would do well to avoid intrusion into the subject's space as well, to the greatest extent possible commensurate with the parameters of the research itself.

Qualitative researchers must also seek outside confirmation that those who seem to occupy positions of power or authority are in fact critical to the process under investigation. Certainly access to pseudo-experts is more open than access to genuine experts, and the researcher who is weary of telephone calls intercepted by secretaries or broken appointments may be tempted to take whatever information is offered by someone else. This has resulted in a

plethora of qualitative studies of "the stripper, dwarves, prostitutes, check forgers, the maimed, the blind, the stuttering and the thief" (Punch, 1986, p. 25), but whether these studies get us any closer to the corridors of power is another question.

I found it both invigorating and also exhausting to pursue busy people who had many other agendas than this small research project. However, constant triangulation also kept me on track in trying to reach those who had really influenced the events I was studying. In some instances, I was not able to contact people who had played some small but critical role in the process. I sought confirmation of what they had done or said through records of testimony, personal visits, etc., but was not able to hear their own interpretations of events. These procedures increase the trustworthiness of a study, which is always a concern to a qualitative researcher (Murphy, 1980, pp. 172-174).

Of course, it is equally important to seek out those who opposed a particular policy outcome, particularly if the policy in question will affect several constituencies. The general public uses the term "special interest groups" to describe many of these constituencies, and "SIG" has a certain connotative edge to it in the late twentieth century, as ordinary people seek to express their discomfort with the thought that people with some special "pull" or influence may be able to alter or direct policy outcomes. One of the strengths of Heclo's "issue networks" concept is that one's attention is drawn to the groups who form in opposition to a given proposal, without the pejorative sense of SIG. Thinking of the groups involved as issue networks helped me to remain objective about their involvement, and to seek as much data about SB 381's opponents as about those who favored it.

Ethical concerns certainly include the willingness of the researcher to make every effort to contact individuals who may offer a different perspective from the groups that appear dominant on the first analytical pass, but also center around the objectivity of the researcher, who may on occasion either get close enough to research subjects to lose objectivity, or who may forget the degree of risk to which an investigation may subject a participant. For one thing, NCCB is a small school, self-contained in two locations, and my contacts were certainly highly visible for the most part. For another, since there are a limited number of people at certain administrative levels, it is extremely difficult to find ways to utilize material without breaching confidentiality.

Part of the researcher's task, however, is to make maximum use of materials at hand while protecting subjects to the greatest extent possible. As a researcher, I will leave NCCB behind as I move on to my next project. My subjects are not so mobile; they work at NCCB, and apparently intend to keep on working there if possible. My actions would be unethical if they exposed the participants who have not chosen to enter public life, and who gave so willingly of their time, to risk within their work environment. The tapes and records of interviews, along with my journals, transcriptions, notes, diagrams, and other detritus from the research process, are to be kept in my possession, and will not be made available to any requester.

Conclusion

For qualitative researchers, an investigation begins with data gathering, and ends when the researcher has determined critical units of analysis and how those units fit together into significant patterns. In addition, however, the

researcher must attempt to determine whether some other pattern might fit the evidence better. Working forward from data to results, and backward from results to causes, the researcher looks for meaning in the midst of chaos, trusting readers and users of the final report to generalize from one specific case to their own situations. Triangulation in content and process increase the trustworthiness of the final report. In lieu of the quantitative researcher's criteria of reliability and validity, the qualitative investigator aims for trustworthiness, dependability, confirmability and transferability in the final analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLICY MAKING: THE NEW COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE

<u>Background</u>

Captain John Smith sailed from England up the mouth of the Patapsco River in 1608, becoming the first white man to set foot in a river valley rich with game and fish and the source of conflict between local Indian tribal groups. Four branches make up the Patapsco, which "cuts across many of the city's north-south streets, and isolates south Baltimore, a peninsula between two branches of the river" (Hiss, 1991, p. 46). The city of Baltimore, chartered in 1729, sits 12 miles northwest of Chesapeake Bay, the largest estuary in the United States. Originally, Colonial commissioners had planned to build a settlement for trade on the drier, less marshy second branch of the Patapsco, but an English merchant who owned land on the middle branch refused to sell, thinking that he might find iron ore on his property.

The commissioners settled for the first, or northwest, branch, naming the city for George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, who had served as secretary of state to King James I and VI and received a land grant north of the Virginia colony as a reward for his years of public service (Hiss, 1991, p. 64). Calvert's second son Leonard sailed for the new colony in 1633 to take possession of the land grant that would later become the state of Maryland. By 1640, British settlers had begun importing slaves, so that by 1790, the Maryland census showed that 38% of the population was black.

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The city grew as a collection of settlements on steep hills and on top of cliffs that can be seen in old prints of Baltimore, with each settlement isolated on top of Federal Hill, Hampstead Hill, Windsor Hill or Ten Hills. Federal Hill, described in guidebooks as the best vantage point from which to get a feel for Baltimore, was called John Smith's Hill, recorded as a landmark in one of Captain Smith's journals, until 1788. On December 22, 1788, it acquired its present name when "four thousand Baltimoreans, almost half the population of the town, paraded through its streets to a picnic on the hill, with fireworks afterward, to celebrate Maryland's ratification of the American Constitution" (Hiss, 1991, p. 62).

Baltimore quickly developed as a major seaport and trading center. Its docks flourished as whites began farming land taken from local Indian tribes and exporting agricultural goods; municipal markets were first organized in 1751, ancestors of the present-day Hollins Street and Lexington Markets, where tourists find the bounty of Chesapeake Bay "sliced, shucked, steamed, and spiced [to] await consumption" (Hiss, 1991, p. 43). The Revolutionary War helped to establish Baltimore's shipyards, and first clipper, then steam ships, carried goods from Maryland around the world and returned with tea, spices, and ores. Development of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad made the city a rail center, with coal and grain carried to the port for export. A series of strategically-placed forts provided defensive capabilities for the city; Francis Scott Key wrote the words for "The Star Spangled Banner" during the War of 1812 after determining that Fort McHenry had withstood a British bombardment. During the Civil War, the border state was torn between Union and Confederate loyalties. Union troops occupied the state from 1861 onward, keeping Maryland

in the Union. The city of Baltimore itself provided vital rail and harbor facilities for Union troops, with a Baltimore foundry providing the iron plates used on the Union's first ironclad ship, the *Monitor.* In 1864 a new state constitution abolished slavery in Maryland.

During the 19th century, thousands of immigrants from western and eastern Europe arrived in Baltimore, establishing the ethnic neighborhoods for which Baltimore is still noted. Heavy industry joined shipping and agriculture to make Baltimore one of the most prosperous cities in America at the turn of the century. Continuous dredging, made possible by cooperation among the state, the city, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, kept the rather shallow harbor available to deepwater vessels, and Baltimore shipyards broke production records during World War II to produce ships for the Allies (Travers, 1990).

More recently, Baltimore has undergone the same sort of transition as other east coast cities: loss of revenue-sharing on the part of the federal government as a result of the Reagan administration has left Baltimore with a decaying infrastructure, a declining industrial tax base, much less money with which to deal with its problems, and loss of the heavy manufacturing industries that once sustained its population. The city itself is surrounded by wealthy counties: Montgomery, Anne Arundel, Prince George's, and Howard counties are populated by slightly more conservative and considerably wealthier voters than those who live in Baltimore itself. In fact, in 1991 Montgomery County "displaced the city of Baltimore as the most populous jurisdiction in the state" (Hiss, 1991, p. 47).

With Washington, DC only an hour away, inevitably Baltimore has been influenced and affected by what happens in the nation's capital. A new light rail

system, scheduled for completion by the fall of 1992, will close the gap between Baltimore and Washington even further: "a silent, three-hundred-mile-an-hour magnetic levitation train running between downtown Baltimore and downtown Washington could cut travel time between the two cities to fifteen minutes or less" (Hiss, 1991, p. 47). Baltimore City, as area residents refer to the city itself rather than the metropolitan area, is landlocked, and therefore unable to annex new property; as wealthier residents leave Maryland's only big city, the tax base shrinks further. Nearly 50% of Marylanders who receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children and/or other forms of welfare assistance live in Baltimore City. Several demographic trends, including white flight to the suburbs, more teen pregnancies, greater numbers of substance abusers, higher crime rates, are familiar to students of any urban area in the United States near the end of the twentieth century.

William Donald Schaefer, mayor of Baltimore between 1972 and 1986, was elected governor of the state of Maryland in 1986, with education as one of the areas in which he promised major reform to the electorate. The governor is a complex man, the only public figure mentioned in Tom Peters' Thriving on Chaos as the sort of politician who can bring about real, intended change in the public sector. He grew up in west Baltimore, and still remembers riding the streetcars that linked one hilltop to another to the old Bay Shore amusement park, or the shopping expeditions at Christmas to the downtown May Company department store that had extraordinary Christmas windows (Hiss, 1991, p. 65).

Schaefer is not the sort of smooth, polished politician beloved of the Washington scene; he has been photographed in a seal pond with a rubber duck, and onstage with an acoustic folk group that gave the governor an

opportunity to show his prowess on spoons (Flynn, 1989, p. 148). He is known as a rough and tumble politician, working with his shirt sleeves rolled up in a style that has been described as "Rule By Temper Tantrum" (Flynn, 1989, p. 149).

Schaefer acknowledges that he is unpredictable, somewhat tyrannical, and vows to take legislative defeats personally: "So next year, we will propose things again and I will have the same attitude and be as argumentative, as combative, as I possibly can to get things through. That's the way I am, and I don't expect to change" (Barnes, 1988, p. A6). He has, on occasion, accused legislators who opposed his bills of being "power-hungry obstructionists who have tried to usurp authority that rightfully belongs to the governor" (Schmidt, 1988, p. A8). As a measure of the level of political civility in Maryland, these same opponents have referred to members of the governor's staff as "eunuchs and sycophants" (Schmidt, 1988, p. A9). It should be noted, however, that Schaefer has persuaded the legislature to enact nearly 95% of the bills he proposed, although he chooses to focus on the 5% he has lost.

Lately, Schaefer has even made the pages of the Los Angeles Times because of his predilection for reading letters to the editors of the Washington Post and Baltimore Sun, then contacting his critics with such phrases as, "Hope you are recovering from your lobotomy!" Several Maryland residents received Christmas cards from the governor in 1991 which included snapshots of themselves at rallies protesting recent cutbacks in state services (personal communication, J. P. Gallen, December 28, 1991).

During his tenure as mayor, Schaefer challenged the attitude of "Let's drive around Baltimore, because there's nothing there" by walking through each

and every one of Baltimore's neighborhoods, carrying a notebook in which he noted potholes, abandoned cars, and other signs of neglect which he would bring to the attention of his city cabinet members (Hiss, 1991, p. 66). They learned to expect memos on Monday morning: "I have just completed a delightful walk from the market. I was able to play soccer with all the empty cans. I was able to walk through the trash. I was able to smell the dead flowers" (Flynn, 1989, p. 232).

These unorthodox methods of dealing with bureaucracies endeared Schaefer to Tom Peters, and were certainly effective in getting around city council members who had other priorities. He became known in Annapolis as "Mayor Annoyed" or "Willie Don the Con," nicknames which followed him later in his political career as governor of Maryland. There was no question, however, that his methods also endeared him to the electorate of Baltimore, even in the face of a black majority. As Flynn pointed out, "He defeated his last black opponent in 1983 with a 71 percent landslide" (1989, p. 232).

The crowning glory of his days as Baltimore's mayor was the renovation of the Inner Harbor, the site of working docks from which produce was loaded from the mid-nineteenth century through the early 1970s, but run down and derelict by 1972. The red brick buildings which had once housed steel and ironworks had decayed, leaving the sort of urban blight one thinks of in the South Bronx. Mayor Theodore McKeldin had coordinated planning efforts for the harbor area in the 1960s, but it was the leadership of Schaefer that transformed the Inner Harbor into a thriving marketplace thronging with tourists who photograph each other against the backdrop of the clipper ship Chesapeake. The present skyline of Baltimore--skyscrapers, glass and

restored Victorian rowhouses--was developed during his aegis as mayor, and he orchestrated successful bids for the National Aquarium and the $300 million Columbus Marine Research Institute to be located in the Inner Harbor.

The redevelopment of the Inner Harbor, which now attracts city planners from as far away as Osaka, Japan, was the second period on Baltimore's history when the city was able to find ways to offer better services and infrastructure to its residents. The first was completed after the Great Fire of 1904, which destroyed more than 1,300 buildings in the city's core. The third is in process now, based in part on a report titled "Baltimore 2000: A Choice for Futures," written by Peter Szanton, formerly an associate director of the federal Office of Management and Budget. Another report, "Preparing for Global and Regional Collaboration," is a recent study by the Baltimore Regional Council of Governments, and advocates consolidation of city and suburban services to achieve higher levels of services with shrinking urban tax bases. Philip Moeller, business editor of the Baltimore Sun, suggested recently that Baltimore might reclaim its public education system as its next major project (Hiss, 1991, p. 44).

Underprepared students leave Baltimore's public schools with the smallest percentage of high school diplomas in the state (Maryland Higher Education Commission, 1989, p. 1). Their lack of preparedness for higher education is evident as they attempt to prepare themselves for careers in science, high technology, business and professions through Maryland's community college system. As governor, Schaefer is responsible for a thriving community college system in Maryland, with excellent campuses providing high-quality education to Maryland students at Anne Arundel, Howard, and other junior colleges. A well-endowed pool of faculty candidates means that a

higher percentage of faculty members at these schools possess a terminal degree than is true in other community college systems. Citizens from Anne Arundel, Montgomery, Howard, and other counties provide a tax base sufficient to fund the needs of these schools, and maintain a close watch over the standards which students are required to meet.

One community college, however, fits into a different picture; in Baltimore itself, the Community College of Baltimore served "struggling students from struggling households," to quote Dr. Henry Givens, an educator who has worked for most of his life to provide post-high school educational opportunities at Harris-Stowe State College to disadvantaged, inner city students in the St. Louis area (H. Givens, personal communication, November 13, 1990). The disparity between educational attainment in Baltimore City and in the rest of Maryland is quite pronounced (see Table 1).

Table 1

The Dimensions of Baltimore's Educational Challenge

Parameter	Baltimore	Rest of State
Adults who never attended high school	29%	14%
Adults with a high school diploma	48%	65%
Ninth graders who drop out before graduation	50%	19%
Adults with a college degree	11%	22%
Adults enrolled in college	6.8%	11%

Note. From Community College of Baltimore by the Maryland Higher Education Commission, 1989, p. 1. Adapted by permission.

Following Schaefer's election as Governor in 1986, commentators expressed concerns that he would be "too Baltimore, too petty, too petulant" to be effective, particularly with complex problems like education (Flynn, 1989, p. 149). However, he became convinced during 1987 that a centralized governing board for Maryland's four-year colleges and universities would lead to more effective governance. Legislators in the General Assembly, on the other hand, wanted increased public financing for higher education tied to improvements in governance. State senators and representatives cited the importance of ongoing legislative involvement in higher education in long-term improvements, and agreed with Schaefer that the commissioner of higher education, formerly selected by a statewide coordinating board, should be renamed the Secretary of Higher Education and appointed by the governor (Goldstein, 1988, p. A1; Jaschik, 1988, p. A25). This cabinet-level appointee would be the one person to whom Schaefer could turn, one person who would be accountable for implementing his vision for Maryland higher education.

He selected Dr. Shaila Aery, a graduate of Oklahoma State University who had served as Commissioner for Higher Education in Missouri between 1982 and 1988. In Missouri, Aery had administrative responsibility for statewide planning, policy making and implementation for Missouri's state-supported colleges and universities. From 1963 to 1982, she served on the Education Commission of the States, a national commission conducting research and public policy studies in education. Aery was appointed as Maryland's first Secretary of Higher Education in 1988, serving on Governor Schaefer's cabinet, and one of her first tasks was to assess the strengths and weaknesses of each of Maryland's community colleges.

Following Schaefer as Baltimore's mayor was Kurt L. Schmoke, an African-American resident of the city of Baltimore who had attended Baltimore schools, gone to Yale as an outstanding athlete and scholar, then to Harvard Law School, and been appointed a Rhodes scholar following his graduation. Schmoke had been elected Baltimore's district attorney (or State's Attorney, as that person is called in Baltimore) by a coalition "based on strong voter turnout in poor black neighborhoods in east and west Baltimore and middle-class black neighborhoods in northwest Baltimore, supported by a substantial number of people from affluent white neighborhoods in north Baltimore" (Hiss, 1991, p. 40).

Baltimore politics had come a long way from the existence of two Baltimores, one black and one white, that had maintained a segregated status quo until 1968, when Joseph Howard became the first black lawyer to be elected to a judgeship in a citywide election (Hiss, 1991, p. 40). By the time Schmoke returned to Baltimore from Oxford in the mid-1970s, partners in the prestigious downtown law firm of Piper & Marbury felt comfortable in offering him a position with the firm. However, even in 1991 blacks who move into the large and stately homes in north Baltimore must put up with seeing deed restrictions that specify that "no Negro or person of Negro extraction" may buy those properties, although the restrictive covenants are now neatly lined through in the covenant booklets (Hiss, 1991, p. 41).

When Schmoke became mayor in 1987, Baltimore was one-fourth smaller than it had been in 1960, its population having shrunk from 939,000 city residents to 736,000. The city was 65% white in 1960; by 1987 it was 60% black. White flight to the suburbs around Baltimore involved

the greatest population movement in history, larger and faster than the Mongols crossing Asia or Europeans crossing the Atlantic or Americans crossing the continent. For centuries rich merchants had retreated to summer country houses, and for decades the upper middle class had trickled out to spacious lots around the country clubs. After World War II, however, movement reached explosive proportions. In the five years from 1946 to 1941 Maryland's suburban population doubled; in the ten years from 1951 to 1961 the suburban population doubled again; and in the twenty years from 1961 to 1981 it doubled once more. (Callcott, 1985, p. 59)

In 1940, suburban areas (defined by the Census Bureau as Standard Metropolitan Areas with city and farm populations subtracted) in Maryland included Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Montgomery and Prince George's counties. By 1960, Howard and Harford counties had been added to the list, and Carroll and Charles counties were added in 1980 (Callcott, 1985, p. 60). The results of the 1990 census will undoubtedly show that the Baltimore area is part of what some demographers now call "Norport--the great Eastern Seaboard conurbation [which seems] to reach all the way from Norfolk, Virginia, up to Portland, Maine, a distance of about seven hundred and twenty-five miles" (Hiss, 1991, pp. 46-47).

Schmoke's first "state of the city" address was quoted in the Baltimore Sun on May 1, 1989, describing Baltimore as "good and getting better," although he also cited a "remarkable hostility toward cities that predominates in Washington" that he saw as largely responsible for Baltimore City's dire financial straits. In 1990, addressing the 2020 Vision Conference, Schmoke

stated his confidence that Baltimore was "on the threshold of a beautiful spring," as part of an east coast regional economy that

> would be a key competitor in the international marketplace, because it would educate all children on an equal basis and "refuse to allow poverty to be a barrier to opportunity." He spoke about race relations, about setting a new goal and a higher standard for the next Baltimore, so that it could take on a new quality. "We have more black professionals than ever before," he said. "That's the good news. But Baltimore remains a city where the poor predominate, and blacks are predominantly poor." As a result, he said, "no vision of 2020 is complete unless it includes the end of housing and employment discrimination." And then the Mayor talked about choosing "a city in grace"--his new standard, he said, for measuring the success of a place. "We can, if we choose, do something truly extraordinary over the next thirty years: duplicate our successes in the Inner Harbor, and once and for all let justice prevail by opening every door of opportunity to the weakest and most disadvantaged among us. That's not just a vision of a city; that's a vision of a city in grace." (Hiss, 1991, p. 46)

One of the tools that should already have been in place for opening those doors of opportunity should have been the Community College of Baltimore, a two-year institution split between a downtown campus and a campus set within an impoverished black neighborhood in northwest Baltimore. In 1988, one of Schmoke's concerns was the question of how the Community College of Baltimore (CCB) could best serve the needs of the city's residents; another was the $6 million allocation for CCB for which the city was

responsible.

The Community College of Baltimore

Set among the hotels and office buildings in the Inner Harbor are two red brick buildings at the intersection of Lombard and Lafayette Streets, connected by a walkway over Lafayette Street, that make up one of the two campuses of the community college formerly known as the Community College of Baltimore. Staircases lead from the street to the entrances of these two buildings, resembling more than anything squat Mayan temples. The buildings are neither old enough to be interesting nor new enough to be innovative; they remind passersby of institutional buildings put up during the Eisenhower years, sturdy, functional and rather dull. The Inner Harbor campus was deeded to CCB by the city of Baltimore in 1975, during Schaefer's first mayoral term. The past three presidents of the Community College of Baltimore had their offices at the Inner Harbor campus, although the vast majority of classes, and all faculty offices, were located at the second CCB campus.

The other campus, known as Liberty Heights, was built shortly after the end of World War II to provide educational opportunities for returning veterans. The architectural plans for the school were a set of leftover plans for a junior high school, pressed into use when the city needed a facility quickly, and the Liberty Heights campus, with its square, two-story buildings, still resembles a junior high. One enters the campus past a fountain only recently put back into working order; for faculty, staff and students, a car ride around the campus reminds them of the need to check shocks and struts regularly. The circular drive around the campus is riddled with axle-snapping potholes, and the parking lots are similarly excavated. In addition to the classroom and office

buildings, one of the most prestigious classical radio stations in the Baltimore area, WBJC-FM, is located on the Liberty Heights campus.

Evidence of the community once served by CCB can be found by driving around the Liberty Heights area today, taking note of the square domed synagogues with the tablets of Old Testament commandments carved over their doors. Today, some of these synagogues still have notice boards out in front announcing the comings and goings of viable congregations; others now serve as homes to the Church of the Good Shepherd or Church of the Foursquare Gospel. One life-long city resident, part of one of the last Jewish households to leave the Liberty Heights area, remembers skiting under the fence at Carlin's amusement park, which offered rides, games of chance and an Olympic-sized swimming pool for more than forty years, until it closed down in the 1960s. He also remembers the campus as one of Baltimore's finest public high schools, Baltimore City College, which he attended after passing stiff entrance examinations. The Liberty Heights area began changing from predominantly Jewish to predominantly black in the mid-1950s, around the same time Baltimore desegregated its public schools; the student population at the college remained mostly white through the end of the 1960s, becoming mostly black in the early 1970s (personal communication, October 1991).

This campus of CCB was part of a huge influx of returning veterans who decided to "upgrade their skills and value in the workplace accordingly" during the years after World War II (Callcott, 1985, p. 98). For example, "enrollment in Maryland colleges doubled from the fall of 1945 to the fall of 1946, and enrollment in vocational schools quadrupled" (Callcott, 1985, p. 98). The administration and staff were drawn from this community, and the school

provided a major source for line employees and middle managers for a number of companies located in the Baltimore area. For example,Whiting-Turner, a huge contractor in Baltimore, traditionally found more than 25% of its middle managers through CCB.

As the racial makeup of Liberty Heights changed to predominantly African-American, the student body changed also, but administration and faculty remained largely white. Enrollment at the school began falling off during the early 1980s, so that a total student body of 8,278 in 1979 had dropped to 4,506 in 1989, a drop of more than 45%. Black student enrollment had dropped from 6,401 in 1979 to 3,185 in 1988, a drop of more than 50% of the students drawn from the immediate area around CCB. Whereas more than 20% of students in the entire Maryland community college system transferred to four-year schools in 1988, only 8% of CCB's students transferred, with more than 70% of CCB's students not involved in higher education three years after enrollment at CCB. With a statewide average in 1988 of 10% of the population involved in higher education, less than 7% of Baltimore City residents were enrolled in higher education. The number of Associate of Arts degrees conferred by CCB dropped more than 35% between 1979 and 1988, and the number of graduates of vocational programs dropped by more than 44% (Maryland Higher Education Commission, 1989, p. 5).

CCB was funded by the city of Baltimore as an agency of the city; all materials required by the college were purchased through the city purchasing system, expenses were paid by the city, and any action regarding personnel or other changes at the college had to wend their way through the city's bureaucratic structures. In fiscal year 1989, Baltimore was able to fund CCB at

75% of the statewide average for full-time student equivalents (FTE); statewide funding per FTE was $3,440, but CCB received only $2,600 per FTE.

Contracts for faculty, white-collar workers and custodians at CCB were negotiated through three strong unions, which had represented their members in collective bargaining since 1968. The state of Maryland is strongly Democratic, and is very conservative in the maintenance of collective bargaining rights; the college was not a closed shop, since membership in a union was not required as a term of employment, but the vast majority of faculty and staff actively supported the unions. In addition to collective bargaining rights, the unions had negotiated for grievance procedures, involving levels of appeal for faculty members first through the college's Board of Trustees, then through a federal arbitrator; other union contracts were negotiated by Baltimore City's Labor Commission, rather than through the college. The contract for faculty also called for deadlines for nonrenewal of a contract matching those of the American Association of University Professors.

According to the audit of CCB performed at the end of fiscal year 1989 by the Department of Audits, City of Baltimore, the unions involved had also negotiated sick, vacation and personal leave for their members:

> Employees can accrue a maximum of 72 to 168 vacation and personal leave days (depending on bargaining unit representation), which is based on length of service and may either be taken through time off or carried until paid upon termination or retirement. . . . Employees earn 1 to 1 1/2 days sick leave (depending on bargaining unit representation) for each completed month of service; *there is no limitation on the number of sick leave days that may be accumulated* [italics added].

Classified employees may convert to cash a portion of unused sick leave earned annually during each twelve month base period for a maximum of three days, computed on an attendance formula. *Upon retirement with pension benefits, death, or termination of employment after completion of 20 or more years of service without pension benefits, employees receive 1 day's pay for every 4 sick leave days accumulated and unused as of the date of separation. . .* [italics added]. (Reynolds, 1989, p. 9)

As of the end of FY 1989, this accumulated sick leave amounted to nearly $5 million, which would be drawn from Baltimore City's accounts if and when employees with 20 or more years of service retired.

Community College of Baltimore in 1989

The President of CCB in 1989 was Dr. Joseph Durham, an African-American educator who had served as an administrator at Morgan State College before being tapped for the CCB post. Durham succeeded Charles Tildon, under whose three-year tenure faculty-administration relationships had deteriorated. Tildon became President of CCB when Dr. Raphael Cordova was removed from this office; Tildon, who was Chairman of the Board of Trustees, was greeted favorably by faculty and administration, as well as by then-Mayor Schaefer, but matters went downhill rather rapidly. When Durham became President of the college, faculty members generally welcomed his administration, hoping for an improvement in relationships between administration and staff. In fact, these relationships quickly deteriorated further. Dr. Durham was described by one person who had frequent contacts with CCB during his tenure as president as "one of the most mean-spirited individuals I

ever met." Durham expressed his resentment of the collective bargaining rights negotiated by the unions, stating that his hands were tied by the mandated processes in the contracts. He began notifying all nontenured faculty of nonrenewal of their contracts, claiming that budgetary restraints could cause cutbacks in staffing levels, and that the union contract required that he give this notice to anyone whose contract might not be renewed. This led to a considerable amount of instability among nontenured faculty. Teachers who were evaluated highly by other faculty and by students tended to look for other employment when they received these notices, so the college lost faculty members who might otherwise have stayed (E. Hallengren, personal communication, October 26, 1990).

Durham expressed his concern about the racial makeup of the faculty of CCB to the Faculty Senate Committee, traditionally involved in reviewing curriculum vita and credentials of faculty members up for promotion. Durham's concerns centered around the degree to which the white faculty could relate to the lives and experiences of the largely African-American student body, and about an historical lack of promotions among CCB's black faculty. At one point, Durham bypassed the Faculty Senate Committee and made three presidential appointments of tenure to three African-American male faculty members. Eric Hallengren, a tenured member of the English Department at CCB and president of the Faculty Senate Committee, described relations between Durham and CCB's faculty as "increasingly adversarial" (E. Hallengren, personal communication, November 16, 1990).

This adversarial quality was reflected in Durham's interactions with the Maryland State Board for Community Colleges, headed in 1989 by Executive

Director Dr. James Tschechtelin. In The Baltimore Sun on January 29, 1990, Melody Simmons described Durham's action in denying access to CCB to a special assistant from the Board during the summer of 1989: "Durham viewed state help as 'an intrusion' of daily operations" (p. 1B). Tschechtelin expressed the opinion that the special assistant would probably have recommended administrative and academic changes at CCB. The result of Durham's denial of access to CCB was a sizable rift between CCB's administration and the state board; board member Lance Berkowitz cited "telephone calls from CCB students, CCB faculty members, Baltimore City Council members and members of the city legislative delegation complaining and expressing concern about the direction of CCB under Durham's administration" (Simmons, 1990, p. 1B).

One result of Durham's administrative style was a lawsuit filed by Dr. Ralph Rodney Fields, a tenured administrator at CCB and dean of the faculty for more than 10 years before being fired by Durham nine months after the president took office. Despite a series of outstanding performance evaluations, Fields was fired on the basis of three incidents described in an article in the Baltimore Sun:

- Dr. Fields, upon the instructions of the college's vice president for finance, called a radio station to say CCB was closed because of Hurricane Gloria. This violated the school's policy, the president said. Dr. Fields said he was following orders from a boss.

- Dr. Fields participated in a decision to send typewriters to a high school where CCB was giving a course. The typewriters were damaged in transit, leading two students to complain to the president. Dr. Fields said he sent the extra typewriters to replace rental ones in a bid to save

money and help out another dean responsible for the class. He did not know the typewriters didn't work, he said.

• On the day Dr. Fields left for a scheduled vacation, he failed to remind the president. Dr. Fields went to Mexico with his wife for a 25th wedding anniversary celebration in February 1986, a five-day vacation that had been approved six months earlier. He left his hotel phone number with the secretary at CCB. (Meisol, 1990, pp. 1-2)

Fields sued CCB, Durham and the board of trustees over his firing, and Judge Hilary D. Caplan held that he was indeed a tenured professor, and that "his constitutional right to due process and his contractual rights had been violated by CCB" (Meisol, 1990, p. 1). A jury awarded Fields $1.2 million, largely in punitive damages against Durham and the trustees of the college.

Durham had apparently formulated a plan for obtaining adequate funding and direction for CCB; the minutes of a meeting of the CCB Board of Trustees show a passing reference to a meeting that had taken place between Durham and the Chancellor of the University of Maryland, resulting in a recommendation of further study, although no one seemed to pay much attention to this reference.

The Washington Post ran a series of articles on May 3-5, 1989, comparing educational opportunities and standards at CCB and the privately-owned Johns Hopkins University. The thesis of this series is outlined in the title of the first article: "Colleges for Affluent, Poor Reinforce Class Division: 'Level Playing Field' Never Achieved." Barbara Vobejda, who wrote the articles, described a typical CCB student:

She is a 27-year-old black single mother living on public assistance--the

first in her family to enter college--who goes part time, requires remedial reading, writing or math and is likely to drop out before she receives a bachelor's degree. (Vobejda, 1989a, p. A1)

Vobejda cited the fact that, in 1986, more than 46% of the minorities who were enrolled in colleges were attending community colleges, compared to 36% of the whites enrolled; she described community colleges as "primarily vocational schools." Economic reasons certainly play a primary role in the decision to attend a community college, where tuition and fees are minimal; Baltimore residents pay just over $1,000 for two semesters of full-time classes, although most students pay per unit and attend part time. Anyone over 18 can attend CCB, with or without a high school diploma, which accounts in part for the fact that 90% of entering students require remediation in at least one subject area. Of those who enroll in September, Vobejda stated, "60% will not be in attendance the following semester" (1989a, p. A12).

In an attempt to meet some of the educational needs of Baltimore's disadvantaged students, CCB ran 48 literacy centers around the city in 1988, enrolling more than 7,500 adults in literacy programs. The academic concern, however, was that, by following open-enrollment policies, community colleges will become vocational schools without offering meaningful courses to students who wish to transfer to four-year institutions, and that "community colleges are reinforcing class lines--they disproportionately enroll low-income students who are then tracked into weak academic programs and, eventually, into low-prestige, low-paying careers" (Vobejda, 1989b, p. A16).

Essex Community College President A. Zachary Yamba cited the need to consider community colleges from a value-added standpoint: "Community

colleges still address the concerns of those who can't go elsewhere. . . . When we move students from a fifth-grade level to a different level - gainful employment - society has to recognize that as a success" (Vobejda, 1989b, p. A16).

This three-article series attracted just two letters in response, one from Allan W. Ostar, President of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, who cited the state college system in Maryland as an example of an upper-division institution that makes higher education both affordable and of high quality, and one from Richard J. Ernst, President of Northern Virginia Community College, cited for excellence in Searching for Academic Excellence: Twenty Colleges and Universities on the Move and their Leaders. There was certainly no outpouring of support from Baltimore City itself, although the series was described as "important background information" by Dr. Judith Jeffrey Howard, Community College Coordinator for the National Endowment for the Humanities in Washington, DC, nearly 18 months later (J. J. Howard, personal communication, November 1, 1990).

Meetings

Governor Schaefer has a set of aphorisms which he has kept on the wall of his office, and which he repeated frequently to his staff. Peters quoted these in Thriving on Chaos:

When he was mayor of Baltimore, Don Schaefer, the present governor of Maryland, had a sheet of drawing paper taped to the wall of his office, handwritten with a black felt-tipped pen. It read:

#1. PEOPLE

#2. Do It Now.

#3.   Do It Right the First Time.

#4.   Do It Within Budget.

#5.   Would You Like to Live There? (Peters, 1987, p. 227)

The last question, "Would you like to live there?", helped to keep the

Governor's staff on track about the effects of proposed changes on local people.

He often told his staff and administrators that they must function as a team. "It

doesn't matter what areas you are responsible for; we have to work and support

each other and when anybody goes after one of us, we all have to jump in" (S.

R. Aery, personal communication, October 16, 1990).

In December, 1989, Schaefer received a letter from Mayor Schmoke

suggesting that the state take over "financial and governance responsibility for

the Community College of Baltimore." Schmoke stated that he had asked

President Durham and Otis Warren, chair of the board of trustees, to meet with

Secretary Aery regarding the possibility of a takeover. Aery, who agreed with

the necessity of the takeover, decided that first, she needed to meet with

Senator Clarence Blount, the grandson of slaves, who later "stood on the floor

of the Maryland Senate while his colleagues voted to name a building after him

at Morgan State University" (Smith, 1990, p. B1). Blount, the Senate Majority

Leader and Chair of the Economic and Environmental Affairs Committee, is

known as "The Godfather" in Baltimore City, and Governor Schaefer had told

Aery that Blount's support was key to passing legislation regarding a state

takeover of CCB (S. R. Aery, personal communication, October 16, 1990).

At a meeting where Schaefer and Aery were discussing how to approach

Blount, the Secretary of Corrections for Maryland, Bishop Robinson, told Aery

that he had known Clarence Blount all his life. Robinson is one of the most

popular black officials in Baltimore City; he walked a beat as a patrol officer in Baltimore at a time when he couldn't ride on patrol, because blacks were not allowed to check out patrol cars in the 1950s. When racial guidelines changed in the 1960s, Robinson transferred to the vice squad, working his way up to Chief of Detectives. When Schaefer became Mayor of Baltimore, he appointed Robinson the first black Chief of Police in the city's history.

Robinson said to Aery, "I don't know what my schedule's like, but Clarence Blount has been a friend of mine for forty years. Why don't you let me take you in to meet him, since you're new? We need to do something at the front end of this; we can't just keep building prisons. I keep hiring highway patrolmen, but we need to do something at the front end, and this [college] is the front end of the problem." So Robinson and Aery met with Clarence Blount, to tell him that they thought a state takeover of CCB would turn the front end of the problem around. Blount walked around the room and said, "This is a big, tall order." He asked, "You think this is the right thing to do, Secretary Robinson?" Bishop Robinson replied, "Yes, sir." Blount asked, "You think this is the right thing to do, Secretary Aery? I guess you do, since you're suggesting it." Aery agreed. Blount replied, "OK, but it's not going to be easy." Everyone shook hands, and Blount left the meeting to meet with the Governor, and later with Mayor Schmoke, to discuss the CCB plan (S. R. Aery, personal communication, October 16, 1990).

Aery also decided that she should meet with the board of trustees, chaired by Otis Warren, a lifelong Baltimore resident who had attended CCB himself after going through Baltimore's public school system. Warren, who is now a developer in Baltimore and CEO of Otis Warren Real Estate Services, is

an African American who believes strongly that members of the African American community need to help those on their way up, and that quality education is a key to that assistance (O. Warren, personal communication, November 19, 1990).

It was a cold wintry day, and the sun had already set by the time the meeting began at around 4:00 p.m. at the Liberty Heights campus on December 20, 1989. Aery, Durham, Warren, Aery's deputy, and one of Mayor Schmoke's aides were there. Aery thought that a member of the Mayor's staff had met with the board of trustees to discuss the possibility of a state takeover, but she was dismayed to learn that in fact, the Board had learned of the plan from a newspaper article published in the Baltimore Sun on December 13, 1989, titled "State plans to take over ailing CCB" (Smith, Meisol & Frece, 1989, p. 1). Warren began by saying, "I don't like this one bit. I'm chairman of this board, and I've not been involved in any of this. The only reason I'm sitting here at this table with you is that I called the Governor's office and he said that I should at least hear you out. I have a lot of respect for the Governor, and I'm willing to sit here and listen." (O. Warren, personal communication, November 19, 1990)

During the course of the meeting, however, Warren and Aery found themselves agreeing about the administrative and financial problems facing the college, and by the end of the two-hour session, Warren had agreed to cooperate in getting the necessary legislation through the Maryland legislature.

Another key meeting took place in December, involving Aery, Eloise Foster and Daryl Plevy, both from Governor Schaefer's office, and Janet Hoffman from Mayor Schmoke's office. An administrator from the Governor's office announced to the participants that this matter would involve minimal roles

for the city negotiators, although the city was losing both valuable land and also equity, particularly at the Inner Harbor site. Word of this confrontational stance got back to the Governor, and certain language in the proposed legislation that was most objectionable to the city was altered, so that the city could maintain the same controls over the development as it could at other locations. In fact, Hoffman had been charged by Schmoke to negotiate for the city's interests, and he had essentially given her free rein, which more than matched Foster's and Aery's charges by Schaefer to negotiate for the state (J. Hoffman, personal communication, October 26, 1990).

Letters

Officials in many offices received letters from concerned citizens and from CCB staff members during this period. For instance, a letter to the Mayor raised the issue of hiring vice presidents who did not have doctoral degrees.

Dear Mr. Mayor:

I am so glad to hear that you favor the State taking over the Community College of Baltimore (CCB). CCB needs help fast. . . . CCB thanks to the Board has turned into a mockery and joke around the state. Let me give you an example:

CCB had a nationwide search for four Vice Presidents. It has advertised in the local newspapers, Washington Post and Chronicle for Higher Education. Doctorate [sic] was the top requirement. Who did the Board hire after a nationwide search?

VICE PRESIDENT FOR ACADEMIC AND STUDENT AFFAIRS... no doctorate

VICE PRESIDENT FOR INSTITUTIONAL ADVANCEMENT... no

doctorate

VICE PRESIDENT FOR BUSINESS AND FINANCE... no doctorate

All this hoopla for Vice Presidents and these top administrators of the college approved by your BOARD--are they going to change the school? H No. The SAD thing about this is that the STUDENTS, the citizens of Baltimore are the ones who will suffer. Thank goodness for the State.

Another letter, addressed to the CCB personnel office, used sarcasm to discuss the same issue.

I am writing about your announcement of the Dean of Instruction advertised in the Sunday Sun dated November 12, 1989. The Doctorate requirement. Is this SOME BIG JOKE? Since when is a Ph.D. important at CCB? You had three Vice President Positions that were advertised. Doctorates were required. The three Vice Presidents that were hired . . . do not have doctorates. Now you have advertised this DEan [sic] position requiring a doctorate degree when his/her boss the VICE PRESIDENT of Academic & Student Affairs does not have a doctorate. HA HA HA HA HA HA HA HA HA HA HA HA HA THIS IS THE BIGGEST JOKE AND CCB IS THE BIGGEST JOKE YET. NO WONDER THE STATE WANTS TO TAKE OVER.

Some staff members sent a letter to other Maryland community colleges complaining about conditions at CCB.

TO: [Other Community Colleges in Maryland]

YOU ARE FINE INSTITUTIONS WITH HONOR AND DIGNITY. YOU TREAT YOUR STAFF WITH RESPECT. YOU APPRECIATE YOUR

STAFF. WHEN YOU HIRE, YOU USE SEARCH PROCEDURES.
THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE DOES NOT APPRECIATE
ITS STAFF. WE HAVE TALLENTED [sic] AND HARD WORKING
PERSONS THAT ARE NOT APPRECIATED. IN FACT MORALE HERE AT
CCB IS VERY LOW. ALL OF OUR NEW VICE PRESIDENTS WERE
HIRED WITHOUT PROPER SEARCH PROCEDURES. NONE MET THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE POSITIONS WHICH WAS [sic] SUPPOSED
TO BE NATIONAL SEARCH. THERE WAS NO SEARCH COMMITTEE. . .
THE COLLEGE WASTES MONEY (ABOUT $300,000) IN SALARIES
FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT POSITIONS WHICH ALSO INCLUDES
FRINGE BENEFITS AND THE COLLEGE DOES NOT HAVE
COUNSELORS OR ENOUGH SECRETARIES. WE WANT TO
LEAVE AND HAVE NO WHERE TO GO. PLEASE HIRE US. WE ARE
TALENTED AND HARD WORKING. WE ARE AFRAID TO SIGN OUR
NAMES FOR FEAR OF LOSING OUR JOBS. OVER 20
ADMINISTRATORS AND OTHER FACULTY, STAFF HAVE BEEN
FORCED OUT, FIRED OR LEFT UNDER UNPLEASANT
CIRCUMSTANCES WITHIN THE PAST 3 YEARS. THE SITUATION
HERE AT CCB HAS GOTTEN WORST [sic] THAN BETTER. . . .

First Steps in the Legislative Process

Mayor Schmoke's letter to Schaefer dated December 7, 1989, formalized
some ideas which had been generated in meetings between the Mayor and
state administrators, and outlined the Mayor's proposal for CCB:

I believe it would be in the best interest of Baltimore City and the State if
the State of Maryland would assume financial and governance

responsibility for the Community College of Baltimore. I have asked the President and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of CCB to meet with Dr. Shaila Aery and any other representatives of your administration designated by you to explore the following possibilities:

- bring CCB and all property and operations under the auspices of the State beginning July 1, 1990;

- assume the responsibility for establishing a State governance structure and for appointing a board of Baltimore City residents to govern the new college; and

- assume the City's portion of the operating [budget] and capital funding of the college.

I understand that this recommendation would mean a new State role in education policy. However, it could also result in integrating social, economic and education policy in a new and important way. The State could provide the means for achieving a new model for urban education.

In fact, the suggestion that the state take over CCB was not as radical as it might appear at first blush. The proposal was consistent, in fact, with other efforts on the part of Baltimore City to transfer various responsibilities to private or state concerns. The Baltimore Zoo was privatized in the early 1980s, and Baltimore City Hospital affiliated with Johns Hopkins; Baltimore's symphony is now directly funded by the state, along with the Baltimore Museum of Art. Pier Six Pavilion, a shopping area located on the waterfront in the Inner Harbor, received state funding for improvements, and Baltimore's new stadium has been funded by the state, whereas the old stadium, home of the Baltimore Orioles, was funded by the city.

One holdover from Civil War times is the fact that the police department has been under the governor's purview since Union troops squelched a movement within Baltimore to lead Maryland into secession. School construction within Maryland is funded by the state, a fact which various governors have used as a bargaining chip during the legislative process. The takeover of CCB by the state, then, was in line with other funding changes during the last twenty years, although it would make CCB unique within Maryland's community college system. Upon receipt of this letter from Mayor Schmoke, Governor Schaefer instructed Aery to have the Maryland Attorney General's office draft proposed legislation for the takeover of CCB by the state.

The Maryland legislature, consisting of the Senate and House of Delegates, meets annually for 90 days, beginning on the second Wednesday of January. Bills introduced in January have three months to complete the legislative cycle of first reading, assignment to a committee or committees, committee hearings, second reading and amendments (if any), third reading, and roll call vote. If the vote is favorable, the bill is forwarded to the Governor for signature, which if given, results in the bill being signed into law. Frequently, bills with major fiscal implications are recommended for study by Senate and House committees after the session in which they are introduced; such bills are reintroduced during the next legislative session to complete their passage through this cycle. However, 1990 is the fourth year of Maryland's legislative quadrennium, and traditionally, major bills are not studied during the summer between the fourth and fifth years of the quadrennium; bills either pass during the 90-day session or fail (J. Hoffman, personal communication, October 26, 1990).

Maryland has an executive budget, which means that the Governor presents a budget to the legislature in which certain categories, such as elementary and secondary education, are essentially formula-driven. The Governor has a base figure which is assigned to each category, but s/he can add to the base. The legislature can alter the Governor's figures down to the base amount, but monies taken from one category cannot be added to another. By March, then, legislators have a sense of which budget items they want to cut, having gone through the hearings on appropriations bills. Budget amendments come from the Governor from mid-March through the middle of April, so that legislators have the final figures from which they work by mid-April.

Senate Bill 381 and House Bill 543, entitled "Community College of Maryland at Baltimore - State Assumption," were introduced on January 19, 1990, and first-read on January 22 (see Appendix F). Before the bill was introduced, a draft copy had been reviewed by the State Board for Community Colleges and by the Community College Legislative Committee, headed by Tschechtelin. The committee had two areas of immediate concern: (1) that CCB should continue to function as a community college, responding to community needs irrespective of funding source; and (2) that the reorganization of CCB not create two distinct community college systems within the state.

The committee felt that the name proposed, the Community College of Maryland at Baltimore, would "raise the level of tension and anxiety in the community college system," since it sounded more like the names of the various campuses of the University of Maryland, and failed to acknowledge the connection between CCB and Baltimore City. The committee made several recommendations, one of which was to have CCB subject to the program

authority of the State Board for Community Colleges and the Maryland Higher Education Commission (J. Tschechtelin, January 17, 1990). The State Attorney General's office included a number of these recommendations in preparing the bill, and in fact the issue of the college's name was quickly resolved, with the proposed name of The New Community College of Baltimore appearing in the first amended version.

The main provisions of the bill included:

• Transfer of property and assets of CCB to the new board of trustees;

• Establishment of a new Board consisting of nine members, five residents of Baltimore City and the remainder from other areas of the state. The board chair would be appointed by the Governor;

• Funding for the college through a process resembling funding for the state's four-year public colleges, rather than on the statutory community college formula;

• A provision that any proceeds from transactions involving the properties to be transferred: the Liberty Heights and Inner Harbor campuses and the radio station, "shall be used to benefit the community college, and may not revert to the general funds of the state or be applied to the annuity bond fund of the state" (SB 381, 1990, p. 8);

• Reclassification of all faculty and staff other than those specifically named in Article 64A of SB 381, with the implication that tenure contracts would not automatically be assumed by the new college (SB 381, 1990, pp. 12-19).

The President of the Senate, Mike Miller, assigned the bill to the Economic and Environmental Affairs Committee, headed by Senator Clarence Blount, in whose district CCB is located. Because of the bill's fiscal implications,

Miller assigned the bill jointly to the Budget and Taxation Committee, headed by Laurence Levitan. The chair of Budget and Taxation decided that, rather than hold two separate hearings on the bill, a delegation from Budget and Taxation could sit in with the Economic and Environmental Affairs Committee.

Community Response

On January 23, 1990, Aery and State Superintendent of Schools James Schilling went to Baltimore City Hall to meet with more than 500 Baltimore residents concerned with the prospect of the state taking over their college, which meant a great deal to the black community. Howard (Pete) Rawlings, a Maryland delegate from Baltimore, mathematics professor at CCB and Assistant to the President of the college, also attended, raising concerns about employee benefits, staff evaluation, and the proposed abolition of tenure contracts for faculty members (H. P. Rawlings, personal communication, November 6, 1990). By the end of the meeting, Aery appeared to have allayed the concerns of city residents about the takeover, but not those of Rawlings.

On January 24, 1990, Aery received a memo from Joel Smith, an attorney who represented the bargaining agents for all current CCB employees, including three different unions. In his memo, Smith outlined his position that the collective bargaining arrangement between the unions and the college, having been established during the 1960s, could not be withdrawn, even though, according to Senate Bill 381, the Community College of Baltimore would cease to exist. He addressed the unions' most pressing concerns with the state takeover of CCB.

Employee representation

We note that the bill, as presently proposed, does not offer College

faculty, staff and employees any role at all in the governance of the institution. For example, while the bill reserves a seat on the Board of Trustees for a student member, it does not promise representation to employee constituencies of the college.

Employee representation - collective bargaining

The bill also does not either recognize or continue the collective bargaining relationships that exist between the College and its Union representatives. . . [although] the State has assumed existing collective bargaining relationships in the past [for example] the Mass Transit Administration. . . . The College's Unions request that they be treated in the same fashion as MTA's unions were.

Employment tenure

As we read the bill, no employee of the College is assured employment in the College after the bill becomes the law on June 1, 1990. The President of the College is given sole right, as authorized by the Board, to hire and discharge faculty. This aspect is obviously the most chilling of the bill. . . .The bill lacks any appearance of fairness or equity in this regard. . . . The bill does not offer any affected employee the right to demand a bill of particulars as to why he or she shall not be permitted to remain in the employ of the school, nor for that matter does the bill offer any hearing procedure through which the decision of the President, or the Board of Trustees, may be tested.

Vested benefits

The bill purports to extinguish all responsibility for any obligation assumed in the past by [CCB]. Many college employees have earned

benefits which they have yet to use. . . . Many employees customarily accumulate substantial leave time which is accessed when the employee either leaves service or retires. Particularly upon retirement, leave arrangements (as authorized by the City Administration Manual or "AM") permit an employee either to take extended leave or cash-in unused leave days. . . .

Funding

The bill does not promise a precise funding pattern for the College. The most obvious resource of the school is the Lombard Street campus. No limitation is placed on the use or sale of the property, or dedication of any proceeds that might be earned from its sale, other than that it must be used for the benefit of the College.

Conclusion

As the bill is drafted, I would expect that even if they are carried over all College employees would be given new wage rates, and a new menu of fringe benefits. No effort is made in the legislation to maintain existing standards. Most current employees have been in the employ of the College for more than ten years. . . . At a minimum, the bill must protect existing job tenure, wage levels and benefits, and assure that either the City or the State will make good on the delivery of benefits that have been earned in the past (J. Smith, January 24, 1990).

At the first hearing of House Bill 543 on February 15, Mayor Schmoke and Aery presented the bill and spoke in favor of it, along with Otis Warren and Garland Williamson from the board of trustees. Dr. Durham also testified strongly in favor of the bill (see Appendix 2). Joel Smith and a representative

from the faculty union testified against it, as did Blair Lee IV and Anthony Natelli, two members of the Committee for Montgomery. An article in the Baltimore Sun the next day described the hearing as very contentious. Representatives of the other seventeen community colleges in the system did not testify, although they made their opposition known behind the scenes to individual legislators, primarily because of their conclusion that state funding for CCB would decrease the amount of funding available for the operation of their campuses.

In early February, the Department of Fiscal Services prepared a Fiscal Impact Statement showing an additional estimated cost to the state of $7.66 million, of which $6 million would go towards operating costs and $1.66 million towards capital expenditure. The remaining $18.8 million of the $26.5 million needed to run the school for one year would come in through tuition, grants and fees. The Statement noted that CCB had been traditionally underfunded in comparison with other community colleges, and projected that, by 1995, the school might need as much as $18.6 million, depending on changes in the college's operations and programs. The Statement also mentioned that, in the past, both the college bookstore and the radio station, WBJC, had been self-supporting, but that they might require additional funding "should revenues not keep pace with expenditures at these auxiliary facilities" ("Fiscal note," 1990).

On February 22, Laurence Levitan, the Chair of the Budget and Taxation Committee, wrote to Clarence Blount, Chair of the Economic and Environmental Affairs Committee:

> As a result of the hearing and the budget deliberations, the Senate Budget and Taxation Committee is concerned with the prospect of the State assuming responsibility for [CCB] prior to having knowledge of the

fiscal implications of the takeover.

In lieu of a State takeover of [CCB] during FY 1991, the Senate

Budget and Taxation Committee proposes that Senate Bill 381 be

amended to require a study be undertaken by the Maryland Higher

Education Commission in cooperation with the State Board for

Community Colleges to study several issues, including the mission of

[CCB], governance, programmatic restructuring, projected enrollments,

operational costs, personnel issues and capital facilities' needs. The

Committee is concerned that the Maryland Higher Education

Commission's primary responsibility for coordinating all segments of

higher education not be diluted by the responsibility for directly operating

an institution.

However, the Committee does recognize the financial problems of

[CCB] and supports the $6 million currently in the budget of the Maryland

Higher Education Commission for the College. Moreover, the Committee

also believes that Senate Bill 381 should be amended to provide a

minimum level of funding for the College in fiscal 1992 (i.e., an amount

over and above that which is already provided by current State law).

Although this letter was advisory in nature only, Levitan was a powerful

committee chair, and obviously he had the agreement of the other twelve

members of the Budget and Taxation Committee to send it. In an election year,

sending the bill for study was by far the safer course; legislators were reluctant

to be seen as supporting the allocation of state funds to Baltimore City,

especially in light of the lack of support for this course in Maryland as a whole.

Lucy Muer, who had served for twelve years as a Representative for

Montgomery County, was painted as "pro-Baltimore" in the 1986 election, and was defeated in her race for a Senate seat by Ida May Garrett, who had served only one term on the city council, but was seen as "closer to her [non-Baltimore] constituents" (H. P. Rawlings, personal communication, November 6, 1990).

In fact, the citizens of the counties around Baltimore had made their opinions clear to their state legislators. The Committee for Montgomery, one of a number of civic groups made up of citizens of wealthy Montgomery County that had appeared in the 1970s "not only, in the exclusive tradition, to oppose public housing, drug rehabilitation centers, and juvenile halfway houses, but also in the new no-growth tradition, to oppose shopping centers, high rises, and highways," was flatly opposed to the allocation of funds to Baltimore City (Callcott, 1985, p. 72). One member of its delegation, Nancy Kopp, was chair of the House Education Subcommittee. Kopp was running for re-election in 1990, and was not anxious to arouse the ire of Montgomery County citizens, although her vote totals in the last election had been the highest in the state.

Kopp, who had been working on a doctorate in political philosophy before she entered elective politics, had shown an active concern regarding issues surrounding higher education in the state of Maryland since the late 1970s. She participated in a semiprivate task force in 1982 under former Governor Hughes; this task force outlined some concerns with the structure and funding of Maryland higher education. She saw the community college system as an engine of economic development, with CCB providing a work-training system vital to the economic prosperity of Maryland's largest metropolitan area. She also felt that the proposed state takeover of CCB made much more sense than to shoehorn the college into the University of Maryland system, where,

because of the differences in expertise required by the two systems, CCB might have gotten short shrift. The issue first arose for Kopp during the presentation of the legislative agenda for 1990, and she met with several of the presidents of community colleges from suburban areas around Baltimore. In general, she felt that these presidents agreed with the takeover, since a radical restructuring would result in a stronger entity, but keep it within the community college system (N. K. Kopp, personal communication, December 6, 1990).

To the citizens of Montgomery County, Kopp presented the viewpoint that, with a strong community college in place providing skills, training and education immediately applicable to employment, the entire state would benefit from a strengthened workforce that might otherwise be underemployed or unemployed. In addition, she met with members of the Greater Baltimore Council to ensure that the interests of the private sector, which would be served better by the reorganized college, would be reflected in their support of the college. The feedback she got from all parties was that a radical restructuring was essential, in light of the administrative problems that the school had demonstrated in the past, and that this restructuring should involve the college moving from tenure contracts to rolling contracts, increasing the accountability of faculty and administration at the school (N. K. Kopp, personal communication, December 6, 1990).

Levitan's proposal to send the bill for study reached the ears of Governor Schaefer, who quickly made his response clear to Aery; he either wanted the bill passed, or he wanted it rejected. He thought studying the bill would be tantamount to shelving the project, which after all was Aery's first attempt to reform one aspect of higher education in Maryland. He made a point of asking

Aery how <u>her</u> community college bill was going, when he saw her at a reception in February.

Aery's response was to remember her previous legislative experiences, where she had learned the importance of stepping away from a bill that didn't seem to be going anywhere, and of assuming that one's opponents' arguments are both valid and motivated by a genuine concern and good will. She spoke with a staff member in the Attorney General's office about drafting two amendments to Senate Bill 381: the first, an expenditure cap, limiting the possible increase in the college's operating budget to 12 and 1/2%, although CCB had been historically underfunded; and the second, a sunset provision, providing a timetable in which the college would be evaluated.

The bill now set the existence of the school from July 1, 1990 to June 30, 1993, during which the college could be evaluated; limited an annual increase to not more than $2 million annually in state appropriations; and provided for a plan to develop the college's future organization and structure. Essentially, with this provision, the college would cease to exist in three years unless the legislature is satisfied that it is meeting the educational needs of Baltimore City residents and of the Baltimore business community.

However, some concerns which had been raised earlier by Joel Smith, including the issue of union contracts which existed between CCB and employees, were not addressed. On March 7, 1990, two members of the Educational Affairs Division of the Attorney General's office reminded Aery in a memo that the draft amendment for the sunset provision "fails to avoid the legal problems raised above." The staffers also pointed out that the issue of pensions had still not been resolved (G. Gaeng and D. Mason, unpublished memo, March

7, 1990).

Bringing in a Consultant

In March, 1990, Aery called Dr. Henry Givens, President of Harris-Stowe College in St. Louis, Missouri. Aery had been the Commissioner of Higher Education in Missouri shortly after the Missouri legislature ended a twelve-year discussion on funding for this teachers college by voting to have the state take the school over in 1982. Before *Brown vs. Board of Education* in 1954, St. Louis teachers had been trained at two normal schools: Harris Teachers College, which trained white teachers, and Stowe Teachers College, which trained black teachers, both in existence since 1857, which makes Harris-Stowe State College the oldest teaching college west of the Mississippi River. When the two schools merged in 1954, the word Stowe was dropped, so from 1954 to 1976 the school was called "Harris State College." In 1978, the school became "Harris-Stowe State College."

The bill which passed the Missouri legislature mandated that the school resume operations immediately, with no transition period, although, because of inadequate funding from the City of St. Louis, enrollments were down drastically and the best faculty members had already left. Givens was Assistant Commissioner for Elementary and Secondary Education in Missouri at the time of the takeover, and became Harris-Stowe State College's first African-American president, accepting the appointment because of his belief that he would play a key role in establishing quality education for black educators if he accepted the post.

During the critical early days after the takeover, Aery was instrumental in getting increases in the college's operating budget and capital improvement

fund, and maintained her interest in the college throughout her stay as Commissioner. Since Harris-Stowe was controlled by the St. Louis school board, nontenured faculty who were evaluated as "fair" or "poor" were transferred back into the St. Louis schools, rather than not having their contracts extended. Tenured faculty retained their tenure at the new institution. Under Givens' leadership following the takeover, enrollment at Harris-Stowe doubled, new standards of academic progress were developed and implemented, the physical plant was completely renovated, and new programs were implemented which lead to specialties in computer science or a Bachelor of Science in Urban Education. Aery was well acquainted with the takeover process at Harris-Stowe when she called Givens in March, 1990, to ask him to serve as a consultant in the passage of the CCB legislation.

Givens accepted the position, and met almost everyone involved in the takeover, from Governor Schaefer to CCB's custodial staff. In his first meeting with Senator Blount, the Senator asked Givens, "Why is she [Aery] doing this? Are they taking this institution away from us?" Givens sold Blount on the turnaround at Harris-Stowe and on Aery's role in that process, convincing him that the school could become "the Spelman or Morehouse of the east coast," to use Otis Warren's description of his dream for CCB (O. Warren, personal communication, November 19, 1990).

Givens also met with black and white legislators who had concerns about the takeover, and with members of an Interim Task Force appointed by Aery to smooth the transition process should the legislation succeed. In each case, he was able to allay concerns about possible losses to the black community, emphasizing Harris-Stowe's role in providing excellence in education to

"struggling students from struggling homes." Givens continued to fly to Maryland regularly throughout the legislative process.

Second and Third Readings

In March, 1990, the House Subcommittee on Education had decided not to take the bill up until it was passed by the Senate. However, during the period when the bill was being amended by the Senate, a series of intense debates on abortion funding in the state of Maryland began, just as SB 381 was about to be introduced for its third reading in the Senate. It now seemed impossible for the Senate to get to the bill before the end of the session. However, the Senate allowed one day during the abortion debates for bills that had already been second-read to have their third readings. SB 381 was passed by the Senate during the first week in April, 1990, with the session due to end on April 15.

The House Education Committee then held one hearing on the bill, and referred it to the Subcommittee on Education, chaired by Nancy Kopp and vicechaired by long-time Baltimore legislator Pete Rawlings, who was personally affected by the bill due to his employment by CCB. Delegate Rawlings had already requested information from the Maryland State Board for Community Colleges in March on average salaries for community college faculty throughout the state, along with information about tenure or rolling contracts within the system. Tschechtelin forwarded this information to Rawlings on March 29, showing that five Maryland colleges used rolling contracts exclusively, with Anne Arundel and Prince George's Colleges awarding a limited number of tenure contracts. Montgomery College awarded three 1-year, one 3-year, and renewable 6-year contracts to faculty members.

As a result of Delegate Rawlings' concerns about tenure and benefits,

Aery met with Nancy Kopp, Pete Rawlings, Eloise Foster (who was working the bill for the Governor's office) and Janet Hoffman (who was working the bill for Baltimore City) for a 6-hour meeting during which they went through the entire bill. The next night, the entire Subcommittee on Education met with Aery, and went through the bill line by line, recommending changes in the faculty evaluation procedures and ensuring the right of employees of CCB to withdraw pension funds and accumulated sick leave pay through the end of December, 1990. The following day, Kopp presented the bill to the Appropriations Committee in what proved to be a lengthy session, focusing on testimony by the Committee for Montgomery, comprised of residents of the wealthy suburban areas around Baltimore. The Committee for Montgomery now opposed the bill on the grounds that it would drain funding from other community colleges. Delegate Ryan, chair of the Appropriations Committee and a representative from Prince George's County, allowed members of the Committee for Montgomery to testify at length, but eventually told the Appropriations Committee members that he was prepared to have them stay all night, if need be, until they voted on the bill. In response, the committee passed the bill on April 4, with amendments to specify that the majority of the Board of Trustees should be residents of Baltimore City, as well as to clarity other issues.

The Baltimore Sun finally began paying attention to the bill on April 2, when an editorial noted: "Two Baltimore-related measures ought to get the nod, too. One would permit a state takeover of the Community College of Baltimore to turn it into a quality center for remedial education and job training" ("The week in Annapolis," 1990, p. 15A). On April 6, the Sun editorialized: "The Schmoke administration received good news on another front, too, when

differences over a state takeover of [CCB] were settled. This should breath life into that moribund institution, which badly needs an infusion of money and management" ("State house breakthrough," 1990, p. 16A).

The bill came to the floor of the House and was read a second time, then went to the floor at the end of the week for its third reading. Attempts were made to amend the sunset provision and the amount of funding, and there was also an attempt to add language restoring employee benefits, but the bill passed the House at 4 p.m. on Friday, April 12, 1990, in essentially the same form that it was in at the beginning of the floor debate.

At this point, the House and Senate versions of the bill went to a conference committee to iron out the differences between the two bills. At the end of the session, a number of conference committees were meeting to deal with the last-minute logjam of bills; the committee for SB 381 was announced on Saturday, April 13, 1990. Aery met with Senator Blount regarding the differences between the two versions of the bill, and on Sunday afternoon, Blount called a meeting of the Senate members of the conference committee behind the Senate chambers. The senators decided in this meeting to accept the House version of the bill, without further meetings of the entire conference committee. House Delegate Kopp, maintaining her support for the bill, introduced it on the floor, notwithstanding the continued opposition of the Committee for Montgomery, and despite the fact that she was running for re-election in November of 1990. The bill passed on Sunday, April 14, 1990, and Governor Schaefer was informed immediately by telephone.

Governor Schaefer signed the bill into law on Wednesday, May 2, 1990, along with 189 other bills passed during the 1990 General Assembly session.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPLEMENTATION

First Steps: Press Releases and the New Board of Trustees

Immediately after the passage of SB 381, President Durham announced

his resignation, effective December 31, 1990, and a sabbatical leave, which he

began immediately after he officiated at the commencement ceremonies in

June. Schaefer's office issued a press announcement on May 2, 1990, stating

that Dr. James Tschechtelin, executive director of the State Board for

Community Colleges (SBCC), was appointed director of transition for CCB. "It

isn't very often that you get the chance to build a new college on the foundation

of an old one," Schaefer said. "That's what we're doing today, and I expect the

New Community College of Baltimore to play a pivotal role in the city's

economic future." Tschechtelin, who had been coordinator of institutional

research at Harford Community College, joined the SBCC in 1975. The board

of NCCB authorized him at its May meeting to "carry out the duties and

responsibilities of the President of CCB concurrently with his New CCB

assignment" (Transition Report for the Middle States Association, 1990, p. 3).

As one of his first official acts, he moved into an office in the administration

building on the Liberty Heights campus immediately, leaving the former

president's office behind at the Inner Harbor campus.

On June 5, 1990, the Baltimore Sun reported that faculty and staff were

uncertain as to whether to "collect retirement benefits from the city or become

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state employees with no guarantee of salary, working conditions or even a job after six months" (Meisol, 1990, p. 1A). Dale Parnell, president of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, pointed out that state takeovers of community colleges are unusual: "It has to be pretty serious before the state steps in," Parnell said (Meisol, 1990, p. 10A).

On June 5, 1990, Schaefer's office issued a press release announcing the new board of trustees for the college, along with a $250,000 grant to fund two programs: enhancing and equipping computer labs for English and math remediation, and a college success seminar, piloted with 160 students in the fall of 1990 and another 300 students in the spring of 1991. According to the governor's office, "Students will learn to clarify academic and career goals, develop study skills and other necessary learning skills, and learn about personal development. Self-esteem will be emphasized, students will learn how choices they make affect their success or failure" ("Governor William Donald Schaefer names New CCB trustees," 1990, p. 3).

The new trustees were:

Dr. Beverly Cole, National Director for Housing and Education, NAACP;

Jeanette Cole, Attorney, resident of Baltimore;

Dr. David F. Johnson, Chief, Laboratory of Analytical Chemistry, NIH (Retired);

Jerry C. Lymas, President, Justin Development Corp., resident of Baltimore;

Michael C. Middleton, Executive Vice President, MNC Financial Inc., resident of Baltimore;

Marion W. Pines, Senior Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies, Johns

Hopkins University, resident of Baltimore;

Sara W. Taylor, retired elementary school teacher and administrator, resident of Baltimore;

Garland Williamson, President/CEO, Information Control Systems Corp., resident of Baltimore; and

Nicole M. Small, student member, resident of Baltimore.

The governor addressed the newly appointed trustees of NCCB on June 5, reminding them of the difficulties that lay ahead in revamping the college. He told the board that inevitably some faculty members would receive less-than-satisfactory evaluations. "It's just that simple," Schaefer said. "If you're going to have exactly the same faculty, the same attitude, it's no use changing the college" (Waldron, 1990, p. 1A). Schaefer stated that the business community had lost faith in the college's ability to turn out a decent educational product, and described his own experience in walking around the Liberty Heights campus. "I have walked in the present community college and I was very depressed," Schaefer said. "The lights weren't right. The place was dirty. The kids sat around with their feet on the chairs." Schaefer also mentioned that he had no specific goals or objectives for the college by which to measure progress; "I'll just know" if things are going well, he said (Waldron, 1990, p. 1A). In response to concerns voiced by black faculty members to state officials in May about strong representation by blacks and women on the board, to mirror a student population nearly 70% black women, the governor's press release pointed out that six of the new board members were black, three were white, and five of the nine members were women (Waldron, 1990, p. 2A).

In the summer, 1990 edition of About CCB, Secretary Aery delivered a

message to students at NCCB. Gazing off the page into the middle distance, Aery assured students that "it is important for you to know that your studies will not be disrupted. . . . While some changes can be expected in program offerings in the future, those changes should not affect students currently enrolled at the college." She described support for the new school by the Baltimore business community, the new board, and the Maryland Higher Education Commission (MHEC). In particular, she announced that "it is our goal to increase state funding at the New College to a level that will ensure a sound and effective education for every student. At the same time, we intend to hold tuition costs down; there will be no tuition increase at [NCCB] in the foreseeable future" ("A message to students at the New Community College of Baltimore," 1990, p. 1).

Immediate Changes

Within two weeks, Tschechtelin had the fountain at the entrance to the Liberty Heights campus cleaned, and commissioned banners which proclaimed "THE NEW COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE: THE NEWEST OLDEST COMMUNITY COLLEGE IN MARYLAND." These banners were also strung across Lombard Street between the two buildings that make up the Inner Harbor campus. With new plantings at the entrance, the grounds cleaned, and the new signs, in vivid red, Baltimore was notified of changes at the college.

The Transition Team and the Blueprint for Instructional Programs and Services

Aery approached Marion Pines to serve on the transition team for NCCB in January, 1990, by going to her office in the basement of a building on the grounds of Johns Hopkins University. The office is rather difficult to find, down a long corridor past two other offices whose inhabitants do not know how to locate Pines, in a corner office behind a common area for the fax and copy machines.

She is renowned in Baltimore for her civic activities, and agreed to add NCCB to the list of her involvements partly because of her opinion that it had "no place to go but up." Once the transition group had prepared its report, Schaefer asked Pines to serve on the new board of trustees, and, as Pines said, "I unfortunately can't say 'No' to him, and unfortunately he keeps appointing me and appointing me to this and that and the other thing" (M. Pines, personal communication, October, 1991). She attributed part of the new board's success to the long-term commitment to NCCB of several of the board members, who "feel they are deserving of a high-quality institution."

The transitional task force, chaired by Quentin R. Lawson, vice chairman of the Maryland Higher Education Commission (MHEC), was charged with studying the academic programs at the college and examining both the needs of Baltimore's business and educational communities and innovative community college educational approaches. The report was issued in May, 1990, shortly after the legislature created NCCB. According to a press release from MHEC on June 8, 1990, the task force recommended that the new board of trustees "focus its energies on a few technological areas that are of critical significance to Baltimore and are consistent with the college's present strength and resources." The recommendations included the formation of two new institutes, for business/industry technologies and for health/human services technologies, which would include advisory boards "which should serve as the unit's principal link to its respective communities" (Blueprint, 1990, p. v).

Other key academic areas identified in the Blueprint were a center for Arts and Sciences, offering general education courses for transfer students, a division of preparatory studies "with broad responsibility for developing,

coordinating, and evaluating the college's developmental education program, for devising courses that help students move from remedial to regular college work, and for and implementing innovative strategies to help marginal and at-risk students make the successful transition from high school to college" (p. 16), and an Office of Lifelong Learning to provide noncredit continuing education courses and contract courses in coordination with business, industry and government. The Blueprint called for greater collaboration between NCCB and Baltimore's public school system to "become active partners in a system of education that effectively addresses the high drop out rate and lower achievement level of many city high school students," particularly in early intervention, "a technical preparation (tech prep) academic/technical program that begins in high school and leads to completion of an associate degree at a community college," and a "2 + 2 + 2" program which would tie together the last two years of high school, two years at NCCB, and a final two years at a four-year institution (pp. 27-28, 29, 30).

Finally, the task force called for improved levels of student services on this urban campus formerly served by one counselor, and "innovative partnerships" with nearby four-year colleges and universities "to encourage minorities and other underserved groups to successfully transfer and earn bachelor's degrees" (p. 31). Each of these recommendations served as a focus for initial evaluations made at NCCB over the summer.

Changes in Governance: The Board

Members of the new board selected Pines as chair and Dr. David Johnson as vice chair, partly, in Pines' opinion, because they thought she might be able to get more money for the school. She told the board members, "If

that's what you thought, you've been badly misrepresented and badly served!"
(M. Pines, personal communication, October 1991).

The old CCB board was supposed to meet monthly to carry out its duties
and responsibilities specified in the by-laws of the college: "appointment of the
President of the College; approval of the strategic plan; establishment of
personnel policies and procedures; establishment of conditions of appointment
and compensation for employees not otherwise included in city-wide
agreements; participation in negotiations with collective bargaining agents, and
approval of the College budget and fiscal management procedures" (Transition
Report, 1990, p. 22).

Although the CCB board was scheduled to meet on a monthly basis,
during the academic years 1988-89 and 1989-90, most business, including
discussion and votes, had been conducted in executive session. The student
member was excluded from these sessions, and had no vote. Two months after
a meeting, minutes were made available to administrative offices of the college.
According to the Transition Report, "In FY 90, the Board canceled its meetings in
August, September, and June and did not have a quorum at its meetings in at
least four other months. However, the Board did hold a public forum in
conjunction with its February 1990 meeting to hear concerns of the College
community especially concerning the legislation pending in the State
legislature" (p. 22).

In contrast, the new board held its first meeting "on Wednesday, June 20
at 10 AM [sic] in the Gaare Auditorium of the Liberty Campus. The time and
place for the first meeting were significant. They were chosen to accommodate
and encourage attendance by as many members of the New CCB community

as possible. There were 66 people in attendance at the first Board meeting" (<u>Transition Report</u>, 1990, p. 26). Table 2 summarizes the characteristics of the two boards.

<u>Changes in Governance and Organizational Structure: Dr. Tschechtelin Takes Stock</u>

In the report prepared by the Middle States Accreditation Association evaluation team in 1980, concerns were raised about the large number of administrators at CCB, unclear reporting structures, and possible duplication of functions by administrators. By 1986, the position of chancellor had been created, with the chancellor serving as the liaison between the president and deans, and also responsible for the day-to-day operations of CCB. In 1988, the Middle States evaluation team "raised concerns about the role of the Chancellor and about the fact that Deans did not report directly to the President" (<u>Transition Report</u>, 1990, p. 32).

As a result, the organizational structure was revised, with a vice president of administration, deans of academic affairs, business and finance, planning, development and communication, and continuing education, and directors of management information systems and plant development reporting directly to the President. However, the position of dean of academic affairs remained vacant, and associate deans ran the offices of student affairs and instruction (<u>Transition Report</u>, 1990, p. 32).

Before AY 1989-90, the board approved yet another organizational structure, with four vice presidents (executive vice president, business and finance, academic and student affairs, and institutional advancement) reporting directly to the President. In fact, the vice president for business and finance

Table 2

Major Characteristics of the Two Boards

Board Characteristic	CCB	New CCB
Number of Members	9	9
Residence of Members	Baltimore City	State law requires majority from city
Members appointed by	Mayor of Baltimore	Governor of state
Chair	Elected by members	Elected by members
Student member	Nonvoting, excluded from executive session	Voting, included in executive session
Agenda	Standard list of 7-10 topics, incl. president's report, finance report, personnel, etc.	Varied list of ca. 20 topics listed informative, discussion and action items
Conduct of Business	Primarily in executive session	Primarily in public session
Approval by MHEC needed for large expenditures and granting of tenure	No	Yes
Meeting Time	Evening	Daytime

Note. Based on Transition Report, 1990, p. 27.

accepted another position before the end of the first semester, and the person appointed as executive vice president never actually accepted the position. The board also approved a realignment of academic departments into four divisions headed by assistant deans (allied health, mathematics and science; applied technologies; business and information systems; and humanities and social sciences) (Transition Report, 1990, p. 32).

According to Tschechtelin, the biggest surprise in what he found at NCCB as Director of Transition was the degree of disorganization. Departments and faculty seemed to be operating within fiefdoms, with little or no communication between them. In addition, adversarial relations between the past administration and faculty members, particularly with regard to collective bargaining, had created a feeling almost of armed camps within CCB (personal communication, October 1991).

Tschechtelin implemented several changes in "the way we do business here" immediately. He opened his office to weekly meetings with his executive staff, met with members of the student governance board, held informal meetings with faculty, administrators and classified staff for around 15 invited staff members at each meeting to "exchange ideas, information and concerns" about his vision for the college, and instituted a new weekly newsletter, The New CCB Inside Edition, with copies mailed to the homes of all full-time faculty. He also began plans for an official kickoff of NCCB to be held on August 30, 1990, with entertainment and music, and formed a new "Committee for Improvement of the College Environment" which was responsible for addressing issues of "signage, safety and security, pedestrian traffic access, attitude, image of campus facilities and grounds, and important aesthetic

aspects of the college" (Transition Report, 1990, p. 4).

Summer, 1990

At midnight on June 30, 1990, CCB ceased to exist, and at 12:01 a.m. on July 1, 1990, NCCB came into being. The question of whether or not the transition had occurred legally would later be tested in Maryland's U. S. District Court, but from the standpoint of the college's administrators and statute, NCCB was a new entity. From the standpoint of the students enrolled in summer school, the change was certainly not evident. Courses that had been underway for two weeks continued with the same instructors, the same room assignments, the same course numbers, the same texts, and no one had to re-register. However, whether they recognized it or not, the instructors were now working on at-will contracts which had to be evaluated before the end of 1990.

At its July meeting, the New CCB board approved a new organizational structure, "aimed at streamlining, producing clear lines of reporting, and being minimally disruptive" (Transition Report, 1990, p. 35). The board also named Tschechtelin as interim president at this meeting. Five line officers now reported to Tschechtelin: an executive director of the Business and Industry Center; vice president for academic affairs; vice president for student affairs; vice president for institutional planning and advancement; and vice president for administration.

The Business and Industry Center was the old Inner Harbor campus, renamed in August, 1988, although many academic programs and courses continued to be offered on Lombard Street. In fact, "BIC courses and conferences had to share the same space with the academic division resulting in competing priorities for use of room and equipment," and lines of authority

between BIC and the Liberty Heights campus were decidedly unclear (Transition Report, 1990, p. 16).

One of the decisions made at board meetings in July and August, 1990, was to approve a proposal for use of the Inner Harbor campus by the University of Maryland at Baltimore as the Baltimore Higher Education Center, including BIC, open enrollment courses, the Center of Marine Biotechnology of the University of Maryland, a continuing education center, and a conference center. In fact, this proposal was never finalized, despite the attention paid to the matter by the board. The name "Harbor Campus" was resumed, and "the elevation of the Executive Director of the Business and Industry Center to a senior level position is an indication of an increased importance being given to serving business and other constituencies in the Baltimore region in ways beyond the traditional open-enrollment, credit programs" (Transition Report, 1990, p. 37).

At CCB, searches for vacant positions were frequently delayed or not held at all. Durham came to CCB from the State Board of Higher Education without previous experience at a community college. He served as acting president for one year, during which time a regional, not a national, search was conducted for the new president. His predecessor was president for three years, having been chair of the board of trustees, but with no previous experience in administering an educational institution. In fact, "the last truly open, national search for a President was conducted after the death of the first President, Harry Bard, in 1976" (Transition Report, 1990, pp. 22-23). Tschechtelin was committed to conducting timely, national searches for vacant positions, rather than leaving them vacant or appointing an "acting" administrator. National searches were begun during the summer for two vice

presidencies, a dean and a director of personnel.

The Mission Statements: CCB and NCCB

The State Higher Education Act of 1988 mandated that all community colleges submit their mission statements and goals to the State Board for Community Colleges, which was to review and forward them to MHEC for review by the Secretary. Surveys of students, faculty, administration, staff, advisory committee members, and trustees confirmed that CCB should remain a comprehensive community college, and the following mission statement and goals were approved by the board in February, 1989.

Mission Statement for CCB

The Community College of Baltimore, the only municipal institution of higher education in the City of Baltimore, is governed by a Board of Trustees appointed by the Mayor. The college offers a comprehensive range of transfer programs and career education through the Associate in Arts Degree, Certificate Programs, Continuing Education and Community Service activities. Serving Baltimore at the Liberty Campus, the Business and Industry Center [the new name for the Inner Harbor campus] and numerous off-campus sites, the College provides educational opportunities for individuals to pursue educational and career goals and to achieve economic and social advancement. As an urban college, CCB strives to be flexible, adaptive, responsive and pro-active to meet the needs of a diverse population, including full-time and part-time students, workers and those persons who might otherwise lack access to higher education due to age, finances, or quality of prior schooling. CCB is committed to quality education through community

assessment, the implementation of programs and services, and the evaluation of educational outcomes.

<u>Goals for CCB</u>

1. To provide liberal arts and sciences courses and programs that prepare students for transfer to four-year colleges.

2. To offer credit and non-credit continuing education programs and services to address the needs and special interests of Baltimore residents and support the economic development of the Baltimore area.

3. To provide vocational-technical courses and career programs to enable students to acquire the knowledge and skills needed for employment.

4. To maintain a general education program encouraging intellectual, social, aesthetic and cultural growth for students who transfer to other colleges and for students in career programs.

5. To provide basic education opportunities for students who need developmental or preparatory work to meet their individual goals and to provide underprepared students with access to postsecondary education.

6. To provide support services which help students progress through an educational program appropriate to their individual goals.

7. To offer community service activities and events that build appreciation for and involvement in academic, cultural and creative achievement.

8. To encourage continuous professional development to improve instruction and administration so that the delivery of quality education is

maintained. (Transition Report, 1990, pp. 10-11).

MHEC received the mission statement and goals from the state board just before the legislature passed SB 381, so the mission and goals were frozen pending the legislative outcome. The bill that passed included provision for "an examination and recommendations concerning the future mission and accountability standards of the New Community College of Baltimore," and the MHEC Task Force Report Blueprint of Instructional Programs and Services recommended that the college "rethink its institutional purpose and mission" in light of its urban setting. Tschechtelin emphasized the importance of including a commitment to quality in the mission statement, and asked the institutional planning office to draft a preliminary statement for widespread distribution throughout the college community. Feedback from the community was used in preparing the final draft that was approved by the board in July, 1990, and sent to the SBCC and MHEC for comment.

The mission statement and goals were approved by the board in August, 1990. The complete text of the mission and goals can be found in Appendix D; an abbreviated version appears below.

<div align="center">Mission Statement for NCCB</div>

The mission of the New Community College of Baltimore is to provide high quality career and transfer programs, continuing education courses, and community service programs at low cost to students in response to the educational needs of Baltimore residents and businesses.

The premier function of the College is excellent teaching; through this teaching the College seeks to nurture the seeds of greatness in each

student. In addition, the College aims to be flexible and responsive in meeting the needs for public service in Baltimore. The College strives to be thoroughly in touch with and involved with the City and its people.

Goals for NCCB

A commitment to quality is an essential part of the mission of the New Community College of Baltimore. In order to focus the energy of the college on that commitment and to measure progress, the goals for quality must be clearly stated. At the New Community College of Baltimore these goals are:

1. Student success, as measured by the proportion of new full-time freshmen who have graduated from the College, transferred, or are still enrolled after four years. . . .It is the goal of the College to rank in the top third of the Maryland community colleges on this variable.

2. Student transfer goal achievement, as measured by 1) the proportion of graduates who transfer to a four-year college when that was their goal, and by 2) the proportion of transfer students who are in good academic standing at the transfer institution. . . .It is the goal of the College to rank in the top third of the Maryland community colleges on this variable.

3. Full-time employment in the field of training among graduates of career programs, and positive evaluations of graduates from career programs by their employers. . . . It is the goal of the College to rank in the top third of the Maryland community colleges on this variable.

4. Responsiveness to the needs of business, industry, government, labor, and Baltimore residents for continuing education.

This variable will be measured by 1) the number and enrollment of courses taught for such groups and 2) the ratings by those groups about the effectiveness of such training and education.

5. Effective and productive faculty and staff. The quality of the faculty and staff will be maintained by an annual performance evaluation system, which will include student evaluations.

6. Effective and productive student services and learning resources. This variable will be measured by periodic student surveys of effectiveness.

7. Attractive, modern, clean, and safe physical facilities. Periodic evaluations of the facilities by the State Department of General Services will be used to measure this variable.

Evaluating the Faculty: First Steps

One of the first orders of business at the new school was to arrange for faculty evaluations, to be completed according to legislative mandate. This mandate for evaluation arose because of the abolition of faculty tenure, which along with questions about retirement, vacation and sick leave benefits were the most problematical issues from the standpoint of the faculty. Several faculty members had been approved for tenure by their discipline colleagues, deans, and the vice president of academic affairs as of the spring of 1990, but President Durham had failed to submit their names to the board of trustees for consideration. Now, with CCB abolished and a system of rolling contracts implemented, these faculty members lacked the ability to show that they had ever been tenured on their resumes.

One of Tschechtelin's first moves was to invite administrators, faculty and

students into his office regularly to discuss whatever was on their minds. Questions about tenure and the evaluation process were very much on people's minds that summer. In fact, faculty had raised the issue of tenure at a public meeting attended by Tschechtelin and Aery, when a faculty member asked if the intention was to retain the tenure system. Tschechtelin had answered, "Yes." Then Aery leaned over, whispered to him, and Tschechtelin stated that he couldn't be sure of what arrangements would be made about tenure (personal communication, October 1991).

In the fall of 1989, CCB had employed 120 full-time faculty members, characterized in Table 3 by comparing them with the faculties of other large community colleges in Maryland. Mean salaries at CCB were significantly lower than at the other community colleges with which MHEC compared the school, and the FTE at CCB was less than half that of any of the other five schools in FY 90. In the view of President Durham, collective bargaining, by which faculty and staff had negotiated salaries and benefits, made shared governance difficult.

In a statement of governance written "in response to a request from the College workgroup that was addressing governance for the Middle States self-study," Durham had written, "Shared governance is more hypothetical than real. The areas of shared governance are limited because so much of what is done in higher education today is prescribed by federal, state or local legislation. . . . Since the Sixties, collective bargaining has made inroads into academe, and most strongly in community colleges. Shared governance is severely limited if not impossible in an atmosphere in which collective bargaining operates" (Transition Report, 1990, p. 23). SB 381 was silent on issues of collective

bargaining and tenure; however, state law prohibits collective bargaining by state employees.

Table 3

Comparison of Faculty Member Characteristics at NCCB with Those of Other Large Community Colleges

| | | Community Colleges | | |
| | CCB | Five other large community colleges | | |
Characteristic		High	Average	Low
Number	120	365	233	170
% Female	49	44	42	38
% Persons of color	31	15	10	7
% with tenure	75	88	70	52
% w/ Master's or more	84	96	92	83
Median age	49	48	47	46
Mean salary/Full prof.	40,143	48,922	48,164	47,392
Mean salary/Assoc. prof.	33,664	40,777	39,675	36,429
Mean salary/Ass't. prof.	29,190	34,303	33,216	32,333
Mean salary/Instructor	24,855	29,478	27,603	25,945
% of 10-month full-time faculty in upper 2 ranks	52	80	70	59

Note. Adapted from Transition Report, 1990, p. 39.

During the summer of 1990, nine faculty members retired, opting to retire as City employees rather than state employees. Six of the nine were instructional faculty, and three were nonteaching faculty in student support areas. Perhaps the coming evaluation process tipped the scales for some of these faculty members.

The implementation of the evaluation process was left in the hands of the vice president for academic affairs, Ron Wright. Since this type of evaluation had never before been conducted at the college, Wright was responsible for coming up with an evaluation instrument and a plan within a few weeks, since the final results were due by December, 1990. A draft of criteria and procedures for the evaluation appeared in the June 22, 1990 edition of Inside Edition, and comments and suggestions were invited from all members of the NCCB community. Some of the evaluation criteria were adapted from Roueche & Baker's Access and Excellence (1987), and in fact Dr. John Roueche, director of the Community College Leadership Program at the University of Texas, offered a seminar on excellence in community college education at NCCB in the fall of 1990. The criteria used were as follows:

1. Teaching effectiveness

    a. Motivation skills, including commitment, goal orientation, integrated perception, positive action and reward orientation

    b. Interpersonal skills, including objectivity, active listening, rapport, and empathy

    c. Intellectual skills, including individualized perception, teaching strategies, knowledge and innovation

2. Service

    a. Community

    b. College

3. Credentials

    a. Advanced degrees

    b. Advanced certificates

4. Professional activities

    a. Professional associations

    b. Statewide committees

During its July meeting, the board of trustees considered the draft procedures and criteria. Lengthy discussions focused around two areas: whether classroom visitations should be announced or unannounced, and the possibility of building a formal appeals procedure into the process. The board reached consensus that classroom visits should be unannounced, but noted only that the board itself should not be part of an appeals process. The evaluation procedures and criteria were approved at the August board meeting, and Wright was authorized to prepare the evaluation instruments (Transition Report, 1990, p. 41).

There were eight steps involved in the evaluation process. First, procedures and criteria were drafted and circulated to SBCC, MHEC, faculty senate, and student government. Final procedures and criteria were scheduled for approval by the board of trustees in August. A workshop for deans on the evaluation process was designed to familiarize them with procedures and criteria. Second, faculty members heard a statement of expectations in divisional meetings held in August. Third, individual faculty members

developed portfolios based on a searching, 12-page self-evaluation form. These portfolios were to be completed by September or October. Individual faculty members found the task of assembling this portfolio daunting, since the work had to be sandwiched in between their teaching, committee, and other work assignments. In addition, some faculty members had never had to put a portfolio together before (personal communications, October 1990).

Once the portfolios were turned in, divisional deans visited classrooms, summarized student evaluations, and reviewed portfolios between September and November. Some deans found this fourth part of the evaluation as difficult as faculty members had the third step. The visits and reviews were added to their regular assignments, and all were unfamiliar with this type of evaluation (personal communications, October 1990). As the fifth step, deans conducted individual performance interviews with all faculty members, focusing on review of expectations, individual portfolios, recognition of strengths and areas needing improvement, and ending with a recommendation to the vice president of academic affairs of a rating of excellent, good, fair or poor. These assessments were scheduled for September and October.

The sixth step of the evaluation process was an evaluation by students, which took place after midsemester. The results of the students' evaluations were not given to the deans before their reports were completed. Faculty members completed peer evaluations as the seventh step, which was completed at the same time as the deans' evaluations.

Once the deans' reports were turned in, the vice president of academic affairs reviewed portfolios, dean, student, and peer recommendations, met with faculty members who disagreed with the evaluations completed by their deans,

and sent packets and recommendations to Tschechtelin. This eighth step of the evaluation process was to be completed October through mid-November.

Faculty contracts were to be offered after the evaluations on the following basis:

Rating	Contract length
Excellent	3 years, including AY 1990-91
Good	2 years, including AY 1990-91
Fair	1 year, including AY 1990-91
Poor	Non-renewal after June 1991

All faculty members who received a "Fair" rating were to be re-evaluated in the spring of 1991 (Transition Report, 1990, pp. 42-45).

Symbols of the Transition

By the end of August, 1990, Tschechtelin and Pines had met with the editorial boards of the Baltimore Sun and the Baltimore Evening Sun to discuss coverage of NCCB. As one of the Op-Ed editors stated later, "There's not much that's sexy about community colleges. It's probably true that in the past, we covered CCB when something went wrong. Maybe it's time we started letting people know about what's going right" (personal communication, October, 1991). Tschechtelin was taped by WJZ-TV, Channel 13, for an interview which later aired on the program "On Time," and Tschechtelin and Wright were interviewed for WJZ-TV's "Eyewitness News Conference" on Sunday, August 26.

For many years, classical radio station WBJC, housed on the CCB campus, had distanced itself from the college as much as possible. During the summer of 1990, however, the station began using the name of the school with

its call letters, and agreed to run public service announcements regarding fall registration.

The kick-off celebration for the new college was held on August 30 at the Liberty Campus, attended by Maryland's Lieutenant Governor Steinberg, Secretary Aery, and many of the legislators who had played key roles in the passage of SB 381. The press release for Kick-Off Day stated that "today the New Community College of Baltimore celebrates its new status as a State institution and its new commitment to excellence." The release went on,

> Under the leadership of a new board of trustees, appointed by the
> Governor. . .New CCB plans to focus on such priorities as: new
> evaluation and incentives for faculty that will stress quality and
> excellence; new mission statement; intensified student recruitment
> efforts; new emphasis on career programs and the teaching of
> marketable skills; the cultivation of new business partnerships through
> the Business and Industry Center; the generation of new alumni and
> other philanthropic donor support through the College's tax-exempt
> Foundation; and the establishment of new joint projects that will connect
> Baltimore high schools and area colleges. ("The New CCB," 1990, p. 1)

Inside Edition in November, 1990, included articles on the inclusion of 88 NCCB students in Who's Who Among Students in American Junior Colleges, a new library orientation resulting from a mandate from Vice President Wright that all classes include a library assignment, the hiring of a diagnostician in the Center for Educational Services, an appearance by the attorney who defended the rap group 2 Live Crew on obscenity charges following the release of their album "As Nasty as They Wanna Be," a breakfast recognizing public school

counselors in the Baltimore City system, the formation of the New CCB Gospel Choir, a seminar on health careers in the military, and community recognition for various activities undertaken by faculty and staff members.

Student Services

According to the MHEC Task Force report in May, 1990,

Nothing is more critical to the mission of the New Community College of Baltimore than an effective student support system. For the large majority of the students who will enroll in the New College, the classroom situation cannot be separated from a host of personal and social factors that mitigate against academic success. Many will have job and family responsibilities, and even those who are highly motivated may not get the support at home that will encourage them to persist to the completion of a program or to continue their education. This is especially true for those first generation college students whose parents have little or no experience with higher education. For many City high school students and adult urban residents, the lack of information about community colleges and what they expect of students is often as limiting as the lack of adequate financial resources. An effective urban community college student support services model must not only offer financial and career counseling, but also programs that provide students with the coping skills necessary to survive in college. To ensure that students receive the type and level of support needed to achieve their personal objectives, the Transition Task Force recommends that a comprehensive, integrated student support services model be implemented with sufficient human and fiscal resources to adequately meet the needs of students with a

variety of special circumstances. (Blueprint, 1990, p. 33, emphasis in the original)

At CCB, counseling took place without overall coordination, in many different offices, by people who clearly exhibited great willingness to assist students with their concerns but sometimes lacked training or focus. In particular, students had come to regard the registration procedure as the primary place where academic advisemen occurred, although helping an individual student with questions of prerequisites, time conflicts or unavailable classes frequently caused considerable delays in the registration process for other students. Some faculty members met with students frequently to advise them on academic matters, but others regarded advisement as a nuisance and a bother, displaying lack of enthusiasm for signing up for even an hour's time slot during the regular advisement period.

The financial aid office was staffed by knowledgeable and helpful people, but their functions had also been disrupted by having to advise students on their academic progress, especially when student decisions to drop classes or take incompletes affected their financial aid status. Since the nurse's office at the Inner Harbor campus was closed in the mid-1980s, students taking classes at the Lombard Street facility had been unable to make use of health and wellness services. In AY 89-90, no health and wellness services were available at either campus.

The acting dean of student affairs was charged by the interim president with developing a Student Support Services plan which addressed such issues as counseling, support of transfer students, and student orientation. Personnel within student services streamlined their procedures considerably, resulting in

more efficient registration procedures, better academic advisement, and better coordination of counseling functions.

One area of concern now being addressed at NCCB centered around intercollegiate athletics. It was a source of great irritation to CCB staff members that a full range of athletic programs were featured in the 1968 yearbook, when the majority of the students were white. By 1971, with a majority of black students, athletic programs had disappeared from the yearbook, along with much of the written text that made the earlier yearbook look like the product of a successful academic institution. In AY 89-90, the only athletic facilities that could be used at CCB were a pitted track and a poorly-maintained baseball field; the gymnasium required extensive repairs, and no program of intercollegiate athletics existed.

As a result of the new focus on improving student services, administrators, faculty and MHEC staffers discussed several possibilities for long-term improvements. A grade bank program would provide tuition credits for Baltimore City high school students who maintain high grade point averages. A bridge program might improve student retention rates, particularly if it involved faculty-student mentoring, counseling, mentoring from the larger community, effective student orientation, remediation, and "encouragement and promotion of self-esteem" (Blueprint, May 1990, p. 35). An individual student learning plan system would focus on program requirements and intensive academic advisement, but would require computerization of academic records. A 2+2+2 Tech Prep program would result in better integration of curriculum for the last two years of high school, two years of community college work, and two years of continued study at a transfer institution. Improvements in

admissions recruitment could be accomplished by additional recruiting staff, advertising, public relations efforts, and production of a recruiting video.

The Evaluation Process Continues

As the faculty members prepared their evaluation portfolios, the deans met with Ron Wright to discuss their role in the process. The deans were told that their evaluations would be weighted in some way, so as to even out the results among divisions, and that each individual evaluation would also be weighted, with the dean's evaluation twice as important as the students' or faculty member's evaluation. This same process was also discussed with faculty. Some questioned exactly how this weighting would be done, but they only received assurances that, although the final process had not yet been finalized, weighting would be done.

Both deans and faculty members who had become state employees by showing up for work on July 1 were anxious but willing to proceed with an evaluation process. For one thing, most were convinced that, had the state not taken over CCB, the college would have closed its doors in light of Baltimore's increasing financial straits. For another, most welcomed the opportunity to show that the college had moved successfully from dealing with working-class and middle-class whites to working with underprepared urban black students. There was a feeling that "we are all family," and that the family would emerge triumphantly from the process. According to one commentator, "We started out that summer full of vim, vigor and vitality. Morale was very high, everybody was very high. The faculty thought, 'Isn't it great to go into a decent evaluation process?' Perhaps we were all a little unrealistic" (personal communication, October 1991).

The evaluation process was the focus of everyone's attention that fall, since the final results were to be in by the end of December. As the final step in the process, Tschechtelin reviewed all portfolios and recommendations, met with any faculty members who disagreed with Wright's recommendations, and forwarded recommendations to board of trustees for final action with regard to contract extension. When the process was completed, the results were:

Number	Rating
26	Excellent
44	Good
19	Fair
7	Poor

Faculty members received their evaluation results on Friday, December 7, 1990. Only those who received a "poor" evaluation were allowed to proceed through an appeals process, with all appeals to be filed by noon on Tuesday, December 11. Appeals panels were selected that afternoon, with hearings scheduled for December 13-15. The results of the appeals were to be released on Monday, December, 17, at 9:00 a.m.; faculty members who wished to appeal further to the president were required to file their requests by 11:00 a.m. that same day. Hearings by the president were held on Monday afternoon, and his decision to accept or reject the results of the appeals panels was final.

Through their former union representatives, faculty members filed official grievances concerning several facets of the evaluation process. First, they felt that those who were evaluated as "fair" should also be able to appeal their results. Second, they questioned the explanations of the ratings which they received. Despite earlier instructions, the scores were not weighted 2:1:1.

When the results were released, faculty members were told that people who had above-average ratings on all three sets of scores received an "excellent" rating, those who had above-average ratings on two of the three received a "good" rating, those who received above average on one of three were evaluated as "fair," and a "poor" rating resulted from receiving above-average results on none of the sets of scores. Somewhere along the line, the 2:1:1 standard had been replaced with a 1:1:1 ratio.

In addition, scores from individual deans were not weighted in any way so as to equalize their responses. Deans who, with whatever intent, gave ratings with a mean in the low 90s discovered that these ratings were only "fair" or "good," since others had an average score that was considerably higher. Faculty members also discovered that, unless they gave their peers ratings of 95 or better, their contributions had resulted in lowering the evaluation results. No information was made available about the source of a particular comment or score. One faculty member said later, "We should never have been part of the process. I know we bought into it in the beginning, but you can't really evaluate a member of your family." Another said, "I think the fact that we turned out with a perfect bell-shaped curve is somewhat suspect. We did not know, and we still do not know, the variables that were used. Really, this was all just a way to take on the union. Durham discovered from the last lawsuit [filed by the union] that he couldn't take us all on. We fought on every single issue. So he had to get rid of us, and so we became a state college. This whole thing is just a way of breaking us. With the state takeover, there's no union, because there is no collective bargaining for state agencies" (personal communication, April, 1991).

In fact, four of the seven faculty members who had received "poor"

evaluations filed appeals. Four of the appellants were white, American-born males, two were black females, and one was a foreign-born male. One person retired immediately, one left for another teaching position, and one waited to see the results of the appeals process. Each of the four appeals panels consisted of an administrator, two deans other than the appellant's own dean, and two faculty members randomly chosen from a faculty list and agreed to by the appellant and the administration. The panels heard testimony from the appellant, the dean who provided the evaluation, faculty peers, and anyone else whom the appellant wished to call.

The appeals panels upheld one of the four "poor" evaluations, determining that one appellant was in fact inadequate as an instructor. In the other three cases, the panels stated that the original "poor" evaluation should be overturned. One of these appellants was a foreign-born laboratory instructor who spoke English with a very heavy accent, who was evaluated with the same instrument used for classroom instructors, although other laboratory instructors were not evaluated in this way. After receiving recommendations that these three "poor" evaluations should be overturned, the president decided to uphold the original evaluations in two cases and change one evaluation to a "fair."

The union representing the faculty members filed injunctions against the college, to prevent the institution from releasing tenured faculty members on any grounds other than for cause, on the basis that tenure rights should have carried over from the old institution to the new. The case was filed in Maryland's U. S. District Court. As a result of the filings, the appeals process ground to a halt.

On January 21, 1991, an ad hoc committee was appointed by the faculty

senate, who wanted faculty members who would sit on new appeals panels to be apprised of the evaluation procedures and process. The committee, made up of four faculty members, prepared a report which was completed on February 19, 1991. The committee pointed out several areas of concern with the evaluations. First of all, criterion-referenced measurements from deans, peers and students were used in normative-referenced data analysis. As the committee pointed out, "A norm-reference analysis always results in some cases being viewed as superior and others as inferior, regardless of the criteria being considered. . . . As mandated by the Board of Trustees on August 15, 1990 the assessment of teaching competence is the primary aim of this evaluation process, not a relative ranking of faculty" ("Faculty Senate Ad Hoc Committee," 1991, p. 4).

Second, scores were summed from two different scales, one with four points of reference, and the other with five points. The two scales were:

First Scale	Rating	Second Scale	Rating
5	Strongly evident	4	Strongly agree
3	Evident	3	Agree
2	Vaguely evident	2	Disagree
1	Not evident	1	Strongly disagree
0	Contradicted		

Dean and peer evaluations were completed using the first scale, which has a "missing 4." The effect of this "missing 4" is that a score of 4 may or may not indicate strong agreement. In addition, some faculty peers and deans used 4 on the first scale despite the fact that it was not shown as a possibility. These scores were accepted and summed with others where 4 was not used on the

first scale.

The second scale was used by some students in completing their evaluations; others used a scale that used ratings of 1 through 5 inclusive. The scores of these two types of student evaluations were also summed, which may have affected the resulting scores.

Third, many adjustments (28 faculty members, or 29% of the sample) were made after the initial classifications, with 26 adjustments upward and 2 adjustments downward. The committee concluded, "We believe that one of the reasons so many changes were made is that the very nature of the norm-reference approach placed substantial numbers of faculty into categories that seemed inappropriate upon examination of their criterion-based scores. We do not know what criteria were used in the final decision stages" (Faculty Senate Ad Hoc Committee, 1991, p. 7, emphasis in the original).

Fourth, the committee found random error, defined as "error whose effects do not affect each case in the same predictable way," in the "missing 4," since some raters rounded up, some rounded down, and some used 4 even when not instructed to do so, and also in considerable variation in peer ratings, in that "peer raters exhibited little consistence [sic] in rating the same portfolios" (Faculty Senate Ad Hoc Committee,1991, pp. 9-10).

Fifth, although faculty members and administrators were told at the outset that the deans' scores would be weighted to enable valid comparisons to be made, the committee determined that no such weighting occurred. The dean of Allied Health, Science and Math (AHSM) rated faculty significantly lower than other deans, leading the committee to conclude that

either the AHSM faculty are collectively less competent than the

Humanities and Social Science (HSS) faculty or two deans were applying different standards in the ratings. Since the mean peer ratings placed AHSM faculty only 5.06 below HSS, and Student Information Reports placed AHSM faculty 2.70 points above HSS, the most probable source of the variation between divisions is a different perception of the criteria by the Dean of AHSM (or perhaps one dean consistently rounded down to 3, while the other rounded up to 5). (Faculty Senate Ad Hoc Committee, 1991, p. 11)

The committee's sixth area of concern centered around inclusion of Item #37 ("Overall, I would rate the laboratories:") in all student ratings, irrespective of whether or not a given faculty member participated in laboratory classes, which meant that some faculty with a 0 rating on this item could be at a considerable disadvantage overall. Finally, deans' and peers' scores were standardized in the total performance score (TPS), but student ratings were not. This resulted in a mean for a dean or peer rating of 50, while the mean for student ratings was 81. The committee concluded that "The resultant weighting of the Student Information Rating (SIR) will therefore be greater than 25%, while the weighting of the dean and peer scores will be less than their 50% and 25% respectively" (Faculty Senate Ad Hoc Committee, 1991, p. 16). In addition, no differentiation was made on the basis of student sample size, so that a sample of 14 students was weighted as heavily as a sample of 157 students. However, the committee concluded that "the Vice President [of Academic Affairs] indicated that the Total Performance Score was used to get a relative sense of how faculty compared to their colleagues, and while it may have been used to corroborate other ratings, it was not used as a sole determinant of any final rating" (Faculty

Senate Ad Hoc Committee, 1991, p. 16).

Other, more general, concerns of the committee included lack of peer reviewer expertise in subject matter and content areas, concerns in data collection methods, variations in procedures used to conduct peer evaluations, and manipulation of ordinal data as if it were interval data. The committee drew the following conclusions:

1. The timetable to conduct this process was unrealistic. It precluded the opportunity to adequately train raters, pretest and validate measurement tools and consider a variety of methodological and statistical concerns, some of which are discussed in this report.

2. The decision process changed between November 30, 1991 and December 7, 1990 for reasons unknown to the committee.

3. We do not know what criteria were used to shift 29% of the cases, nor which cases were even examined in the final two decision stages. The committee believes that the evaluation subjected those rated "poor" and "fair" to a different set of criteria than the "goods" and "excellents," who were not evaluated on either the student factor scores, or the total performance score.

4. Lacking individual data listed by division, we are unable to assess the effects of the systematic error due to the 12 point difference between the AHSM and HSS deans' scoring. Similarly not knowing which cases included a lab score, we do not know the effect created by the de facto zero for SIR Item #37. We speculate that faculty without a lab score were systematically classified lower, as were AHSM faculty (although the lab score might have helped some).

5. We cannot directly assess the effects of random error but the committee believes there are sufficient anomalies in the data to give pause. The prudent course would be to reassess and validate the measurement tools and data collection methodology.

6. We believe that the imprecision caused by problems in data collection and analysis resulted in preliminary results that initiated a qualitative assessment for some faculty, resulting in 28 reassigned classifications. In fairness to the Vice President, we must note that nearly all the reassignment [sic] benefited the reassigned faculty, but the reassignments do not speak well for the system that had to be adjusted, employing unspecified criteria.

7. It is the opinion of the committee that it is a misapplication of the data to take criterion based measures and compare them to college norms (means). The assumption that the NCCB faculty is normally distributed has not been demonstrated. . . . Faculty should only be discharged because of criterion based deficiencies, not normative comparisons.

8. The committee sees potential in parts of this faculty evaluation system, but its first trial required persistent tinkering to produce what the Vice President considers a plausible classification of faculty. This committee feels that the system has not yet established the validity required to assign faculty to classifications that specify their length of employment or termination. We recommend that those individuals participating in the Appeals process carefully examine the individual criterion-referenced evaluations as they strive to reach fair and just

decisions. (Faculty Senate Ad Hoc Committee, 1991, pp. 18-19,

emphasis in the original)

Morale During the Spring of 1991

Partly as a result of the evaluation results, morale among faculty and staff declined markedly during the spring semester of AY 1990-91. The interim president and NCCB's administrators were also evaluated, based on criteria of goal-directed behavior, innovation, initiative, effort, supervisory and communication skills, team work, and "ethical behavior" ("Evaluation of Administrators," 1990, p. 2).

Administrators were required to complete a self-assessment portfolio, and a vice-presidential review was also required. Anxiety over job security was reported by administrators and also those who reported to them (Transition Report, 1990, p. 38). In addition, as new employees of the state, administrators had their annual leave reduced from 24 to 10 days.

Support staff were evaluated according to policies and procedures for other comparable state employees, rather than using methods and instruments specific to NCCB. City-earned seniority did not automatically transfer, so that support staff began state employment like any other new employee, regardless of the length of their employment at CCB. As a result, ten experienced secretaries and additional numbers of other support staff opted to transfer from the college in order to keep their seniority with Baltimore City. The college utilized personnel from temporary agencies to help fill these gaps, and the loss of experienced secretaries and other support staff further lowered morale.

One spokesperson stated, "We had this wonderful system of evaluating faculty, we were going to be cutting new national terrain in terms of this

approach, and the faculty bought into it. Everybody bought into it. And then the results came out. And it turned out that the "fairs" were unhappy because they thought they should be "good," and the "goods" were unhappy because they thought they should be "excellent," and the "excellents" were unhappy because they thought everyone should be "excellent." We were all really unprepared for that. The faculty was unprepared for the possibility of anybody losing their jobs. We were all unrealistic. It turned into a very adversarial 'we versus they' thing" (personal communication, October, 1991).

Academic Programs

At the same time the faculty evaluations were taking place, administrators and MHEC staff were evaluating the success and potential of the various academic programs offered by NCCB. In March, 1990, the Transition Task Force recommended that NCCB "take a hard look at the customers it intends to serve" as a "responsive urban institution" (Blueprint, 1990, p. 4). The Task Force described two customer areas: "business, industrial and health care communities, public service agencies, [and] the higher education community;" and "students with varying backgrounds and experiences seeking further educational opportunities" (Blueprint, 1990, p. 4). To this end, the Task Force recommended that for students seeking career rather than transfer opportunities, NCCB "create a new instructional model with emphasis on two technical areas: an Institute for Business/Industry Technologies and an Institute for Health/Human Services Technologies. Among all its career offerings, the Transition Task Force further recommends that for the first three years of its operation, the college concentrate the bulk of its resources on selected programs within these two occupational clusters where there seems to be the

greatest current demand for skilled workers" (Blueprint, 1991, p. 4, emphasis in the original).

For students who might wish to transfer to a four-year institution, or to earn an A. A. degree, the Task Force recommended that:

all associate-degree-seeking students be required to complete a structured general education experience that provides students with the intellectual tools necessary to deal effectively with personal, social, and political issues. . . .Students who complete the general education package should be able to: communicate effectively in oral and written English; read with comprehension; reason abstractly and think critically; understand the scientific methods [sic]; understand and interpret numerical data; recognize and appreciate cultural diversity; and understand the nature and value of the fine and performing arts" (Blueprint, 1990, p. 13, emphasis in the original).

To these ends, the Task Force recommended formation of two career-oriented institutes, a Center for Arts and Sciences, a Division of Preparatory Studies for "basic and developmental education," and an Office of Lifelong Learning, in which "priority can be given to business, industry, and government without ignoring other constituencies" (Blueprint, 1990. pp. v-vi).

In AY 1989-90, most CCB transfer students went to the University of Baltimore, Coppin State College, Morgan State University (an historically black institution), Towson State University, or the University of Maryland Baltimore County. Although most transfer students maintained passing GPAs their first year, they did less well than students from other transferring institutions, with the exception of those who transferred to Coppin (Transition

Report, 1990, pp. 56-57).

At CCB, all students were supposed to complete a battery of placement tests to determine whether they should enroll in remedial (not-for-credit) or for-credit classes. However, according to the Transition Report, "application of the policies was not complete. Only about 70-80% of the full-time entrants and about 25% of the part-time entrants were tested in each of the last five academic years, and only about 70-80% of the full-time entrants and 20-40% of the part-time entrants took the recommended course. It is increasingly clear that the remedial/developmental courses are needed. More than 90% of the first-time entrants who took placement tests in all three areas (reading, writing, and mathematics) were recommended for at least one remedial course" (Transition Report, 1990, p. 61).

Part of the reason for the failure of students to complete remediation may have been the transfer of the remedial program from the Harbor Campus to the Liberty Campus between 1986 and 1987, to reduce the costs of maintaining programs on both campuses. Part of the reason may have been lack of state-of-the-art computer laboratory equipment found in other Maryland community colleges. In addition, students may be repelled by the term remedial; Otis Warren, president of CCB's last board of trustees, graduate of CCB and a successful real estate developer, pointed out that "somehow it ought to be labeled in some different fashion. I think that as long as we use that 'remedial' term, then people who think they don't need remedial help will stay away from it altogether. We use condescending words like 'illiteracy'--nobody's proud of the fact they can't read. If we call something 'Administrative Computer Development' or some old thing like that and you get in there, and the guy goes

back to basics, but he does it with lights and bulbs and computers, then people look around and think, 'I can do this. I can learn from this'" (personal communication, April 15, 1991).

Consultants with the Abell study of CCB's remedial program made several recommendations for the program. They wanted a reexamination of the content of materials of the reading courses, increases in the use of technology for the mathematics labs and in time spent in writing in the writing courses, and a sharper focus on faculty and staff development (Transition Report, 1990, p. 61).

These changes were among the first to be implemented at NCCB, in part thanks to a $200,000 grant from MHEC for new computer labs for writing and developmental mathematics using video laser disc equipment. The mathematics labs were organized so that a student who failed to complete certain instructional modules successfully within a specified number of attempts is directed to individual tutoring with an instructor. Remedial courses were reinstituted at the Harbor Campus on a small scale in the spring of 1992.

During the summer of 1990, President Tschechtelin began implementing a review of programs and curriculum at NCCB by requesting that the Faculty Senate Executive Committee and the Curriculum Committee collect and analyze data about the curriculum. In part, the Office of Institutional Research used data from the State Board of Community Colleges and the Maryland Higher Education Committee, along with a survey of 1988 graduates regarding their employment in their major field of study one year after graduation.

As a result of these studies, along with an analysis of employment opportunities in Baltimore and Maryland by such groups as the Greater

Baltimore Committee, the report recommended that mass communications, fashion design, graphic design, mental health, drafting, automotive technology, construction, heating/air conditioning technology, plant engineering, fire protection and gerontology be discontinued at NCCB. The report suggested, however, that the mental health and gerontology programs be developed under the aegis of the new Human Services umbrella.

Although each of these programs had its defenders, the loudest outcry centered around the fashion design program. An African-American spokesperson commented that blacks had traditionally been very active in the field of high fashion, and that the abolition of this program was an example of failure by whites to take cultural differences into account. This person expressed the opinion that the discontinuance of the fashion design program would be viewed with suspicion by the black community (personal communication, October 1990).

The committees also recommended that programs in secretarial skills, computer information, nursing, electronics, and paralegal skills be enhanced. These academic program options are in accordance with the Greater Baltimore Committee's vision of Baltimore as "an internationally recognized global life sciences center within ten years" (Baltimore: Where Science Comes to Life, 1991, p. 4). To achieve this goal, the GBC called on educational institutions to join with other organizations to focus on four strategic areas:

    1. Developing Greater Baltimore as a learning community that offers its people the opportunity to acquire the skills needed for success in a knowledge-based economy;

    2. Investing in the specialized infrastructure necessary for global

competitiveness in the life sciences;

3. Building a stronger entrepreneurial culture which encourages the start-up and growth of more small businesses; and

4. Enlisting the active and enthusiastic support of the entire community for this new vision. (Baltimore, 1991, p. 6)

The Rebirth of a College: A Presentation at the AACJC National Convention, Kansas City. Missouri. April 16. 1991

President Tschechtelin, board president Marion Pines, Vice President for Academic Affairs Ron Wright, and Faculty Senate President Eric Hallengren traveled to the 1991 American Association of Community and Junior Colleges Convention in Kansas City, Missouri, to present a workshop on the state takeover at NCCB. In their presentation, these four panel members discussed management problems, fiscal constraints, and lack of student success at CCB which had led to the passage of SB 381. Their materials mentioned that "Senate Bill 381 does not provide for collective bargaining, and is silent on the subject of tenure for faculty." They discussed messages of hope and encouragement to NCCB students, centering around self-affirmations:

- I can choose success over failure.
- I can choose knowledge over ignorance.
- I can choose wealth over poverty.
- I can choose empowerment over helplessness.

The panel discussed certain prerequisites to change, including a consensus that *comprehensive* action is necessary, support in high places (including the Governor, General Assembly, Maryland Higher Education Commission, State Board for Community Colleges, municipal government, and business

community), strong enabling legislation, additional funding, a new and capable board of trustees who recognize the need for institutional change, have a strong interest in policy development, and avoid much of a role in administration and procedures, and new administrative leadership (Rebirth of a College, 1991)

A Regional Program Model

In March, 1991, the presidents of NCCB, Catonsville, Dundalk, and Essex Community Colleges met with the Deputy Secretary of Higher Education from MHEC to discuss areas in which the four colleges could cooperate "for the benefit of students in the metropolitan area," utilizing a model of collaboration and cooperation rather than the previous relationship of competition for students and programs (NCCB board agenda item, April, 1991). Certain areas seemed tailormade for this collaborative model. For example, the presidents discussed the possible creation of a Westside Technical Training Cooperative at the Westside Vocational High School. WTTC was to have been a private corporation in which NCCB and Catonsville would "work together to offer occupational programs, customized training for businesses, JTPA training, GED, and basic skills instruction." Certain program considerations were based on this regional model; for example, the discontinuance of NCCB's automotive technology program was based in part on the ability of Catonsville to offer its own auto tech program through WTTC. Students could take their GE courses at NCCB and their auto tech courses through Catonsville, with Catonsville ultimately granting the degree.

The presidents also discussed program specialization at the four colleges. High-cost, low-enrollment programs could be offered at the colleges, providing the institutions were not competing with each other for students. For

example, NCCB would offer biotechnology and dental hygiene, Catonsville would offer mortuary science and automotive technology, Dundalk would offer retail floristry and labor studies, and Essex would offer programs for veterinary technicians and radiographers. This type of specialization would enable one of the colleges to offer a program such as fashion design, noted earlier as important to the black community, to enough students to make it cost-effective. In fact, however, each of the colleges ended up offering one of the two recommended programs, and the WTTC proposal quickly died.

Faculty members might also be offered contracts for instruction, enabling the colleges to share limited faculty resources without increasing costs. Faculty for technical subjects would offer these courses on a particular campus, with other colleges in the regional program contracting to send students to these courses. Cooperative marketing and advertising would bring "more bang for the buck" for all four colleges.

Uniform tuition rates for all residents of Baltimore City and Baltimore County to attend each other's institutions would standardize fees, and lead to cost savings in accounting. Delivery of instructional programs at senior centers would make programs available to seniors who lacked transportation, and would also save the colleges money otherwise needed to expand facilities.

The four presidents also recommended regular meetings of the presidents and boards of these metropolitan community colleges as a way to enhance development of new cooperative programs. The meetings might be formalized through creation of a Council of Metropolitan Presidents.

The most ambitious undertaking discussed by the presidents was the granting of a Bachelor of Technology degree by NCCB. Students would take

technical courses at another regional college for their first two years, then attend NCCB for their GE requirements for their last two years. "A few capstone technical courses in the last two years" were also envisioned. This program would assist students to transfer without loss of credits, provide a career ladder for students who find it necessary to work for awhile after completing an A. A. degree, and "create additional distinctiveness for the niche of NCCB in higher education" (Concept of a regional program, 1991, p. 3). Like the WTTC proposal, this one also suffered an early demise.

Results of the Court Case, June, 1991

The case filed by the union on behalf of faculty members who had previously been tenured was supposed to be heard by Maryland's U. S. District Court on June 10, 1991. However, the hearing was postponed. On Wednesday, June 12, Tschechtelin was in a meeting of the president's council. Tschechtelin's standing instructions were that no one was to pull him out of a meeting unless it was an issue of vital importance, but he left this meeting for a short period and came back in with no change of expression on his face. As the meeting was concluding, someone asked, "Have you heard anything about the court case?" Tschechtelin said, "Well, that was the reason I left the meeting. I got a call on what the decision was. It's a tough situation for all of us, but the decision was in favor of the college and the state."

In fact, the court ruled that, following the state takeover, an entirely new institution had been created, which had no legal requirement to recognize tenure granted by another institution. Tenure had been abolished at NCCB, and rolling contracts had been substituted, with, according to union attorney Joel Smith, no room for appeal on the grounds of error in the law.

Tschechtelin's stance on this issue has continued to be that "we have to move forward." He has used the metaphor of a boat which must move ahead even during stormy weather in order to avoid shipping too much water. Faculty response was that a number of sea anchors had been thrown overboard when the state took over CCB, and that they would prove extremely difficult to cut loose. Tschechtelin has also expressed the opinion to NCCB staff that, despite appearances of unfairness, life itself is not fair, and that the institution will go under if it proves impossible to move beyond these issues.

In the June 19, 1991 Inside Edition, NCCB was informed of the formation of an ad hoc Staff Development Committee whose mission was to plan for training and continuing education programs of NCCB employees. This committee, chaired by English professor Skip Downing, intended to design short- and long-term plans that would "encourage an atmosphere that values quality and excellence and will contribute to the success of New CCB students." According to the article,

> This plan enhances the ability of faculty and staff to
>
> > --communicate clearly
> >
> > --cooperate wholeheartedly
> >
> > --empower themselves and others
> >
> > --enhance individual uniqueness
> >
> > --be personally, socially and professionally responsible
> >
> > --welcome diversity
> >
> > --value and respect themselves and others
> >
> > --use problems as challenges and opportunities for creative
>
> solutions. ("Staff development committee appointed," 1991, p. 3)

Investing in People: The Maryland Plan for Postsecondary Education

In July, 1991, shortly after the decision in the court case on tenure at NCCB, MHEC published its long-range plan for higher education in Maryland, Investing in People. In this report, the Commission discussed three statewide planning goals: quality, access and choice, and accountability. Within each of these goals, the Commission outlined several objectives by which the goals could be met. The objectives for quality included clear and concise mission statements for each public campus; identification of specific academic program areas targeted for excellence by the governing boards; specific plans to improve undergraduate education and teacher education programs; program review and approval policies linked to campus mission and state instructional, research, and public services needs; state operating and capital budget guidelines that provide incentives for campus expenditures directly related to qualitative improvements in major institutional purposes and priorities; further development of statewide policies to recruit high ability undergraduate and graduate students; incentives for faculty to focus on teaching excellence; and the improved use of instructional technologies (Investing in People, 1991, p. 1).

The Commission included financial aid, financial support from the State, credit transfers, state economic development needs, and concerns about equal opportunity in its discussion of access and choice. To meet this second goal, the Commission report described additional objectives, including tuition and fees at public institutions that reflect differential pricing appropriate to the mission of the campus; state student financial aid programs that reflect a comprehensive statewide policy; analysis of the base budgets of every public campus to ascertain funding adequacy; identification of state and regional

needs for instruction, research, and public service; further development of a collaborative relationship between the business and higher education communities, to provide an improved response for training, retraining, and continuing education needs; further development of collaborative relationships among elementary, secondary and postsecondary education; further development of statewide policies to improve the recruitment, retention, and graduation of Maryland students with particular attention to minorities; further development of statewide policies to recruit, promote, and retain women and minorities in faculty and professional staff positions; adoption of statewide policies to improve further articulation between two-year and four-year colleges and universities; and development of statewide policies to increase the number of students pursuing degrees in science, engineering, mathematics and science education, and other identified areas of State manpower needs (Investing in People, 1991, p. 2).

The Commission discussed accountability in terms of both quality improvement and access and choice. The objectives for quality improvement centered around matching the mission statements of colleges and universities with measurable improvements, along with ways of persuading Maryland residents with high academic abilities and records of achievement to complete their postsecondary education within the state. The objectives for access, choice and accountability centered around comprehensive State financial aid programs, increases in minority students transferring from two-year to four-year institutions, increases in the numbers of women and minorities in tenure-track programs, and effective recruitment of graduate students, particularly women and minorities (Investing in People, 1991, pp. 23)

The Commission finished this first section of the report by discussing change:

Change is inevitable but never easy. Achieving these goals and objectives will require reshaping current organizational policies and procedures in order to respond to the needs of Maryland's citizens. As we invest in the education of students, be they teenagers or adults, full-time or part-time, male or female, gifted or average, we are investing in the future of Maryland. The investors, the people of the State, deserve a broad range of quality educational institutions, the opportunity to benefit from postsecondary education, and the confidence that taxpayers' dollars and student tuition and fees can be accounted for in the educational enterprise. (Investing in People, 1991, p. 3)

What is clear from this report is that postsecondary education in Maryland will be changed dramatically by Aery's tenure as Secretary of Higher Education, supported by Governor Schaefer. As G. William Troxler, president of the Maryland Independent College and University Association, put it, "By the time Shaila Aery steps down, her fingerprints will be all over higher education in Maryland" (Blumenstyk, 1991, p. A22).

Aery's Vision of NCCB'S Place in Maryland Postsecondary Education

Also in July, 1991, The Maryland Report, which describes itself as "the independent biweekly newsletter on Maryland government, politics, and business," devoted an entire issue to an interview with Aery, only the second time in three years that the paper had "devoted so much space to a discussion with a single person" ("Special Interview," 1991, p. 1). In this wide-ranging interview, Aery described her vision of Maryland postsecondary education, and

placed NCCB within that vision. She spoke of the need for an effective urban community college, and discussed the first signs of a turnaround in the college, in a slight increase in summer school enrollments and a 92% first-time pass rate for NCCB students attempting the difficult state examination for dental hygienists. She talked about the support she received from Schaefer when she first discussed the possibility of a state takeover for CCB, with Schaefer the driving force behind plans to enact the necessary legislation in one session. And she described Maryland's legislators as making use of "some of the best staff I've ever seen," and blessed with strong legislative leadership.

Aery described her vision of the future for Baltimore community colleges when she said:

> By statute, we have to recommend a course for the Community College of Baltimore (CCB): What its governance structure is going to be like, how it's going to be financed, what its name is going to be? The name seems to have drawn more attention than the substantive stuff. Those recommendations are due to the governor and the leadership by October 31 [1991]. Sometime after that, there has to be a bill, because the new CCB sunsets next year unless we act. Even in the best of times, you have to be concerned about CCB's long-term financial viability. Couple that with the fairness of the legislature, and the problems of the city financially, and I started thinking: for the long-term financial viability of the city and the region, one would have a BALTIMORE METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE DISTRICT, consisting of the county and the city. That would give you a downtown campus, three county campuses, and one regional board that would be part-city and part-county. In the long

run, things are going to have to be regionalized. That regional board

may be viable. Or it may not be doable politically. There are several

other alternatives. You can have CCB remain a stand-alone state

community college, which I think a lot of people in the city would like,

since they wouldn't have any financial responsibility for it. There are

overtures from UB, which needs a lower division. But then you lose the

community college flavor, and have the Regents over all of that. What

you want for a community college is a community board that really

reflects a community, and addresses the needs of a community. One

legislator told me last week, "Close it down." That's an option, though not

a very good one. ("Special Interview," 1991, p. 5)

What Measures Success?

Prior to the court case, I attempted to learn what MHEC and the

legislature was looking for in evaluating NCCB as a whole. SB 381 outlined

some specifics, including the sunset provision of the bill which required an

evaluation by the legislature within three years. Practically, this meant that a

report had to be submitted by NCCB to MHEC by September, 1991, with the

MHEC evaluation submitted to the General Assembly between

January and June, 1992. Unless the legislature agreed to continue funding for

NCCB, it would cease to exist in June, 1993. Tschechtelin had decided not to

hinge the evaluation on student enrollments; he and Pines agreed that

enrollments might hold steady for five to seven years, with modest

improvements expected over a ten-year period. One administrator stated that

the evaluation would be positive if the school simply paid its bills in a more

timely manner.

One of the marks of success is the streamlining of the president's council, now made up of the five vice presidents of NCCB, a student representative, a faculty member, the president of the support staff association, Tschechtelin, and his executive assistant. This council, which meets weekly, now provides an important venue for policymaking at the college. Regular meetings of the five vice presidents and Tschechtelin are another sign of administrative improvements.

In October, 1991, the month in which the final report on NCCB was submitted to MHEC for discussion with legislators in the 1992 General Assembly session, The College Crier, a newspaper published by NCCB students, headlined the fact that another change in name was likely for NCCB. An article on the front page of the paper discussed the possibility that the college would be called Thurgood Marshall Community College. At the MHEC meeting on October 15, however, the suggested name was Baltimore City Community College.

Vice president Ron Wright's picture also appeared on the front page, accompanying a story describing his departure from NCCB to Delaware County Community College in Media, Pennsylvania, where Wright was to be "responsible for the operation of the whole College," a position he described as "much higher than the one I held at NCCB." In three years, Wright had gone from serving as an associate dean to executive vice president ("V. P. takes on new position at Delaware community college," 1991, p. 1).

The board of trustees' report to MHEC included an appraisal report for the Harbor campus, discussing various possibilities for the development of this site, valued at around $17 million. According to one spokesperson, Schaefer

once described CCB as "an outhouse sitting on a gold mine," and certainly the legislature had gotten good value for the monies it had expended on CCB. In fact, many members of the college community believe that the value of the Harbor campus was the deciding factor in Schaefer's interest in the college. Marion Pines described the state's acquisition of this site as "the best thing since the Louisiana Purchase" (personal communication, October, 1991).

The plan also described changes in governance, accountability, personnel policies, academic programs, and organizational structure. Charts in the report indicated that a projected 4% increase in enrollment might be exceeded in the fall of 1991. In fact, NCCB ended up in the fall semester with the largest increase in full-time, first-time students in the state, with students voting with their feet for the New CCB. Overall, enrollment jumped by 7% in the fall, with full-time student enrollment up 34%, and full-time, first-time student numbers up by 42%. The Baltimore Sun stated, "The New CCB still has a long way to go. But it has left behind the bitter stalemates of the past. Together the board, the administration and the faculty have built a new school with a new culture and a bright, shining future. Their achievement offers hope to any other failed educational enterprise willing to summon the courage and take the dramatic steps necessary to leap ahead" ("New CCB teaches itself some brand-new tricks," 1991, p. 7A).

CHAPTER 6

LEADERSHIP IN POLICY ISSUE NETWORKS

Tocqueville's equality could be replaced here by civil society and his freedom by the republican institutional structure. The two are inseparable, functioning alternatively as genesis and normative legitimation. Equality can engender forms of freedom but its isolated pursuit threatens them; freedom demands conditions of social equality but when pursued for the sake of private advancement it comes to threaten that equality. Tocqueville's conclusion returns us to contemporary politics: I like democracy, he says, not because of what it is, but because of what it makes people do. (Howard, 1991, p. 260)

To be truly transformative, a social movement [dedicated to the transformation of our culture and our society] would not simply subside after achieving some of its goals, leaving the political process much as it found it. One of its most important contributions would be to restore the dignity and legitimacy of democratic politics. We have seen how suspicious Americans are of politics as an area in which arbitrary differences of opinion and interest can be resolved only by power and manipulation. The recovery of our social ecology would allow us to link interests with a conception of the common good. (Bellah et al., 1985, p. 287)

Introduction

I undertook this study to determine the nature of some of the patterns that took shape during the policy-making process that resulted in the creation of the New Community College of Baltimore. Policy making is a complex human activity, involving many actors, stages, and roles, and like a good dramatic presentation, much of what is critical to the process takes place backstage or in venues far removed from the theater itself.

The job of the researcher is to uncover who was involved on and off

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stage, when and where critical activities, meetings, or interactions took place, and then to determine what made those factors critical. The hardest question of all to answer is, "why?" On the surface, it may appear as if producers and investors decide rationally that a particular script can be turned into an award-winning presentation, hire competent actors and actresses and a good director, find a suitable theater, bankroll the production, schedule rehearsals, and attend an opening night where audience and critical response point to a hit. Behind the scenes, every one of these stages in the process contains its own little drama.

Authors give their scripts to agents who endeavor to start a bidding war. Once a script is available, another set of agents decides whether their clients might be interested in reading for a part. Actors and actresses visualize themselves in roles, but also take into account the remoteness and rigor of locations involved, and their families' responses to their absence. Theaters may be closed for renovation, or already booked for the proposed opening. Investors are notoriously fickle when it comes to parting with cold hard cash with no guarantees of success. The chemistry between leading members of the cast and a particular director may or may not prove workable. Rehearsals may go well or poorly as much because of the heating system of the building as the quality of the script. Rewrites may turn the direction of the play away from the intentions of the author. Reviewers may be feeling dyspeptic on opening night, or may have personal concerns at home that cause them to write less than glowing reports. And potential members of the audience, who make decisions about whether to spend their money on a ticket, may read and be influenced by

those reviews, or may get an unexpected telephone call from an old friend who has a ticket to spare.

The best that students of the theater can hope for is to piece together all the factors that might result in a successful production. They may never know about some critical occurrence in the life of one of the key players, unless the factor is made public or the student stumbles across some telltale evidence which s/he can investigate. In the end, inspired guesswork may be required to fill in some of the evidentiary gaps.

Like theater, policy making has both public and private venues. Large-scale events influence the policy agenda, but so do individual decisions about what is good for the community as a whole. Some items appear on the agenda routinely, while others are placed there by people who may be working in the public interest, or may be seeking to aggrandize themselves. Budgets expand or contract in response to events within the community, the state, the nation or the world. Individual legislators may respond to rational appeals, tit-for-tat bargaining and negotiating, a vision of a successful outcome, or be may sidetracked by a child's rebelliousness or marital problems. A researcher can hope to uncover some of the reasons why a particular policy was placed on the agenda, or was implemented successfully, but must allow for the fact that some elements will remain hidden from view.

In analyzing the data presented in Chapters 4 and 5, I looked for patterns and explanations that made the most sense. There is an old medical dictum known to all first-year residents that hoofbeats are more likely to mean that a horse is nearby than that a zebra has escaped from the zoo. Doctors are trained to look for horses first, and to consider zebras only as a last resort. I

organized the events in my mind as parsimoniously as possible, and looked for analytical tools that referred to what was common in my experience, rather than possible extremes.

In this chapter, I will answer the research questions posed in Chapter 1 by providing examples from the data that indicate that the most likely connection. These questions are:

1. a.   Do state legislators form or enter policy issue networks on the basis of core and secondary values?

1. b.   What is the nature of the personal values around which policy issue networks form?

2.   How do policy issue networks interact on the state level in policymaking?

3.   How do members enter and leave these networks?

4.   How do leaders and followers do leadership within the networks?

5. a.   Can Sabatier's model best explain the policy-making process in the creation of the New Community of Baltimore?

5. b.   If not, what model explains the process better?

Values in the Policy-Making Process

Values enter the policy-making discussion on both personal and societal levels. When I began this study, my own belief system led me to conclude that people are more likely to devote time, energy and resources to issues that align with their own values than those that do not. I believe that the majority of people involved in policy making spend considerable amounts of time considering value-laden questions, and analyzing issues in light of their answers to those

questions. To attempt to uncover the role that values play in the process, I focused on personal values and their function in bringing leaders and followers into the policy-making arena.

I investigated Rokeach's (1968, 1973, 1974, 1984) body of work on values, in which he created instruments that would differentiate between core and peripheral values. I also looked at the work of Hurwitz and Peffley (1987), in which the authors designed a hierarchical model of attitudes of respondents on foreign policy issues. In interviews, I asked respondents to make value judgments in response to such statements as, "Some people think that elected officials should make most policy decisions, since they are informed about policy issues. Others think that ordinary people should have a strong voice in policy decisions, since they will be affected by those decisions."

I asked people their opinions about the nature of the common good with such statements as, "Some people think we are becoming a nation where the squeakiest wheels get all the grease. Others think that, for the most part, our social systems are fair." I invited all the respondents to elaborate on their answers, and followed their trains of thought with open-ended questions.

I found that each of my respondents had considered these or similar questions before, and that they seemed to agree on statements of core values, even though they were actively involved in opposing issue networks in the case of NCCB. For example, everyone I talked to agreed that one of the appropriate roles of government was to assist those who started the race from behind the baseline, and that tax revenues, if available, should be used for that purpose. All agreed that education is critical to our success in the world community, and that the strongest, most effective system of community colleges was vital to the

American tradition of postsecondary education, particularly for underprepared urban students. All thought that ordinary citizens and elected officials should work together to make policy decisions. People used words like "stakeholders" to describe the importance of having many people involved in effective policy implementation.

I found, then, that my attempts to differentiate involvement on one side of the issue or the other on the basis of my value questions were unsuccessful. I also found that ordinary women and men, caught up in policy changes, are thoughtful and reflective about policy processes and content. All provided answers that showed their involvement with the larger community of American society. Robert Bellah and his colleagues would be impressed!

I met with greater success when I turned from consideration of personal values to societal values. Policy analysts have traditionally come from the disciplines of political science and economics, and have turned to "a bundle of techniques, sometimes called cost-benefit analysis. This heavily quantitative system of decision making, based on economics and an analytical perspective, [is] at the core of most public-policy curricula" (Blum, 1992, p. A19). Analysts have "helped press government in the direction of more rational, analytic methodology in decision making," in areas where this sort of rational approach made sense, such as funds for highway construction, but also increasingly in areas such as health care and the environment, where issues and agendas are considerably murkier (p. A20).

As a researcher who works more happily in the qualitative mode, I believe that a discussion on the values that underlie policy decisions would help to remind "rational, analytic, quantitative" analysts and policy makers that

social reality more often resembles fog than granite (p. A20). Rational processes must surely be part of the policy-making arena, but so must irrational, illogical, emotional, messy human interactions. My attempts to learn how values fit into the policy-making model constantly reminded me that people act as they believe they should. Good men and women may differ in their conclusions, but, for the most part, they are alike in their desire to achieve the sort of good society in which we as citizens play an active role.

Trudy Miller's (1990) justice model proved more useful to me as the basis for my conclusions as to why individuals devoted their resources to a particular side of a policy issue than my attempts to create a values hierarchy. Miller's model predicted that citizens of a democracy may agree on certain end-values but disagree on the means by which those values should be achieved. Miller also stated that individuals would act altruistically only if they were convinced that their own interests would not be sacrificed.

This model provided the intellectual foundation for my interpretation of certain stances from the viewpoint that an individual will not act altruistically in the face of evidence that altruistic behavior will not serve that individual's self interest. I was able to interpret the actions of individuals involved with this issue in terms of how they felt their own interests would be affected, and also in terms of their perceptions of the interests of the community as a whole. Miller's model helped me to take a step back, and to avoid judgmental conclusions about why people acted as they did.

The two parts of the first research question asked about the nature of the values which would impel individuals to take an active role or stance on a given issue. I was interested in the factors that would cause a state legislator to move

from passivity to activity, but at the time I wasn't thinking enough about the factors that would cause a private citizen to involve her/himself in a political issue. There was no individual who acted alone in this case; people coalesced around various aspects of the issue, in groups of leaders and followers intending real changes that reflected their mutual purposes. In some cases, such as the faculty members, these individuals clearly thought that their self-interests would be compromised by the changes proposed by another group. In other cases, individuals such as Nancy Kopp acted in ways that on the surface appear contrary to their own interests.

One of the beauties of this case is that it provides an opportunity to examine a case in which leaders and followers demonstrated that people will sometimes act because it's the right thing to do, at some risk to themselves. I came into adulthood during the tumultuous changes of the 1960s, when I saw numerous examples of people risking their comfort, their stability, and their even lives in the cause of social justice for the oppressed. Our collective memories seem even shorter than the fifty year span in which benign neglect erases the footprints of those whose stories are forgotten; in the last thirty years, seemingly intractable problems of race, gender and class have cooled the flame that sent men and women, black and white, old and young into situations of danger and harsh injustice. I was heartened to find that people will still take risks in the interests of the underserved. I was even more heartened to find evidence that some members of dominant groups have learned the lessons of involving others so that leaders and followers can act with, rather than for, those who will be most affected by intended change.

Policy-Making Models

Coalitions

In question 3 I asked, "How do members enter and leave these networks?" As Bellah et al. discussed in Habits of the Heart, Americans have become accustomed to thinking of politics as an area in which people with power and resources manipulate others into doing their will. This concept is an expansion of the old "great man" theory of leadership, in which a charismatic individual used his skills, power and resources to get followers to do what he wanted. According to this school of thought, people with power might amalgamate their resources and influence in order to increase their effectiveness, but the amalgamation would still remain a group of individuals, each working for his/her own interests. Americans have responded to this sort of politics by passing initiatives that limit terms of office, or by leaving the political arena altogether. E. J. Dionne notes, "Americans hate politics because trust and commitment [in private and public life] have eroded, and with them the ideals of democratic citizenship" (1991, p. 334).

Coalitions are groups of a different sort. Within coalitions, people believe that changes that reflect their mutual purposes and which will lead to some greater good for society as a whole can be accomplished more readily by pooling resources than by acting alone. Joining a coalition is an extension of an internal dialogue between an individual and a larger debate, whether that debate is conducted through the media, personal contacts, or the thought processes that accompany reflective reading. When the dialogue begins to compel an individual to move from a passive to an active stance, s/he is primed to enter a coalition.

Some people, such as Otis Warren, Bishop Robinson, James Tschechtelin and Marion Pines, joined forces in coalition with Aery because her vision of urban community college education resonated with their own. Others, like Eloise Foster and Janet Hoffman, joined after the proposal was on the table and they and their superiors were convinced of its merits. This coalition is still in existence, although some members have left and others have taken their places. Part of the answer to the third research question is that people make choices about how they will expend their energies and resources, and choose to join coalitions involved in issues that reflect societal values with which they agree. A visionary leader persuades followers of the rightness of the cause, and also the doable nature of the proposal. I will discuss the question of how leader and followers did leadership in these coalitions later in this chapter.

A second coalition, the rather shadowy Committee for Montgomery [County], sprang into existence in response to the legislative proposal for state funding. Members of the coalition included Blair Lee IV, the son and grandson of powerful former Maryland politicians, and a variety of spokespersons for groups such as the Gray Panthers of Montgomery County, the Montgomery County Public Employees Council, the Montgomery County Council of Chambers, the Montgomery County Board of Realtors, the Montgomery County public schools, the League of Conservation Voters, the NAACP, and the I-270 Corridor Employers Group. The chair of the Committee, Anthony Natelli, spoke against the proposal at the public hearings for House Bill 543 in February, 1990. This was the only public occasion when the group voiced its opposition. I was able to ascertain through private communications that members of the Committee made their opposition clear to legislators who were seeking re-

election in the fall of 1990.

However, in private members of the coalition expressed the view that state funding for CCB would be like pouring money down a rathole, and would divert funds which would otherwise be used to strengthen community colleges in the wealthy suburbs in Montgomery County. Once the policy-making process ended, the coalition disbanded. My telephone calls to their former headquarters went unanswered, and the building manager told me that the Committee had rented office space on a month-to-month basis.

A third coalition formed before the legislative proposal had even been written, in response to rumors at CCB that a state takeover was being contemplated. For answers about why faculty members and administrators joined this coalition, I turned to my own experiences in the business world. For many years, I have worked in a number of organizations that I would describe as dysfunctional. The chief executive officers of these companies included a man who decamped to Switzerland with company funds, two partners who diverted funds from a government agency to pay their operating expenses, a man who negotiated a golden parachute for himself and then directed operations in such a way that the company folded, and a woman renowned locally for the harshness of her treatment of her staff.

The organizations themselves took on the dysfunctional characteristics of their chiefs. Individuals who worked for these companies became suspicious, watchful, and guarded. In spite of clear evidence that they should look for other jobs, people hunkered down and became protective of their territory. People on the periphery left for other work, but the key middle managers and their staffs stayed on until these companies shut their doors.

In many ways, I was reminded of these experiences when I read accounts of infighting, territorialism, and self-protection at CCB. Outsiders see the larger picture, but to those involved in such an organization, the battle becomes one of preserving one's own turf at all costs. In cases such as these, major change is inevitable. Market forces lead to the closure of businesses that fail to adapt to current conditions, or fail to implement appropriate policies about the levels of expenditures which the organization can support. The same market forces also play a part in institutions of higher education, but the process is lengthier and less clear.

The policy-making process in a dysfunctional organization is fraught with tension, marked by acrimonious and/or cancelled meetings, rapid turnover and protective activities designed to ward off threatened change. At CCB, policy making had all of these hallmarks except for rapid turnover. Tschechtelin commented on the degree of territoriality which he found when he became interim president, and the members of the transition team noted that meetings of the CCB board had either been cancelled or held in closed session during AY 1989-90. It is hardly surprising that faculty members and administrators retreated into their own departments. The existence of tenure, unknown in the business world, meant that tenured faculty members had a great deal to lose once the proposal for NCCB was on the table. This factor would account for the low turnover observed among faculty members during a tumultuous period.

Given the economic realities of Baltimore's budget in FY 1989-90, the most likely changes at CCB were closure or amalgamation with another school. Either of these changes presented other threats to individual faculty members and administrators. Closure would result in loss of jobs across the board.

Amalgamation would lead to some jobs being eliminated because of economies of scale. Faced with external threat, people tend to circle the wagons and try to fight off the invaders. Few resources are available to attempt radical change from within.

These factors certainly helped to account for the formation of a coalition of CCB faculty members and administrators who examined the proposal for state funding and found it threatening. People were recruited for this coalition by members of the faculty and administration who had been active in the faculty senate or who served both as administrators and also as legislators. As the threat of reorganization became more imminent, the attorney representing faculty and administrator unions joined as well. This coalition formed quickly, gained members as time went on and the threat became more apparent, and persisted through the passage of legislation that abolished CCB and established NCCB and beyond.

Part of the answer to the third research question is that people seek allies in the face of external threat, and that these coalitions of allies are long-lived and willing to devote considerable resources in attempting to neutralize the threat. The third coalition is still active, although its members have changed their focus in light of the U. S. District Court ruling in June that the old institution had indeed been abolished. Current members of this coalition are still concerned about the consequences over time of having the college funded by the state, but have turned their attention to internal matters, such as new evaluation processes and criteria, rather than to the external policy-making process in the legislature.

People enter and leave coalitions, then, because the values which underlie the focus of the network resonate with their own. In the face of external threat, a coalition will be comprised of individuals who believe that they stand a better chance of warding off the threat by pooling their resources. However, they also believe that the threatening changes are not in the best interests of the larger society. They believe that issues such as academic freedom may be impaired if the proposed changes occur. Without the impetus of a threat, individuals enter a coalition whose purpose is to accomplish some desired change which they regard as advantageous to society. These coalitions make up policy issue networks, which serve as one of the grounds on which debates occur about the nature of the good society. Members enter and leave these networks on the basis of their belief that the core issues of the debate are crucial to the larger discussion.

Sabatier's and Mazzoni's Models Reviewed

The continued interactions of leaders and followers in coalitions over time, along with their continued involvement with the college and my belief in the effectiveness of a participatory leadership model, pushed me towards the issue network models of Heclo and Sabatier rather than towards a unitary leadership model. The systematic nature of their interactions, including the political acumen of Aery in her invitations to various local leaders and consultants, steered me away from garbage-can and lawn-party models, which imply that random events are more important to the overall outcome than planned events. However, Sabatier's model, designed to describe long-term networks primarily on the federal level, required considerable adaptation for use on the state level to describe one event within the larger picture of higher

education in Maryland in the early 1990s (see Figure 10).

Mazzoni's arena model is more process-oriented than Sabatier's. The Sabatier model shows lines of influence between system parameters and events, constraints, and the policy subsystem, but doesn't offer any guidance as to the strength of those influences. Sabatier's model also fails to include feedback loops between system parameters or events and constraints or resources, although the latter may change dramatically over time. In this case, the possibility of developing or selling the Inner Harbor campus more than offset the economic constraints of the state legislature in providing funding.

Mazzoni's model (see Figure 11) shows a feedback loop in which demands are mediated through top officials and fed back as influence to those seeking change. Mazzoni's model also spells out some of the factors which appear to be critical in determining the likelihood of major policy innovation. Sabatier's model includes strategies by which coalitions hope to influence the decisions of sovereigns, but fails to include any of the factors which might cause these strategies to succeed or fail. In this case, the factors listed by Mazzoni in the leadership arena match well with what I found in Maryland. I concluded that Mazzoni's model provided useful information about success factors which Sabatier's lacked.

Mazzoni's model is intended for short-term, rather than long-term, change, since it lacks a feedback loop between policy innovation and decisionmakers. Mazzoni also limited his model to policy making, whereas Sabatier included implementation and program impact as an integral part of the policy-making process. The sunset provision within Senate Bill 381 provided

RELATIVELY STABLE SYSTEM PARAMETERS

1. Basic attributes of the problem area (good)

2. Basic distribution of natural resources

3. Fundamental sociocultural values and social structure

4. Basic constitutional structures (rules)

EXTERNAL (SYSTEM) EVENTS

1. Changes in socioeconomic conditions

2. Changes in systemic governing coalition

3. Policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems

Constraints

and

Resources

of

Subsystem

Actors

POLICY SUBSYSTEM

Coalition A
a) Policy beliefs
b) Resources

Policy
Brokers

Coalition B
a) Policy beliefs
b) Resources

Strategy A1
re guidance
instruments

Strategy B1
re guidance
instruments

Decisions
by Sovereigns

Governmental
Programs

Policy Outputs

Policy Impacts

Figure 10. General model of policy change focusing on competing advocacy coalitions within policy subsystems. After Sabatier (1988), p. 133.

ENVIRONMENT **CONVERSION** **OUTPUT**

Pressures for Change
- Challenging groups
- Issue networks
- Social movements
- Mass media & public opinion
- Crisis events

ORGANIZATIONAL ELITES & POLICY ENTREPRENEURS

ARENA SHIFT
From Subsystem to

Influence

T O P   O F F I C I A L S

MACRO ARENA

- Relative strength of reform-oriented coalition
- Power and leadership of political champions
- Media/Popular demands for policy change
- Open, accessible institutional arrangements

Some Chance

Demands

COMMISSION ARENA

- Set up by top officials as agenda setter for innovative policy
- Well represented, persistent, skillful change advocates among members
- Flexible, pragmatic reform opponents among members
- Media/Popular demands for policy change

Little Chance

Major Policy Innovation

Revenues

LEADERSHIP ARENA

- Unity, commitment, activity of officials pushing for innovative policy
- Low visibility of issue/decision process to outsiders
- Weak countervailing power friom stakeholder groups, constituencies, or publics
- Centralized, insulated institutional decision sets

Most Chance

Available revenues

Strategically-placed IDEA CHAMPION

Figure 11. Political initiation of policy innovation.
After Mazzoni (1991), p. 132

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evidence that implementation was a critical factor in this case. The legislature expressed its willingness to maintain funding for the college if restructuring could be accomplished successfully within three years. I concluded that Sabatier's model provided more assistance in this regard than Mazzoni's.

Mazzoni placed issue networks within the area that Sabatier described as _external events_. Sabatier placed those networks within the policy subsystem. I interpreted Mazzoni's placement as an indication that coalitions arise in response to some external factor, provide resources for organizational elites and policy entrepreneurs, and disappear once demands have been forwarded to top officials. I interpreted Sabatier's placement to mean that coalitions provide resources which can be used in influence strategies, but that those coalitions, supported by a framework of policy beliefs, remain active and are influenced themselves by the effe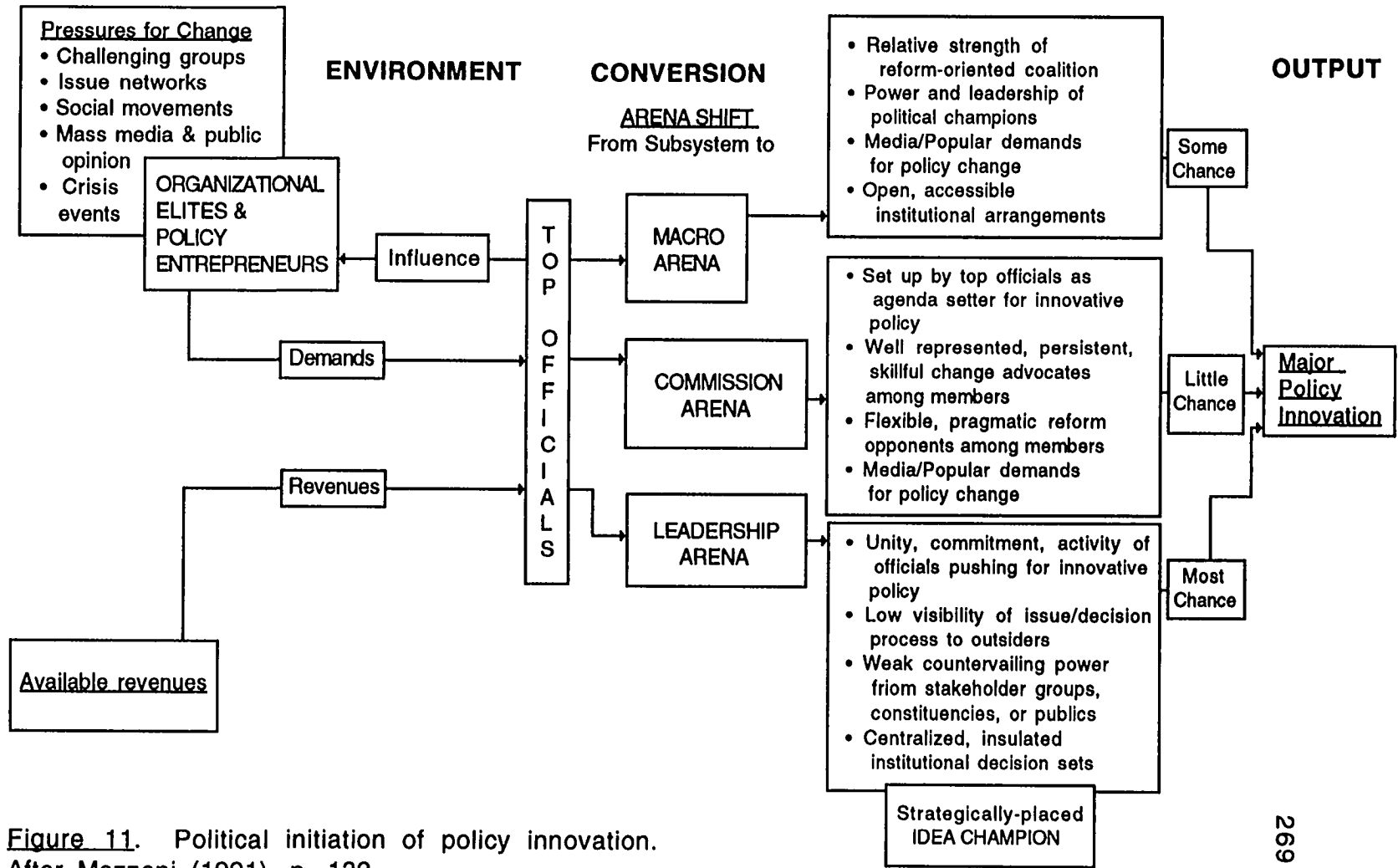cts from implementing the policy. In light of the continuing influence and activity of Coalition A in this case, I concluded that Sabatier's model was more descriptive in this respect.

As I discussed earlier, Miller's justice model provided me with a means of assessing the degree of fit between larger policy values and those of issue networks without impugning the motives of individuals who felt that their own self-interests were threatened by a potential outcome. Sabatier's model included policy beliefs, and he discussed the importance of values as a critical factor in the formation and maintenance of policy issue networks, but he did not provide documentation of the nature of those values. I concluded that Miller's model provided valuable information about circumstances in which altruistic values might be pushed aside in favor of self-interest. People might wish to act altruistically, and may believe that a particular proposal is in the best interests of

the community as a whole over time, but may oppose the proposal because they believe that there are other ways to accomplish a worthy goal. They may be looking for compromise solutions which they feel will protect their immediate interests but still be steps in the direction of change.

Analysis Using Sabatier's Model

The three coalitions described above fit into Sabatier's model within the policy subsystem.

Coalition A	Coalition B	Coalition C
Aery	Committee for Montgomery	Hallengren
Foster		Rawlings
Hoffman		Joel Smith
Pines		Administrators
Robinson		Faculty
Tschechtelin		
Warren		

The model of the system shows the coalitions acting more or less independently, with policy brokers serving as mediators. In the case of CCB, the lines are more fuzzily drawn. Sabatier does not discuss why a policy broker might become involved in the process, or what keeps a policy broker from joining one of the coalitions. In this case, Bishop Robinson, Maryland's Secretary for Public Safety, former Baltimore Chief of Police and a decades-long friend of Senator Blount, acted as an emissary in introducing Aery to the Senator. Senator Blount served as a policy broker, as did Representative Kopp, although she operated from a lesser influence base than Blount. Kopp's involvement stemmed more from her perception that the proposed policy matched up with her espoused values and values-in-use than from any more concrete benefits she might have gained. In fact, in the short term, she stood to

lose far more than she could gain, since she represented Montgomery County, and members of the Committee for Montgomery in Coalition B had already stated their firm opposition to the proposal. Kopp was standing for re-election in November, 1990, and her support of this proposal could have cost her the election.

Sabatier included only those actors who "share a set of normative and causal beliefs and who often act in concert" in his model (Sabatier, 1988, p. 133). However, since the opposition of the Committee for Montgomery was critical in modifying the policy proposal, I have included the committee as Coalition B. Sabatier's model would allow only for those actors in this case who were part of Coalitions A and C, with Coalition B presumably in another subsystem, but I think it is more accurate to include all of the critical actors within the same subsystem, in part to highlight the nature of the conflict that leads to policy-oriented learning.

I also included the causative factors of "policy oriented learning" within the policy subsystem. Sabatier discussed policy-oriented learning as

> relatively enduring alterations of thought or behavioral intentions which
> result from experience and which are concerned with the attainment (or
> revision) of policy objectives, [involving] perceptions concerning external
> dynamics, and increased knowledge of the state of problem parameters
> and the factors affecting them. The integration of this knowledge with the
> basic values and causal assumptions comprising the core beliefs of
> advocacy coalitions is the focus of policy learning. (1988, 133)

In this case, Aery began the process of altering CCB's funding base without knowing the strength of response from members of Coalition C. She

may have thought that faculty members and administrators would recognize the need for massive change, and would buy into her proposal. Once the strength of the opposition became clear, she negotiated with the attorney general's office to have a staff person assigned to handle potential or actual lawsuits filed in response to the bill's passage. Members of Coalition A also worked to defuse concerns expressed by African-Americans that a group of whites was working to take their community college away from them.

Givens is another critical actor who does not fit neatly into Sabatier's model. Aery had worked with him in Missouri before she came to Maryland, when he served as the first president of a four-year college originally funded by the city of St. Louis and later taken over by the State of Missouri. He was remarkably effective in maintaining funding for Harris-Stowe State Teachers College, interacting successfully with legislators as well as with members of the Missouri Coordinating Board on Higher Education. He acted as a consultant in this case, with a critical role in disarming the fears of the African-American people of Baltimore over the potential loss of their community college and the fact that Aery is white. This role is similar to that of a policy broker, in that such a person mediates between members of various coalitions, but is different in that the conflict mediated is potential rather than actual, and the result is to remove something from the agenda, rather than modifying the proposal. S/He serves the purpose of lessening constraints and/or increasing resources of subsystem actors, as well as brokering between coalitions.

Relatively stable system parameters.

Sabatier stated as one of his basic premises that "understanding the process of policy change--and the role of policy-oriented learning therein--

requires a time perspective of a decade or more" (1988, p. 131). This analysis, then, represents a preliminary study in the sense that this policy agenda is still very much on the table, and also in the sense that the evaluation of the policy's implementation requires "at least one formulation/implementation/reformulation cycle. . .to obtain a reasonably accurate portrait of program success and failure" (p. 131). In fact, some elements of what appeared to be relatively stable system parameters have changed considerably since the legislative session of 1990, but this analysis will consider those parameters as they existed at that time.

The basic attribute of the problem area is that postsecondary education within a community college setting is a collective good. The question of education beyond the high school level in the United States is one which we as a nation are re-examining at the moment. During the 1970s, when a new community college opened somewhere in the United States every day, clearly we were committed to providing cost-effective postsecondary educational opportunities to as many adults as possible through community college systems.

Today, in 1991, we are faced with a shrinking tax base brought about by recession and the globalization of the market economy. Here in California, the Los Angeles Times reported on April 26, 1992 that "For the first time in its history, the San Diego Community College District will turn away students this fall while cutting as many as 400 classes because of a budget shortfall" (Gaw, p. B1). These same difficulties are present in Maryland, yet the state clearly has chosen to continue using its resources to support this community college. That this question remains on the national higher education agenda is demonstrated by Robert Oliphant's editorial in the Los Angeles Times of April 24, 1991, giving

reasons why students should consider community colleges for their first two years, at the same time Governor Wilson is slashing the education budget. In the case of CCB, I believe that, beyond its obvious practical importance in educating and training the workforce of Baltimore, the school serves as a vital symbol of a continuing commitment to equality of opportunity for underserved and relatively powerless people, who come from many ethnic and racial heritages.

The basic distribution of natural resources is the existence of a community college geographically located in an area populated by "struggling students from struggling homes," to use Henry Givens' phrase. The fundamental social and cultural values are pluralist and distributive in nature, since this particular community college, located within an urban setting, provides postsecondary education to students with few financial or educational resources. The taxpayers who supply the funding for the college, whether they are residents of Baltimore itself or of the state of Maryland, tacitly acknowledge their willingness to have their tax dollars used to provide educational opportunities for CCB students.

Sabatier included "fundamental social structure" within stable system parameters. In this case, two issues hang over the agenda: race and gender. On the surface, race is the more obvious issue, although rarely discussed openly in light of a seeming trend within the United States to pretend that we are color blind. In fact, Givens' participation in the process seems to have defused race as an issue, or more accurately, to have placed this issue to one side for the time being. Members of the policy subsystem seem to be comfortable with having this issue placed in abeyance until the legislative

evaluation of the policy outcome during the 1992 session. If the legislature decides that the policy has been effectively implemented, then my sense is that race will again come to the forefront in the question of who will become the president of the New Community College of Baltimore, replacing Tschechtelin, who is both white and serving as interim president.

The issue of gender was more problematic, since it had not been defused to the extent that the race issue was. Higher education administrators are predominantly male throughout the United States, as are members of the top echelons of the educational bureaucracy and legislators. Aery is female, and was working with predominantly male legislators and administrators within the policy subsystem. That this issue was neither defused nor irrelevant was demonstrated during six interviews I conducted at the college in April, 1991 with three administrators, all male, and three faculty members, all female. Each of the interviewees spontaneously mentioned gender as an issue, with one administrator stating that "it's a good thing I don't have problems working with women. If I did, this would be the wrong place to be right now."

My sense is that the Maryland legislators, interacting with Aery for the first time, utilized a "wait and see" attitude about the gender issue, to determine whether or not she had what another interviewee described to me as "brass body parts." Questions centered around whether or not a woman knows the ins and outs of the political scene, and whether or not she is willing and able to play the game with which legislators are familiar. Aery was helped by her stated policy of tackling the most difficult issues on the agenda first. Several of her actions were as important symbolically as they were in reality; for example, she attended a community meeting in December, 1989, held at Baltimore's City

Hall, and attended by more than 300 African-Americans determined to keep CCB open. Two city legislators, along with Perkins and Rawlings, held a meeting of the Baltimore City Education Coalition, and Aery's presentation convinced the audience that she was working on their behalf to save the college. Legislators who heard about this meeting took it as evidence that she was willing and able to handle conflict and confrontation.

Another stable systems parameter relates to the structure the Maryland legislature set up to govern and fund community colleges. In this case, legislation established the Community College of Baltimore shortly after World War II, created its governing body, the Board of Trustees, and detailed funding provisions by the City of Baltimore. The legislative structure was asked in 1990 to produce a policy output which would transfer funding responsibility to the state of Maryland.

The stability of these issues: pluralism, distributive use of tax dollars, education as a collective good, political acumen, and the Maryland legislative structure and functions, is demonstrable. Other issues and events, much less stable, served as stressors on the system.

External system events. The student population served by CCB changed from a largely white, Jewish, middle-class student body to a largely black, working-class student body over a period of thirty years. This change was one stressor, especially as this new student body interacted with a faculty which had served the former population well. The long-term drop in enrollment at CCB served as a red flag, especially when CCB's enrollment slide was compared with increasing enrollments at other Maryland community colleges, and with the boom in community college enrollment nationwide (noted in the April 16, 1991

issue of *USA Today* by Pat Ordovensky).

The change from well-prepared, highly-motivated, middle class Jewish students to underprepared, poorly-motivated, working class black students stressed the system in a number of ways. For one thing, underprepared students require effective remediation, for which CCB was not equipped. The college lacked expertise, funding, and programs for remediation, and faculty members expressed considerable resentment at being asked to work with students who didn't match up with their expectations.

CCB was not alone here. As community colleges came to serve as the gateway of access to higher education for underprepared students, they handled the issues presented by these students in several ways, some formal, some informal. Most colleges quickly set up remedial courses for students who demonstrated proficiency gaps on placement tests in English and mathematics, which serve as foundations on which other coursework rests. Some colleges gave credit for these remedial courses, others did not.

CCB tried to handle remediation by setting up a "foundation year," in which students who placed into remedial courses could acquire basic skills in English and mathematics. Although these courses counted in making a student eligible for financial aid, they were not transferable to a four-year institution. Students could attempt these remedial courses twice, after which they were no longer eligible for financial aid. In addition, CCB became active in setting up adult learning or literacy centers throughout the community. Many students participated in remedial courses at these centers, then enrolled for college-level work at CCB.

Informally, instructors sometimes modified curriculum so that ill-prepared students could pass, or lowered their standards to avoid failing too many students, or both. Howard London and Lois Weiss have both documented a pattern among ill-prepared community college students of absenteeism, tardiness, and disheartening classroom behaviors such as sleeping, and have discussed faculty responses to these issues. CCB faculty members and administrators reported feelings of resentment and increasing inertia similar to those reported by London and Weis.

Certainly the question of race was relevant here, since the majority of the faculty and administrators at CCB were white and the majority of the students were African-American. Faculty members and administrators were accustomed to receiving certain intrinsic rewards in the form of successful student outcomes as a result of their hard work. Following the change in the student population, members of the college community experienced a decline in student success, measured by program completion, transfer, and/or graduation. Faculty members attributed the disappearance of these rewards to the change in student populations, and included race as one of the contributing factors.

The change in the CCB presidency to Joseph Durham also served as a stressor, since his tenure was marked with strife and conflict between the faculty and administration. The conflict was particularly disappointing to those faculty members who had anticipated that having a black man who was known to be a scholar as president of the college would alleviate some of their problems with black students. Policy decisions on the part of the Reagan administration in reducing federal funds available to Baltimore City served as another stressor, since CCB was now competing with many other city-funded programs and

institutions. The drop in student enrollments was a stressor, serving as a highly visible marker that the clients whom the college intended to serve were dissatisfied with the quality of the educational programs at CCB.

Policy beliefs within the policy subsystem. Sabatier stressed that "it is shared beliefs which provide the principal 'glue' of politics [and] that people's 'core' beliefs are quite resistant to change" (p.141). Pluralism, as outlined in Schattschneider's The Semisovereign People, is regarded by many political scientists as "too Pollyanna-ish" to describe the reality of today's political scene, but no other explanation serves as well for the belief system of Coalition A. Members of this coalition demonstrated their pluralist beliefs in attempting to find a way to change the administrative structure and funding of CCB, rather than abolishing the school.

Governor Schaefer's actions also point at least in part to a pluralist focus; higher education had consistently been on his agenda since his election in 1986. At issue here is the extent to which education has been on the national agenda since the 1980s, so that Schaefer might simply be jumping on a bandwagon. Also at issue is the nature of his political ambitions. If Schaefer intended to run for further elective office after leaving the governor's mansion in 1994, then his focus on higher education might be seen as being in his political self-interest. Indeed, this might prove to be the case; but belief systems, particularly those of political elites, are complex, functioning as "imperatives in judging how one's social world ought to be structured and operated, and as standards for evaluating and rationalizing the propriety of individual and social choices" (Jacob and Flink, 1962, p. 22). Policy objectives can serve the needs of a pluralist agenda and also the furtherance of a political career, however,

without being mutually contradictory.

In terms of Sabatier's structure of belief systems, members of Coalition A appear to have believed that:

• Humans are socially redeemable (else why mandate social policies that are distributive in nature?);

• Knowledge is a collective good;

• In terms of distributive justice, the welfare of disadvantaged groups is as important as the welfare of elites;

• Governmental intervention is appropriate in some instances;

• Coercion is appropriate as a policy instrument (since the proposed policy is coercive in its mandated administrative changes);

• Widespread public participation is desirable (demonstrated by willingness to socialize the issue through public forums);

• Both experts and elected officials should have a hand in shaping policy;

• The potential for non-zero-sum gains exists in this instance (in that better educational opportunities for disadvantaged students do not detract from the opportunities for other students, with the larger community ultimately benefiting);

• Some reasons for optimism exists.

Members of Coalition B appear to have been operating from an elitist point of reference on this issue, since their public and private commentary centered around their reluctance to "send money down a rathole" and their unwillingness to see funds siphoned away from their own suburban community colleges, although in fact these two systems were not competing for funds. They believed that "their" taxes are used disproportionately to support Baltimore

City. On this issue, members of Coalition B appear to have believed that:

• Freedom is a collective good (in this case, freedom from distributive policies resulting in benefit to others);

• In terms of distributive justice, the welfare of elites is more important than the welfare of disadvantaged groups;

• The marketplace should determine economic outcomes (although on other issues members of this coalition side with liberal stances);

• Elite political participation is more desirable than widespread public participation (demonstrated by their desire to close hearings on this issue), although on issues not connected with Baltimore City, they favor widespread public participation;

• Experts should prevail in shaping public policy;

• Zero-sum competition exists in this instance (demonstrated in their statements that funding CCB would take funding away from other community colleges).

Coalition C operated from an individualistic point of view, desiring to maintain the existing power base through their unions and refusing to consider the possibility that tenure might not be appropriate for the faculty of this community college. Miller's justice model predicted that "shared altruism-- shared beliefs about the public interest and its implications for behavior--will not lead to appropriate behavior (in the absence of capacity to make binding agreements) under conditions where individuals face severe injustice" (1990, pp. 131-132), and individual faculty members confirmed that they felt that injustices had occurred under previous administrations at CCB). Miller stated that "the justice model predicts that substantial voluntary cooperation will not

occur in the teeth of substantial injustice," and this may hold true whether the injustice is real or perceived (1990, p. 132). Interestingly, the individualistic viewpoint agrees with Elazar's dominant political culture in Maryland, home of several political figures, including Spiro Agnew, who either served prison terms for malfeasance in office or plea-bargained to avoid serving prison sentences. Members of Coalition C appear to have believed that:

• Power is a collective good (demonstrated through their union involvement);

• Self-interest prevails over the social contract;

• The welfare of elites is more important than the welfare of disadvantaged groups;

• Collective bargaining should determine economic outcomes;

• Coercion is appropriate as a policy instrument (demonstrated through the filing of lawsuits to protect their interests);

• Elected officials should have the upper hand in shaping policy;

• Zero-sum competition exists in this instance (where faculty gains are matched by student losses).

Internal structure of the policy subsystem. Sabatier included several hypotheses about issue networks and coalitions along with his 1988 model (see Appendix A). Some of these hypotheses center around his belief that coalitions continue to be active within a policy arena for periods of a decade or more, and since this case only arose in 1989, I have not included them in my discussion. Others, however, are relevant to this case.

Hypothesis 2. Actors within an advocacy coalition will show substantial consensus on issues pertaining to the policy core, although less so on

secondary aspects.

Hypothesis 3. An actor (or coalition) will give up secondary aspects of his/her (its) belief system before acknowledging weaknesses in the policy core. (pp. 141 and 146)

Within each of the coalitions, members agreed on basic issues, but sometimes disagreed on secondary aspects. In Coalition A, individuals in and out of the legislature, and varying widely in their direct involvement in the passage of SB 381, agreed that state funding offered the best option for CCB. Not all were convinced that elimination of tenure was necessary, although all agreed that a rigorous evaluation of faculty members and administrators was required. On secondary issues, coalition members were willing to let the staff of the Higher Education Commission work out the details.

In Coalition B, members agreed that state funding for CCB was undesirable. They represented interests as divergent as the County Board of Realtors and the NAACP, with several individuals serving at large. The belief that bound them together was that their taxes were being used disproportionately to support areas of social concern in Baltimore City. Other beliefs appear to have varied widely among members of this group. The disparities in interests may account for the short life of this coalition.

Members of Coalition C shared consensus in opposition to the proposal, and also in their commitment to the existence of the college. All stood to lose their jobs or livelihoods if the college were closed. All had been active in various aspects of union membership or the faculty senate before the proposal was placed on the table. All were united in opposition to the major tenets of SB

381, although they were willing to reconsider specifics in terms of legal action or plans for demonstrating their opposition. Even after SB 381 was signed into law by Schaefer, members of this coalition continued to oppose state funding, although they cooperated with mandated changes such as the evaluation process.

Policy-oriented learning. Policy-oriented learning is defined by Sabatier as "an ongoing process of search and adaption motivated by the desire to realize core policy beliefs" (p. 151). He stated that:

> perceived threats to people's core values or interests motivate them to expend scarce resources in policy debates [and that] the crucial role of information and policy analysis is to alert people to the extent to which a given situation affects their interests and values. . . .[In addition,] once political actors have developed a position on a policy issue, analysis is used primarily in an "advocacy" fashion. . . .And actors generally find it necessary to engage in an analytical debate if they are to succeed in translating their beliefs into policy because, in political systems with dispersed power, they can seldom develop a majority position through the raw exercise of power. Instead, they must seek to *convince* other actors of the soundness of their position concerning the nature of the problem and the consequences of one or more policy alternatives. (p. 152)

These descriptors of the policy-making process match neatly with changes in the policy proposal which followed strong opposition to the proposal by members of Coalition B. Both Blount and Kopp attempted to act as brokers between Coalitions A and B at this stage, when public opposition was mounting

in response to the arguments presented by the members of Coalition B. However, the critical factor was the alteration of important secondary aspects of Coalition A's position. Acknowledging the importance of market forces as well as governmental intervention in the outcome of this issue, Aery amended the policy proposal to cap additional appropriations at not more than two million dollars for the next two years, and to include a "sunset" provision which would require that the legislature rigorously evaluate the outcome by the end of the legislative session of 1992. In the event that the legislature was not satisfied with the outcome, the New Community College of Baltimore would be abolished at that time.

Later in the process, the policy proposal was modified again, with Kopp serving as a broker between Coalitions A and C. Members of the faculty and administration of CCB argued successfully that the accrued pension and vacation rights should be allotted to CCB employees, even if the school were abolished. In fact, this seems to bear out Sabatier's contention that "brokers can learn even while advocacy coalitions continue to talk past each other and that such learning on their part may play pivotal roles in arranging policy compromises" (p. 159). These changes serve to demonstrate Sabatier's sixth and eighth hypotheses.

> *Hypothesis 6.* Policy-oriented learning across belief systems is most likely when there is an intermediate level of informed conflict between the two. This requires: a) each have the technical resources to engage in such a debate; and that b) the conflict between secondary aspects of one belief system and core elements of the other or, alternatively between important secondary aspects of the two belief systems.

Hypothesis 8. Problems for which accepted quantitative performance indicators exist are more conducive to policy-oriented learning than those in which performance indicators are generally qualitative and quite subjective. (pp. 155-156)

The forums in which these matters were debated were the legislative subcommittee and committee hearings, serving to ratify Sabatier's seventh hypothesis.

Hypothesis 7. Policy-oriented learning across belief systems is most likely when there exists a forum which is a) prestigious enough to force professionals from different coalitions to participate; and b) dominated by professional norms. (p. 156)

The forum of the legislature is certainly one dominated by the structural norms of the legislative process, and prestigious enough for all parties involved to force participation. These hypotheses help to answer my second research question, about the ways in which issue networks interact.

Analysis Using Mazzoni's Model

The particular pressure for change in Mazzoni's model was the reduction in federal block grants to cities, which led in turn to Baltimore City's inability to continue funding for CCB. Neither the mass media nor public opinion had any particular agenda with regard to CCB; like other community colleges, it wasn't the sort of "sexy" topic that commentators could make much use of (columnist with the Baltimore Sun, personal communication, October, 1991).

Mazzoni placed issue networks on the outside of the policy-making process, as a stressor on the system. Coalition C, comprised of faculty members, administrators and their legal counsel, might be considered in this

way if one thought of their continued dissatisfaction with Durham's leadership. Certainly members of this coalition wanted change; they were willing to consider merger with another institution, and recognized that the city could no longer provide funding for CCB. However, they did not lobby the Commission for Higher Education for any particular change. Their involvement seems more reactive than proactive.

In Mazzoni's model, pressures for change lead to demands by organizational elites and policy entrepreneurs. No one in the community served this role here. Aery, who realized that failure to act would lead to the closure of the school, acted as an idea champion. Her suggestion, made with the governor's backing, that the state provide funding, was not on the policy agenda in the fall of 1989, nor were legislators primed to act on this issue. The demand for action which would keep the college open came from the top officials of the state government, rather than from policy entrepreneurs.

The fiscal crisis which was to stress Maryland's state systems had not yet arisen, and the tradeoff of the harbor property, valued at around seventeen million dollars for one site and around eight million for the other site, made the expenditure of around six million dollars well within the bounds of availability. Mazzoni included available revenues within the environment in his model, but in fact the state takeover resulted in a potential financial gain, rather than a loss.

Where Mazzoni's model is particularly descriptive in this instance is in what he described as the "leadership arena." All of the elements he described were present:

- Unity, commitment, activity of officials pushing for innovative policy

- Low visibility of issue/decision process to outsiders

- Weak countervailing power from stakeholder groups, constituencies, or publics

- Centralized, insulated institutional decision sets

- A strategically-placed "idea champion." (1991, p. 132)

Aery as an idea champion. The policy-making process illustrated by this case was characterized at first by the presence of an idea champion, Shaila Aery, who analyzed data on a statewide basis and determined that Baltimore City could no longer afford to provide funding for CCB, and that the institution as it stood was no longer viable. Schaefer's charge to Aery was to institute change that would result in measurable improvements in higher education in Maryland, and CCB certainly stood out as a place that had nowhere to go but up. The obvious courses of action were to close the school or combine it with a more viable institution. Aery, however, chose a third alternative, which involved massive restructuring and a change in funding mechanisms. She sent up trial balloons for each of these alternatives, in much the same way that she is presently testing the waters for amalgamation of historically black colleges, and found that she had Schaefer's backing for state funding and restructure.

The trial balloons that she sent up involved the media to some extent, although for the most part reporters continued to ignore CCB unless some spectacular blow-up occurred, like the barring of the State Board of Community Colleges representative by Durham in the summer of 1989. One article did appear in the Baltimore Sun on December 13, 1989, but no one followed up on it until the policy-making process was much further along (Smith, Meison and

Frece, 1989, p. 1). Aery's balloons were lofted in conversation with key legislators and their friends, whose support would be critical to the success of the proposal. Aery was certainly astute in her assessment of how to persuade legislators that a given proposal was in their own interests, and in her use of existing networks of friends and colleagues for introductions to those legislators.

One of the hallmarks of an idea champion is persistent, long-term involvement with an issue, and Aery certainly demonstrated that characteristic. From the time the idea of state funding was first broached, she discussed it with bureaucrats in other departments of the state government, established the proposal as her top priority in the minds of her staff members, held formal and informal meetings with legislators, and began casting her net for community activists who could begin filling in some of the gaps in how the proposal would be implemented at the college. In other words, in the course of her conversations and meetings with legislators and state bureaucrats, Aery began the process of forming a coalition.

Once the idea of a state takeover had been placed on the agenda by Schaefer and Aery, officials such as Pines, Tschechtelin, Hoffman and Fisher demonstrated unity and commitment to an innovative policy. Individual members of the Committee for Montgomery, such as Blair Lee IV, had considerable influence in Maryland's political system, or were members of families or organizations that had a great deal of regional political clout. However, their objections were not sufficient to arouse strong countervailing pressures from the general public. Maryland is essentially a one-party state, with a Democratic majority in both houses and a Democratic governor, and the lack of effective Republican opposition means that party loyalties act as a

centralizing element. In fact, the members of Coalition B were the leading Montgomery County Democrats.

Visibility of the issue/decision process to outsiders. The issue of visibility of the issue to outsiders is more problematic. Mazzoni mentions "media/popular demands for policy change" as a characteristic of the macro arena, and certainly that sort of prolonged media involvement is absent in this case. Lack of media coverage is documented by the absence of any stories about CCB in the Washington Post or the Baltimore Sun between December, 1989, and April, 1990, except for one story in January, 1990 about a successful lawsuit by a fired professor against Durham and the school. There were no stories or editorials about the state takeover after the proposal was made public in December, 1989. There was no coverage of meetings of the board of trustees during this critical period. There were no editorials for or against the proposal until the final weeks of the legislative session, when it began to look as if SB 381 might pass. As far as I have been able to determine, none of the local television stations provided coverage on the issue until near the end of the session, and radio coverage was confined to Baltimore stations with largely black audiences.

The leaders of the unions involved were concerned, as were union members who worked at CCB, but other union members did not demonstrate in favor of their colleagues. College officials favored the proposal, as evidenced by Durham's testimony on February 15 at the hearings on House Bill 543. The animosity between Durham and the faculty may account for the reluctance of some faculty members to support the proposal. The largest public response was demonstrated at the meeting in January, 1990, in Baltimore City Hall, attended by more than 300 city residents.

Some visibility to outsiders is evidenced by the fact that the Committee for Montgomery was made up of representatives from twenty-two organizations from Montgomery County. However, no other county was represented in opposition. Community college presidents made their opposition known behind the scenes, but did not organize any public campaign. I didn't place these presidents within a coalition, because of their lack of public presence; however, it may be that other coalitions than the three I described were active for a time.

Two factors may be involved here. For one thing, the abortion issue received extensive, lengthy media coverage during the period from December, 1989 to April, 1990. Both the Democratic majority in the two houses and Schaefer favored the pro-choice legislation that would guarantee the right to an abortion in the state of Maryland irrespective of a possible U. S. Supreme Court ruling against Roe v. Wade. Many church groups, representing all religious denominations, opposed this legislation. The third reading of SB 381 was made possible by a window of opportunity during the abortion debates held in April. It may be that the abortion issue overshadowed the issue of state funding for CCB.

Questions may also arise about the degree to which an issue must be visible to outsiders with political clout. Black Baltimore City residents might be concerned about CCB, but white suburbanites would become involved in the issue only if convinced that funding for schools their own children might attend would be affected. Since no such funding threat could be demonstrated, it may be that visibility to groups with little influence is not as relevant as visibility to more powerful groups.

Comparison of Sabatier's and Mazzoni's Models

Mazzoni included issue networks as potential stressors on the system, along with SIGs, social movements, mass media, public opinion and crisis events. Sabatier's model implies that issue networks arise in response to external pressures, while Mazzoni's model implies that the networks form regardless of these pressures. Mazzoni implied that these networks cause organizational elites and policy entrepreneurs to bring demands forward, while Sabatier's model allows for elites and entrepreneurs to be part of the issue networks.

Mazzoni's model places the issue networks at the beginning of the policymaking process, where they assist in placing items on the agenda, while Sabatier's places them within the policy subsystem, where they provide resources and strategies to decisionmakers. Mazzoni implies that the role of the networks ends once a policy innovation is placed on the agenda, while Sabatier allows for an ongoing role throughout the policy-making and implementation processes.

In this case, since two of the three coalitions are still actively involved in the policy-making and implementation processes, Sabatier's model is more descriptive. The continued interactions between these two coalitions also help to point out a problem with the second research question: "How do policy issue networks interact on the state level?" The question itself is misstated, since there is no evidence in this case as to how two or more networks interacted. There is considerable evidence about how the coalitions interacted, so the question should have read, "How do coalitions within policy issue networks interact on the state level?"

Certain individuals continue to function as bridges between these two coalitions. Tschechtelin is one such bridge, particularly since he works on a daily basis with members of Coalition C, and has taken it as one of his responsibilities to keep other members of Coalition A aware of how SB 381 has been implemented. He has provided a constant stream of information to members of the Commission on Higher Education, and in turn takes their replies back to the members of Coalition C. Pines is another such bridge; she talked regularly during the passage of SB 381 to Hallengren, then president of the faculty senate, and articulated some of Coalition C's concerns to other members of Coalition A.

Part of these back-and-forth communications take place because of the roles people play, but another part centers around the visions that reflect the values of the coalitions. People talk about the sorts of changes that will improve the larger society, as well as their own lots, and this discussion appears to be critical to ongoing interactions between coalitions.

The fifth research question asked, "Can Sabatier's model best explain the policy-making process in the creation of the New Community College of Baltimore? If not, what model explains the process better?" Sabatier's model is more descriptive overall in terms of helping an analyst understand how the NCCB policy was enacted, with Mazzoni's model more helpful in outlining the factors which led to this major policy innovation.

In this case, external events such as Baltimore City's budgetary problems and long-term changes in the student population at CCB served as stressors on the system. Schaefer's insistence on improvements in Maryland's higher education system was another stressor. Aery, who was charged by Schaefer

with determining the specifics of those improvements, was constrained by lack of resources in the city budget. However, her background as Commissioner of Higher Education in Missouri gave her certain resources, including confidence in her ability to work with legislators, and knowledge of how an effective policy could be passed and implemented.

Coalition A was the first to form, as Aery began the process of major policy innovation. As the nature of the proposed changes became clear to faculty members and administrators at CCB, Coalition C coalesced quickly in opposition to the specifics of the proposal, although members of Coalition C agreed that change of some sort was inevitable. Coalition B, the most transitory of the three coalitions, formed in opposition once the amount of state funding required to implement the policy became clear. All three coalitions agreed that postsecondary education at the community college level was desirable so that residents of Baltimore could take their place in the postindustrial society now taking shape in Maryland. They disagreed on the mechanics of how to provide high-quality education, and became part of a much larger debate, evident throughout the United States, of how to provide postsecondary education to the largest possible number of adults while not diverting scarce funding away from other areas of social need.

Once the coalitions formed, then factors outlined by Mazzoni came into play as the policy-making process proceeded. Unity and commitment on the part of leaders and followers who did leadership within the coalitions provided resources for those who found key points of access in the legislature. The issue was highly visible in the area immediately around Baltimore, but diversion of media attention to other issues such as abortion helped keep it invisible in the

state as a whole. The countervailing power of the coalitions opposed to SB 381 proved much weaker than that of Coalition A. The lack of effective Republican opposition in Maryland acted as a centralizing force. Finally, Shaila Aery acted as a quintessential idea champion, using her considerable resources to mobilize and energize leaders and followers within Coalition A. Mazzoni described this as a leadership arena, and within this arena the three coalitions, with policy brokers such as Blount and Kopp serving as resource conduits, arrived at strategies which they used throughout the legislative session.

These strategies included mobilizing community support, finding key points of access within the legislature, compromising on features of the policy which could be changed without threatening its successful implementation, ongoing involvement, and background support from powerful resources such as Schaefer. Once the legislature passed SB 381, Coalitions A and C continued their active concern and involvement during the implementation process. Impacts of that process helped to shape the responses of these two coalitions during the evaluation phase, and those responses are now being used to form new strategies while the policy is being evaluated for continued funding by the 1992 Maryland General Assembly.

Leadership in the Policy-Making Process

Most leadership definitions view leadership and management as interchangeable, and describe the traits of great men and women who can be identified retroactively by some change accomplished under their guidance. Since I accept Rost's definition of leadership as "an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual

purposes," I will discuss leadership in this case from the standpoint of that definition (Rost, 1991, p. 102).

Leaders

There are several actors in this study who can easily be identified as leaders. Governor Schaefer is clearly a leader in this legislative process. He was the driving force behind reform of the higher education system in Maryland. He maintained his own focus on higher education issues, and kept others focused on these issues as well. He created a cabinet-level position for the Secretary of Higher Education, and has never wavered in his open support for the woman he appointed to the position. He made his support clear through media publicity, attendance at meetings, continued placement of higher education issues on the public agenda, and behind-the-scenes work, as for example when the chair of the Budget and Taxation Committee wanted to send the bill SB 381 to a committee for further study. He also made his idea of accountability clear in turning the project over to Aery and describing the bill as "your community college bill" in conversation with her.

The passage of SB 381 met several of the Governor's agendas, including: (1) fulfilling his campaign statements regarding reform in higher education; (2) obtaining a valuable piece of real estate with which to complete his original vision of the redevelopment of Baltimore's Inner Harbor; (3) signaling his willingness to try new approaches to serving the needs of Baltimore's African-American underclass; (4) demonstrating his political acumen in dealing with legislators; and (5) placing himself in a desirable position vis-a-vis Mayor Schmoke. The fact that the motivations of the governor and others in this instance were mixed does not remove this example from the

category of leadership; indeed, leadership is the type of complex human behavior that requires the investigator to examine mixed motives and methods.

Shaila Aery served as a leader in socializing the conflict among various interest groups when she scheduled public meetings on the campus of CCB where Baltimore residents could relay their concerns about a state takeover of the college. She was a leader with a pluralist mission, making clear her commitment to the creation of a community college that would serve the needs of Baltimore's African-American community better than the old CCB. She also illustrates the type of multiple, with and through leadership that is characteristic of postindustrial models. No one leader could accomplish change on this order with the speed evidenced in this case; multiple leaders, interacting with multiple groups of followers to achieve real, intended change, are required to do the job. Aery was clearly not merely a bureaucrat following the Governor's instructions; she was a highly skilled political leader in her own right, and the blending of her vision with the Governor's was critical in the passage of SB 381.

Evidence of Aery's increasing stature as a leader in the field of higher education can be found in the attention being paid to her in the local, state and national media. The issue of The Maryland Report, already cited, was one of two in the history of the publication in which the entire magazine was devoted to an interview with a particular individual. In addition to her continued sponsorship of CCB, Aery also persuaded the Maryland legislators to pass a bill guaranteeing tuition and fees to urban youngsters who maintain a C+ grade point average, and placed several items on the agenda for public discussion about restructuring of urban higher education in Maryland. The Baltimore Sun reported on June 29, 1991, that MHEC had recommended that the University of

Maryland at College Park should be exempted from further budget cuts to strengthen the state university system. In addition, MHEC had proposed that the Board of Regents of the University of Maryland reconsider a long-dead proposal to merge the University of Maryland at Baltimore with the University of Maryland Baltimore County, in part to "create an enhanced public research university in Baltimore specializing in the life sciences and health" (Meisol, 1991, p. B1). A bill proposing this merger has become one of the hottest bills in the 1992 session (personal communication, March 1992).

On an even more controversial level, MHEC proposed that two of Baltimore's historically black institutions, Coppin State College and Morgan State University, consider merging. Aery stated that "a merger could strengthen educational offerings at two institutions now competing for resources to educate similar student groups" (Meisol, 1991, p. B1). Amy Goldstein in the Washington Post went beyond a description of these proposals to include first reactions: "Around the state, the proposals are likely to provoke controversy because they expose two traditional raw nerves in higher education: racial politics and strong rivalries among campuses for money and political favor" (Goldstein, 1991, p. D4). With regard to funding, MHEC's proposal would concentrate available resources at the campus resulting from the proposed University of Maryland at Baltimore/University of Maryland Baltimore County merger, "on programs that can strengthen the state's economy, such as biotechnology, health care and engineering" (Goldstein, 1991, p. D4). With regard to traditionally black campuses, the proposals were designed to help these institutions to achieve a critical mass of urban students.

Opposition was swift; Delegate Howard "Pete" Rawlings, wearing his legislative hat rather than his faculty headgear, stated that such a merger would be "'contrary to the state's civil rights laws,' by creating two research universities in Baltimore, one black and one white. The merged black institution could lose out on competition for scarce funds, he said, adding that the merger would also undercut the state's promise to U.S. civil rights officials in the mid-1980s to build up all four of its historically black institutions" (Goldstein, 1991, p. D4).

The opposition noted here is similar to that which mobilized in Missouri when Aery, as Commissioner of Higher Education in 1987, proposed to eliminate the agriculture program at Lincoln University, an historically black institution founded in Jefferson City after the Civil War to educate former slaves. Some Missourians feared that the abolition of the agriculture program would effectively eliminate the 1890 land-grant status from the institution, although other land grant schools lack agriculture programs but retain their status. This change was opposed by administrators and faculty members at Lincoln, who were also opposed to a proposal to turn Lincoln into a regional center (personal communications, February 1992). The plan was shelved, leaving some Missourians with the sense that impetus for the change was lost as other issues came to the forefront. Leaders and followers do not always succeed in accomplishing change, and at times ongoing events demonstrate that proposed change is undesirable. Rost's definition, unlike Burns', still includes such examples within the leadership process.

Nancy Kopp served as a leader in the House of Delegates, supporting the bill over the opposition of members of the Committee for Montgomery, the county in which she was running for re-election. Eventually, her introduction of

the bill during its final reading was of symbolic importance, since she could be seen by the community as a legislator from the suburbs supporting a bill designed to restructure a community college serving the needs of Baltimore City residents. Her political acumen was also critical; Aery described her role in the final passage of the CCB legislation in this way:

> One [legislative leader] to whom I'll always feel indebted in Nancy Kopp [#3 in the House hierarchy]. When the CCB bill was up, no one but us really wanted it, and certainly not anyone from Montgomery Count. Its defeat was the delegation's top bill priority that session (1990). . . . Nancy has this Appropriations Subcommittee on Higher Education. That's where the bill was assigned. And we went for a couple of weeks until 11 o'clock discussing it. If we went through that bill word for word once, we went through it a dozen times. Finally, one day, Nancy just said, "I've listened to all these people from all over the state--faculty members, labor unions, academicians. As radical as it is, it may be the only way this institution can be saved. So we'll take it to the full committee." She has the Montgomery County delegation breathing down her neck. The election is not far off, and she has her first opposition ever. During the House floor debate on the bill, I was at a phone in case she got questions she couldn't answer, but there was nothing she needed. She was eloquent, and the House passed the bill. It was because of her leadership alone. Republicans and Democrats, in both houses, are very committed to education. It's even more than "as soon as we get more money, we'll put it back in." It's the understanding that higher education is what's really going to move this state forward.

("Special Interview: Shaila Aery, Secretary, MD Higher Education Commission," 1991, p. 7)

Clarence Blount was the key Senate leader in the passage of this bill; he set aside his concerns about supporting reform proposed by a white education secretary from another state, and orchestrated hearings and readings in order to get the bill passed within the 1990 session. He called a meeting of Senate members of the conference committee behind the chambers when the bill had been passed by the House, and persuaded them to accept the House version without further changes. His support as the "Godfather of Baltimore" was crucial. Like the Governor, Blount had various reasons for supporting the bill. As an astute politician who had served as an elected official at the behest of Baltimore City residents for many years, he genuinely believed that the continued existence of the college was in his constituents' best interest. In addition, however, he acknowledged the symbolic importance of state support for this urban college to the African American community, and made the connection between his continuing support and his political future. Students of leadership would be naive in the extreme to look for examples of leadership that did not also involve enlightened self-interest.

In the implementation stage, local leaders such as Marion Pines and James Tschechtelin have played critical roles in the maintenance of active issue networks. Tschechtelin has taken great care to keep legislators informed about real and symbolic changes at NCCB. He has demonstrated an invaluable talent for getting good media coverage in the press and on local television stations, and he produced a compelling short video presentation which is available to those who are responsible for recruitment and community

involvement. Pines, who is a highly respected community activist, has taken this opportunity to reverse previous unpleasant interactions with the college. She is doing leadership in such a way that increasing numbers of people feel that they have some stake in ongoing improvements at NCCB (Pines, personal communication, October, 1991). Both of these individuals are doing leadership with people who occupy traditional positions of leadership, such as board members, faculty and student leaders, as well as people who do not occupy such positions.

Howard "Pete" Rawlings served both as an administrator at CCB and also as a state legislator. He was a leader within Coalition C in his position as an administrator for the college. He also served an interesting role as an information channel back and forth between faculty members and legislators, and mobilized resources within the college in opposition to the proposed legislation.

As president of the faculty senate, Eric Hallengren occupied a leadership position during the critical period of the state takeover. Joan Finucci, who had served as chair of several faculty committees during her stay at CCB, was also active in mobilizing faculty members during this time. Finucci was part of the ad hoc committee which reported on the evaluation process, and has now succeeded Hallengren as president of the faculty senate. Both of these individuals played active roles in faculty involvement, and devoted their own resources of time and attention to the process.

The question of leadership in Coalition B is more problematic, since I was unable to contact any members of this coalition. My assumption is that Blair Lee IV and Anthony Natelli served as leaders, since they were the two

representatives of the coalition who testified before the House Subcommittee on Education. Blair Lee IV in particular is an interesting subject for further research, since he is a member of a family that has been active in Maryland politics for decades, and may be assumed to possess some resources which could be useful to groups involved in the policy-making process.

Doing Leadership in Policy Issue Networks

Research question 4 asked, "How do leaders and followers do leadership within the networks?" This question was not meant to imply that there is a particular type of network leadership which is different from other types of leadership. What is different is that leadership within these policy issue networks is highly and visibly political. Leadership in other settings may be less overtly political, although any group interaction which extends beyond a brief meeting or two will certainly involve politics. Leaders and followers in policy issue networks believe that the democratic political process is the way to achieve major policy innovation and also to implement innovative policies successfully. Their areas of difference lie in the specifics of the changes they want.

As in other settings, leaders and followers within policy issue networks mobilize and use many resources in doing leadership. These resources include power, influence, money, attention, and promises of future involvement. Within each of the issue networks that formed in this case, leaders and followers intended real changes that reflected their mutual purposes.

In Coalition C, leaders and followers initially wanted to accomplish changes in the administration of the college. They had experienced several administrations in a row marked by dissension and strife between the president

and faculty members. There seems to have been a rather freefloating level of anxiety, which eventually focused on the issue of funding by the city. When members of this coalition became aware that the state proposed to take over the college, they responded favorably. The issue that caused a mobilization of resources by leaders and followers in Coalition C was the loss of tenure.

In fact, members of Coalition C didn't have many resources to mobilize. Faculty members in a community college change jobs all the time, and institutions of higher education are so loosely coupled in their structure that subject matter expertise is considerably more important than familiarity with a particular college. Administrators are tied to an institution more closely than faculty members, but the number of ads in the Chronicle of Higher Education every week attests to the existence of a large job pool in higher education. Cutbacks in funding for higher education in general acted against faculty members and administrators, since there have been many more qualified applicants than there were jobs in colleges, particularly in the Northeast. One hundred and twenty-six people applied for the job of vice president of academic affairs when Ron Wright left. Clearly, faculty members and administrators worried more about losing their jobs than the college worried about losing them.

However, within Coalition C, leaders and followers mobilized what resources they had, and did succeed in bringing about some changes in the proposed legislation. Pete Rawlings was the key player in getting a better benefit package for the faculty than had originally been planned. Eric Hallengren and Joan Finucci kept faculty issues before the administration, and made more people aware of the importance of these issues by writing reports and giving presentations. Their followers were members of the faculty senate,

deans and administrators who attended meetings and took notes, and other faculty members who kept the interests of this coalition before such groups as the board of trustees. Rawlings, Hallengren and Finucci all acted as leaders within this coalition, which functioned without the authority vested in certain of the individuals who participated in Coalition A.

Coalition B was made up of leaders and followers who mobilized resources in opposition to a specific policy proposal. Their resources included influence, money, political expertise, and political support offered to legislators who supported their opposition. They represented a very real threat to those who worked in favor of the proposed legislation, since they also had experience in withdrawing money and support from legislators up for re-election. Nancy Kopp took a risk in introducing the bill at its final reading, since members of Coalition B had told her that she was giving up their support in the coming election. However, their resources were not great enough to withstand Schaefer's support of Kopp in the 1990 elections.

I considered leadership in this coalition in terms of an old-boy network of people familiar with the political process and accustomed to offering or withdrawing support from elected officials. I am familiar with this process in business, where people can be recruited as needed through trade or civic organizations. On the surface, it appears that people from many aspects of life in Montgomery County were encouraged to join the Committee, and that the organizers looked for representatives who could provide gender or racial diversity.

Members of Coalition A illustrate how leaders and followers do leadership within a coalition that enjoys many resources in terms of power and

influence. Schaefer set the outline of change in higher education on the table. Aery picked up the outline and filled in some of the details. She picked the target of change and began the process of recruiting people for the network. And in they came, bureaucrats, legislators, educators, and members of the community, all struck by the rightness of the change she had in mind, all willing to devote time, energy and resources to doing whatever was necessary to ensure funding for a quality community college education for urban, mostly black, disadvantaged students. In the process of leadership, they took turns, each operating as a leader in the venue in which s/he was strongest. Each emerged from doing leadership with more resources, more influence, more ability to do leadership the next time.

This same model of empowering leadership was exhibited by Mayor Kurt Schmoke, who took a courageous step in persuading the city administration that the needs of Baltimore's students would be served best if the city requested the takeover of CCB by the state. His leadership stance took in the long view of the contributions that these students could make to the future of Baltimore if they were offered the opportunity of quality higher education.

The test of leadership is not whether or not leaders and followers are able to accomplish the changes that reflect their mutual purposes. The test is not whether those changes, if accomplished, are implemented effectively or prove to be long-lasting. Neither of those is within the control of leaders and followers, although their continued attention to the change process helps to insure success over the long run. The test of leadership is the empowerment of leaders and followers to do leadership again, in other circumstances, with other changes. When leaders and followers do leadership, everyone emerges from

the relationship with greater internal resources for the sort of risk-taking that is required to propose and implement change.

Major Conclusions

In the course of doing this research, I came to certain conclusions about the policy-making process, and about the role of leadership within that process.

1. Policy making is a complex human activity that is best described with a complex model. No simple grid, outline, or model can include the many parameters and factors that are involved in a policy-making process. Even a complex systems model still of necessity must include areas where unknown circumstances impede or further the end result.

2. Neither Sabatier's nor Mazzoni's model alone describes the policy-making process illustrated by the passage of SB 381. Sabatier's model describes the parameters of the policy-making system; Mazzoni's model outlines critical factors required for effective policy making. The two models together do a better job of describing policy making in this case than either of the models were able to do alone.

3. Policy analysts must include values in their descriptions of a policy-making process. Coalitions and issue networks are made up of individuals who are in constant dialogue with themselves and others about the nature of the good society. These people choose to utilize their resources in doing leadership with others who share their vision of how that society can best be shaped. No analysis based solely on economic models and formulas can capture the value base of issue networks.

4. The influence relationship which we call leadership takes place most effectively within a network. The network offers both the structure and the latitude which help to support leadership and the changes it engenders. Industrial models of powerful, highly skilled individuals leading their followers into the charge fail to do justice to the complex interactions between leaders and followers as they do leadership.

5. Leadership empowers leaders and followers so that they are enriched by the process, and strengthened in the skills necessary to do leadership effectively. One of the hallmarks of leadership is the visible empowerment of individuals who, having done leadership as followers, then choose to expend their resources in doing leadership in other settings. Leadership is a relationship in which everyone who is involved emerges with the desire to do leadership again.

Recommendations for Further Study

Several of Sabatier's hypotheses deal with the policy-making process over a time span of at least a decade. Further study is warranted to determine how well his hypotheses predict developments in this case within the next ten years. Implementation studies require that researchers track the policy-making process through passage of a given policy and into effective implementation. Of particular interest is the longevity of the policy issue networks in this case, and the nature of their continued involvement as the case moves away from passage of SB 381 and into the creation and maintenance of a preeminent example of urban community colleges. I'm interested in seeing the extent to which the New Community College of Baltimore becomes the legacy which

Schaefer and Aery leave behind as their attention turns elsewhere.

Further research opportunities abound in Coalition B. The people who were members of this coalition seem to have acted like an old-fashioned power bloc behind the scenes, and researchers could profitably devote further study to the reasons for their membership and the ways in which this coalition operated.

In terms of leadership studies, further research should be done to follow up on the ways in which the leaders and followers in this case choose to do leadership again. If my last conclusion is correct, then individuals within each of these coalitions have been empowered to do leadership in other settings. Leadership is contagious, and researchers could use participants in this case to investigate how it spreads.

Concluding Remarks

The coalitions involved in this case illustrate the sort of with and through leadership that will be a hallmark of the postindustrial era. Within issue networks, leadership passes almost effortlessly from one person to another as attention or resources are focused first in one area, then in another. Those who are leaders in one instance use their resources, then drop back to followership as someone else steps forward. No one is threatened by the thought of being "demoted." In fact, what happens in this sort of network is that everyone is genuinely empowered by the opportunity to lead, then follow.

What is constant is a commitment to real, intended change that reflects their mutual purposes, and resonates with the values of members of the network. In the beginning, the leader establishes a tone in which people do the right thing because the leader wants or demands it. In the best sort of network,

people are allowed the time, space and resources to work out their issues around change, and around the particular agenda items which have brought the network into existence for a time. Change is frightening, even when it is both wanted and needed, and effective leaders encourage followers to take the time they need to explore the issues they have around change.

Once followers have worked through the inevitable pluses and minuses that accompany change, then they are free of internal constraints and are able to mobilize their own resources, and to join in the process of leadership. In effective networks, this is the time when leaders and followers help each other to determine the nature of the intended changes they seek. Then leaders and followers flesh out changes, and transform an outline of change into an agenda. This is how leaders and followers do leadership in a policy issue network.

The importance of leadership in bringing more people into the system, increasing the number of individuals who feel that they have a stake in the outcome, was described by Jesse Jackson when he said:

Leadership fills those gaps between what's policy and what's possible, those tremendous gaps of the unknown. But most elected officials tend to codify, to operate on the line, not in the gaps. People cease to expect them to come home and connect, have a mass meeting or press conference and address things like why aren't enough houses being built, how come we don't have an adequate system of health care, why we have drugs goin' up and down the street all the time. And ain't nobody gon' bear the cross. So when somebody steps into that gap and addresses it he's gonna find favor with the people. 'Cause the people *live* in that gap. (Frady, 1992, p. 43, emphasis in the original)

William Donald Schaefer, Clarence Blount, Nancy Kopp, Shaila Aery, Kurt Schmoke, James Tschechtelin, Marion Pines, Pete Rawlings, Blair Lee IV, Anthony Natelli, Eric Hallengren, Joan Finucci, and a host of others, members of the board of trustees, faculty members, administrators, community activists, students, and others involved in the strengthening of community college education in America have provided a wonderful opportunity to observe leadership in a cause that can only help move the community of higher education further along the road toward the good society.

Epilogue

On March 31, 1992, the legislators in the Maryland General Assembly passed SB 286, which provided permanent funding for NCCB. The vote was 107 to 16, with 18 abstentions. On April 11, 1992, the legislators passed the state budget, which included the funding provisions for NCCB.

In April 1992, the American Association of Junior and Community Colleges (AACJC) announced at its annual meeting in Phoenix that NCCB was one of eight community colleges selected as a recipient of a 1991 Beacon grant from the Institute for Transcultural Understanding for multicultural activities. In a telephone conversation with a college administrator regarding the grant, the administrator said quietly, "We've come a long way, haven't we?"

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APPENDIX A

Consent Forms

UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO

CONSENT TO ACT AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT (PUBLIC OFFICIAL)

Helen H. Bishop is conducting a research study on the passage of legislation creating the New Community College of Baltimore. I understand that I will be interviewed as a participant in this study.

The data for this study will take place through interviews lasting between one and two hours. My participation is limited to this interview, except that I may be asked follow-up questions by telephone at a later date, when Bishop is writing the case study report. These follow-up questions may be needed to clarify points of information in the report.

My participation in this report should not add any additional risks to me beyond those that I normally incur as a public official of the State of Maryland. I do understand that there is a possibility of negative information /comments about my participation in the policy-making process being made during the course of this study.

My participation in this study is entirely voluntary. I understand I may refuse to participate or withdraw at any time without jeopardy. If I choose to withdraw from the study, I understand that items which include my name and are already in the public record, such as news reports, may be included in the final document.

Since my name is a matter of public record, it may be used in the final case study. I will have the opportunity to review a draft report of this case study prior to its prior publication, and to prepare a statement of rebuttal or clarification on materials in which I am named, which Bishop will include in the final report. Bishop will make the final decision about the information that is included in the manuscript.

Consent Form/Public Official   Page 1 of 2   _____

I understand that Bishop will keep the complete records of this research entirely confidential. However, items already part of the public record, such as news reports, are not included in this guarantee of confidentiality.

Bishop has explained this study to me and answered my questions. If I have any other questions or research-related problems, I can reach Bishop at 619-748-1887. I understand that, since I have not incurred any expenses in connection with my participation, no reimbursement is expected.

There are no other agreements, written or verbal, related to this study beyond that expressed on this consent form. I have received a copy of this consent document.

I, the undersigned, understand the above explanations and, on that basis, I give my consent to my voluntary participation in this research.

_____

Signature of Subject   Date

_____

Location

_____

Signature of Witness   Date

_____

Signature of Researcher   Date

Consent Form/Public Official   Page 1 of 2   _____

UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO

CONSENT TO ACT AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT

Helen H. Bishop is conducting a research study on the passage of legislation creating the New Community College of Baltimore. I understand that I will be interviewed as a participant in this study.

The data for this study will take place through interviews lasting between one and two hours. My participation is limited to this interview, except that I may be asked follow-up questions by telephone at a later date, when Bishop is writing the case study report. These follow-up questions may be needed to clarify points of information in the report.

My participation in this report should not add any additional risks to me beyond those that I normally incur in the course of daily life. I do understand that there is a possibility of negative information /comments about my participation in the policy-making process being made during the course of this study.

My participation in this study is entirely voluntary. I understand I may refuse to participate or withdraw at any time without jeopardy.

I understand that Bishop will keep the complete records of this research entirely confidential. Bishop will make the final decision about the information that is included in the manuscript.

Consent Form   Page 1 of 2   _____

Bishop has explained this study to me and answered my questions. If I have any other questions or research-related problems, I can reach Bishop at 619-748-1887. I understand that, since I have not incurred any expenses in connection with my participation, no reimbursement is expected.

There are no other agreements, written or verbal, related to this study beyond that expressed on this consent form. I have received a copy of this consent document.

I, the undersigned, understand the above explanations and, on that basis, I give my consent to my voluntary participation in this research.

_____

Signature of Subject   Date

_____

Location

_____

Signature of Witness   Date

_____

Signature of Researcher   Date

Consent Form   Page 1 of 2   _____

APPENDIX B

Hypotheses of P. Sabatier (1988)

SABATIER'S HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1. On major controversies within a policy subsystem (i. e. when core beliefs are in dispute), the lineup of allies and opponents will tend to be rather stable over periods of a decade or so. (1988, p. 141)

Hypotheses 2. Actors within an advocacy coalition will show substantial consensus on issues pertaining to the policy core, although less so on secondary aspects. (p. 146)

Hypothesis 3. An actor (or coalition) will give up secondary aspects of his (its) [her] belief system before acknowledging weaknesses in the policy core. (p. 146)

Hypothesis 4. The core (basic attributes) of a governmental program are unlikely to be significantly revised as long as the subsystem advocacy coalition which constituted the program remains in power. (p. 146)

Hypothesis 5. The core (basic attributes) of a governmental action program are unlikely to be changed in the absence of significant perturbations external to the subsystem, i. e. changes in socio-economic conditions, system-wide governing coalitions, or policy outputs from other subsystems. (p. 148)

Hypothesis 6. Policy-oriented learning across belief systems is most likely when there is an intermediate level of informed conflict between the two. This requires: (a) each have the technical resources to engage in such a debate; and that (b) the conflict be between secondary aspects of one belief system and core elements of the other or, alternatively, between important secondary aspects of the two belief systems. (p. 155)

Hypothesis 7. Policy-oriented learning across belief systems is most likely when there exists a forum which is: (a) prestigious enough to force professionals from different coalitions to participate; and (b) dominated by professional norms. (p. 156)

Hypothesis 8. Problems for which accepted quantitative performance indicators exist are more conducive to policy-oriented learning than those in which performance indicators are generally qualitative and quite subjective. (p. 156)

Hypothesis 9. Problems involving natural systems are more conducive to policy-oriented learning than those involving purely social systems because in the former many of the critical variable are *not* themselves active strategists and because controlled experimentation is more feasible. (p. 156)

APPENDIX C

Testimony of Dr. Joseph T. Durham

President, Community College of Baltimore

House Bill 543

February 15, 1990

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
600 E. LOMBARD STREET
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202
PHONE: 396-1763

COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE

TESTIMONY - HOUSE BILL 543

JOSEPH T. DURHAM
PRESIDENT, COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

I thank you for the opportunity to offer testimony on House Bill #543 - The State Assumption of the Community College of Baltimore.

Let me say at the outset, Mr. Chairman, that I am enthusiastically in favor of the bill which is before this Committee. I see this Administration bill as the logical extension of two initiatives that I have previously attempted, each of which was designed to secure additional funding for CCB. The first initiative was the idea I proposed in 1987 at the time of my inaurguration. I proposed the creation of a Metropolitan Community College District which would have united CCB and the three Community Colleges of Baltimore in a single administrative unit.

The second initiative I proposed was to make the Community College of Baltimore a part of the University of Maryland system.

Neither of these proposals went forward. However, the current legislation is based upon sound educational reasoning. The City of Baltimore needs a strong and well-financed community comprehensive college. I stress comprehensive because no other kind of Community College will do. This is not to say that job training and technical offerings are not important. They are; but in the long-run, both for the good of the students and the State's economic base, community colleges must provide analytical and conceptual skills so that workers can adapt to future technological change. Community colleges are embedded in their communities and must respond to community needs for the arts, leisure time activities, and continuing education.

The Administration bill is right for the Community College of Baltimore.

Once a thriving institution, CCB has fallen on hard times and only a drastic and thorough administrative and instructional restructuring will give the metropolis of Baltimore the two-year postsecondary institution it deserves - an institution adequately funded in order that it can have a positive educational and economic impact upon the City.

House Bill #543 will provide three major benefits to the College in the areas of (1) Funding, (2) Facilities, and (3) Instructional Programs.

Funding

A persistent and perennial problem of CCB has been historic underfunding. Because most of the other community colleges are located in more affluent political sub-divisions, Colleges with comparable enrollment receive $3 million more from their local governments. To make the new Community College of Maryland at Baltimore a viable and responsive institution, the State must, over time commit to much more than $6 million which the City of Baltimore contributes.

Facilities

Facilities at the Community College of Baltimore are not what an urban institution should have. Not only has a tremendous backlog of deferred maintenance developed, but a close examination of the institution's history reveals that the College was never equipped and built in accordance with current capital and physical plant standards for a community college. These deficiencies can be rectified through the proposed legislation.

Programs

At present, the Community College of Baltimore offers instruction in over forty degree and certificate programs. All of these programs are not equally productive. Bringing the Community College of Maryland into existence affords the opportunity to review the status of all academic programs and to revamp instructional programs so that the College can achieve its comprehensive, dynamic, and multi-faceted mission.

I stated at the outset, Mr. Chairman, that I am in favor of House Bill 543. That statement was based on my reading of the bill itself. I understand that some amendments have been proposed.

One is an amendment from the State Board for Community Colleges that would make the board (SBCC) the governing board for the new institution until a new board is appointed by the Governor.

I am unalterably opposed to this amendment. First, the SBCC is not a governing board. Secondly, if there should be a delay in the appointment of new board members by the Governor, I would propose that present CCB Board be continued until such time new appointees can be named and confirmed.

There may be other amendments about which I have no knowledge. I would like to be able to comment on these, when appropriate.

In conclusion, let me state that it has been said that if community colleges did not exist, they would have to be invented. We do not have to invent the Community College of Maryland at Baltimore. House Bill 543 (and its Senate Companion Bill 381) proposes the new institution built upon the foundation of the Community College of Baltimore. The new College is an idea whose time has come. I urge the members of this Committee to give the bill a favorable reading.

<div style="text-align:center">

Joseph T. Durham
President

</div>

JTD:dt

APPENDIX D

Mission Statement and Goals

New Community College of Baltimore

MISSION STATEMENT

The mission of the New Community College of Baltimore is to provide high quality career and transfer programs, continuing education courses, and community service programs at low cost to students in response to the educational needs of Baltimore residents and businesses.

The premier function of the College is excellent teaching; through this teaching, the College seeks to nurture the seeds of greatness in each student. In addition, the College aims to be flexible and responsive in meeting the needs for public service in Baltimore. The College strives to be thoroughly in touch and involved with the City and its people.

FUNCTIONAL AND PROGRAM EMPHASIS

Degrees and Programs. The College offers course work leading to an Associate in Arts degree, Certificates and Letters of Recognition. The College is a comprehensive, urban, State funded institution that offers associate degree transfer programs for students wishing to pursue baccalaureate degrees at four-year institutions as well as associate degree and certificate career programs for students seeking employment, skills enhancement and career mobility. The curriculum emphasis is on career programs, built upon a strong foundation in the liberal arts and sciences.

Continuing Education. The College provides a wide variety of noncredit and continuing education courses that meet the economic development, professional, technical, and environmental needs of Baltimore. These include work-related courses for business and industry, apprenticeship training, preparation for licensure and certification, literacy training, and other courses that promote the quality of life.

Support for Economic Development. The College aims to play a major role in the economic development of Baltimore by working in partnership with the Department of Economic and Employment Development and other economic development groups to develop a trained work force that can meet the demands of a changing marketplace. The College supports local efforts to stimulate economic growth and prosperity by developing new technical programs, by training dislocated workers, dependent persons, or workers whose skills have become obsolete, and by offering technical assistance.

Student Services. Because of the diversity of students attending the College, the role of the student services program is emphasized. Student success is intimately related to excellent counseling, financial aid, and other student services. Many of the College's potential students lack information about

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the College's resources; an aggressive and extensive program of student services is essential to serving these students.

Community Service. The College provides a broad array of community service activities, other than formal courses, that support local cultural, civic, economic and educational needs and enrich the lives of Baltimore residents. These community and public service activities include workshops, seminars, lectures, clinics, health fairs and cultural events. Campus recreational and athletic facilities are regularly used by individual citizens and community groups.

Scholarship. Faculty engage in scholarship and classroom research or other creative work that maintains their expertise in their discipline and enhances their professional development. They engage in only limited sponsored research.

ADMISSIONS

The College subscribes to an open door policy and admits any person sixteen years or older with the desire and ability to benefit from postsecondary courses and programs, regardless of sex, race, ethnic origin, handicap, or socio-economic status. The College reaches out to all students, including traditionally under-represented and under-served students, but expects students to meet rigorous standards of progress and achievement. Students are required to have their basic skill levels assessed for success in introductory college-level courses and, if warranted, are placed in developmental courses. Comprehensive support services are provided for students under-prepared for traditional collegiate course work. Upon demonstration of academic ability, students are admitted to specific programs of study.

QUALITY

The College values institutional competence and demonstrable quality. Quality is defined operationally as student success in transfer achievement and career performance, effectiveness and productivity among faculty and staff, and first-rate counseling, physical facilities and learning resources. These variables are measured on a regular basis and the results are used for analysis and institutional improvement.

EDUCATIONAL DELIVERY SYSTEMS

In addition to its campuses at Liberty Heights Avenue and the Inner Harbor, the College delivers instruction in a variety of modes and at times that accommodate the needs of students with home and job responsibilities. It offers telecourses, independent study courses, cooperative education courses, contract learning courses, special seminars, conferences and workshops. It has weekend classes, evening classes, late-

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starting classes, and special winter and summer sessions. For the convenience of students, courses are scheduled at off-campus sites, including employer worksites and City and State agencies.

The College recognizes the importance of prior learning and experience and promotes agreements with other educational institutions to provide ease of movement from one academic level to another.

PROGRAM MIX

The College offers Associate in Arts transfer programs in Business Administration, Arts and Sciences, Computer Science, Engineering and General Studies. An array of associate degree career programs are provided in the business, computer information systems, health services, engineering, natural sciences and public services technologies. Tech prep programs are emphasized in partnership with Baltimore City Public Schools, and a career ladder concept is incorporated in occupational programs.

The College is the only community college in the State that offers Biotechnology, a program conducted in a partnership with the Center of Marine Biotechnology of the University of Maryland. The College is one of two community colleges in the State to offer Dental Hygiene. Noncredit continuing education courses are concentrated in basic skills, literacy, business and management, English as a Second Language, senior citizen courses, and apprenticeship.

CONSTITUENCIES TO BE SERVED

The primary groups served by the College are high school graduates, adults and employers. For high school graduates, the College offers programs for the academically gifted and talented, as well as the academically under-prepared. For adults, the College reaches out to students who might not otherwise have an opportunity to attend college, and provides programs and support services for displaced homemakers, senior citizens, dislocated workers, dependent persons, and the handicapped. The large employment base of Baltimore includes business and industry, City and State government, and nonprofit organizations, such as hospitals. Employers are an important constituency to be served by the College in support of critical needs for education and training for new and existing workers.

QUALITY ACTION AND ASSESSMENT PLAN

<u>GOAL 1</u>

Goal 1 relates to student success, as measured by the proportion of new full-time freshmen who have graduated from the College, transferred, or are still enrolled after four years. New CCB currently ranks 17th among the 17 Maryland community colleges on this variable, with a student success rate of 25 percent, compared to a State average of 45 percent. It is the goal of the College to rank in the top third of the Maryland community colleges on this variable.

Assessment Plan. Student success as measured by the Maryland Higher Education Commission is based on graduation, transfer, and retention rates; therefore, the institution will use a series of measures to monitor progress in achieving this goal. Furthermore, in order to contribute to effective decision-making and the appropriate allocation of the institution's limited resources, the measures will seek to provide means for identifying specific programs and services whose enhancement will contribute to increasing student success.

The measures will include the following:

1. Identify a set of valid and reliable measures of student learning outcomes for general education.

    The College is committed to ensuring that New CCB students develop competencies in analytical and critical thinking, synthesis, appreciation of the arts, knowledge of social and behavioral science, and other competencies appropriate to a college education in the 1990s. The College will review its general education requirements to ensure that course completion of these requirements meets these competencies. The College recognizes the need to take measures independent of course grades and will identify appropriate supplementary measures to ensure that those competencies are being achieved by New CCB students completing the general education requirements. The College will establish a task force representing faculty and administrators of the academic divisions in order to identify a common set of competencies, review the courses specified for general education requirements, and select test instrument(s) that best measure the specified competencies expected of all New CCB graduates, whether in career or transfer programs.

2. Percent of first-time full-time freshman who graduated, transferred, or were still enrolled four years later.

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3. Fall-to-Spring and Fall-to-Fall retention of full-time entrants. These retention rates will be collected by program, by sex, by ethnic background, and by remediation status.

These measures will help New CCB to quickly identify programs and services needed by specific subsets of the student population. Most attrition tends to occur within one year of entry; the effectiveness of new or enhanced orientation programs, tutoring, advising, remedial support, and so forth can be assessed through measuring retention of full-time entrants within a year of entry. Other measures can be developed in relationship to the specific activities of each program.

4. Trends in Cumulative GPA for students enrolled each Fall.

These data will be collected by program for students who attempted less than 24 credits and for students who have attempted at least 24 credits. (The development of data based on a threshold of 24 credits attempted will facilitate further analysis for students who attempted the equivalent of less than two semesters full-time and for those who attempted the equivalent of two or more semesters full-time.)

MHEC recommends that GPAs be included among the measures of student outcomes. New CCB will monitor cumulative GPAs for the above student categories in order to help identify programs where additional academic support is needed.

5. Course passing rates will be monitored every semester in order to identify courses whose passing rates suggest the need for further study in terms of prerequisites, revision of course syllabi, modification of instructional methodology, and/or the targeting of tutoring and other forms of academic support.

As the smallest, most discrete unit for measuring learning outcomes, course grades can be an important source in analyzing and improving the instructional program. Passing rates, in themselves, do not suffice in uncovering problems in the delivery of instruction; but they can serve as indicators for areas requiring further investigation. Low passing rates might be attributable to factors such as appropriate prerequisites, excessive course objectives, inadequate syllabi, inappropriate teaching methodology, and the absence of needed tutoring and support. Once the

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specific problems have been identified, the faculty can take appropriate corrective action.

6. Testing, Placement, and First-Semester Passing Rates in Remedial Courses for full-time Fall entrants.

These measures pertain to the institution's instructional program for under-prepared students. They were key factors in the study of the remedial program ("Abell Report"), which was cited by MHEC in its recommendations regarding the creation of New CCB.

7. Progress in Implementing Recommendations Made in the 1989 "Abell Report."

The "Abell Report" was an in-depth study of the institution's remedial program. It involved College faculty and staff, as well as consultants from other institutions. Recommendations made in this report are directly related to pursuit of the above goal.

8. Progress in Implementing Recommendations Made in 1990 Middle States Visiting Team Report.

Because of the transition of the institution from the Community College of Baltimore to the New Community College of Baltimore, at Middle States' request, the College prepared a Transition Report that was followed by a visit to the College in September 1990 by an assessment team. In its report, the team made several recommendations that relate to this goal.

GOAL 2

Goal 2 relates to student transfer goal achievement, as measured by (1) the proportion of graduates who transfer to a four-year college when that was their goal, and by (2) the proportion of transfer students who are in good academic standing at the transfer institution. The latter measurement will be taken in relation to the University of Baltimore, Coppin, Morgan, Towson, and UMBC, the four-year institutions to which the greatest proportion of the College's students transfer. It is the goal of the College to rank within the top third of the Maryland community colleges on this variable.

Assessment Plan. This goal reflects the commitment of New CCB to providing good preparation to those students who wish to transfer to senior institutions. While the goal includes two specific measures, this plan provides for additional measures relating to completion of general education requirements, as recommended by MHEC.

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The measures will include the following:

1. The percent of graduates who transfer to a four-year institution when that was their goal.

   This measure is specified in the Goal. These data are based on biennial graduate surveys conducted by all Maryland community colleges.

2. The percent of students who are in good academic standing at the transfer institution, particularly at the University of Baltimore, Coppin, Morgan, Towson, and UMBC.

   This measure is specified by the goal. These data are forwarded periodically by senior institutions; New CCB will work with MHEC to seek additional data disaggregated in such a way as to enable New CCB to identify specific programs where improvement in preparation for transfer needs to be made.

3. The proportion of Fall entrants whose transfer goal is appropriate to the curriculum in which they have enrolled.

   Programs designed for career preparation, rather than for transfer preparation, are not appropriate choices for students preparing for transfer. This measure enables the institution to monitor the extent to which students are making informed decisions regarding their choice of curriculum, and to take corrective action where appropriate.

4. The percent of graduates who report that their experience at New CCB enhanced their achievement of general education outcomes.

   This measure reports how New CCB graduates evaluate their improvement in specific elements of general education. Such areas include writing skills; appreciation of art, music, or literature; mathematics; understanding of science and technology; attentiveness to world events; and so forth.

GOAL 3

Goal 3 relates to full-time employment in the field of training among graduates of career programs, and positive evaluations of graduates from career programs by their employers. With an employment rate among the respondents of 69 percent, the College currently ranks seventh among the Maryland community colleges in job placement. It is the goal of the College to rank

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ir the top third of the Maryland community colleges on this variable.

Assessment Plan. A broad range of measures will be used to contribute to the enhancement of career preparation. In addition to those mentioned above, the College will report on annual program accreditations, performance on licensing examinations, and other methods appropriate to employment preparation.

The specific measures will be:

1. The percent of graduates of career programs who were employed full-time in their field of training one year later.

    This measure is stipulated in the goal. It is a key indicator of the success or failure of the institution's career programs.

2. The percent of graduates of career programs who, though not employed full-time in their field of training transferred to a senior institution.

    Because many graduates had multiple goals, including both employment and transfer outcomes, this measure is needed in order to allow for career program graduates who were able to transfer, rather than work full-time.

3. For employers of career program graduates, the percent who rated the program as "Very Good" or "Good."

    This measure is specified in the goal. Data are gathered biennially from employers of career program graduates who gave permission for follow-up with their employers.

4. Summaries of annual program evaluations by accrediting agencies.

    This measure is recommended by MHEC. It provides for independent appraisals of selected programs as they come up for review by their accrediting bodies.

5. Percent of graduates of selected programs who pass licensing examinations.

    Recommended by MHEC, this measure provides objective data for evaluating the quality of preparation for graduates in occupational areas requiring licensing or certification tests.

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6. Percent of graduates rating their preparation for employment at New CCB as "Very Good" or "Good."

   This measure is based on the graduate follow-up surveys. It provides for the graduates' own evaluations of their preparation for employment.

GOAL 4

Goal 4 relates to responsiveness to the needs of business, industry, government, labor, and Baltimore residents for continuing education. This variable will be measured by (1) the number and enrollment of courses taught for such groups and (2) the ratings by those groups about the effectiveness of such training and education.

Assessment Plan. The specific measures will be:

1. The annual number and enrollment in Adult Basic Education, GED Preparation, English as a Second Language, Seniors Outreach, Job Training, Business and Industry, and other areas.

   This measure is specified in the goal. While it provides no information, per se, as to the quality of continuing education offerings, it does provide a measure of the extent of the institution's service in noncredit offerings.

2. Periodic ratings by students and employers served through contract training of the quality of instruction, course content, and overall effectiveness.

   These data will be obtained by periodic surveys for each major area. Specific content of each survey will be based upon the course objectives.

GOAL 5

Goal 5 relates to effective and productive faculty and staff. The quality of the faculty and staff will be maintained by an annual performance evaluation system, which will include student evaluations.

Assessment Plan. The specific measures will be:

1. Faculty evaluations, using a combination of student evaluations, peer evaluations, and evaluations by Deans. Student evaluations of instruction will be conducted every semester.

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2. Administrator evaluations, using a combination of evaluations by faculty and by clientele served through each office.

3. Classified Staff evaluations, using the Probation and Annual Efficiency Rating Report required by the State of Maryland Department of Personnel.

4. Other evaluations as deemed necessary by administrators, faculty, and staff.

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APPENDIX E

Photographs and News Clippings

New Community College of Baltimore

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Reorganization of Colleges in Maryland Pleases Both Legislators and Governor

Agreement followed lengthy debate that nearly thwarted reforms

By SCOTT JASCHIK

Gov. William Donald Schaefer of Maryland is known for getting what he wants. So when Mr. Schaefer, who was elected in 1986, told legislators this year that he was absolutely committed to a centralized governing board for the state's four-year colleges and universities, most lawmakers said they had little choice but to acquiesce.

But those same legislators—most of whom, like the Governor, are Democrats—wanted a higher-education system that would be much more decentralized than the model the Governor envisioned,

and many of them thought that the primary problem for Maryland's public colleges was inadequate financing, not poor structure.

So they went about creating a higher-education system that would ostensibly meet the Governor's demands for centralization, while preserving as much authority as possible for the individual campuses. They also provided a near guarantee of increased public support for the colleges in future years.

They say the process of creating the system, which officially started last month, demonstrates the political appeal of changing higher-education governance. But, they quickly add, the Maryland experience shows that changes in the way a state finances its colleges and the importance with which legislators regard higher education can be much more important than the way colleges are governed.

"All the Governor wanted was one person who could report to him on higher education, so we gave it to him," says a state senator who asked not to be identified.

"He doesn't understand that higher education doesn't work that way," he adds, "but giving it to him let us accomplish everything else."

As for the Governor, he has praised the reorganization, which did create one governing board for 11 of the 13 four-year colleges and universities.

"The final product is not what any individual would have written," says Laslo V. Boyd, Governor Schaefer's education adviser, "but it turned out very well."

Gov. William Donald Schaefer
proposed a sweeping reform
of the state's governance system
to make colleges more accountable.

Howard P. Rawlings, member of House of Delegates, served as the spokesman on higher education for the powerful legislative black caucus.
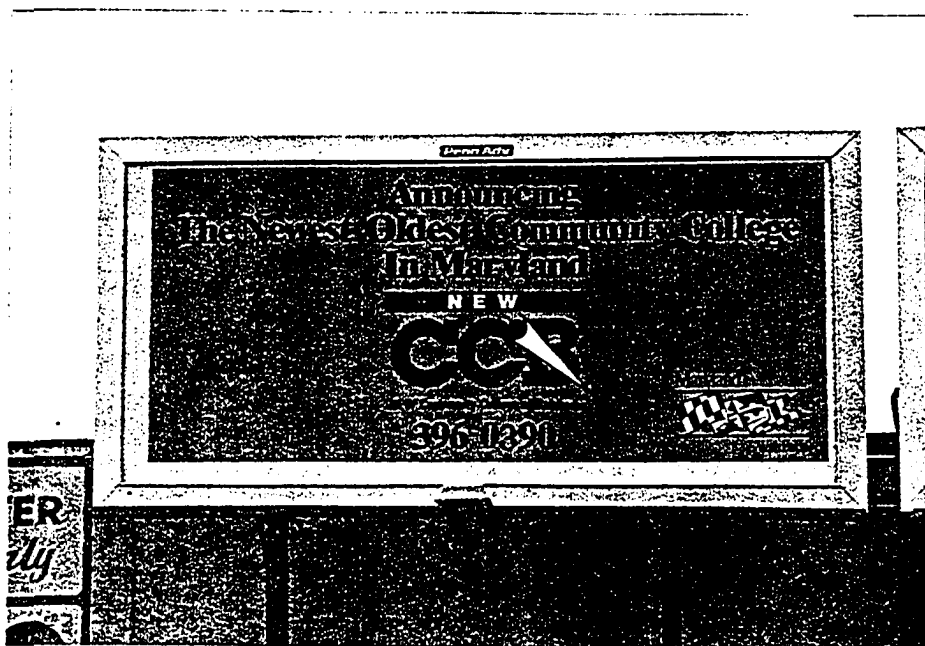
Dr. Shaila R. Aery, Secretary of Higher Education

A message to students at the New Community College of Baltimore from Shaila R. Aery, Secretary of Higher Education:

In January, Governor William Donald Schaefer proposed a dramatic change at the Community College of Baltimore—he urged the General Assembly to pass legislation creating a new community college for the Baltimore community and to provide state funds for its operation. The legislature passed the bill in April, creating the New Community College of Baltimore.

As the transition to the New Community College of Baltimore gets underway, it is important for you to know that your studies will not be disrupted. A complete schedule of classes is planned for both the Summer and Fall semesters. While some changes can be expected in program offerings in the future, those changes should not affect students currently enrolled at the college.

Starting on July 1, 1990, a new Board of Trustees will begin the work of building the New College. The board will have plenty of help. The business community has thrown its support behind the New College. The Maryland Higher Education Commission has the responsibility for assisting in the transition, as well as for developing a long-range plan for the New College. And the state is committed to a level of financial support that will allow us to improve the college in many ways.

It is our goal to increase state funding at the New College to a level that will ensure a sound and effective education for every student. At the same time, we intend to hold tuition costs down; there will be no tuition increase at the New Community College of Baltimore in the foreseeable future.

On behalf of the Maryland Higher Education Commission, I am looking forward to working with the faculty, staff and students of the New Community College of Baltimore to develop the tremendous potential that exists at the college and in the community which supports and depends on the institution.

Community College of Baltimore, Summer 1990

About CCB
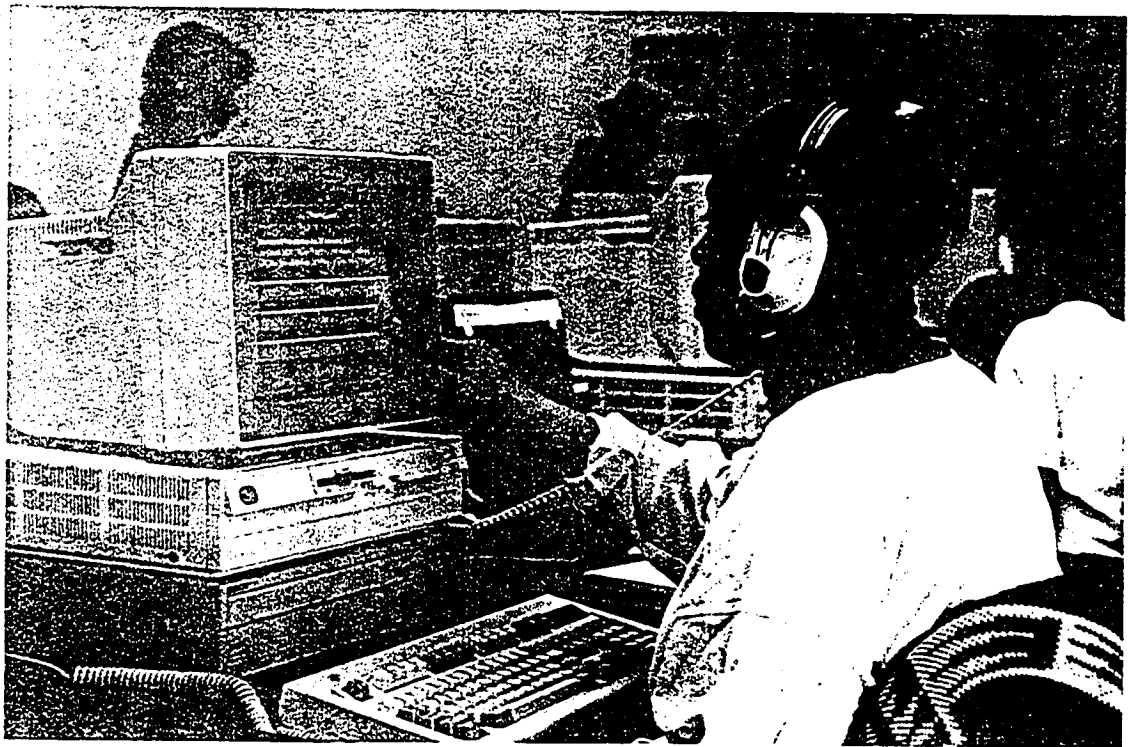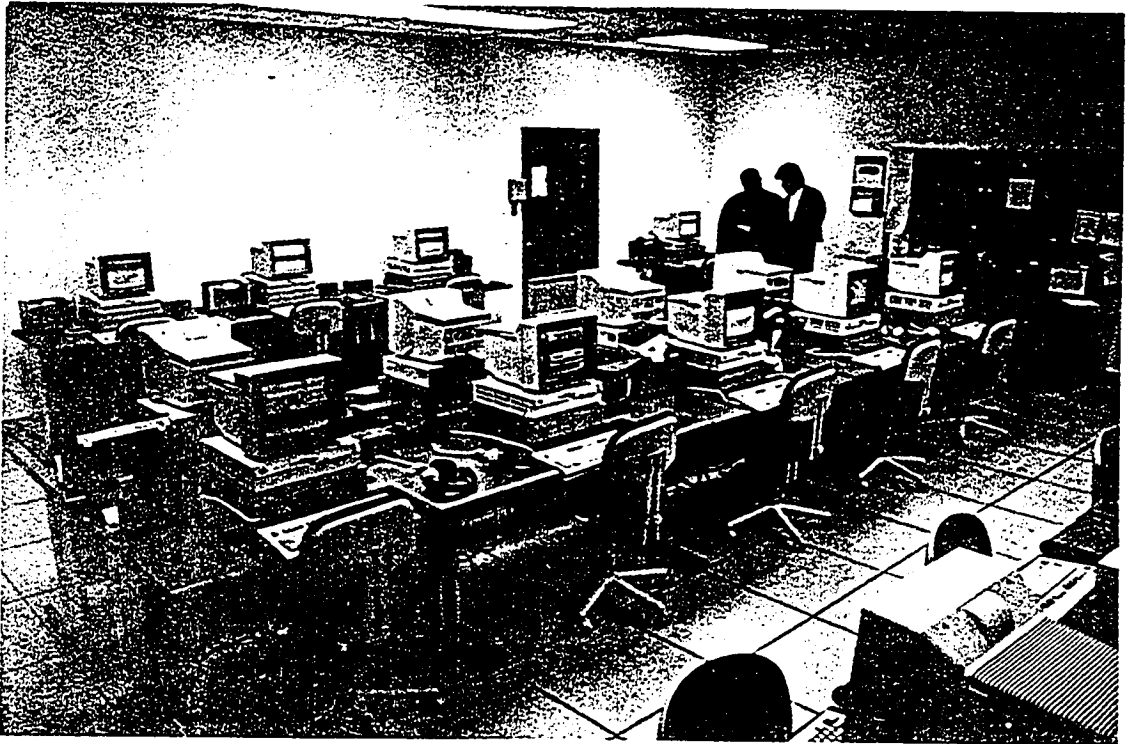
Announcing The Newest Oldest Community College In Maryland

1990 FALL CLASSES

- ACCOUNTING
- ARTS & SCIENCES
- BUSINESS
- BIOTECHNOLOGY
- COMPUTER SCIENCE
- DENTAL HYGIENE
- ELECTRONICS TECHNOLOGY
- NURSING
- OFFICE ADMINISTRATION
- TELECOMMUNICATIONS
- AND MUCH MORE...
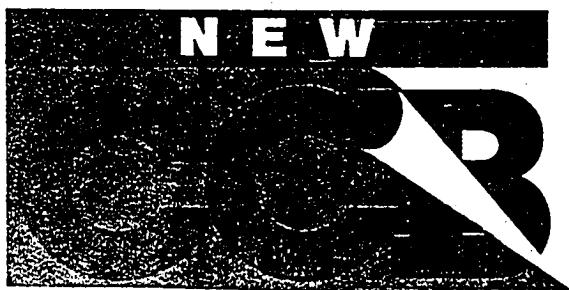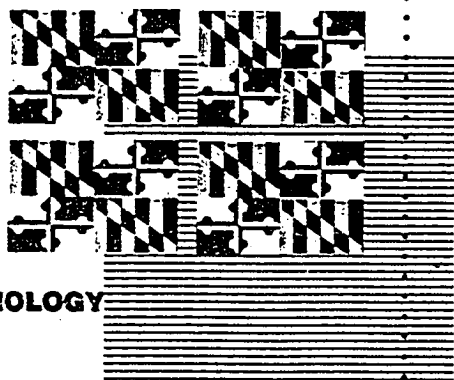
NEW

THE SUN

State House Breakthrough

General Assembly leaders got back on track yesterday, resolving stubborn controversies that had led to bitter bickering and gridlock. Now lawmakers should have no trouble finishing their main business before Monday night's deadline.

House Speaker R. Clayton Mitchell finally relented on the shape of a bailout plan for the Peabody Institute. This broke a budgetary deadlock that had dragged on far too long, with both Senate and House leaders stubbornly refusing to agree to a compromise on outstanding issues.

The Peabody solution marks a step toward solving the music school's chronic financial woes. Now the pressure will be on Peabody supporters to come up with $15 million in donations to qualify for state endowment aid. The school also must demonstrate it can reduce operating expenses and improve its cost-efficiency as it seeks the state's full $15 million pledge in the years ahead.

Budget conferees also resolved differences over the University of Maryland's bloated central administration, halving the disputed amount. While this bureaucracy ballooned rapidly under former Chancellor John Toll, lawmakers ought to give the new chancellor, Donald Langenberg, a chance to revamp UM's bureaucracy. The legislature should not tinker with UM mangement decisions.

Meanwhile, disputes over creating a convention center authority were resolved. This will pave the way for a vote next session to expand the Balti-

more Convention Center, which is essential if Maryland is to retain its share of this region's lucrative convention business.

The Schmoke administration received good news on another front, too, when differences over a state takeover of the Community College of Baltimore were settled. This should breath life into that moribund institution, which badly needs an infusion of money and management.

And finally, a Senate panel wisely killed an ill-conceived measure backed by Baltimore County senators and delegates to wipe out that county's $6 million beverage container tax. It was pure grandstanding by these lawmakers, who acted irresponsibly and should be held accountable by voters this fall for their sorry performance.

In two areas, lawmakers fell short yesterday. First, the House approved a flawed measure wiping out the 20-year statute of limitations for suits against asbestos manufacturers. It is a prime candidate for a gubernatorial veto.

On a second bill, House leaders breathed new life into a dangerous constitutional amendment that would give lawmakers too much power over certain construction dollars. It would permit the Assembly to shift pay-as-you-go construction money from project to project, thus creating a new pork-barrel device for senators and delegates. The bill deserves rejection, if not by legislators this weekend, then by the voters this fall.
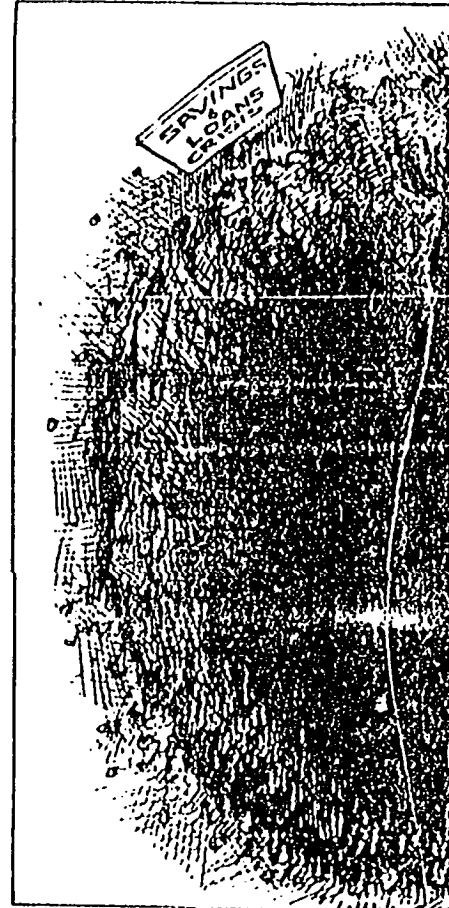
This banner flew proudly at a public ceremony inaugurating the New Community College of Baltimore

URBAN
COMMUNITY COLLEGES
REPORT

American Association of Community and Junior Colleges

VOL. 2, ISSUE 3

MARCH 1991

TENURE, BARGAINING OUT
Almost Everything Is Brand New At C.C. Baltimore

As one official at the New Community College of Baltimore tells it, the change came in a bat of an eyelash.

"At 11:59 p.m. on June 30 of last year we were the Community College of Baltimore. At the stroke of midnight July 1 the college disappeared from the face of the earth. We became a brand new institution."

All contracts had to be rewritten, faculty tenure disappeared, collective bargaining was not provided in the law. We had a new president, a new board of trustees and a new name.

"And believe me, it had some people very uneasy."

That is one person's view of the dramatic chain of events that has converted the struggling, financially strapped city-run community college into the New Community College of Baltimore, a fresh and vibrant institution that is already raising eyebrows in this rejuvenating city on Chesapeake Bay.

The New Community College of Baltimore is now a creature of and funded by the state of Maryland, headed by a highly respected interim president and a new board of trustees appointed by the governor. In less than a year the NewCCB has:

o Defined for itself new standards of quality.

o Created new measures of performance by which all faculty and administrators have been evaluated and re-hired.

o Set for itself new goals for student achievement and excellence.

o And, according to the state statute that created it, will be reevaluated by the state in 1992 to determine whether it is indeed a

NO STRANGER TO CONTROVERSY

Maryland's First Secretary of Higher Education Tackles Tough Issues, Using Political Dexterity to Achieve Goals

By GOLDIE BLUMENSTYK

ANNAPOLIS, MD.

Nobody told Shaila R. Aery that it could be a good idea to assemble college leaders to offer their expertise to lawmakers who will re-examine the state's tax system this summer.

Nobody had to.

Even though the tax study was not designed to produce more money for higher education, Ms. Aery, Maryland's first Secretary of Higher Education, realized that changes in tax policy could well generate more money for all state operations. And if legislators, and especially Gov. William Donald Schaefer, remembered at budget time that college officials had been influential players in developing and selling a tax plan, so much the better.

That Ms. Aery thought to create the group is no surprise to the many in Maryland political and college circles who have come to appreciate the political dexterity of their state's savvy and plain-spoken higher-education leader.

'She's Always Ahead of the Curve'

"That's the thing that she does so well. She's always ahead of the curve," says J. Henry Butta, the chairman of the nine-member Maryland Commission on Higher Education, to whom the Secretary reports. "That's how you keep your oar in."

Indeed, Ms. Aery has already shown she can negotiate the

Shaila R. Aery: "You know teacher education is too important to leave to college deans."

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New CCB Teaches Itself Some Brand-New Tricks

The Sun 11/26

The New Community College of Baltimore has achieved a remarkable institutional feat. It has transformed itself.

Only two years ago the old CCB ranked as the worst community college in the state. It sat at the bottom on every measure by which Maryland evaluates its 17 two-year campuses.

The school suffered under poor management and uninspired leadership. The administration couldn't remove bad teachers or eliminate obsolete courses because of rigid restrictions in its collective bargaining agreement. Administrators and union officials endlessly feuded with each other, even over minor issues. The school expected little from either its students or its teachers. The institutional culture accepted failure and condoned incompetence.

Dispirited students went elsewhere or altogether abandoned their aspirations for more education. Between 1979 and 1989, enrollments dropped from 9,000 to 4,500 while the state-wide community college population went up by 25 percent.

Meanwhile, the business community had lost all confidence in the old CCB and ignored it as a irrelevant to the region's growing needs for a technologically trained work force. In 1988, SRI International evaluated higher education in Baltimore and virtually recommended that the Greater Baltimore Committee give up on the school and begin to develop alternatives.

Then in 1989, Gov. William Donald Schaefer, Mayor Kurt L. Schmoke and the General Assembly agreed to a state takeover. The state secretary of higher education, Shaila R. Aery, shrewdly structured the deal to make dramatic change possible.

First, the takeover gave the governor the power to put in new leadership. He appointed a new and energetic board and a new interim president, James M. Tschechtelin, who had headed the state board for community colleges.

Second, under state law the takeover automatically voided the collective bargaining agreement and eliminated the union's power to block innovation. Third, the authorizing legislation made the New CCB a successor institution, rather than a simple reincarnation of the old

school. The switch eliminated faculty tenure.

Finally, the new structure replaced guaranteed lifetime job security with a system of rolling three-year teacher contracts. Under this program the school evaluates faculty members annually. A satisfactory rating extends a teacher's contract for an additional year. An unsatisfactory rating results in probation. Incompetent teachers are fired.

This new system has injected into CCB's culture a revolutionary educational concept — accountability. President Tschechtelin has enforced it rigorously. He has already terminated seven of the school's 96 teachers, as well as 14 administrators and three other employees.

Another new concept drives the evaluation process — student success. The school measures teacher performance by looking at student progress. Clear new goals govern. The New CCB expects students to complete its programs and to build the educational foundations they will need for careers in a technologi-

cal economy. It expects them to graduate and to find good jobs. It expects its best students to transfer to four-year academic institutions.

With the new board's full support, President Tschechtelin has relentlessly pushed those high expectations and demanding standards onto the institution. At first the faculty responded hostilely to the loss of tenure, the poor evaluations and the dismissals. But the teachers have now accepted the new order with increasing enthusiasm.

Indeed, the school radiates a new vision and a new spirit. Project Success teaches entering students the skills and work habits they'll need to succeed in their classes. The administration has eliminated deadening courses in obsolete subjects. It has enhanced programs in promising careers such as nursing, electronics, computer information systems and legal assistants. The state has rewarded it with a new $250,000 math lab.

A "TransCentury Plan" will guide the institution toward the year

2000. A new Life Sciences Institute will prepare students for careers as technicians in health care, biotechnology and related fields. The institute forms a part of the New CCB's strategy to develop a pipeline into the Baltimore City public schools. Its "Tech Prep" program will encourage 11th- and 12th-grade students to plan for technical career training at CCB by taking the prerequisite courses in high school. In a new partnership with the city, the school has enrolled 67 Project Independence welfare-to-work students.

President Tschechtelin has also reached out to the business community. For example, he has persuaded U.S. Fidelity & Guaranty Corp. to hire the New CCB to run an in-house continuing education program for its employees. Other programs are in the works. The Greater Baltimore Committee is thrilled.

Students have also caught the new spirit. Enrollment jumped 7 percent to 5,198 this fall. Full-time students went up by 34 percent and

new students by 42 percent — the largest such increases in any state college or university this year.

Remarkably, the New CCB has accomplished all of this without any new money. In 1990, the state promised an additional $2 million as a part of the takeover. But instead the budget crisis has actually cut the school's funding by $1.7 million.

The school has never received adequate financial support. State-supported community colleges in the surrounding counties receive $8 million more — 33 percent more per student. CCB's faculty salaries and tuitions are both the lowest in the state.

The New CCB still has a long way to go. But it has left behind the bitter stalemates of the past. Together the board, the administration and the faculty have built a new school with a new culture and a bright, shining future. Their achievement offers hope to any other failed educational enterprise willing to summon the courage and take the dramatic steps necessary to keep ahead.

APPENDIX F

Senate Bill 381

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By: The President (Administration)

A BILL ENTITLED

AN ACT concerning   1

Community College of Maryland at Baltimore – State Assumption   2

FOR the purpose of establishing the Community College of Maryland at Baltimore as a   3

State educational institution; establishing a board of trustees to govern the   4

college; defining the composition, powers, and duties of the board of trustees;   5

requiring the board of trustees to impose nonresident student fees in certain   6

circumstances; defining the duties of the president of the college; requiring the   7

preparation and submission of budgets for the college; describing provisions of the   8

Education Article which shall not be applicable to the college; authorizing the   9

hiring of former employees of the Community College of Baltimore; directing the   10

classification of positions at the college by the Department of Personnel;   11

authorizing the board of trustees to set salaries and tenure for the faculty and   12

officers of the college; excluding from the classified service faculty and officers of   13

the community college and certain registrars and librarians; directing the transfer   14

of the assets, property, rights, and credits of the Community College of Baltimore   15

to the board of trustees of the college; authorizing the board of trustees to accept   16

certain liabilities and assume certain contracts of the Community College of   17

Baltimore; confirming that the Community College of Maryland at Baltimore is   18

EXPLANATION: CAPITALS INDICATE MATTER ADDED TO EXISTING LAW.
[Brackets] indicate matter deleted from existing law.

not liable for the contracts, obligations, or debts of the Community College of 19

Baltimore unless expressly assumed by the board of trustees of the Community 20

College of Maryland at Baltimore; authorizing the board of trustees to assume 21

certain procurement contracts entered into by the Community College of 22

Baltimore regardless of whether the contracts conform to the requirements of 23

State procurement laws and regulations; directing that procurement by the college 24

shall otherwise be in accordance with State procurement laws and regulations; 25

authorizing the Secretary of Personnel to permit former employees of the 26

Community College of Baltimore hired by the Community College of Maryland at 27

Baltimore pursuant to this Act to remain temporarily enrolled in the Baltimore 28

City employee benefits program with the City's costs of such continuation to be 29

borne by the State; expressing the legislative intent that the Community College of 30

Maryland at Baltimore be an operational State educational institution by a certain 31

date; extending to the college all the powers and duties conferred upon 32

educational institutions by Title 19 of the Education Article regarding auxiliary 33

facilities; establishing the effective date for this Act; and generally relating to the 34

establishment, structure, funding, regulation, and operation of the Community 35

College of Maryland at Baltimore. 36

BY repealing 37

Article – Education 38

Section 16–502 39

Annotated Code of Maryland 40

(1989 Replacement Volume and 1989 Supplement) 41

BY renumbering 42

Article – Education 43

Section 16–503, 16–504, 16–505, 16–506, 16–507, 16–508, 16–509, 16–510, and   44

    16–510.1, respectively   45

to be Section 16–502 through 16–510, respectively   46

Annotated Code of Maryland   47

(1989 Replacement Volume and 1989 Supplement)   48

BY repealing and reenacting, with amendments,   49

    Article – Education   50

    Section 10–101(d), 11–105(g)(1), 16–104(f)(1), 19–101(e), (k), and (m), and   51

      19–102(c)(1)   52

    Annotated Code of Maryland   53

    (1989 Replacement Volume and 1989 Supplement)   54

BY adding to   55

    Article – Education   56

    Section 16–601 through 16–608, inclusive, to be under the new subtitle "Subtitle   57

      6. Community College of Maryland at Baltimore"   58

    Annotated Code of Maryland   59

    (1989 Replacement Volume and 1989 Supplement)   60

BY repealing and reenacting, with amendments,   61

    Article 64A – Merit System   62

    Section 3   63

    Annotated Code of Maryland   64

    (1988 Replacement Volume and 1989 Supplement)   65

SECTION 1. BE IT ENACTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF   66

MARYLAND, That Section(s) 16–502 of Article – Education of the Annotated Code of 67
Maryland be repealed. 68

SECTION 2. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That Section(s) 16–503, 69
16–504, 16–505, 16–506, 16–507, 16–508, 16–509, 16–510, and 16–510.1, respectively, of 70
Article – Education of the Annotated Code of Maryland be renumbered to be 71
Section(s) 16–502 through 16–510, respectively. 72

SECTION 3. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That the Laws of Maryland 73
read as follows: 74

Article – Education 75

10–101. 76

(d) "Governing board" means: 77

    (1) The Board of Regents of the University of Maryland System; 78

    (2) The Board of Regents of Morgan State University; [and] 79

    (3) The Board of Trustees of St. Mary's College of Maryland; AND 80

    (4) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE 81
OF MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE. 82

11–105. 83

(g) (1) On or before a date set by the Commission, each of the following 84
governing boards and agencies shall submit to the Commission its annual operating 85
budget requests and proposals for capital projects, by constituent institutions for the 86
next fiscal year: 87

    (i) The Board of Regents of the University of Maryland System; 88

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(ii)   The Board of Regents of Morgan State University;   89

(iii)   The Board of Trustees of St. Mary's College of Maryland;   90

(iv)   The State Board for Community Colleges;   91

(v)   The Maryland Higher Education Loan Corporation; [and]   92

(vi)   The State Advisory Council for Title I of the Higher Education   93
Act of 1965; AND   94

(VII) THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF MARYLAND AT   95
BALTIMORE.   96

16–104.   97

(f)   (1)   In this subsection, "community college" includes the Carroll County   98
branch campus of the Catonsville Community College and the Calvert County and St.   99
Mary's County branch campuses of Charles County Community College established   100
under the authority granted by § 16–203 of this title, AND DOES NOT INCLUDE   101
THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE.   102

SUBTITLE 6. COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE   103

16–601.   104

(A) THERE IS A COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF MARYLAND AT   105
BALTIMORE LOCATED IN BALTIMORE CITY, MARYLAND, WHICH SHALL,   106
WITH OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, PROVIDE THE SERVICES   107
AND PROGRAMS DESCRIBED IN § 10–211 OF THIS ARTICLE.   108

(B) THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE IS   109
AN INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND.   110

16-602.   111

(A) THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF   112
MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE IS VESTED IN THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF   113
THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE.   114

(B)   THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES CONSISTS OF 9 MEMBERS APPOINTED   115
BY THE GOVERNOR WITH THE ADVICE AND CONSENT OF THE SENATE.   116
OF THE MEMBERS: 117

(1)   EACH SHALL BE A RESIDENT OF THE STATE; AND   118

(2)   5 SHALL BE RESIDENTS OF BALTIMORE CITY AND 4 SHALL   119
BE RESIDENTS OF OTHER COUNTIES OF THE STATE.   120

(3) _ F OF THE MEMBERS SHALL BE A REGULARLY ENROLLED   121
STUDENT IN GOOD STANDING AT THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF   122
MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE.   123

(C) (1)   THE STUDENT MEMBER SHALL HAVE A TERM OF 1 YEAR   124
BEGINNING JUNE 1 AND ENDING ON MAY 30.   125

(2)   EXCEPT FOR THE STUDENT MEMBER, THE TERM IS 6   126
YEARS FROM JUNE 1 OF THE YEAR THE APPOINTMENT IS MADE AND   127
UNTIL A SUCCESSOR IS APPOINTED AND QUALIFIES. THE TERMS OF THE 128
MEMBERS ARE STAGGERED, AS REQUIRED BY THE TERMS PROVIDED   129
FOR MEMBERS OF THE BOARD ON JANUARY 1, 1990.   130

(3) A MEMBER APPOINTED TO FILL A VACANCY IN AN   131
UNEXPIRED TERM SERVES ONLY FOR THE REMAINDER OF THAT TERM   132
AND UNTIL A SUCCESSOR IS APPOINTED AND QUALIFIES.   133

(D) EACH MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES: 134

(1) SERVES WITHOUT COMPENSATION; AND   135

(2) IS ENTITLED TO REIMBURSEMENT FOR EXPENSES IN   136
ACCORDANCE WITH THE STANDARD STATE TRAVEL REGULATIONS.   137

(E) (1) THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES SHALL   138
BE APPOINTED ANNUALLY BY THE GOVERNOR.   139

(2) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MAY ELECT ANY OTHER   140
OFFICERS IT REQUIRES.   141

(F) (1) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES SHALL MEET REGULARLY AT   142
SUCH TIMES AND PLACES AS IT DETERMINES.   143

(2) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MAY ADOPT RULES FOR THE   144
CONDUCT OF ITS MEETINGS AND THE TRANSACTION OF BUSINESS.   145

(G) A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MAY NOT SERVE   146
MORE THAN 2 CONSECUTIVE TERMS.   147

(H) A MAJORITY OF THE VOTING MEMBERS SHALL CONSTITUTE A   148
QUORUM FOR THE TRANSACTION OF BUSINESS.   149

16–603.   150

(A) IN ADDITION TO THE OTHER POWERS GRANTED AND DUTIES   151
IMPOSED BY THIS TITLE, AND SUBJECT TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE   152
MARYLAND HIGHER EDUCATION COMMISSION AND THE STATE BOARD   153
FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES, THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES HAS THE   154
POWERS AND DUTIES SET FORTH IN THIS SECTION.   155

(B) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES SHALL EXERCISE GENERAL   156

CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE AND ALL 157

OF ITS PROPERTY AND ASSETS. 158

(C) (1) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES SHALL ADOPT REASONABLE 159
RULES, REGULATIONS, AND BYLAWS TO CARRY OUT THE PROVISIONS 160
OF THIS SUBTITLE AND §§ 10-204 AND 10-211 OF THIS ARTICLE. 161

(2) EXCEPT WITH RESPECT TO CLASSIFIED EMPLOYEE 162
GRIEVANCE APPEALS, TITLE 10, SUBTITLES 1 AND 2 OF THE STATE 163
GOVERNMENT ARTICLE ("ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE ACT") DOES 164
NOT APPLY TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES. 165

(D) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MAY RECEIVE, PURCHASE, LEASE, 166
CONDEMN, OR OTHERWISE ACQUIRE PROPERTY IT CONSIDERS 167
NECESSARY OR USEFUL FOR THE OPERATION OF THE COMMUNITY 168
COLLEGE. 169

(E) (1) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MAY SELL, LEASE, ENCUMBER, 170
OR OTHERWISE DISPOSE OF COMMUNITY COLLEGE ASSETS OR 171
PROPERTY. 172

(2) ALL PROCEEDS AND INCOME FROM ANY SALE, LEASE, 173
DISPOSITION, ENCUMBRANCE, OR DEVELOPMENT OF ANY COMMUNITY 174
COLLEGE PROPERTY, RIGHT, OR INTEREST SHALL BE USED FOR THE 175
BENEFIT OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE AND MAY NOT REVERT TO THE 176
GENERAL FUNDS OF THE STATE OR BE APPLIED TO THE ANNUITY BOND 177
FUND OF THE STATE. 178

(F) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MAY APPLY FOR, ACCEPT, AND 179
SPEND ANY GIFT OR GRANT FROM ANY GOVERNMENT, FOUNDATION, 180
OR PERSON. 181

(G) (1) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES SHALL FIX THE TUITION AND 182
FEES TO BE PAID BY STUDENTS AND SHALL DO SO WITH A VIEW TO 183
MAKING COLLEGE EDUCATION AVAILABLE AT LOW COST. 184

(2) EXCEPT AS OTHERWISE PROVIDED IN PARAGRAPH (4) OF 185
THIS SUBSECTION, THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES SHALL ASSESS EACH 186
STUDENT WHO IS NOT A RESIDENT OF THIS STATE, IN ADDITION TO THE 187
STUDENT TUITION AND FEES PAID BY RESIDENTS, AN OUT-OF-STATE 188
FEE EQUAL TO THE AMOUNT OF STATE SUPPORT FOR THE COMMUNITY 189
COLLEGE PER FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT STUDENT. 190

(3) FOR PURPOSES OF THIS SUBSECTION, THE NUMBER OF 191
FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT STUDENTS IS THE QUOTIENT OF THE NUMBER 192
OF STUDENT CREDIT HOURS PRODUCED IN THE FISCAL YEAR DIVIDED 193
BY 30. 194

(4) A STUDENT WHO IS NOT A RESIDENT OF THE STATE SHALL 195
BE CONSIDERED A RESIDENT FOR PURPOSES OF ASSESSING TUITION 196
AND FEES TO THE EXTENT THAT SUCH STUDENT WOULD BE ELIGIBLE 197
FOR IN-COUNTY STATUS UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF § 16–407(A)(3) OR § 198
16–407(F) OF THIS TITLE. 199

(H) (1) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES SHALL APPOINT A PRESIDENT 200
OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE WHO SHALL BE THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE 201
OFFICER OF THE COLLEGE AND THE CHIEF OF STAFF FOR THE BOARD 202
OF TRUSTEES. 203

(2) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MAY CREATE OTHER OFFICES 204
IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE AND PROVIDE FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF 205
QUALIFIED PERSONS TO THOSE OFFICES. 206

(I) SUBJECT TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE STATE BOARD FOR 207
COMMUNITY COLLEGES STATED IN SUBTITLE 1 OF THIS TITLE AND THE 208
MARYLAND HIGHER EDUCATION COMMISSION, THE BOARD OF 209
TRUSTEES MAY: 210

(1) ESTABLISH ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE 211
COMMUNITY COLLEGE; 212

(2) APPROVE COURSES AND PROGRAMS; 213

(3) ADOPT AND CHANGE CURRICULA; AND 214

(4) ESTABLISH AND CHANGE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE 215
AWARDING OF CREDITS AND DEGREES AND FOR GRADUATION. 216

(J) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MAY FIX THE SALARIES AND 217
TENURE OF THE PRESIDENT, FACULTY, AND OFFICERS OF THE 218
COMMUNITY COLLEGE. 219

16-604. 220

(A) THE PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE SHALL: 221

(1) REPORT DIRECTLY TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES; 222

(2) ATTEND ALL MEETINGS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, 223
EXCEPT THAT THE PRESIDENT MAY BE EXCUSED BY THE BOARD FROM 224
DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING THE PRESIDENT OR THE POSITION OF THE 225
PRESIDENT; 226

(3) BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EVERYDAY ADMINISTRATION 227
OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS DEPARTMENTS; 228

(4) HIRE AND DISCHARGE FACULTY AND EMPLOYEES AS 229

AUTHORIZED BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES; AND   230

    (5) CARRY OUT OTHER DUTIES AS AUTHORIZED BY THE   231
BOARD OF TRUSTEES.   232

    (B) THE PRESIDENT MAY DELEGATE ANY PORTION OF THE   233
PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY TO OTHER OFFICERS OF THE COMMUNITY   234
COLLEGE, SUBJECT TO THE RIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT OR THE BOARD   235
OF TRUSTEES TO RESCIND OR MODIFY THE DELEGATION IN WHOLE OR   236
IN PART AT ANY TIME.   237

16-605.   238

    (A) EACH YEAR, THE PRESIDENT SHALL PREPARE AND THE BOARD   239
OF TRUSTEES SHALL REVIEW, REVISE, AND APPROVE AN OPERATING   240
BUDGET AND A CAPITAL BUDGET FOR THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE.   241

    (B) THE OPERATING BUDGET SHALL INDICATE: 242

    (1) ALL REVENUES ESTIMATED FOR THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR   243
CLASSIFIED BY FUNDS AND SOURCES OF INCOME; AND   244

    (2) ALL EXPENDITURES REQUESTED, INCLUDING   245
SPECIFICATION OF EXPENDITURES FOR EACH MAJOR FUNCTION   246
ESTABLISHED BY THE STATE BOARD FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES   247
UNDER § 16-402 OF THIS ARTICLE.   248

    (C) THE PRESIDENT AND BOARD OF TRUSTEES SHALL SUBMIT THE   249
OPERATING BUDGET AND CAPITAL BUDGETS TO THE STATE BOARD FOR   250
COMMUNITY COLLEGES FOR REVIEW AND COMMENT ON OR BEFORE   251
THE DATE SET FOR THIS PURPOSE BY THE STATE BOARD FOR   252
COMMUNITY COLLEGES.   253

(D) (1) THE PRESIDENT AND BOARD OF TRUSTEES SHALL SUBMIT 254
THE OPERATING AND CAPITAL BUDGETS TO THE MARYLAND HIGHER 255
EDUCATION COMMISSION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF § 256
11–105(G) OF THIS ARTICLE. 257

(2) THE SUBMISSION SHALL INCLUDE ANY WRITTEN 258
COMMENTS ABOUT THE BUDGETS RECEIVED FROM THE STATE BOARD 259
FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES. 260

(E) THE UNEXPENDED OR UNENCUMBERED BALANCES OF THE 261
COMMUNITY COLLEGE'S REVENUES: 262

(1) SHALL BE REPORTED TO THE COMPTROLLER AND TO THE 263
SECRETARY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AT THE END OF THE FISCAL YEAR 264
FOR WHICH THE APPROPRIATION WAS MADE; 265

(2) DO NOT REVERT TO THE GENERAL TREASURY OF THE 266
STATE AT THE END OF EACH FISCAL YEAR; AND 267

(3) SHALL BE AVAILABLE FOR EXPENDITURE THROUGH AN 268
APPROPRIATION CONTAINED IN THE BUDGET BILL OR THROUGH AN 269
APPROVED BUDGET AMENDMENT. 270

16–606. 271

EXCEPT AS OTHERWISE PROVIDED IN THIS SUBTITLE, THE 272
PROVISIONS OF SUBTITLE 4 OF THIS TITLE AND §§ 16–201, 16–202, 16–203, 273
16–204, AND 16–206 OF THIS ARTICLE DO NOT APPLY TO THE COMMUNITY 274
COLLEGE OF MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE. 275

16–607. 276

(A) BEFORE JULY 1, 1991 THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MAY EMPLOY AS 277

IT DEEMS NECESSARY ANY OFFICERS, EMPLOYEES, OR FACULTY OF THE 278
COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE WITHOUT FURTHER 279
EXAMINATION OR QUALIFICATION. 280

(B) EACH POSITION HELD BY SUCH PERSONS SHALL BE IN THE 281
UNCLASSIFIED SERVICE UNTIL SUCH TIME, IF ANY, AS THE POSITION IS 282
CLASSIFIED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL. 283

(C) ON OR BEFORE JULY 1, 1991 THE DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL 284
SHALL REVIEW THE POSITIONS AT THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE AND 285
CLASSIFY EACH POSITION NOT EXCLUDED BY LAW FROM THE 286
CLASSIFIED SERVICE. 287

(D) PERSONS EMPLOYED UNDER SUBSECTION (A) OF THIS SECTION 288
AND HOLDING POSITIONS CLASSIFIED UNDER SUBSECTION (C) OF THIS 289
SECTION MAY CONTINUE TO HOLD THEIR POSITIONS WITHOUT 290
FURTHER EXAMINATION AND SHALL HAVE ALL THE RIGHTS OF THE 291
CLASS TO WHICH THE POSITIONS ARE ALLOCATED. 292

(E) BEGINNING JULY 1, 1991 THE CREATION AND FILLING OF ALL 293
CLASSIFIED POSITIONS SHALL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 64A OF 294
THE ANNOTATED CODE OF MARYLAND AND THE RULES ADOPTED 295
UNDER THAT ARTICLE. 296

(F) THE TENURE AND SALARY OF THE OFFICERS AND FACULTY OF 297
THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE SHALL BE SET BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES. 298

16-608. 299

(A) (1) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE 300
OF MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE, THE CITY OF BALTIMORE, AND THE 301
BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE 302

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SHALL ENTER INTO AN AGREEMENT EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 1990 FOR THE 303

PURPOSE OF TRANSFERRING ALL OF THE PROPERTY, ASSETS, LICENSES, 304

CREDITS, AND RIGHTS OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE TO 305

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF MARYLAND 306

AT BALTIMORE. UPON EXECUTION OF THE AGREEMENT, THE CITY OF 307

BALTIMORE AND THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE COMMUNITY 308

COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE SHALL MAKE, AND THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES 309

OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE SHALL 310

ACCEPT, A CONVEYANCE OF THE REAL PROPERTY, OTHER PROPERTY, 311

ASSETS, LICENSES, CREDITS, AND RIGHTS WHICH ARE THE SUBJECT OF 312

THE AGREEMENT. 313

(2) (I) THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE COMMUNITY 314

COLLEGE OF MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE MAY, IN ITS DISCRETION, 315

ASSUME SUCH LIABILITIES AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE COMMUNITY 316

COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE AS THE BOARD CONSIDERS NECESSARY OR 317

USEFUL. 318

(II) EXCEPT AS OTHERWISE PROVIDED IN SUBSECTION (B) 319

OF THIS SECTION, THE BOARD MAY ASSUME SUCH LIABILITIES OR 320

OBLIGATIONS ONLY IF THE NATURE AND TERMS OF THE OBLIGATIONS 321

OR LIABILITIES TO BE ASSUMED ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE LAWS AND 322

REGULATIONS OF THE STATE. 323

(3) NO LIABILITY, CONTRACT, OR OBLIGATION OF THE 324

COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE SHALL BE A LIABILITY, 325

CONTRACT, OR OBLIGATION OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF 326

MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE UNLESS SUCH LIABILITY, CONTRACT, OR 327

OBLIGATION IS EXPRESSLY ASSUMED BY ACTION OF THE BOARD OF 328

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TRUSTEES OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF MARYLAND AT   329
BALTIMORE.   330

(B) (1) BEFORE JULY 1, 1991 THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MAY, IN ITS   331
DISCRETION, ASSUME AS ASSIGNEE ANY PROCUREMENT CONTRACT   332
ENTERED INTO BY OR ON BEHALF OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF   333
BALTIMORE PRIOR TO JULY 1, 1990. THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MAY   334
ASSUME SUCH PROCUREMENT CONTRACTS WITHOUT REGARD TO   335
WHETHER THE CONTRACTS CONFORM TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF   336
DIVISION II OF THE STATE FINANCE AND PROCUREMENT ARTICLE (THE   337
"GENERAL PROCUREMENT LAW") AND THE REGULATIONS ISSUED   338
UNDER THAT LAW.   339

(2) EXCEPT FOR CONTRACTS ASSUMED UNDER PARAGRAPH   340
(1) OF THIS SUBSECTION, PROCUREMENT BY THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE   341
OF MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE SHALL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH   342
DIVISION II OF THE STATE FINANCE AND PROCUREMENT ARTICLE AND   343
THE REGULATIONS ISSUED PURSUANT TO THAT ARTICLE.   344

(3) FOR PURPOSES OF THIS SECTION, "PROCUREMENT" AND   345
"PROCUREMENT CONTRACT" HAVE THE MEANINGS STATED IN § 11-101   346
OF THE STATE FINANCE AND PROCUREMENT ARTICLE.   347

19-101.   348

(e) "Board" means the Board of Regents of the University of Maryland System,   349
the Board of Regents of Morgan State University, or the Board of Trustees of St.   350
Mary's College of Maryland, OR THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE   351
COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE.   352

(k) "Resolution" means a resolution adopted by a majority of the members of   353

the Board of Regents of the University of Maryland System, the Board of Regents of   354

Morgan State University, or the Board of Trustees of St. Mary's College of Maryland,   355

OR THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF   356

MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE.   357

(m) "System" means the University of Maryland System, Morgan State   358

University, or St. Mary's College of Maryland, OR THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF   359

MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE.   360

19–102.   361

(c)   (1)   The aggregate principal amount of bonds outstanding and the present   362

value of capital lease payments, less the amount of any reserve fund or sinking fund   363

requirement established for the bonds or capital leases, may not exceed, as of the date   364

of issue of the bonds, the following: 365

(i) $290,000,000 for the University of Maryland System;   366

(ii) $25,000,000 for Morgan State University; and   367

(iii) $15,000,000 for St. Mary's College of Maryland; AND   368

(IV) $15,000,000   FOR   THE   COMMUNITY   COLLEGE   OF   369

MARYLAND AT BALTIMORE.   370

Article 64A – Merit System   371

3.   372

The following positions shall not be included in the classified service: 373

(1)   Those held by officers elected by popular vote and officers whose   374

appointment or election is provided by the Constitution, including deputy clerks   375

provided for by Article IV, § 26 of the Constitution;   376

(2)   Officers and employees of the General Assembly or of either house   377
thereof;   378

(3)   Any register of wills, clerk of court, or any State's Attorney;   379

(4)   Supervisors of assessments in the several counties and Baltimore City;   380

(5)   The deputy and assistant attorneys general and all other attorneys   381
employed in, or connected with, the Office of the Attorney General, except where a   382
specific statutory provision includes any such person in the classified service;   383

(6)   The general counsel and assistant general counsel of the Public Service   384
Commission;   385

(7)   The general counsel and the assistant general counsels to the State   386
Human Relations Commission;   387

(8)   Members of boards and commissions and all other persons holding   388
positions by direct appointment from the Governor or from the Board of Public Works   389
with the exception of the Motor Vehicle Administrator;   390

(9)   All secretaries, chief clerks, and chief administrative officials of all   391
State offices, boards, commissions, departments, and institutions as determined by the   392
Secretary with the approval of the Governor;   393

(10)   Employees of or assigned to the executive mansion;   394

(11)   Members of the State Aviation Administration and toll facilities police   395
forces, except that members of these forces shall be subject to the provisions of this   396
article to the same extent that members of the Maryland State Police are so included,   397
and members of the State Aviation Administration and toll facilities police forces shall   398
receive such compensation as shall be provided in the State budget;   399

(12) Members of the police force and all employees of the Police Commissioner for the City of Baltimore and of the Board of Police Examiners of Baltimore City provided for by Article 4 of the Code of Public Local Laws of Maryland (1979 Edition, as amended), title "City of Baltimore", subtitle "Police Commissioner", §§ 868 to 968, both inclusive, and any amendments thereto it being intended that said sections, and any amendments thereto, shall remain in effect independently of this article;

(13) All positions in State offices, boards, commissions, departments and institutions, which the Secretary may determine, with the approval of the Governor, require medical, engineering, scientific, educational or expert training and qualifications;

(14) All registrars and librarians designated as holding faculty rank by the respective boards of trustees of the State teachers' colleges, St. Mary's College, Morgan State College and the University of Maryland and the business manager at Morgan State College;

(15) All teachers, principals, directors of education and supervisors of vocational education on the staffs of Boys' Village of Maryland, Charles H. Hickey, Jr. School, Montrose School, and any and all other institutions which are under the supervision, direction, control and general management of the Department of Juvenile Services;

(16) Any position that, under Subtitle 5A of Title 2 of the Courts and Judicial Proceedings Article, is subject to the personnel merit system for the Circuit Court for Baltimore City;

(17) All positions the annual salary for which does not exceed the sum of six hundred and fifty dollars ($650) per annum; [and]

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