

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title: California Community College Faculty Perceptions of Their Work within a Postmodern Market Economy

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The diversity of attitudes held by California community college faculty about Student Learning Outcomes (SLOs) was studied. In twelve semi-structured interviews, faculty informants explained how their work has changed as a result of increased standardization and accountability measures, how they value those changes, and how they expect the profession to change in the near future. The results seem to indicate that faculty who have internalized the ideology of managerialism embrace SLOs while those who are skeptical of the accountability measurement find managerial values to be deleterious to faculty professional control and autonomy. Implications for the future of a collegial faculty culture in California's community colleges are discussed, and policy is suggested.

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California Community College Faculty Perceptions of Their
Work within a Postmodern Market Economy

by

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Kristine Y. Oliveira, Author

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The financial crisis of 2007–2008 marked a seismic change in the social contracts that make up our economy and required a vast renegotiation of the cultural organizational patterns of the individuals within our society. Part of that renegotiation is that the social structure absorbed the losses that resulted from that volatility. In effect, the social structure was positioned as a buffer to protect the neoliberalized market economy. The buffering of risk by the social structure continues to reverberate. The scope of this study is to examine how a segment of the social structure of higher education, particularly the faculty of California's community colleges, is experiencing renegotiated social contracts.

The purpose of the study is to explore California community college faculty's perceptions of change in their work and working conditions that are consequences of increasing pressures for external accountability, specifically the production and collection of Student Learning Outcome (SLO) data. SLOs have been used to prove that colleges have been satisfying their responsibility to the state's social contract that warrants the ongoing commitment of public and private resources to the institution, which have been monitored and enforced through managerialism. An interpolation of market values, managerialism is an ideology that requires systematic planning and performance evaluation at every level of the organization in order to realize the goal that has been defined by top leadership. There are three effects of managerialism on higher education, and at the heart of the three effects is the core value of ever-increasing efficiency rates, including the outsourcing functions of the institution in order to save labor costs, the production of knowledge for private profit, and the standardization of instruction.

This study will focus on the third effect of managerialism on higher education: the standardization of instruction. For community college faculty, whose primary function is to teach devoid of pressure to research and publish, the standardization of teaching, combined with increased accountability measures, equate to a loss of professional control and autonomy. Specifically, California's community college faculty have experienced increased accountability at work. The forthcoming ethnographic interviews of California community college faculty will uncover the nuanced thoughts of teachers regarding how external, market-driven values differ from their internal, academic values.

The objective of this study is to interview 12 community college faculty members from a representative school within the larger California community college system. This researcher wanted to know, in response to recently increased accountability measures in the state, particularly in the form of SLO data, the following three things: (a) How does a representative sample of California community college faculty characterize change in their working conditions? (b) How do California community college faculty feel about those changes? and How have changes in their working conditions affected California community college faculty's desires to remain in the profession?

Social Structural Reaction to Volatility in Infrastructure

Since the financial crisis of 2007–2008, the U.S. has been on a slow return to recovery. The U.S. Department of Labor calculated a loss of 2.6 million jobs between January and December 2008 (Goldman 2009), and the nation's economy began to heal in what was termed a "jobless recovery"—an insult to the millions of American workers who lost their financial means of survival, many of whom were propelled into a class of workers labeled "underemployed." Individuals were not the only segment of society who

suffered; many of the social institutions that supported the functioning society were cut, diminishing social contracts like Head Start, environmental protections, and funding for research through the National Science Foundation (Meyer 2013). Of particular significance to this study is the way that the Great Recession has affected higher education—cuts that have not yet been restored in spite of a relative economic recovery. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, cuts to public spending for higher education have yet to be restored, except for Alaska and North Dakota (Mitchell et al. 2014). As of May 2014, the CBPP found that states were still spending 23% less per full-time student, equivalent to before the recession. Throughout the nation, while the economy collapsed on itself, the social institution that operated simultaneously to provide for the social foundation of a democratic society, to produce the intellectual capital to support the nation's economy, as well as to provide social mobility for individuals and their families, shrunk its scope of service by nearly a quarter.

The overall problem of cuts to higher education from the scope of the national level were made even more complicated at the State level in California, which has been neglecting its system of public higher education for several decades. California's overall neglect of higher education—via reduced enrollment opportunities, cuts to faculty and staff, and increases in fees and tuition—has atrophied the State's public higher education system, consisting of community colleges, the California State University, and the University of California. According to a 2014 study from the University of Pennsylvania, the State needs approximately 55% of its residents to have at least an associate's degree by 2025 in order to sustain the State's economy; as of 2012, only 38.8% of its residents over the age of 25 had at least that much post-secondary education (Finney et al. 2014).

Therefore, while the State has, at the very least, economic incentive to invest in its residents' higher education, California has failed to prioritize the important social institution of higher education. In addition, while family incomes dropped throughout the State, the cost of education has increased, effectively shutting out many college-hopefuls.

Of particular significance to this study are the conditions in California's community colleges. Students of community colleges have been particularly important because they have been considered the most vulnerable segment of our population—the poor and the working poor. Noting the U.S. Census alternative calculation for poverty (taxes, cost of living, and non-cash benefits), California has had a significant portion of its population living in poverty: one out of four Californians were living at or below poverty rates—nearly 9 million people, or 23.8% of the population (Almendrala 2013). Nearly 100% of reported community college students in California came from families with combined incomes of \$30,000 a year or less, compared with the other State higher education institutions: California State University's 40% and University of California, 37% (Taylor 2013). The students of California's community colleges have been the most vulnerable of the State. Because one of the primary reasons that students attend college is to get a good job, the role that community colleges play in students' high-stakes efforts to escape the cycle of intergenerational poverty is significant. Therefore, the community college setting offers particular insight into the production of class.

Not only are the students of California's community colleges vulnerable to economic fluctuations, but the colleges themselves and their faculty are more vulnerable than their UC and CSU counterparts since community colleges must be more responsive to the changing needs of the global and local competition, and, as such, the economy has

been the central actor in the life and work of community college faculty (Levin et al. 2006). Overwhelmingly, the system has relied upon a ratio of 2:1 part-time faculty (Faculty Profiles 2012) who have been contingent academic laborers without the protections that come with tenure, and who have been valued by administration (and full-time faculty) for their flexible labor force (Levin et al. 2006). Community college faculty have been the representatives of the social norms of higher education for a population of students with the least likelihood of having been exposed to the institution. Therefore, community college faculty initiate inchoate members into the academy, setting social norms for generations. Further, since there has been a positive correlation between teacher satisfaction at work and student academic growth (Johnson et al. 2012), it would seem that faculty perceptions of working conditions would be important to State legislators concerned with student success.

In fact, much attention has been paid in the State to California community college student success rates, defined as the completion of academic and vocational certification, associate's degree, or transfer pattern coursework. In 2011, California Community College Chancellor Jack Scott convened the Student Success Task Force, under then Governor Schwarzenegger's approval of 2010 Senate Bill 1143, which called for the Board of Governors to organize a statewide study of community colleges and to make recommendations for how the State should improve college completion rates. A year later, the Student Success Task Force, composed of members from the business community, college administrators, and a few college faculty and students, was presented to the State and is being implemented in stages under the Student Success Act (SSA). While the composition of the Task Force appeared to be inclusive of faculty and student

voices, many throughout the State argued that the legislation was intended to serve private interests, such as The Lumina Foundation, a nonprofit organization created from the profits of selling its holdings of student education debt to Sallie Mae (Miller 2007). Critics of the legislation argued that the SSA would shift the focus of community college education away from serving the needs of needy students in favor of more affluent students who could move through the system more quickly due to fewer needs for remediation (“Community Colleges” 2011). The Task Force also recommended outcomes-based funding, which would radically restructure the funding model for the entire system (“Community Colleges” 2011) and would penalize districts that served the most at-risk students—in essence, incentivizing districts to limit their services to the students historically served by community colleges, which goes against the open-enrollment principle that establishes the system as a social good instead of a private service. In short, the recommendations from the Task Force became law in stages, and faculty and students were converted from teachers and students to producers and products, whose primary value was measured by efficiency rates.

The trend in California’s community colleges to define the success of the institution, its students, and the faculty in terms of efficiency rates appears to be intensifying. In order to achieve efficiency, regimes of control must be created in order to homogenize the individuals who are themselves both producers and products of “success” in higher education. The overall question of this study is: How are community college faculty affected by pressures to develop measurable outcomes that can illustrate their own professional value as well as that of their colleges?

Statement of the Problem

California's community college system was a modern construct for social good, yet has had a nearly fifty-year history of increasing responsiveness to a postmodern market economy. For example, its faculty has been facing the challenge of conceptualizing and then measuring student academic development in terms of quantifiable products related to three important components: (a) being re-positioned inside of a re-orientation as institutional changes reflect shifts in political economy; (b) standardization and regimes of accountability become more pervasive in the lives of the faculty as a consequence of managerialism; and (c) differences in experiences in professional control of faculty's academic labor point to class struggles that are a result of shifts in political economy.

Institutional Change Reflects Political Economy

Institutional changes are a reflection of shifts in political economy. Max Weber conceptualized the individual's social position via three components: wealth, prestige, and power. Wealth as the individual's economic situation, prestige as the individual's "status situation," and power as a "party," which is the individual's or group's ability to reach its goals despite social or cultural opposition (Breen 2002). Weber explained that an individual's ability to display power is constrained by status, class, and party. The exercise of political power via party takes shape in leaders' abilities to gain advantage for their members (Breen 2002). Therefore, when there are changes in social policy; and in this case, in institutional expectations for their workers with varying wealth, prestige, and power, we can understand those shifts to reflect the power of a more dominant party. Recognizing that the dominant party has the cultural and social power to influence social

institutions to benefit their members, using Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* to recognize the benefactors of social changes, and in the case of this study, the field is public higher education—specifically the California community college. Levin, Kater, and Wagoner (2011) explained that community college faculty have been molded to reproduce core values of globalization through an isomorphic process that prioritizes neoliberal behaviors via managerialism. This study characterizes how faculty in a California community college experience changes in their working conditions as byproducts of managerialism and considers how those changes reflect larger economic forces within a postmodern market economy.

Standardization and Accountability

There are three effects of managerialism on higher education that reflect the core value of ever-increasing efficiency: (a) outsourcing functions of the institution in order to save labor costs, (b) the production of knowledge for private profit, and (c) the standardization of instruction. This study focuses on the third effect of managerialism on higher education—the standardization of instruction. The standardization of instruction is important for efficiency. Because efficiency is the dominant ideological value of managerialism, it becomes a value carefully enforced through accountability measures both internal and external to the institution. The standardization of higher education and the enforcement of that standardization with ever-increasing efficiency rates are enforced through managerialism that holds faculty and schools accountable. The leveraging threat to schools comes in the form of sanctions or a loss of regional accreditation overall (Martinez-Aleman 2012).

The standardization of education occurs so that the communication of the quantified product of education can be audited through language—self-study reports that were originally intended to protect academic freedom and professional autonomy. Generally, the commodification of language occurs on two levels: language practices become commodities themselves, as symbolic currency, and language policies shape environments so they can be conducive to economic development (Heller 2010). Within higher education, the commodification of language practice creates a product—SLOs data—while it shapes the members’ abilities to conceptualize their work, reproducing the logic of managerialism within the cognitive landscape. The commodification of language in higher education is a form of commodity fetishism, such that the nonquantifiable process of teaching is mistaken for the quantifiable data collected. The data collected and scrutinized (student “success rates” as an example) are conflated as evidence of good teaching, stripped of cultural and social contexts, as well as individual differences within temporal space. While there has been evidence that efficiency is increased with standardization and accountability, there is no evidence that the quality of education is increased at all. In fact, it has been argued that standardization limits diversity, which, in turn, limits what can be known and reduces the probability of learning for more students (Martinez-Aleman 2012). In the case of community colleges, the faculty have been experiencing a cultural shift that has reflected economic pressures that value efficiency and consistency: a shift away from prioritizing the quality of the process of inquiry toward the prioritization of perceiving themselves and their students as actors in simple transactions of inputs (teaching) for outputs (learning).

Academic Labor and Class Struggle

For community college faculty, whose primary function has been to teach devoid of pressures to research and publish, the standardization of teaching, combined with increased accountability measures, has meant a loss of professional control and autonomy. Faculty in higher education have had a long and ambivalent history of resistance to the external forces that constrained academic freedom and autonomy dating back to the early days of the American academy and of graduate research (Martinez-Aleman 2012). While the development of a permanent managerial class within higher education freed faculty to dedicate more of their time to undergraduate teaching, to mentoring graduate students, and to their own research, it also lessened the influence that the faculty had over the running of the institution. Studies indicated that the loss of control over the definition of valuable work equated to a loss of status in the workplace (Butterworth et al. 2011). The loss of status in the workplace has had predictable consequences for workers. According to Levin et al. (2011), autonomy has been the hallmark of a professional, and the loss of professional status indicates a reorientation to political/economic forces. While the pressure to define success within an efficiency model is being experienced across all levels of education, faculty at community colleges have been more likely to have their work redefined than have faculty at universities (Levin et al. 2011). There has been a direct link between social origins and educational attainment, extending to occupational destinations (Breen and Jonsson 2005). The study of faculty who worked to help students of “nontraditional backgrounds” to gain social capital through the institution of higher education enabled a special insight into the social practices that enabled and inhibited social mobility. Therefore, the study of community

college faculty during the intensification of the standardization of education under the pressure of external accountability structures has offered a more stark representation of the influence of a shift in the larger political control; as community college faculty have experienced reductions in their professional control and autonomy, they have been experiencing a reduction in personal status and class power.

America's postmodern market economy has shaped social institutions isomorphically through neoliberal logics. External and internal accountability structures have infused managerial values into the academic culture of public higher education. Changes to the amount of professional control that community college faculty have is a reflection of change in influence over the institution. The managerial value of efficiency has been the core ideology for determining the value of education, conflating the production and accounting of "student success" with proof of quality of instruction. While more students have completed their academic programs because of the focus upon efficiency, there has been criticism that the standardization of education for the purpose of monitoring efficiency rates has reduced the diversity of teaching and the likelihood of learning. Efforts to standardize instruction have equated to a loss of professional control and autonomy for the faculty, which have been two qualities most associated with professional status. Any reduction of those qualities reflects a demotion in social status for faculty, particularly those in community colleges who have been the most vulnerable to local and global external pressures within a volatile postmodern market economy.

Background and Need

In Americans' formative years, the greatest amount of time was spent in school, which was considered a socializing institution. The U.S. expenditure on kindergarten

through university was 7% of the GDP for approximately \$725 billion, according to the OECD study of 2004. The institution of schooling has profoundly influenced society, where national interests and cultural traditions shaped what occurred within the classrooms. Schools as institutions have shaped and sorted people for future roles (Brint 2006b). The U.S. has devoted a significant portion of its wealth to formal public education, and the faculty who teach in community colleges have made up a significant segment of the American labor force. Classroom teachers have made up the largest group of professional workers in the U.S. There were 5.5 million schoolteachers and 1.2 million college or university teachers for approximately 6.7 million faculty members in the country. According to the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, “1993, 1999, and 2004 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty,” approximately one third of all faculty at colleges and universities taught within public two-year colleges (Heurer et al. 2004). Therefore, a study of California’s community college faculty will offer insight into cultural change for a significant labor group that is being restructured to reflect changes in the political economy.

The pressures to align with managerial values within the community colleges of California have been real. The recent changes in accreditation expectations indicated a shift in political economy in the State of California and provided the rationale for studying a typical community college within the state. Evidence has suggested that the Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges’ (ACCJC) recent actions against California community colleges were well beyond what was common throughout the rest of the nation. Between 2003 and 2008, the Commission performed 174 accreditations and took punitive action against 112; in other terms, the ACCJC found

64% of all colleges reviewed for accreditation within the Western region to be inadequately prepared. By comparison, the Middle States region found 6%, the New England region found 0%, the North Central region found 0.4%, the Northwest region found 0%, and the Southern region found 2% of their respective colleges adequately prepared for full accreditation (Hittleman 4-15). What was initially intended to function as a collegial peer-reviewed process has changed into what Judith Eaton of the Council for Higher Education Accreditation characterized as one of “compliance intervention” (Hittelman 15).

In June of 2005, the WASC Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges revoked Compton Community College’s accreditation for corruption in its financial management, not because there were concerns over instructional practices (Allen-Taylor 2006). When a college loses its accreditation, students lose transferable academic credit, negating articulation agreements developed among faculty across individual colleges and universities, the institution loses public funds (a breaking of the social contract that provides for the education of the state’s residents), and faculty lose tenure—a form of labor-busting. In the case of Compton Community College, corruption by administration resulted in the destruction of the entire college at the whim of the accrediting body when it could have preserved the school and instigated the removal of corrupt individuals in management who were using the institution as a gift card.

Today, the Community College of San Francisco is threatened with having its accreditation revoked, again for financial reasons, but this time because of corruption outside of the district’s control—because of the Great Recession. Of the 21 points on their Evaluation Report from March 2012 (Serrano 2012), the accreditation team found

no deficits in instruction, but three problems with financial management: (a) late financial reports to the Accreditation team, (b) unfilled vacancies in administration and staff, and (c) a budget reserve too small to sustain more under-funding from the State. If a college can lose its accreditation because it is pushed into a month-to-month financial crisis as a predictable consequence of the systematic defunding of public education during the most difficult economic period in American history since the Great Depression, then it is possible to assume that the most important function of a college is to manage the defunding of the institution quietly and compliantly so that it will operate under a new set of principles. In short: It would appear that the institution is being defunded so that it can be rebuilt with efficiency as its primary function. City College of San Francisco's recent experience with the Western Area's accrediting body for community colleges is an illustration of the current reality for community colleges in California.

The effects of the loss of accreditation are both short and long-term for students, for the community, and for their faculty. The faculty of Compton Community College experienced deep psychological trauma, akin to discovering that one has a terminal illness, and proceeded through the five psychological coping steps associated with such a prognosis (Hoffman and Wallach 2007). The faculty of Compton Community College cared more deeply for their roles in their college beyond just the loss of their jobs. And while no study has surveyed faculty in order to detect their levels of care and devotion to their schools, as a current full-time faculty member of a community college, it does not ring disingenuous to say that many of its faculty think of their jobs in terms of vocation—far beyond just being a job or professional career. The study by Levin, Kater, and Wagoner (2006) confirmed from their interviews that community college faculty devote

themselves to their work and students for the sake of social justice and admiration for the indomitable spirit of their students who continue to fight to make their lives better and to change the lives of their families in spite of the social structures and cultural obstacles. The faculty of community colleges admire their students for their perseverance (Levin, Kater, Wagoner 2006).

The history of the standardization and accountability measures to police that standardization is a story of two powerful groups: the Academic Senate of California's Community Colleges (ASCCC) and the Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges (ACCJC). These two groups have been historically at odds over control over California's community college education that came together in order to protect itself from losing control to the federal Department of Education. In 2001 and 2002, ASCCC was at odds with the Western Association of Schools and Colleges' community college branch for accreditation and the ACCJC, over the accrediting body's effort to standardize education and through accountability measures tied to accreditation. As the relationship between the faculty senate and the accrediting body broke down, the ACCJC was not deterred in its mission and instead turned to a private organization, the Research & Planning Group (RP Group), to develop the concept for SLOs. However, the RP Group was primarily made up of college management and institutional researchers, conspicuously short of faculty members; therefore the original concept of what constituted student success was formulated without real faculty input.

By September 2007, the faculty senate changed its message and began to support SLOs because the ACCJC began holding colleges accountable for SLO data at accreditation. The intention was to maintain control over faculty work, particularly the

collection and recording of data as well as leadership positions at each school that would manage SLOs. As a result, SLO coordinators became faculty, and faculty retained control over pedagogy and content. Meanwhile, at the federal level, The Spellings Report of 2006 had been gaining inertia since 2002 with the goal of standardizing higher education, starting at the federal level and aligning colleges below it, down through the states. The ASCCC and the ACCJC became allies against the national alignment and came to stand together in favor of a peer-reviewed, data driven accreditation process that continues to be controlled at the State level (Lieu 2007). In essence, the faculty senate of California and the regional accrediting body united to implement standardization and accountability measures in order to maintain local control over their own community colleges, guarding against federal influence by the Department of Education.

The faculty of community colleges have had little power within the larger institution of higher education, as evidenced by their vulnerability to global economic pressures and the expectations that they adapt to increasing managerial mandates (Levin, Kater, Wagoner 2006). Because of their vulnerability, community college faculty have acted as stark examples of the managed professional. This researcher's findings align with those of Levin and his colleagues, but this researcher will offer a more nuanced perspective of faculty experiences in their work, how managerial edicts influence the way they feel about their work, and how those intensifying pressures to make themselves and their students into abstracted objects for accounting in a social environment requires competition for diminishing funds from States and influential benefactors. This researcher's study will also describe faculty's apprehensions and hopes for their own futures, and for the future of higher education more generally.

In schools, faculty have been positioned as moral exemplars for the institution (Brint 2006a). The explicit and implicit curricula are lessons about what is expected of educated members of society. The changes to the working conditions of faculty concomitantly equate to students' learning conditions. The changes to faculty work are not without consequence. In the U.S., faculty have been experiencing the erosion of collegiality, a rise in distrust between faculty, an intensification in feelings of isolation, and a proliferation in the occurrences of plagiarism (Martinez-Aleman 2012). If academic labor has been suffering the above consequences of managerialism and the neoliberalization of higher education, then it behooves us to examine some basic assumptions about the quality of today's students who are products of the managed university system, just as the faculty are themselves.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to explore a California community college faculty's perceptions of changes in their work and working conditions that are consequences of increasing pressures for external accountability, specifically the production and collection of SLO data. As has often been echoed among unionized faculty in California, teachers' working conditions are students' learning conditions. Since one third of all faculty in California's higher education have taught in community colleges (Heuer et al. 2004), their mental conceptions have simultaneously reflected the consequences for labor as it has been shaped by the neoliberalization of the institution of higher education, as well as the way that the implicit curricula, which students must internalize, has influenced their self-perceptions within a postmodern market economy (Heller 2010), namely, that the audit culture is a necessary and valuable component of professional work. In order to

explore and describe a California community college faculty's perceptions of their work under the pressures of the audit culture, the researcher will conduct 12 semistructured ethnographic interviews of faculty at a medium-sized community college.

The informants were selected from across the college's academic divisions from both full and part-time groups. The goal of the study is to characterize faculty's insights into the way that managerial values are imposed, as well as the way that managerial values affect faculty personally and professionally. The ways that faculty come to accept, negotiate, or subvert managerial values of audit culture offer insights into ways that power is enacted and within social institutions and how individuals adapt to changes in the political economy. The ethnographic interviews will be analyzed using narrative analysis, a method that seeks to discover regularities in how people, within and across cultures, tell stories while recounting an event (Bernard 2011:416). The narrative analysis allows for the discovery of common themes and recurring structures.

Research Questions

Do faculty perceive a divergence between ways that professional growth is valued by faculty and by college management?

How have faculty come to understand the value of the production and reporting of student data as proof of effective teaching?

How do faculty describe the structural changes that they are experiencing within California's community colleges as a consequence of audit culture?

How do faculty describe the future of community colleges if the current trend of the standardization of education continues into the near future?

In which ways does audit culture affect faculty's desires to stay within the profession?

Significance of the Study

The ethnographic interviews of California community college faculty will uncover nuanced ways that teachers think about their work and how external, market-driven values differ from internal, academic values. Since a consequence of managerialism is isolation, the study can provide a space for faculty to break out of their isolation and talk about what most keeps them separated from each other. Benefits for faculty within community colleges within more global contexts can include the opportunity to uncover larger patterns that might emerge across community colleges in particular and within public higher education, in general. In addition to shedding light upon the effects of managerialism as a characteristic of the neoliberalization of public higher education within a postmodern market economy, this study can also contribute to those who study labor and class and explain current working conditions for those who work for social justice for the working class. This study of community college faculty in California will also contribute to the literature in anthropology, contributing to the growing body of knowledge about class and labor consciousness in the American tradition after the suppression of its study during and after McCarthyism (Price 2004).

Definitions

- *Academic faculty*: Faculty who work in disciplines that are geared toward transfer, not for career preparation.
- *Accreditation*: Regionally controlled process for validating the academic quality of a college.

- *Applied faculty*: Faculty who work in disciplines that are geared toward career preparation but may or may not satisfy transfer requirements for four-year colleges or universities.
- *Contingent faculty*: Faculty without rights of tenure or who are not on track to be granted tenure. Contingent faculty at the California community colleges are primarily part-time faculty without tenure but can also be full-time faculty who were hired on grant money or faculty who were hired to fill temporary positions.
- *COR*: Course Outline of Record is a document that outlines the content and methodology for each course in every discipline; it also determines the unit load and establishes prerequisite and corequisite courses.
- *Student Success Task Force (SSTF)*: A group created by chancellor Jack Scott in 2011 and composed of 21 appointees by the Board of Governors, to better prepare California community college students for entry into the workforce and to transfer to California State University or the University of California.
- *WEAVE*: Student Learning Outcome data management system (Weave, 2010).
- *Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC)*: Regional accrediting body for K-12 through public university for California, Hawaii, Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas, American Samoa, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and East Asia.

Limitations

The limitations to this study are influenced by the research design, as well as the need to protect the individual participants within the study. The study's internal validity

is limited in order to protect informants from retaliation by district management, so the number of years that faculty have spent with the district and in which academic disciplines that the faculty taught have been obscured. Descriptions of class activities have been generalized for anonymity. In addition to the mentioned limitations, the findings in this study will also withhold the identity of the community college to protect the district from retaliation by the ACCJC. By withholding the name of the college and its region from the write-up, it will be difficult for the reader to interpret whether the faculty experiences are illustrative of other public community colleges with similar student demographics or regional context. The study will also be limited in its external validity due to a small sample size.

Ethical Considerations

The research was conducted in an ethical manner, followed the Institutional Review Board (IRB) process for informed consent, and took adequate steps to ensure the minimization of potential risks to study participants (see Appendix). The student researcher completed the National Institutes of Health (NIH) Office of Extramural Research NIH Web-based training course, “Protecting Human Research Participants” and followed the Oregon State University IRB process for the ethical recruitment of informants, and collection and ongoing protection of participant data. The student researcher used aliases for her voluntary participants, collected audio interviews on her personal cell phone that is password-protected, and transferred all audio files from her phone to home computer via Wired Equivalent Privacy security protocol. Oversight of the project was conducted through phone calls and email between the principal investigator and student researcher. Recruitment for participants was conducted via email

to all faculty of the college district by the student researcher as part of the conditions of her internship with the faculty union. District email is considered a free speech zone in California and, therefore, does not require permission from district administration. None of the sample population is considered a vulnerable population. Criterion for involvement in the study included being actively employed as faculty (both instructional and noninstructional) at a single college district in California. Purposive sampling methodology was used in order to best capture the thoughts of faculty members about changes they were experiencing in an audit culture. A separate file was used in order to collect notes during the interviews. No identifying information, such as the real name nor the teaching discipline, was collected in the notes. Informants were referred to by their aliases and any identifying information was made nonspecific in the notes and subsequent write-up. Throughout the process, informant identities were kept confidential in separate files at the home of the student researcher.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In spite of the U.S.'s recent economic progress, public higher education has not been restored to its 2008 funding levels, save for two states. That defunding of public education and its transformation to a private good, instead of a public good, are characteristics of an increasingly neoliberalizing social institution within a postmodern market economy. The institution of higher education is being made to respond to market pressures, and the core value of efficiency is enforced through intensifying managerialism. Because market economies are based on the fallacy of commodity fetishism in order to justify the unequal distribution and accumulation of communal property, managerialism creates a level of surveillance via audit culture over the academic laborers (the faculty) who must interpolate managerial values into an academic culture. More locally, California's community colleges have been pressured into developing quantifiable measurements of faculty effectiveness as a localized form of audit culture for a public institution; this qualitative study of faculty perceptions of their work and the value they derive from it describes changes in their professional control and autonomy as well as reveals changes within the political economy.

The literature review will address three areas related to faculty's perceived changes in their professional control and autonomy in a California community college:

- The way that changes in the social institution of higher education is a reflection of changes in the political economy.
- The effects of managerialism on higher education as part of audit culture.

- How shifts in academic control and autonomy of academic labor are illustrative of class struggle within a postmodern market economy.

Institutional Change Reflects Political Economy

In *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2007), Harvey outlined the political and economic history of the infusion of neoliberal logics into British and American cultures and into the world market. In his 2010 text, *Enigma of Capital*, Harvey extended his accounting, connecting political power influences with economic rationalizations, instituting economic volatility for short-term benefits of the very wealthy. The idea that neoliberal logics are leveraged for power can also be recognized as the pressure to overcome boundaries to growth in saturated markets (Harvey 1989), where speed is the critical component in wealth accumulation—to speed up market transactions for wealth accumulation means to break down boundaries of resistance. Language use can be considered a tool for managing mental conceptions since the imagination is itself a landscape (Heller 2010). The shaping of mental concepts is of critical concern to anthropologists who seek to understand the human condition within the various cultural contexts. Therefore, a study of the way that individuals within social institutions are transformed can provide insight into cultural change, and the study of our social institution of education/schooling offers that insight into changing cultural values.

The anthropological inquiry is not alone in its interest in neoliberal logics that are infused into culture and society. Those within the discipline of Sociology and the interdisciplinary study of Education have asserted that the neoliberalization of higher education creates a common sense that is antidemocratic (Torres 2011). Schools shape and sort people for future social roles (Brint 2006b), and that process of sorting

constrains social mobility (Breen and Jonsson 2005). While higher education is a social institution, through the pervasiveness of neoliberal logics, education is now perceived as a private good or commodity, no longer a social institution intended to enrich the public good (Vernon 2011). The study of faculty in the social institution of higher education has revealed that faculty are considered objects of political conflict and are situated within ideological conflicts that exact political risks (Stevens, Armstrong, and Arum 2008), and so the work that faculty perform are artifacts of culture that point to larger structures of power. Within Education, it is argued that the neoliberalization of higher education is concomitant with university corporatization (Shear and Zontine 2010) that values efficiency rates above the quality of the process of learning. While some have argued that neoliberalism is a failed system whose legitimacy is ripe for questioning (Centeno and Cohen 2012), there appears to be an intensification of external oversight to enforce neoliberal processes (Eaton 2010) within public higher education. What is important to consider is that students are not the only ones implicated in the transformation toward neoliberal subjectivities—faculty are also made to reproduce neoliberal subjectivities, who are at the boundary of the institution and the students (Tomlinson and Lipsitz 2013).

This process of the neoliberalization of higher education can be seen starkly in the transformations of California's community colleges whose support has been cut disproportionately within the three-tiered public higher educational system within the state (Rhodes et al. 2009), which speaks to the findings of Levin, Kater, and Wagoner (2011), who found that community college faculty were the most vulnerable to neoliberal logics because they were made to value productivity and efficiency above all else. While the Anthropology of Economics, the Anthropology of Education, the Sociology of

Education, and the interdisciplinary study of Education draw upon the experiences of faculty and students, as well as the analysis of political history in order to understand the way that higher education is both product and process of political economy, there appears to be a gap in the literature that considers how faculty of community colleges are positioned as ambivalent participants in the neoliberalization of higher education for the social institution that provides a social ladder for the poor and working poor.

Standardization and Accountability

The subject of standardization and accountability has been championed predominantly by those in education studies, most significantly, those from critical and cultural studies. The focus on standardization highlighted the limiting effects on what can be discovered as a consequence of limiting diversity of knowledge and of inquiry, favoring instead a pedagogy and curricular discipline that allows for abstractability and predictability. The abstraction of education allows for comparison and competition between schools, between States, and between nations. It has also been discovered that standardization and bureaucratization of education occurs simultaneously as diversity increases (Chubb and Moe 2011). While critical and cultural pedagogues like Paulo Freire, bell hooks, and Henry Giroux have argued for the damage caused by a pedagogy that is based on the “banking model” of education, Michael Apple explained that much of the arguments against standardization have been rhetorical—that they were impassioned and logical arguments from pedagogues committed to social justice through education with strong bases in theory and lived experiences, but that there was a lack of systematically chronicled evidence from the field (Apple 2007).

In Sociology, Van de Werfhorst and Mijs (2010) explained that the irony of standardization for purposes of efficiency and predictability—and increased numbers of student achievement—might actually create inequality and the intensification of social stratification. Therefore, the progressive experiment of relying upon rationality, which was initiated at the turn of the 20th century in order to protect American higher education from external pressures of powerful individuals, created the foundational argument for limiting diversity of thought within the social institution that, since the days of John Dewey, understood itself to play a critical role in democratic thought (Martinez-Aleman 2012). As institutions reflect the *habitus* of the powerful, today the standardization of education in public colleges and universities abstracts student achievement as proof of quality of education, but the seemingly objective data, collected and organized to tell the story of the students and their colleges, invites audiences to make value judgments that follow market logic of the “rational maximization.” However, rational choice perceives only a narrow data set, devaluing diversity, sets schools and institutions into competition (Martinez-Aleman 2012) and, therefore, obfuscates the perception of quality instruction. In the meantime, the quantification of education positions students as consumers, dehumanizing them in order to rationalize the accounting (Martinez-Aleman 2012).

Students are not the only people within the institution who have been implicated in the standardization and quantification of education: Faculty have also been made to perceive themselves through market logic of competition. The abstraction of faculty work through standardization and accounting practices has put faculty into competition with each other within and between colleges. As with the students, the process of abstraction and accounting of faculty work limits the scope and value of their work to tasks that can

be measured (Apple 2007). In order to maintain discipline to the production of data intended to illustrate student learning as a product of quality instruction, a layer of monitoring is required. In Anthropology, the concept of “audit culture” by Strathern has been to conceptualize a class of management that has emerged to maintain discipline to market ideology of efficiency in institutions that are not part of the market. “Audit” is the disciplining function that restructures individuals and institutions for market participation, making them responsive to nongovernmental forces (Canaan 2008). Shore and Wright (1999) explained that audit culture has spread from finance into other domains, and the staff within the institution of higher education must interpolate the values of the market into their work (Canaan 2008). Evidence of the interpolation of market values into the social institution of higher education has been recognized in the emerged ethos of “serving” students—thereby positioning students as customers and school staff as customer service providers (Saltmarsh 2011). Since the institution of higher education—as part of the larger institutions of schooling—has been imbued with power to socialize and to sort members of society, and because formal education reflects dominant cultural values, a study of the work of schools can provide insight into understanding cultural production, which is the work of both the sociology of schooling and the anthropology of education.

Academic Labor and Class Struggle

The study of the anthropology of education through a lens of culture theory draws on Bourdieu as a neo-Weberian thinker. The argument asserts that since aesthetic is learned through *habitus*, and social identity (or social class) is reinforced in society’s institutions, status competition takes place within social institutions, where social

institutions are considered the field (Foley 2010). The study of class in the anthropology of education draws from theorists of the Birmingham Center for Critical Cultural Studies, shifting class analysis to “identity politics.” Also, the anthropology of education draws upon Antonio Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, that elites shape institutions in their favor. In the 1980s, class culture theory in the U.S. was taken up by educational progressives like Michael Apple, who were especially critical of the New Right’s neoliberal educational reform and the emergence of audit culture (Foley 2010). Foley advocated for two foci for anthropological inquiry into schooling: (a) “institutional microtechnologies of control and ideological socialization” and (b) “group and individual identity struggles against such institutional control and socialization” (Foley 2010:223). While the anthropology of education has, indeed, focused upon the ways in which institutions of higher education make efforts to shape ideology, most of the research within anthropology has focused on universities in the U.S. and the rest of the world (Levinson and Pollock 2011); there does not appear to be an anthropological study of community college faculty situated within political economy.

As sociology and education focus their lenses on pedagogy and academic inquiry in their studies of education, anthropology has tended to focus on the process of cultural re/production in the institution. The interpolation of market values into higher education requires layers of enforcement—both within the hierarchy of educational bureaucracy and in mental conceptions of staff and students, which is achieved through managerialism. Managerialism emphasizes formal planning and systematic performance evaluation, centralized resource allocation and directive leadership that makes the assumption that all members within the organization share a common goal (Hardy 1996).

Managerial values call for centralized authority, accountability, and “objective resource allocation” (Hardy 3). By definition, managerialism is anti-democratic, as it assumes that organizations operate better when authority is centralized and enforced through accountability measures; it also conflates efficiency with effectiveness. What managerialism does well, however, is discipline individuals to think of themselves and their work as abstractable, knowable through quantification, and best measured via efficiency standards. Managerialism is enforced through audit culture, with incentives in the form of institutional authority and discipline through threats and exacting punishments—in the case of community colleges, in regional accreditation and with State funding streams. Managerialism assumes the market value of the rational choice that measures benefits against costs; efficiency is the dominant ideological value (Martinez-Aleman 103).

Beginning in the 1970s, faculty began noticing changes in higher education, and by the 1980s began to argue that their work was being reformed to reflect neoliberal and neoconservative values within a globalized knowledge economy. The transition from public institution to one that reflects values of a market state was perceived both materially and ontologically by faculty (Canaan and Shumar 2008). It also became apparent that the schools that educate less advantaged students were more likely to experience market pressures and consumerist views of higher education, i.e., transforming students into products and faculty into producers (Canaan and Shumar 2008). Cultural theorist Steven Shaviro of Wayne State University described this shift as cognitive capitalism, which is a process of corporatization of higher education. The standardization of the creation of the product and the valuing of efficiency rates above all

else are attained via managerialism. Cognitive capitalism in higher education appropriates academic labor's expertise, which is developed, expanded, and enriched beyond formal work hours, as the source of economic value. Cognitive power is transformed into capital through the commodification of ideas and talents, "extracting surplus value from ... [faculty's] entire lives" (Shaviro 2008: n.p.). Through cognitive capitalism, faculty thought processes, specialized training, and ways of interacting in the world are adapted to neoliberal values of communal social practice of academic inquiry so that education can be interpolated as abstractable and quantifiable, and then communicated as currency within the academy and to external observers.

The study of education discusses ways that the culture of academia has assimilated business norms through bureaucratic and hierarchical managerial practices, through the pressure to produce quantifiable signs of performativity (research publications and SLOs data, for instance), and in particular in the U.S., the use of the business model of education that serves clients (Martinez-Aleman 2012). In fact, in the U.S., people often speak of the "business of education." Managerial ideology enforces the infusion of neoliberal market values into the work performed in public higher education materially and ontologically; it isn't enough to meet quantifiable standards, faculty are pressured to work as if serving the larger goal of getting more "bang for the buck."

There are three effects of managerialism in American higher education: outsourcing, knowledge for profit, and the standardization of its functions (Martinez-Aleman 2012). Outsourcing of instruction to contingent and part-time faculty is one way to lower costs for schools. Knowledge for profit can be understood as using public resources for private gain. A key illustration of knowledge for profit is the Bayh-Dole

Act of 1980, which allowed for private ownership of knowledge and patents that are a result of research that was funded with public money, which can be perceived as a form of social divestment. Of particular concern for this study is the standardization of school functions, specifically the standardization of instruction. The standardization of instruction is enforced by accrediting agencies. Accreditation was at first intended to protect institutional autonomy through the voluntary self-regulation and reporting to external constituencies. However, the establishment of accrediting standards situates colleges and universities against each other in competition for funding and for students (Martinez-Aleman 2012).

Managerial practices limit the power of labor to act in its best interests for themselves as workers and, in the case of academic labor, in the service of inquiry. If labor is the greatest threat to the flow of capital (Harvey 2010), then the consolidation of power at the highest levels and the enforcement of a shared goal for all individuals within the organization would disempower the faculty as a class of workers in the institution, which is situated within society and reflects cultural values that are imbedded within the economy. The occupational division of labor is focused on the distribution of capital, both economic and cultural. Schools are one of the institutions that socialize students with social capital. An individual's social mobility is the conversion of one form of capital to another (Weininger 2002). If professional autonomy and academic freedom are forms of capital for college faculty, then the restriction of autonomy and academic freedom through managerial means equates to a reduction of class status.

The shift in social capital reflects a shift in political economy within the culture that is reflected in the social institution. *Habitus* is formed by class position. Class

conditions are location-specific (in the case of this study, the college classroom or professor's office or the trunk of a car). The change of class conditions illustrates the tension between social classes. In other words, the *habitus* of the powerful imprints itself upon the field where the class conflict is held in tension and the "common sense" aesthetic (and the direction and nature of symbolic violence) becomes recognizable.

When the naturalness of the rules of games played within the field is not uniformly understood and internalized, including the field of higher education, *doxa* makes recognizable the coercive power of managerial practices that require discipline, making oneself and one's work abstractable and accountable. It might appear that faculty participate in audit culture voluntarily, but it can be argued that there is a significant force within the academy, in particular in California's unionized community colleges, that is resisting those changes. This was evidenced in the California Federation of Teacher's lawsuit against the ACCJC for punitive actions taken against City College of San Francisco (among others) for their resistance against the pressure to base its value on efficiency and the consolidation of power to the top of the District's hierarchy. Therefore, one might argue that the legal battle in California over the control of community colleges, waged by faculty and academic staff within the state of California, is one over controlling the *habitus* of the institution. As the administrative and supervisory class and class power grow, academic labor is weakened. When managerial norms are proliferated within academic culture through accountability measures, the power and status of academic labor is reduced (Martinez-Aleman 2012).

In Anthropology, the study of class has suffered within the discipline as a result of the chilling effect caused by McCarthy's witch-hunt for progressive and activist

anthropologists who were inquiring into class and ethnic inequality during the Red Scare (Price 2004). However, anthropologists like E. Paul Durrenberger have made compelling arguments for the study of class as lens to understanding consciousness and how large groups of people can be made to serve smaller elite groups—the seemingly voluntary falling into a social order. Drawing on Morton Fried’s definition of class privileged access to resources (Durrenberger 2012b), and of social stratification, such that stratification is enforced through the power of states (Maxwell Hill 2012), we can understand that the rise of managerialism is a way of incentivizing labor to divide itself for temporary access to benefits distributed by an elite class in exchange for enforcing cultural and social values that benefit those at the very top.

We can understand the struggle that is a result of audit culture within higher education as cultural, not only social; it is a competition over the dominant values within colleges and universities: Academic values that privilege the quality of the process of inquiry versus managerial values that privilege outputs and efficiency rates, where teaching is the input and “student learning” is the output (Martinez-Aleman 2012). Managers and managerial academics place primary importance on standardization because it allows for predictability and a mechanism for incentivizing ever-increasing efficiency; faculty who do not share managerial ideology reject standardization because it limits variety and, therefore, diversity. To limit diversity in higher education means to limit the probability of learning for more students (Martinez-Aleman 2012). Therefore, while the intensification of efficiency might appear to produce larger numbers of students who are “successful” in school, there is no way to directly measure successful teaching or

learning and it is far more likely that greater numbers of students have fewer opportunities to learn.

Because managerialism requires systematic performance evaluation, the pressure to conform to managerial values and goals requires faculty to either adopt those values, adapt the ways that they work within them, or leave. The pressure is not only felt in higher education in the U.S., but internationally, and in other industries. In Greece, it was found that the intensification of external accountability stripped power away from faculty (Gouvias 2012). In the Netherlands, it was discovered through Job Demands-Resources (JD-R) survey model of telecom managers that the loss of professional autonomy actually made workers sick—predicting burnout, illness, and absenteeism (Schaufeli et al. 2009). An ethnographic study of teachers in England found that increased levels of standardization and accountability resulted in significant numbers of faculty disconnecting from their work (spending less time at school and less time with students outside of regular work hours, or resigning) in order to gain personal distance (Troman and Woods 2000).

Chapter 3: Materials and Methods

This study sought to address how community college faculty are affected by pressures to develop measurable outcomes within audit culture, which then serves to evaluate and illustrate their own professional value as well as that of their college. In order to address that larger issue, the study sought to understand:

- How a representative sample of California community college faculty characterize changes in their working conditions,
- How California community college faculty feel about those changes,
- How faculty have come to understand the value of the production and reporting of student data as proof of effective teaching,
- How changes in faculty working conditions have affected California community college faculty's desires to stay within the profession, and
- How faculty describe the future of community college if the current trend of the quantification of education continues into the near future?

In order to explore and describe California community college faculty's perceptions of their work under pressures of audit culture, the researcher conducted 12 semistructured ethnographic interviews of faculty at a medium-sized community college. The faculty were selected from across the college's academic and applied disciplines, from both full- and part-time groups. The goal of the study was to discover how managerial values are enacted upon by community college faculty, as well as the way that managerial values affect faculty personally and professionally. The narrative data were transcribed, coded, and organized into five themes related to the research questions. This chapter will describe the setting for the study, which was conducted during the

2013–2014 academic year, and will offer an overall snapshot of the characteristics of the informants. This chapter will also describe the validity of the measurement instruments used in the study.

Setting

The study took place during the academic year from Fall 2013 to Fall 2014 in college faculty offices, in local restaurants, and in personal homes near the college that was the common employer of the study participants. The college used for this study was an average California community college district that receives most of its functioning expenditure from the State of California and a considerably smaller percentage from local property taxes. The average age of its students was between twenty and twenty-four years, which correlates to the 112 California community colleges generally. The only noticeable difference between the college of study and the overall character of the state community college system's student body is that the campus in question has a higher concentration of nonWhite students. In 2013–2014, nearly three-quarters of the students who attended the college of study self-described as either African American, American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian, Filipino, Hispanic, Pacific Islander, of two or more ethnicities, or of unknown ethnic background. The ethnic diversity of the student body was greater than the state average, which was 55% White nonHispanic in 2012–2013 according to the California Community College Chancellor's Office ("Key Facts" 2015).

Participants

The function of California's community colleges is essentially two-fold: to prepare students for transfer to four-year universities (coded in this study as "academic") and to prepare students to enter the workforce (coded in this study as "applied").

Participants of the study were drawn from the faculty of both academic disciplines and applied disciplines, and further drawn from both full-time and part-time faculty. An accounting of the two disciplines offered at the college revealed that 55% of the disciplines were primarily “academic” in purpose, and 45% of the disciplines were “applied.” Recruitment was conducted via email to all faculty of the college district by the student researcher with the permission of the faculty Union. District email is considered a “free speech zone” in California and therefore does not require permission from district administration. No specific consideration was given for ethnicity or gender. The criterion for participation in the study was active employment as faculty (instructional or noninstructional faculty) at the college of study. Faculty were recruited via email through purposive sampling methodology. Purposive sampling is used in qualitative studies and includes participants reflective of the population who are knowledgeable in the subject of the study, and who are interested in sharing their insights with the researcher (Creswell 2009). Eleven faculty volunteered to participate and the researcher sought out one additional member of the faculty whose participation would enhance the academic/applied ratio of the population. Figure 1 shows that the participant characteristics of the study roughly approximated the ratio of academic to applied disciplines offered at the college. Figure 2 illustrates the detailed composition of the informants.

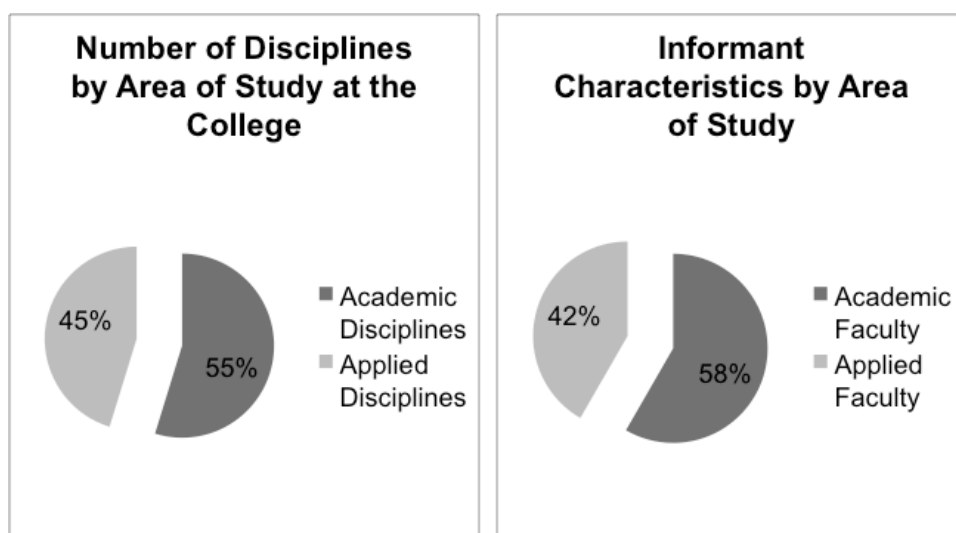


Figure 1. Informants reflect college's dual function.

The recruitment encouraged part-time faculty to participate since approximately 56% of all California community college classes are taught by contingent faculty (Smith 2012) and who, therefore, represent a significant portion of the population even though the full-time faculty shoulder most of the shared governance responsibilities. Faculty selected for interviews were contacted via email, telephone, or in person in order to establish aliases and convenient meeting times and locations.

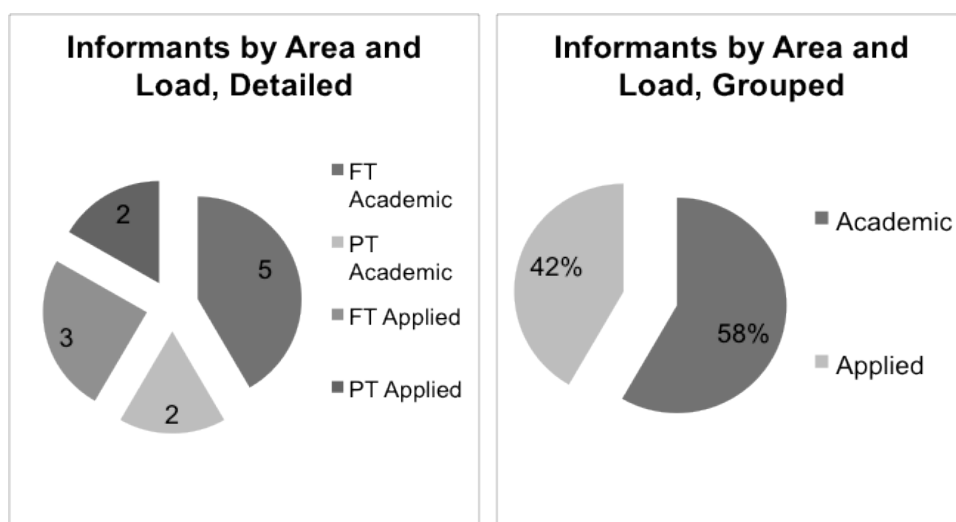


Figure 2. Nearly three-fifths of informants were from an academic discipline.

Measurement Instrument

The measurement instrument used in this study was a semistructured interview that was recorded, transcribed, and then coded for emergent themes. Since the purpose of the measurement instrument is to capture diversity in participants' perceptions over time, the interview questions were organized into a structure that would detect those changes, participants' adjustments to those changes, the new norm for the participants, and their outlooks for the future—mirroring the classical plot structure of drama with its five elements: exposition, rising action, climax, falling action, and then resolution (see Figure 3). The interview structure that mirrors a plot structure of drama allows for two important experiences to occur: (a) the informants experience a feeling of closure by the time they have finished their interviews, and (b) the story of the informants could be more easily communicated to the audience of the study.

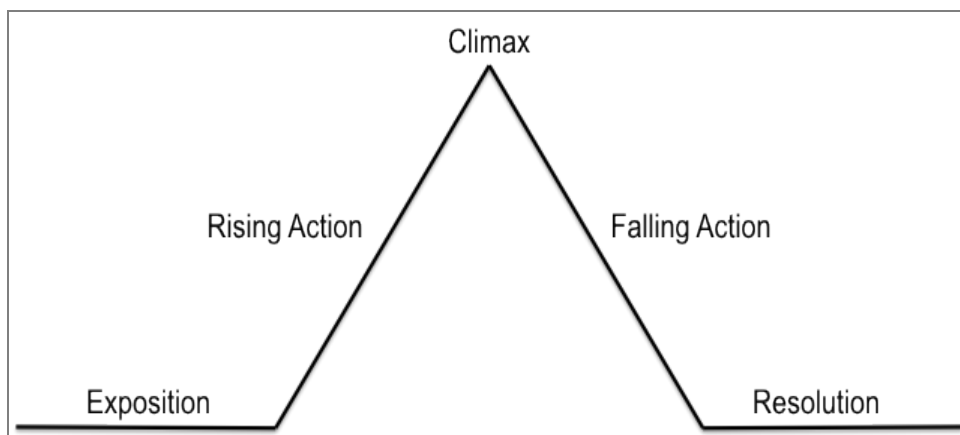


Figure 3. Classical plot structure.

The purpose of the exposition is to introduce the participants in their original settings. In the case of this study, faculty introduced themselves and shared the amount of time they had been engaged in faculty work (some faculty were characterized as nonteaching faculty,

therefore, it is inaccurate to refer to them all as “teachers”). Second, the rising action introduces the complicating factor that sets off the action and interrupts the stasis of those directly and indirectly involved. The event that initiated the action for the California community college faculty was the requirement to develop, collect, and report SLOs as part of the college’s accreditation process.

At the apex of the plot structure is the climax, which identifies the peak of the conflict for the actors, where they have to make a decision that acts as a turning point in the story. In the case of the informants of this study, the climax equates to the diversity of faculty’s experiences with SLOs and asks them to assess the way that the requirements affected their current work. The falling action functions as the rolling consequences and opportunities that require adjustments on the part of the actors—in other words, how do the actors adjust themselves and their expectations under the reality of the situational consequences that result from the moment of crisis. The falling action in the interview for this study seeks to uncover how faculty adjust their understandings of their work, how they manage their feelings about their changed working conditions, and how they come to understand their places in that new environment. Finally, the resolution describes the new norm for the characters after the consequences of the rising action, climax, and responses of the falling action have been resolved into a new stasis. In this study, the faculty explained how they felt about their new work and working conditions, their new roles within the academy, and what they expected the nature of faculty work to be in the near future.

Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability of semistructured interviews have already been established as adequate for qualitative studies (Bernard 2011). Interviews are conducted when researchers want to know things that cannot be directly observed, particularly thoughts, feelings, and perceptions. According to Michael Quinn Patton, “the purpose of interviewing ... is to allow us to enter into the other person’s perspective. Qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowledgeable, and able to be made explicit. We interview to find out what is in and on someone’s mind, to gather their stories” (Quinn Patton 341). He goes on to explain that interviews are able to capture “the rich variation in human experience,” and therefore the use of an interview to capture diversity of faculty experiences is an adequate tool (Quinn Patton 341).

For this study, the researcher used semistructured interviews, which allow for freedom with a strategically organized interview guide, which is a list of questions that need to be answered in a particular order. The guide allows for “reliable, comparable qualitative data” (Bernard 157-158). Semistructured interviews have a high construct validity, as it is the collective judgment of the scientific community that semistructured interviews “[work] very well in projects when you are dealing with high-level bureaucrats and elite members of the community—people who are accustomed to efficient use of their time” (Bernard 158). Reliability in the study is high because of the insider-interview effect, such that the researcher who conducted the interviews is a faculty member at a community college and is a visible member of the State faculty Union through her involvement with the California Federation of Teachers and her

presence at regional accreditation hearings. Informants felt comfortable using insider jargon when communicating with the researcher.

Procedure

The research was conducted in an ethical manner, followed the Institutional Review Board (IRB) process for informed consent, and took adequate steps to ensure the minimization of potential risks to study participants (see Appendix). The student researcher completed the National Institutes of Health (NIH) Office of Extramural Research NIH Web-based training course, “Protecting Human Research Participants” and followed the Oregon State University IRB process for the ethical recruitment of informants, and collection and ongoing protection of participant data. The student researcher used aliases for her voluntary participants, collected audio interviews on her personal cell phone that is password-protected, and transferred all audio files from her phone to home computer via Wired Equivalent Privacy security protocol. Oversight of the project was conducted through phone calls and email between the principal investigator and student researcher. Recruitment was conducted via email to all faculty of the college district by the student researcher as part of the conditions of her internship with the faculty union.

The interviews were collected under nonmanipulative settings over the course of the academic year 2013–2014. Interview lengths varied between 25 and 120 minutes. The interviews were collected at locations that were convenient to the informants. A separate file was used to collect notes during the interviews, and no identifying information (real names or teaching disciplines) were collected. Informants were referred to by their aliases, and any identifying information was made nonspecific in the notes and

subsequent write-up. Throughout the process, informant identities were kept confidential in separate files at the home of the student researcher.

Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed by Rev.com, a professional transcription service, which uses 128-bit SSL encryption for file transmission and storage. The transcriptions were set into Microsoft Excel 2008 for Mac version 12.2.9 for ease of coding and sorting, coded using grounded theory for themes, then organized into a theoretical model (Bernard 2011). The ethnographic interviews were analyzed using narrative analysis, a method that seeks to discover “regularities in how people, within and across cultures, tell stories” while recounting an event (Bernard 416). The narrative analysis allows for the discovery of common themes and recurring structures that emerge from within the interviews. The process of coding took place in stages, where transcripts were segmented into plot elements (exposition, rising action, climax, falling action, resolution), and the researcher focused solely on one plot element for all 12 interviews at a time, which allowed for an immersive experience with each interview segment.

The first stage of coding identified emergent descriptors for all interviews, focusing on one plot element at a time, and notes were taken in the first column for themes that seemed to repeat themselves, for common words, evidence of social conflict and relationships, emotional reactions, and for the ways that people solved problems. During the first stage, the researcher memoed, capturing additional coding notes, and drawing connections and contradictions among informant responses. The thoughts collected in the memos act as observations “about the themes that [one sees] emerging” (Bernard 435) in order to develop a theory about what is being observed. Meanwhile,

particularly illuminating quotes were identified within the transcripts. The second stage of coding summarized interview answers and plotted them for each informant. The purpose of plotting the summaries on to the structure was to get a snapshot understanding of each faculty member's personal and professional experience with audit culture; each interview could be read as a story that either ended happily or badly.

The next stage of coding collected themes that emerged from the interviews and matched them with the literature, focusing most closely on the community college faculty experience of managerialism. After the interviews and literature were put into conversation, the codes were organized into themes, input into another Excel spreadsheet, and then sorted by question type until relevant and discernible patterns emerged.

Chapter 4: Results

From Fall 2013 to Fall 2014, this researcher conducted 12 qualitative, semistructured interviews of faculty members of a medium-sized community college in California. The interviews were conducted at the college, at local restaurants, and in personal homes. The overall question that the study sought to address was how community college faculty in California had been affected by pressures to develop measurable outcomes to illustrate their own, and their college's, value. In response to the recent intensification of accountability measures, particularly in the form of SLO data, the study sought to uncover three things: (a) How does a representative sample of California community college faculty characterize changes in their working conditions? (b) How do California community college faculty feel about those changes? and (c) How have changes in their working conditions affected California to meet college faculty's desires to stay within the profession? The purpose of the study was to examine the experiences of one California community college's faculty as a labor group under intensifying accountability measures, which reflect shifting tensions in political economy.

This chapter will describe the characteristics of the informants in greater detail and will explain how the informants were grouped by teaching load and by the nature of what they teach. Brief biographies of each informant will be offered, along with information about their reasons for persisting in the career and their preferred methods for maintaining professional currency. In addition, the chapter will describe the ways that faculty's work lives were affected by audit culture and managerialism. The chapter ends with a description of the informants' expectations for the institution in the next five years and for their own careers within the next 10.

Recruitment for informants was conducted via email to all faculty of the college with the support of the faculty union. Faculty were recruited using purposive sampling methodology, with particular care given to both full-time and part-time faculty from across the major divisions of the college in both academic and applied areas of study in order to reflect the larger California community college system.

The ratio of tenured and tenure-track to contingent faculty at the sample college was reflective of the ratio at the State level (see Figure 4). According to a report on staffing for Fall 2013 Statewide Summary by the California Community College Chancellor's office, 30% of all faculty employed by the State were tenured or tenure-track, accounting for 16,943 people. The remaining 70% of the faculty of the State were considered contingent faculty, who were employed part-time without tenure or full-time on a year-by-year assignment. Similarly, at the community college studied, 28% of the faculty were tenured or were tenure-track, and 72% were considered contingent.

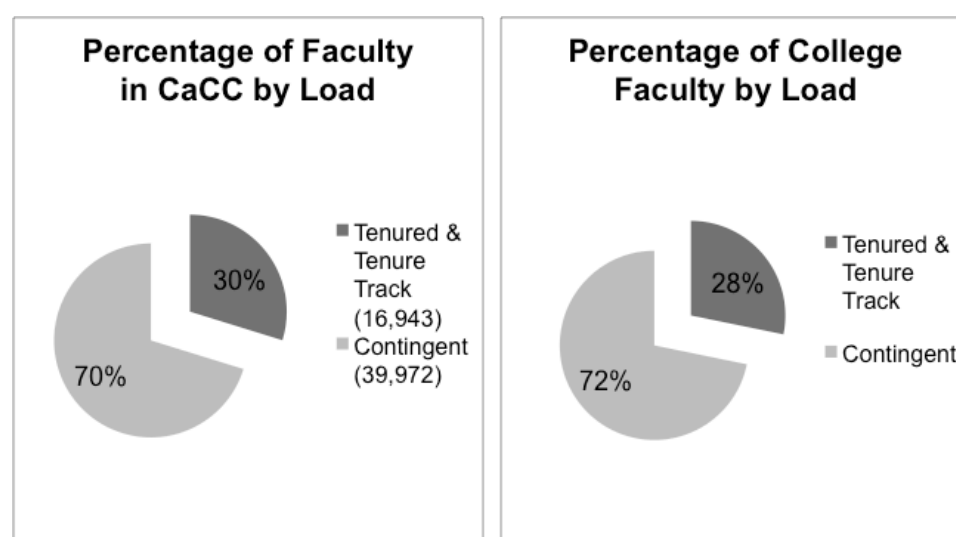


Figure 4. Tenure ratios at site are reflective of State.

The mission of California's community colleges is twofold: To prepare students for entrance into a four-year university who otherwise might be shut out, and to prepare them for entry level positions in professional careers (United States 1999). An analysis of the disciplines of study at the sample college revealed that 55% of the disciplines were academic in nature and 45% of the disciplines were applied. In order to protect the anonymity of the college of study, the precise names of the disciplines were changed for specific ratios of academic to applied disciplines) (see Figure 5). Figure 6 details the number of academic and applied disciplines within each division of the college.

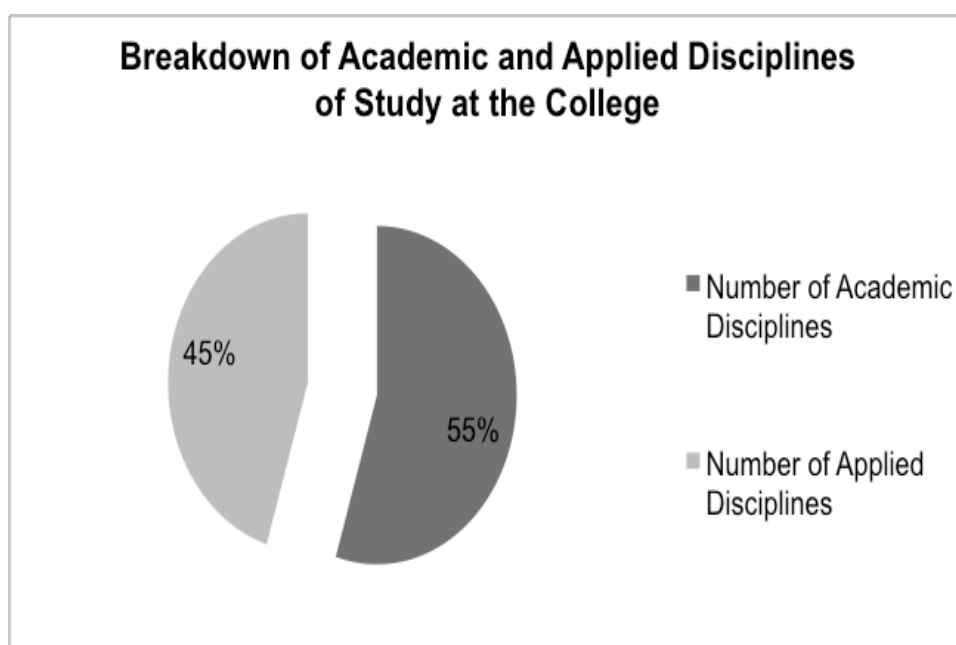


Figure 5. Slightly more than half of disciplines at site are coded as purely academic.

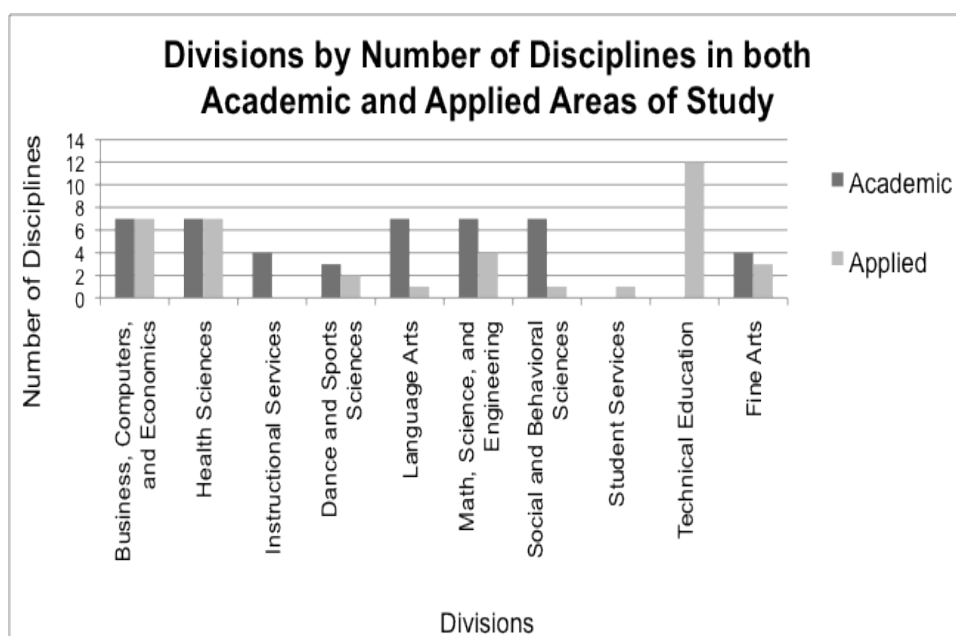


Figure 6. Detail of academic and applied disciplines per division.

In addition to including a group representative of both part-time and full-time faculty, this study included informants who represented the ratio of academic to applied disciplines of study. To match the percentages of academic and applied disciplines at the college, the informant group selected comprised 58% faculty and academic areas and 42% in applied areas of study. Therefore, the informants selected through purposive sampling for this study were reflective of the characteristics of the college and the college selected approximates the characteristics of the larger community college system of California.

This study selected informants who were primarily tenured or in the tenure-track even though most of the faculty at the sample college were contingent faculty. While only 28% of the faculty were tenured or on the tenure track, 67% of the informants were tenured or on track for tenure (see Figure 7). Therefore, there was an approximate inverse

ratio of tenured and tenure-track faculty at the college (which is a little less than a third of all faculty) to the tenured and tenure-track employees included in the study, who were represented 2:1 to the contingent faculty. The reason that the tenured and tenure-track faculty were included in the study was because they were required by contract to participate in the shared governance process. In California, full-time faculty are expected to spend five hours a week in shared governance, whereas participation in shared governance is not required of part-time faculty. Therefore, while it would appear that tenured and tenure-track faculty were overrepresented in the study, they were not because they offered insight into the ways in which faculty power and governance of the school has changed in ways in which the contingent faculty would likely not know or have the power to influence.

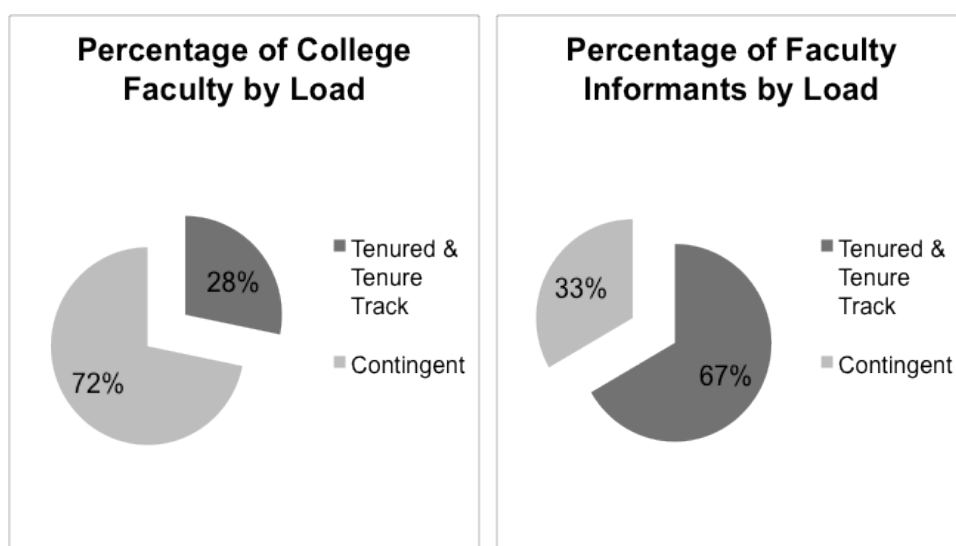


Figure 7. Two-thirds of informants were tenure-track.

The Informants

The informants of this study were selected by area of study—whether they taught in a discipline that was either academic or applied—and if they were tenured and tenure-track or contingent faculty (see Figure 8).

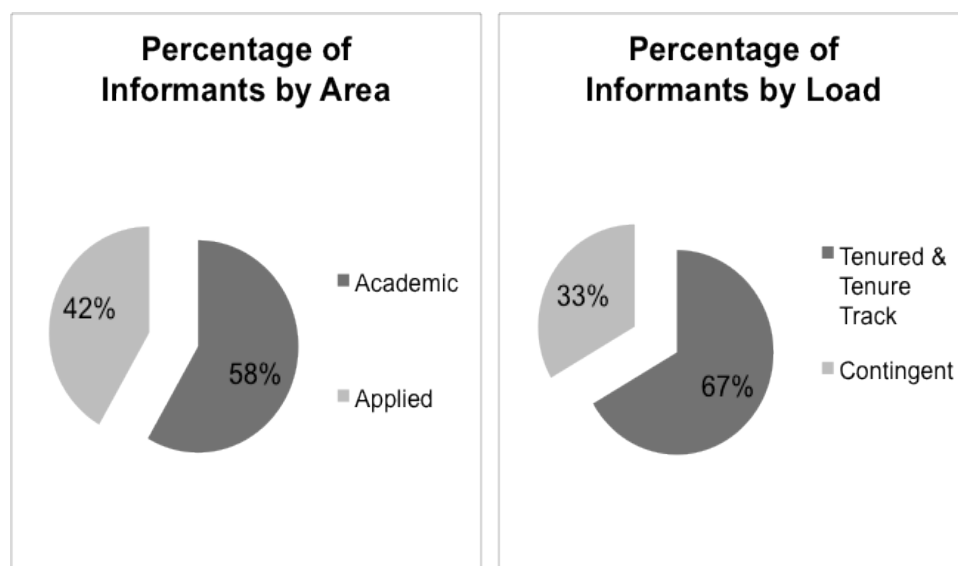


Figure 8. Comparison of informants selected by two criteria.

A more detailed analysis of the faculty characteristics by area of study and workload revealed that 41% of the informants were full-time (tenured or tenure-track) academic faculty, 17% were part-time (contingent) academic faculty, 25% were full-time applied faculty, and 17% were part-time applied faculty (see Figure 9).

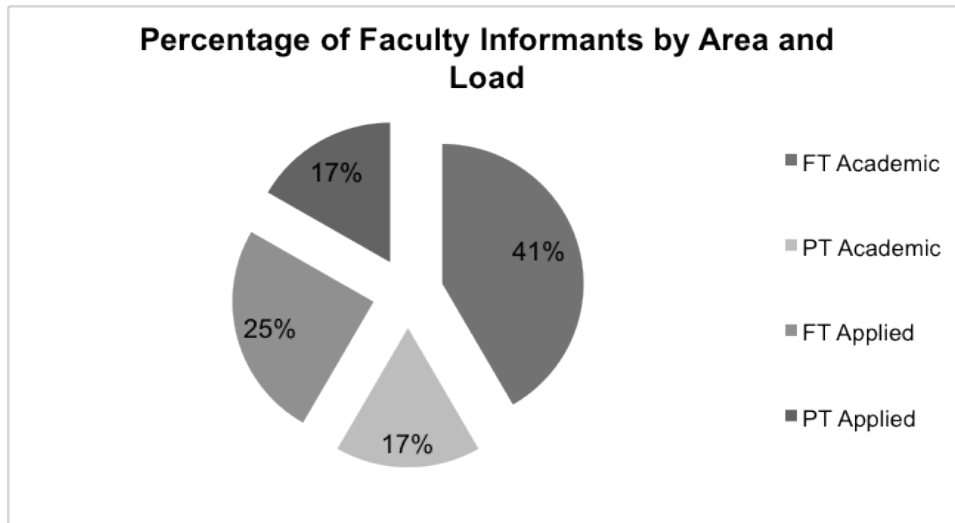


Figure 9. Largest group of informants were tenure-track in an academic discipline.

All of the informants volunteered for the study: eleven by email and one through face-to-face conversation. The informants were asked for their years of experience in their professions, including graduate teaching positions and combining all schools, in addition to their current location of employment. Career lengths were coded for four spans of time: 31 or more years, 21 to 30 years, 11 to 20 years, and 10 years and fewer (see Figure 10.)

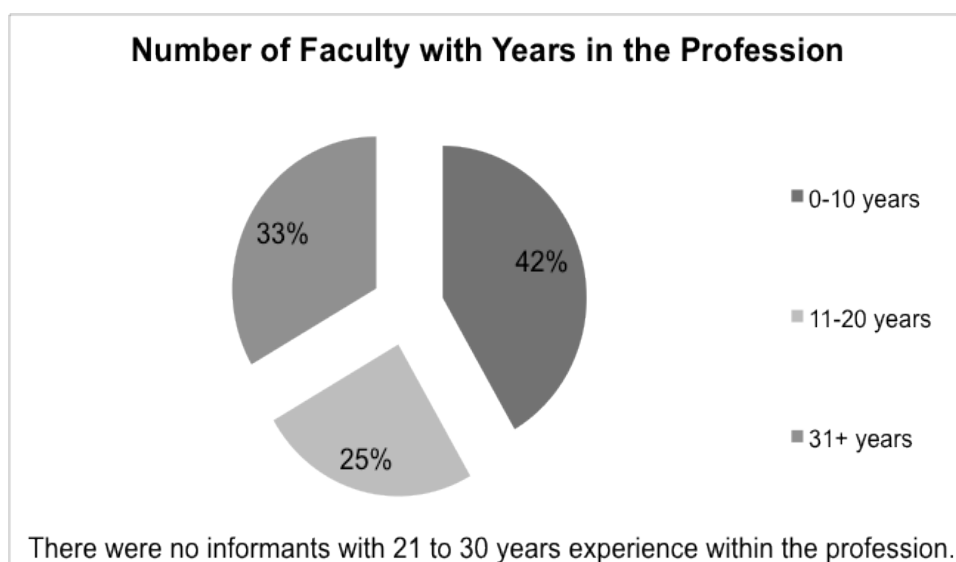


Figure 10. Informants grouped by experience.

A closer analysis of faculty informants by years of experience, area of study, and workload revealed that the most heavily represented group was full-time academic faculty. The largest group of informants had 10 or fewer years of professional experience (see Figure 11).

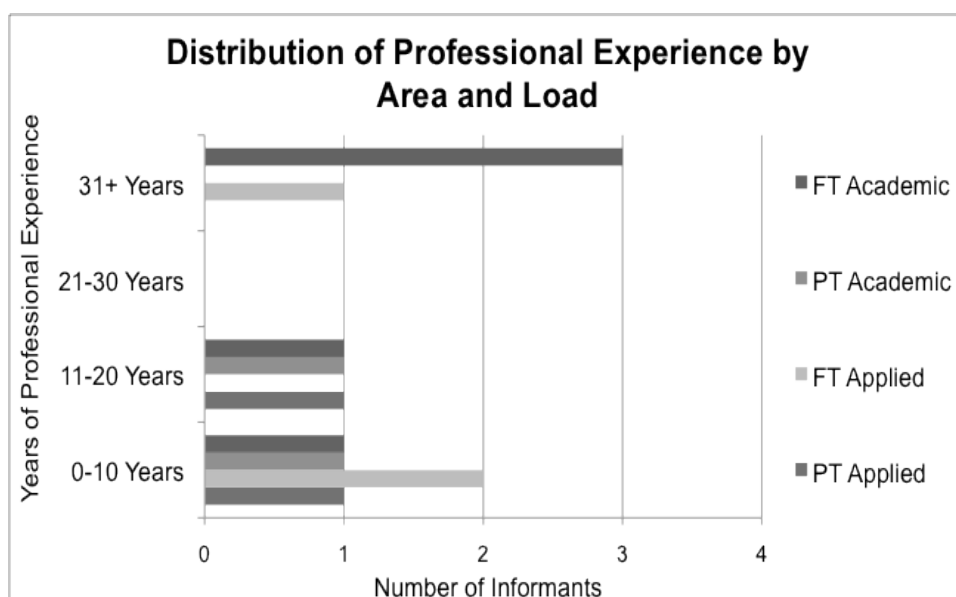


Figure 11. Tenure-track faculty with more than 30 years' experience are most represented.

The faculty informants in this study were seasoned, having spent an average of 19.9 years in the profession, with the median number of years as faculty at 14 years and a career range spanning 34 years. From these numbers, we can trust that the informants had respectable vantage points within the academy in order to assess how the field has changed over time.

Informant Biographies

Full-time Academic Faculty

The full-time academic faculty informants had an average of 25.6 years in the profession, with a median of 33 years as faculty and a range of 33 years. JJ entered faculty work following a tradition of great teachers who influenced her while she was a student. She persists in the career because she loves her students and her division; she likes her colleagues; and she values the time off that is built into the regular academic calendar. JJ has over 31 years' experience as faculty.

Macha Liadov's career began following her work with an international arts education program. She persists in faculty work because of her love of the discipline and the philosophy that girds it and makes her life more passionate. She enjoys introducing her students to alternative, more creative ways of thinking, which empowers her students to be more perceptive. Macha Liadov has over 31 years' experience.

Sinisalo followed a peer into the graduate discipline because of its exciting upward direction of growth and because she enjoys research. After working in private industry, Sinisalo began a second career in education. She persists as faculty because she enjoys empowering students to identify and use information critically and to make the

world “knowable”, the constant innovation of the discipline; the opportunities to grow in the profession; the academic community; and the satisfactory pay. Sinisalo has over 31 years’ experience as faculty.

Inzil entered into faculty work following his PhD work. He knew that he had to make a choice between a career in research or in teaching, and since he enjoyed tutoring while he was an undergrad, he chose to follow his interest in teaching. He persists in the career because he finds value in empowering students to be independent and clear thinkers, and he loves the discipline. He also enjoys mentoring students and then seeing them excel at university. Inzil has between 11 and 20 years’ experience as faculty.

Vog entered higher education after teaching K-12 and being introduced to his graduate discipline by a colleague. He explained that he persists in faculty work because of its flexibility and variety, but he admits that community college faculty work is temporary until he makes a final career decision toward private industry, college management, or a university position. Vog has between 0 and 10 years’ experience.

Part-time Academic Faculty

The part-time faculty had an average of 13 years’ experience. Marie Zeller began her faculty work at a time of great innovation in technology and she realized that she had valuable knowledge. She also thought that teaching would be good work in addition to the work that she did in industry. She persists in faculty work because the discipline is as important to her and her way of understanding the world around her as religion is to some people. She relies on the paycheck as part of her regular income. Marie has between 11 and 20 years’ experience.

Jeanine first entered faculty work by following her graduate cohort into the teaching option during her graduate studies. She has persisted in the career because it satisfies her curiosity. Jeanine has between 0 and 10 years' experience.

Full-time Applied Faculty

The full-time applied faculty informants had an average of 19.3 years professional experience as faculty, with a median of 13 years and a range of 34 years. Pink Pig entered faculty work because it seemed like the best combination of creative and human work; her community college counselor helped her to set her career goal. She persists in academia because she has hope for society, her students, and their communities and because she can empower her students to fulfill their potential. Pink has 31+ years in faculty work.

Kate entered into the profession because she wanted to empower students who were like herself when she was younger. At first, she thought that she would enter management, but she found that the kind of work she wanted to do was working with students, which felt more like a "calling" than a job. Kate has between 0 and 10 years' experience.

Last in this group is Poid, who entered faculty work after he was contacted by the dean, via an advisory committee, to teach in the program. Poid finds that teaching informs his professional practice, which affects his teaching and expectations of his students as pre-laborers, in a continuous feedback loop—the continued improvement having a ratcheting effect on his teaching and career in the industry. Poid has between 0 and 10 years' experience as faculty.

Part-time Applied Faculty

The part-time applied faculty had an average of 13.5 years of professional experience, with a range of 7 years. Susan entered into faculty work mostly because it was a family tradition. She is a third-generation teacher. She persists in her career because she loves her students and she loves the subject that she teaches. She finds value in teaching because it is both consciousness-raising and empowering. Susan has between 11 and 20 years' experience as faculty.

Michael began faculty work after being recommended for the position by a senior colleague who was contacted by the dean who was looking for an industry specialist. He persists because he enjoys empowering students to think critically about the discipline and to consider a career in that industry. Michael has between 0 and 10 years' experience as faculty.

Community College Faculty as Professional Labor

As part of their regular contracts, faculty are required to participate in a certain number of hours of professional development (PD). Part-time faculty are required to participate in approximately one-third of the hours required of full-time faculty, but all faculty, regardless of their workloads, must attend college-sponsored, faculty-led PD presentations. The first required category of the college PD program is geared toward pedagogical innovations. The second category is colloquia, where faculty exchange ideas on the arts, sciences, and humanities. In addition to those categories, and if faculty are still missing PD hours,

they can volunteer additional shared governance work or publish scholarly papers. If faculty are still missing PD hours, they can attend professional conferences. Up until the financial crash of 2007, both full-time and part-time faculty were allotted funds for reimbursement to attend professional conferences. As part of an emergency concession during the early days of the financial crisis, when the State of California began a series of ongoing budget cuts for the community colleges, PD funds were eliminated within this college and have yet to be reallocated. Therefore, the only PD financially supported are those presentations and workshops developed by its own faculty and hosted by the college, a temporary fix that has turned into a new normal at the college and has influenced the local faculty culture.

Full-time Academic Faculty

JJ Shot maintains currency through professional conferences in her discipline; she reads research journals in both her discipline and in pedagogy, staying current in innovations in teaching in the discipline. She believes that currency is necessary for her persistence in the field because it helps students to be more happy and engaged, and as a result, she is happier in her work. She recalls that faculty who fail to maintain currency burnout. However, JJ does not think that her currency in the field is very valuable to the college management.

Macha Liadov maintains currency in her field interdisciplinarily, drawing from current events, from her travel experiences, conversations with family members around the world, and university workshops. She explained that currency positively influences

her persistence in faculty work because it stimulates her own curiosity and keeps the subject fresh to her students. She has a mixed impression of the usefulness of her currency to her administrative and faculty managers; on the one hand, management values her currency as a component of the formal faculty evaluation, but on the other hand, her currency is not valued because it is not understood by the evaluator, and is sometimes regarded as useless.

Sinisalo maintains currency through professional journals that are both disciplinary and interdisciplinary, newsletters and listservs, and in collaborating with colleagues in her department and across the college. She maintains currency in her field because it is necessary for effectiveness, both within her discipline and across the disciplines. Rapid changes occur in her discipline, which offers opportunities for professional reinvention. She thought that the college management values her currency indirectly—they value her abilities, which are developed through her professional growth.

Inzil maintains currency by reading journal articles in his field, but more predominantly, in education research, such as area-study pedagogy and innovative techniques. He says that currency keeps him motivated to experiment in his classroom, and it brings greater relevance for his students. He does not think that his professional currency is appreciated by college management and characterizes the college's formal PD program activities as mostly training for administrative tasks, not for genuine faculty .

Vog maintains currency through participation in the college's formal PD program activities and in shared governance, as well as in graduate coursework in a new field of

interest. Vog values continuing PD because it shows students its inherent value. He perceives the value of his own PD as a form of cultural capital within the college.

Part-time Academic Faculty

Marie Zeller maintains currency in the faculty Union through various leadership trainings and in strategic communications. She maintains currency in her discipline through communications with the professional organization, by reading articles, and by occasionally attending conferences. She attends lectures hosted by professionals and academics in her area of study in the metropolitan area. She also relies on students to help her to maintain currency by assigning them to follow leads in current trends in the discipline and then reporting back to the class—turning her classes into “learning communities.” While she recognizes that currency is invaluable to her persistence in her faculty work, she does not think that college management values her commitment to it.

Jeanine maintains currency in both her area of study and in pedagogy by following pedagogical innovations in her discipline through membership in her professional organization. She attends quarterly and annual conferences and she maintains regular communication with colleagues in other teaching and research institutions. Jeanine states that currency is necessary for her persistence as faculty because it is a matter of self-respect and accountability. It also gives her confidence and functions as cultural capital within the institution. However, she thought that college management cares less about her currency the higher up the structural ladder.

Full-time Applied Faculty

Pink Pig maintains professional currency in both her discipline and in pedagogy via her international organization, with regional workshops, networking with colleagues

in other institutions, and in collaborating with the full-time faculty in her department. She believes that currency is valuable to her persistence, but she is divided as to whether college management values it. She thought that the college does not value her currency because they no longer dedicate money for conference attendance, but on the other hand, management wants to see evidence of it on her evaluation reports.

Kate maintains currency by attending professional conferences and taking graduate coursework; she also learns about innovations in pedagogy, which she uses to improve her pedagogical practice. Kate explained that maintaining currency in her field and in pedagogy invigorates her practice, gives her a greater sense of professional autonomy, and brings her greater joy in her work. However, she did not think that her currency was valued by college management.

Poid maintains currency through by competing in the industry locally, which he passes on to his students, but he does not believe that his PD is valued by college management beyond the tenure process.

Part-time Applied Faculty

Susan Wilson maintains currency in her profession through her ongoing work within the industry and by following current events, which in turn invigorates her pedagogy and brings relevance to her students. She thought that currency in her field is valued by college management as evidenced by the focus on PD as a component of formal faculty evaluation.

Michael maintains currency by taking graduate courses, maintaining professional licensure, and through the college's PD program workshops on pedagogy. He thought that currency is necessary for his persistence because staying informed makes him more

valuable in the classroom. He assumes that the college management values his currency because it is stated in the mission statement, but he admits that the college does not seem to value his continued currency in practice.

While all of the informants are required to fulfill the bulk of their PD hours in the college's Faculty Professional Development (FPD) program, most of the informants reported that they rely upon active participation in their professional academic organizations, like the American Anthropological Association, in order to maintain currency in their fields. They focus both on emerging discipline-specific knowledge and on innovations in teaching within their fields. Only a small number of faculty reported that they consider the college's formal PD program a source for maintaining professional currency.

Even though the faculty did not see base pay cuts in the wake of the economic downturn, many of the faculty lost income in the form of workload reductions and increases in the cost of insurance. It is also likely that some faculty experienced economic hardships in their families, also contributing to a strain on faculty take-home pay. When we consider that faculty are required to participate in PD as part of their regular contract and in their employment evaluations, the cost of maintaining professional currency increasingly comes out of the pocketbooks of California's community college faculty. For instance, an economy-class flight out of the L.A. International Airport round-trip to Washington DC for the 2014 American Anthropological Association's 113th annual meeting cost around \$400. Add to that the cost to attend the meeting, six nights at a motel, and food for seven days, faculty in Anthropology easily could be out of pocket around \$1,500. Seven years after the second most disruptive financial crisis in recent U.S.

history, California's community college faculty who have fewer than 10 years' experience will have little memory of a time when discipline-area PD was a supported priority of the college.

Sixty-seven percent of the informants reported that they primarily rely on academia for their PD (see Figure 12). While there are other sources, they were coded as outliers from the three major categories that emerged from the interviews.

The most frequently reported source for professional currency was in publications on discipline studies and on pedagogy. The most infrequent sources for professional currency were student projects and Union trainings (see Figure 13).

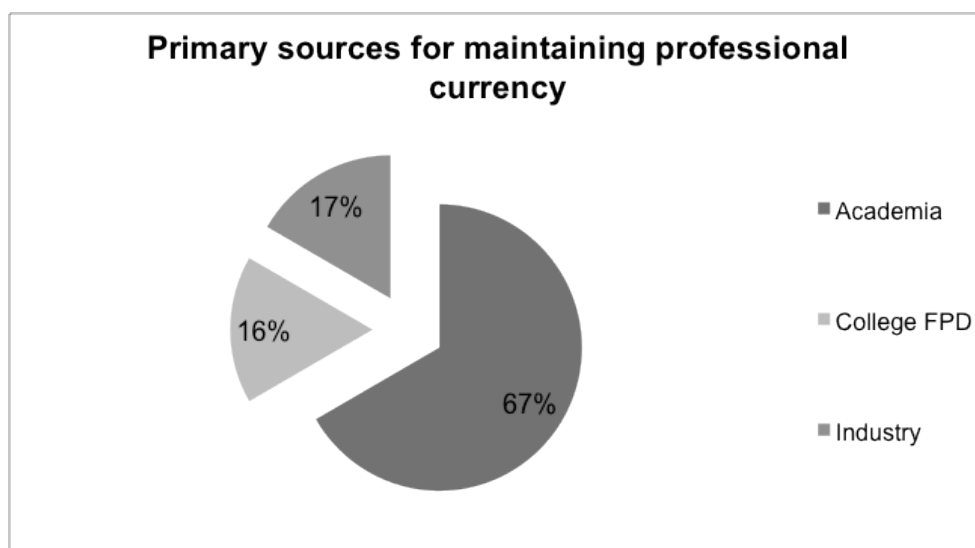


Figure 12. Most faculty rely on academia for professional development.



Figure 13. Informants rely on pedagogical and discipline area publications.

Despite the absence of financial support for PD outside of its own walls, only 16% of the faculty reported relying on the college's FPD program. Another way to conceptualize the value that informants place on the college's formal FPD program is to contrast it with the other types of PD mentioned in the interviews and to recall that the college FPD is the only form of financially supported PD activity. The formal FPD program made up only 7.4% of faculty utterances on this topic. By contrast, professional conferences, workshops, graduate coursework, and expert lectures held outside of the college (all sources that require faculty out-of-pocket expenses but are geared toward maintaining currency in faculty areas of study and in pedagogy) accounted for 29.6% of the sources that the community college faculty relied upon for professional standards and to grow as scholars and teachers. There appears to be a schism in how PD is valued between those in positions of power at the college and faculty.

In fact, 58% of informants reported that they did not think that management valued their currency, and 42% believed that they did. A more nuanced interrogation

revealed that 25% strongly believed that college management did not value faculty currency and 33% reported a weak belief that college management did not value faculty currency. By contrast, 17% of informants reported that they had a weak belief that college management valued faculty professional currency, but 25% had a strong belief that the college management valued faculty professional currency (see Figure 14).

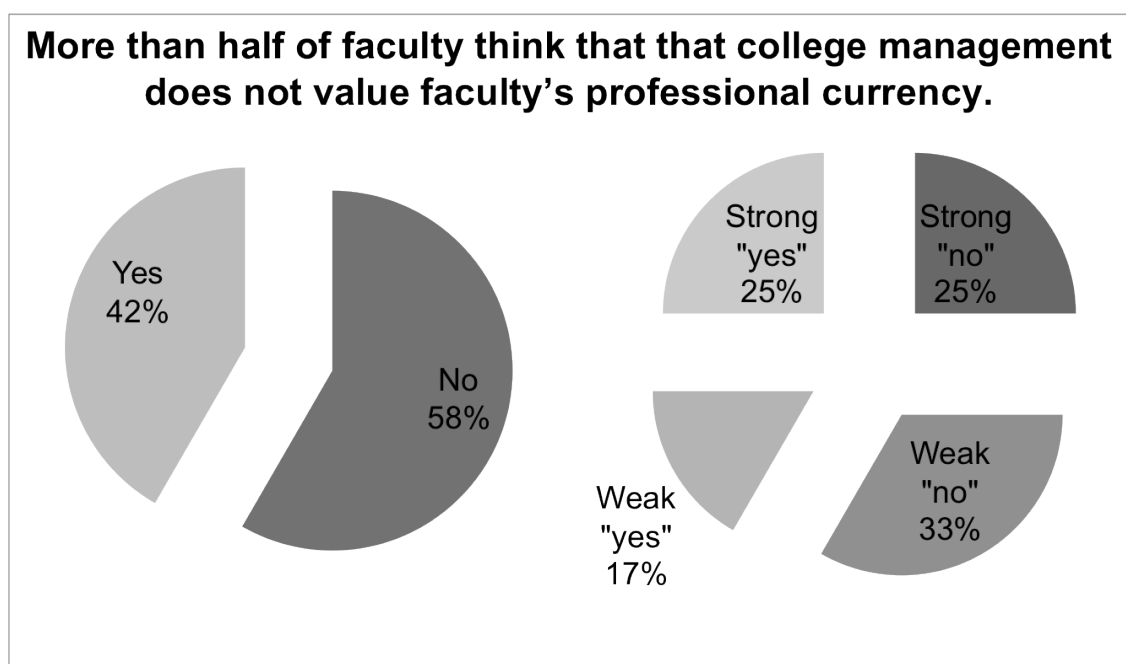


Figure 14. Faculty perceptions of the way that college administration values faculty professional currency.

Another way to conceptualize the faculty's perceptions of the way that college management values professional currency is to see that half of the faculty had strong conflicting opinions about how they felt regarded as professionals by management. A quarter of the faculty felt strongly that they were not respected by college management as

professionals, and a quarter of the faculty felt equally strong that they were respected as professionals who continually worked in order to maintain expertise in their fields of study.

Faculty Labor in Audit Culture

All faculty were required to collect and report student success rates on SLOs for each class. In spite of having had to develop, collect, and report on SLOs since 2007, the informants did not unanimously believe that SLOs were valuable. Half of the faculty informants believed that SLOs lost value over time, in contrast with 33% who believed that SLOs were valuable. Seventeen percent were conflicted or confused about SLOs in spite of having worked with them for the last seven years (see Figure 15).

Full-time Academic Faculty

JJ Shot was first made aware of SLOs in 2007, when the college sent her to a PD workshop to learn about the new trend in accountability. At first she was skeptical of the data. She thought that it was useful for accreditors but not for faculty since the Course Outline of Record (COR) is more useful for teaching. Since then, her impression of the usefulness of SLOs has diminished because she finds that they distract from her “doing her job.”

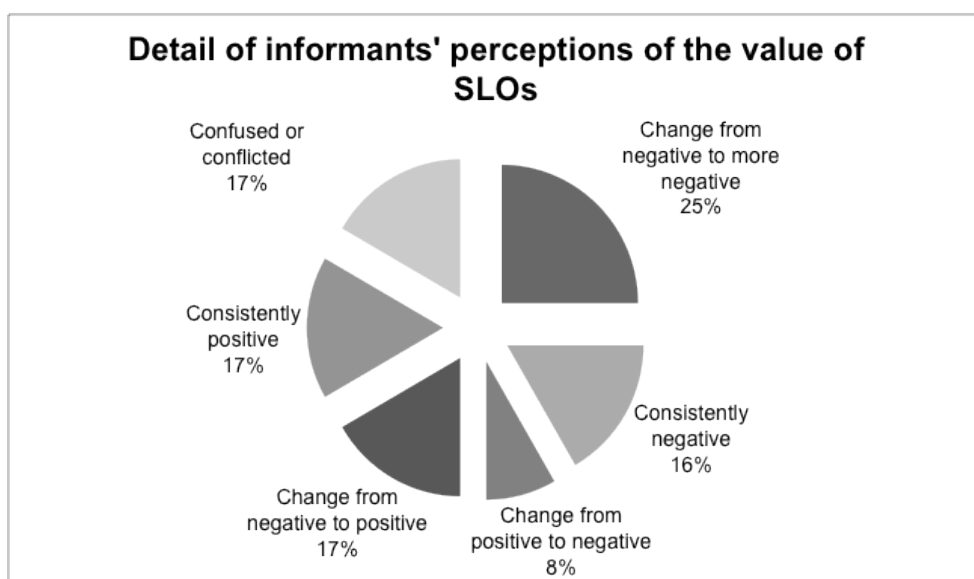


Figure 14. Fifty percent held negative perceptions of SLOs.

Macha Liadov was made aware of SLOs in 2010 but did not identify the source. Her initial reaction was negative because they appeared meaningless, she did not know how to do them, and they seemed disconnected from what she did in the classroom. She found SLOs to be stressful and time consuming. She suspected that SLO data were not intended for faculty use but in order to justify the work that faculty did for the accreditor audience.

Sinisalo first learned of SLOs in 2001 in a division meeting from her dean who wanted the college to be a leader in the State in data-driven education. Initially, she was confused because the instructions for developing SLOs were vague and limited. She and her colleagues spent significant time learning from other colleges. SLOs seemed redundant and an edict of the State.

Inzil was made aware of SLOs in 2007 at a division meeting. At first, he liked the spirit of them but did not understand why they had to be done. Over time he has valued

them less because he feels they use bad methodology. Additionally, Inzil is suspicious of the process because he thought that SLO data will be used to make budget decisions.

Vog became aware of SLOs in 2004 from another community college and shortly after, at another university. Initially, he perceived SLOs to be a redundant effort, but he explained that he had no problem with them because he realized that the data would be used to make colleges more credible to those outside of the academy, and that the swing toward greater accountability was necessary to provide balance after a long period of a nonaccountability. Vog's value of SLOs had not changed, but he recognized that faculty needed to adjust the questions they asked in order to get usable data.

Part-time Academic Faculty

Marie was made aware of SLOs in 2005 from a group of students who were discussing that they left teaching K-12 because of *No Child Left Behind*. She initially thought SLOs were irrelevant to the college because they duplicated the work of grades. Since then, her perception of their value has diminished because she perceives the data as an unfair measurement of faculty performance because they do not allow for the wide-ranging diversity of students in her classes.

Jeanine became aware of SLOs in 2008–2009 at a division meeting or email regarding the revision of SLOs. Initially, she was confused about the difference between “outcomes” and “objectives.” She felt divided about the usefulness of SLOs. On the one hand, she appreciated an externally set goal that she could work toward, but she distrusted SLOs because she perceived data-driven education as a top-down edict from the State.

Full-time Applied Faculty

Pink Pig did not remember her first experience with SLOs, but recalled that it was in a shared governance committee; the faculty were concerned, and she volunteered to be part of the leadership effort. She initially viewed SLOs as a bureaucratic activity for accreditation. Since then, her perception of the usefulness of SLOs has changed; she believes SLOs have become a valuable formalized process for improvement.

Kate first heard about SLOs in 2003–2004 at a division meeting. Her impression was that this form of accountability would be akin to *NCLB*. However, she did think that SLOs would be a good idea because students need accountability.

Poid first learned of SLOs in a division meeting in about 2009. Initially, he distrusted SLOs because he had a premonition that they would be used punitively against faculty, especially in “performance pay.” Since then, his estimation of SLOs has worsened, largely because college management does not provide adequate time to collect, report, and make meaning of the data; nor does college management compensate faculty adequately for their time to do the work. Furthermore, he distrusts any top-down edict from the State when there is no transparency.

Part-time Applied Faculty

While Susan Wilson did not remember when she first learned of SLOs, she did remember thinking that they were an unnecessary bureaucratic requirement that was likely tied to budgetary decisions, that they were a waste of time, and that they would most likely be used for evaluations. She could see that SLOs would be used to measure faculty effectiveness. One of her main concerns was that it would allow for greater scrutiny of her pedagogy and the eventual interference of nonfaculty management into

classroom work. Susan did not trust data from SLOs because she realized that it could be corrupted, rendering the findings unreliable.

While Michael did not remember when he was first learned of SLOs, he recalled that it was through his work with the Union. He initially saw them as an exciting and meaningful challenge. That assessment has not changed, except that he noted that the reporting process has felt unnecessarily bureaucratic.

An evaluation of the informants' perceptions of the value of SLOs over time revealed a diversity of opinions, most of which have fluctuated (see Figure 16).

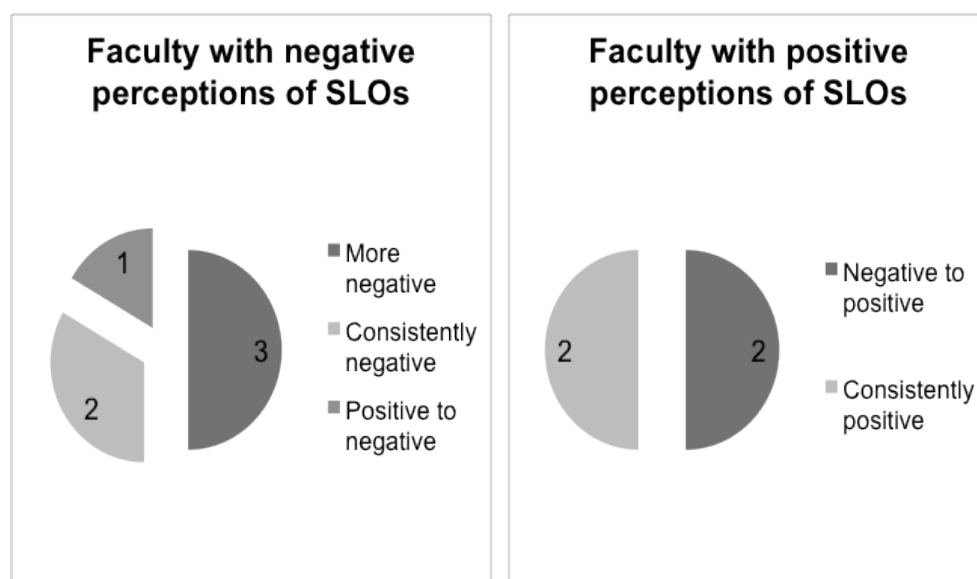


Figure 15. Informants have diverse perceptions of value of SLOs over time.

Even though faculty are required to collect and report student success rates for every class they teach, fewer than half of those faculty members reported that SLOs influenced their work.

Full-time Academic Faculty

JJ explained that SLOs influenced her work with students in so far as they helped to coordinate the efforts of faculty. She stated that SLOs increased her workload in the

form of inputting and evaluating data. The audit culture has also transformed the college's formal PD program away from diversity and colloquia toward a training program where faculty have less control over their PD. SLOs did not affect JJ's life outside of work because she was able to compartmentalize work from home, but she saw increases in faculty violence that she perceived as a consequence of having of less time to decompress. Her attitude about her work has been negatively affected, such that she felt increased frustration over performing what felt like meaningless work.

Macha explained that SLOs did not affect her classroom work because SLOs oversimplified the work done with students, and a focus on performance on SLO assessments limited opportunities for critical thinking. SLOs had increased Macha's workload. She found it difficult to work with and draw conclusions from numbers since she was not trained to think as an accountant. They have negatively impacted her life outside of work because the stress interfered with her art. The stress has caused her to cancel social and artistic activities. In general, she perceived that the bureaucracy of audit culture kills creativity.

While Sinisalo said that SLOs had not affected her student work, she admitted that it had increased her workload within the department and within shared governance. SLOs had also negatively affected her life outside of work, as she perceived SLOs as a pervasive irritation that caused nausea and depression. She has suffered when seeing the suffering of her colleagues in nonscientific academic areas who were being forced to quantify their work. She thought that SLOs bred distrust and resentment of the State.

While Inzil was suspicious of the data produced by SLOs, he stated that he found the actual SLOs to be helpful and that assessing student performances of SLOs helped

him to identify deficiencies in his own teaching. He explained that working with SLOs increased his workload, mainly in time spent collecting and reporting the data.

Consequently, he liked his job less since the collection and reporting of SLOs was part of a larger requirement to do more administrative work, taking away time and mental space that was otherwise used for the classroom. Inzil explained that what he really wanted was a clear view of the overall function and purpose of SLOs.

Vog stated that SLOs did not directly influence his classroom work because they paralleled the expectations outlined in CORs, yet were more objective. He explained that good teaching resulted in good SLO success rates. Even though Vog did not perceive an increase in his workload because of SLOs, he acknowledged spending more time working to increase SLO pass rates, that it has shifted the focus of faculty conversations, and that he spends a bit more time in reporting data. SLOs have not affected his work attitude mostly because he has found it easy to compartmentalize work from his personal life.

Part-time Academic Faculty

Marie Zeller explained that SLOs have not impacted her classroom work because the measurement is meaningless and cannot identify rich learning. She recognized that SLOs have increased her workload but that the increase was minimal due to her part-time status. SLOs have negatively affected her life outside of work in that she is more angry at the futility and suspicious nature of what is happening with the data. She viewed the data as unreliable, that it standardizes the nature of faculty work, fosters unnecessary bureaucracy and a management class of workers, and that it reinforces a class structure upon the faculty. She admitted that it has demoralized her work attitude.

SLOs influenced Jeanine's classroom work through syllabus language and by keeping them in mind while she was teaching, reminding students that they must meet particular curricular expectations in her classes. SLOs increased her workload by using up most of her academic breaks for reconsidering how she could change her teaching in order to help her students perform better on SLO assessment items. She stated that because of SLOs, she has had less time to decompress and recharge. SLOs have also negatively impacted her attitude about her job, noting that SLOs seem to be politically motivated, but she rationalized the work, explaining that every job has its politics.

Full-time Applied Faculty

Pink Pig noticed that SLOs have influenced her student work. Because her discipline is "applied," students can demonstrate industry values in their evaluated performances. She noticed that SLOs increased her workload through data reporting, communicating SLOs to students via the syllabus, and in time spent in department meetings throughout the year. Outside of work, SLOs have positively impacted Pink Pig because they empower her professionally to be a researcher of her own classroom. It has also fortified department faculty collegiality. SLOs have had mixed influences on her work attitude. She felt empowered as a professional, but was more stressed by the increased responsibility and additional tasks.

Since 2003–2004, Kate's impression of the usefulness of SLOs has decreased. She stated that SLOs were an inauthentic measurement for assessing effective teaching. She also stated that while SLOs did not influence her classroom work, they increased her workload in the form of additional committee work as part of shared governance,

identifying the SLO committee in particular. SLOs have not affected her student work, but she stated that as soon as they do, she will quit her job.

Poid stated that SLOs had not influenced his student work because, to him, they made for a poorly designed assessment tool. He perceived an increase in his workload for which he is only marginally compensated through credit in the college's formal PD program. While SLOs had not affected him outside of work, it had negatively affected his attitude about his faculty work, as he perceived them to be a waste of time because the data produced was unreliable and a distorted reflection of the quality of his teaching.

Part-time Applied Faculty

Susan Wilson's stated that SLOs have not influenced her classroom work, but said that the dean has intruded in her classes on multiple occasions during a single evaluation cycle, insisting that she experiment with a teaching style that is different from what Susan thought appropriate for the class that she was teaching. In addition, Susan stated that while SLOs have not increased her workload, she has spent approximately an hour every semester in data collection and reporting. Generally, she has found herself annoyed by SLOs but that the annoyance was compartmentalized at work. She indicated that she felt more vulnerable at work and was concerned that she could lose her assignment as a result of that increased judgment. Susan explained that she thought that SLOs could be useful if the data were to stay with the faculty and be used by teachers, not reported out. She believed that if faculty felt safer, they could use the data for constructive criticism.

Michael noted that SLOs had both positive and negative influences on his classroom work. He focused on the value of SLOs during class time, but found that SLOs

competed with valuable information that the students should know about the industry that is not covered by the textbook. Michael noticed that SLOs increased his workload, especially in smaller departments with fewer full-time faculty because part-time faculty had more responsibility for creating the assessments and then collecting and reporting the data, which is uncompensated work. SLOs have not impacted his life outside of work. SLOs had negatively affected his work attitude because time spent on SLOs was uncompensated, there was no clerical support for faculty, and he ended up working outside of his job description.

This study captured diversity in informants' perceptions of the impact that SLOs have on the actual work that they do with their students. In fact, it appears that the group is roughly divided in half, such that 50% of the faculty do not think that SLOs influence their classrooms (see Figure 17).

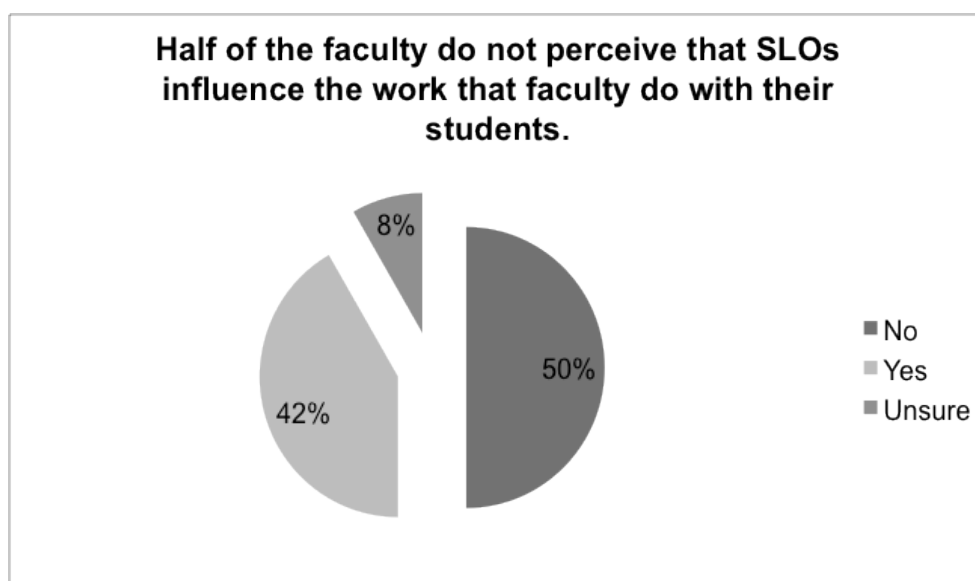


Figure 16. Half report that SLOs have no influence on work with students.

Of the faculty who reported that SLOs influenced their student work, the general value of those SLOs was to hold faculty and students

accountable to important concepts in the class. SLOs helped the faculty to focus on key concepts, to coordinate the efforts of faculty within programs, and to identify deficiencies in one's own teaching practice. For students, the Statement of SLOs in the syllabus brought better awareness to concepts because they knew that they would be held accountable for meeting particular curricular expectations. In spite of these values, it was mentioned that SLOs crowded out other valuable knowledge for students to consider.

Of the faculty who reported that SLOs did not influence their student work, it was generally held that SLOs were redundant at best and reductive and meaningless at worst. Faculty cited that SLOs made for inadequate assessment tools since its measurements could not identify rich learning. Faculty stated that SLOs oversimplified classroom work and robbed time better spent on critical thinking. At the very least, SLOs duplicated the COR for each class and, therefore, added nothing to classroom work.

The one faculty member who was unsure of SLOs' impact on student work pointed out SLOs enabled college management to exert pedagogical control, which had been the exclusive purview of faculty. One informant's dean had intruded upon her classes during a single evaluation cycle, insisting that she experiment with a teaching style that was contrary to what the faculty thought appropriate for the class.

Changes in Academic Work Culture

The creation, revision, collection, and reporting of SLO data equated to an increase in workload for faculty. The increased workload was uncompensated for both full-time and part-time faculty, yet was required even though there was no discussion on

how other duties would be reduced to compensate. The only faculty who received PD hours for the regular collection of SLO data were the discipline-specific SLO coordinators. The increased workload made work more stressful for faculty. The informants reported four types of change in their work culture as a result of the increased accountability pressures: (a) decreased sense of well-being at work, (b) loss of control over their own work, (c) increased acrimony at work, and (d) increased requirements to perform new tasks that were previously considered clerical or administrative in nature.

Full-time Academic Faculty

JJ Shot recognized that the work she was expected to do had changed from when she first started teaching at the college. Her new work included more administrative duties, computer work, and email, all of which interfered with time spent with students each day. She perceived an increase in stress at work and that administrators raised their voices at faculty more often. She also noticed that tensions were higher at budget committee meetings. Overall, JJ stated that the toxic environment at the college could erode the joy of teaching. She coped with the increasing stress through exercise, watching movies, delving into new research disciplines, and by disconnecting from campus life during off hours, which equated to less involvement over time.

Since first teaching at the college, Macha Liadov indicated that her work had changed. She said that collecting data on students had discouraged innovation in her teaching and in her creative process. She found her current work in the classroom to be more disjointed and demoralizing. Macha had noticed increased stress over time at work and stated that she felt more like a business woman. She also admitted to feeling anxiety over having to do work that was well outside her areas of expertise or comfort zone and

that this anxiety spilled into her life outside of work. She also thought that the focus on data collection and reporting misdirected faculty PD.

Sinisalo reported that SLOs increased her stress because they added to the growing amount of data reporting that they already did in her discipline. In order to cope, she threw things, commiserated with her department and campus colleagues, and relied on other full-time colleagues to take on additional responsibilities when she felt fatigued—the colleagues in her department took turns carrying more or less responsibility. She relied on her positive interactions with students to rejuvenate her commitment to academia. She endeavored to stay positive and maintain a collegial commitment to the college.

Inzil stated that he had noticed a change in the nature of the work that he performed over time—he spent less time preparing for his classes and more time in administrative work. He believed that his job was to teach and help govern the college. Time spent on extraneous work heightened his frustration, which was worsened by a lack of communication about the purpose and function of SLOs. He was suspicious that college funding would become tied to SLOs and that faculty who were most savvy would be funded, while others would be denied. Inzil coped with the mounting frustration by talking with colleagues at other colleges and experienced K-12 teachers who had worked more years with a standardized curriculum. Instead of disconnecting from college governance, Inzil wanted to be more involved with college governance in order to develop a clearer understanding of what was happening.

While Vog recognized that his current work was different from the work he had done early in his career, he did not attribute the change to intensified accountability.

Instead, he credited it to his own professional evolution. He perceived an increase in stress as a result of the focus on SLOs, particularly when discussions turned toward tying compensation and funding to SLO data since the corporate logic of performance-pay did not make sense when faculty were deprived of what they needed to be successful—such as lower teacher/student ratios and continually being asked to do more at work with fewer resources.

Part-time Academic Faculty

Marie Zeller recognized that her work had changed from when she first started teaching at the college. In the past, she felt more dedicated to the collegial academic community of her department. She used to see her dean as someone who advocated for the faculty, encouraged faculty to develop as professionals in their fields, and trusted faculty as professionals. She characterized the working environment as one of fear, where faculty were more vulnerable to attacks by college management and by students. Marie's stress increased as a result of the audit culture. Because she felt vulnerable to negative evaluations based on SLO data, she admitted to feeling pressure to inflate student results. She was suspicious of a political agenda behind the process since she did not perceive the collection and reporting of SLO data to have any usefulness. She thought that the data could be useful if it allowed faculty to identify weaknesses and to be self-critical of their practices. Instead, she perceived the activity to be useless to faculty, as it was used to justify the utility of faculty work. She recalled that negative reporting brought negative attention from accreditors upon the college and negative attention upon individual faculty members from more powerful faculty and college management. She coped by

participating in Union work, which reassured her that she was not imagining changes in the pressures experienced by faculty as labor.

Jeanine felt that her work at the college had changed over time, but attributed it to her growth as a professional and as a member of the academic community at the college. She felt empowered by her participation in shared governance and did not implicate SLOs for any change in her work. Jeanine experienced increased stress because her SLO data influenced how her efficacy was perceived. Her assignment had been reduced due to cutbacks and she was concerned that she would not be given a teaching load because of students' low performance on SLO assessments. It appeared to Jeanine that the data were more important than instruction. Also, because of cutbacks, the department eliminated compensation for one-on-one attention in favor of group instruction. Jeanine explained that she valued working closely with students and the loss of that opportunity made her job less enjoyable. She coped with the increased stress by relying on colleagues in her network for compassion and support. She also responded to the stress by participating more in the college, not less.

Full-time Applied Faculty

Pink Pig noticed that her work had changed over time and, as a result of her own professional growth, she had become more sensitive to the collective and individual needs of her students as learners. SLOs increased her stress at work because she sensed that she had less professional autonomy and she also felt that there was diminished trust in faculty as professionals. She feared that California's community colleges were moving toward standardization, like the K-12 system had. Data-driven education has negatively

influenced her involvement at the college, such that if California community college's education becomes more standardized, she will resign.

Kate reported that her workload had increased over time and that the dean had more influence than before, at the expense of faculty control over their work. She expressed concern about the accrediting body, specifically citing the trouble that it caused Compton College and the Community College of San Francisco, which she considered to be harbingers of the punitive future of accreditation for California's community colleges at large. Kate coped with the increased stress by focusing on her own PD and by looking to colleagues at professional conferences and in professional organizations for hope.

Over the course of Poid's time at the college, the nature of his work shifted from his program of study and its certification to collecting and reporting data, thus shifting faculty time and energy away from student learning in order to satisfy the State. He experienced more stress at work over what he saw as wasted time and because of tension between top college management all the way to part-time faculty, turning full-time faculty into middle management without added compensation.

Part-time Applied Faculty

Susan Wilson did not see a change in her work over time, but did state that SLOs were stressful to her because they promoted data over students, shifting the focus of the work that she did away from students and their development to reaching certain "success" levels. Again, Susan described how her work life had changed following increased accountability measures that seemed contrary to the lived reality. Earlier in the interview, she stated that she was able to compartmentalize the stress from increased accountability measures, but later explained that she found relief from the stress of audit

culture by sharing her feelings with friends. She also coped with added stress over SLOs by changing her exams so that the data collected would reflect higher success rates. She admitted to daydreaming about retiring. She found that her level of involvement in college governance had diminished since the beginning SLOs, noting that she no longer participated in division meetings, in faculty senate work, or in community collaboration.

Michael recognized that his work had changed over time and attributed those changes to his own professional growth through increased formal education and professional training, and because he has learned to collaborate more effectively with colleagues in the supportive services that had helped him to develop his pedagogy. He admitted that SLOs had increased his stress because change is inherently stressful. However, he emphasized that the stress was worth the cost and he felt hopeful for the future of community colleges because the corporate values being applied there were helping the colleges to run more efficiently and made students more labor-ready for the modern market. He understood and embraced the incorporation of corporate values into academic culture and responded by gearing his professional trajectory for full-time faculty status or in college management.

When considering the responses of the faculty informants, the most obvious change was in their feelings about their work. The first characteristic change in work culture at this community college was a decreased sense of well-being. In the interviews, it was reported nine times that work had become more stressful following the requirements to create, collect, and report student success data based on SLOs. Three of the informants reported decreased happiness in their daily work experiences.

Of the twelve faculty who reported overall feelings of loss of control over their own work, there was greater diversity in the ways they perceived those losses. Three faculty felt like they had lost control to external organizations, such as the Chancellor's office, the Student Success Task Force, and the ACCJC. It was mentioned three times that faculty felt like they had lost control over their own work to the college management, that as faculty experienced reduced control over their own work, management appeared to be growing in power over pedagogical choices and in shared governance. Two faculty felt like they had to manage more work in the form of efficiency measures. Two faculty claimed perceived losses of pedagogical control, but that the loss was not connected to college management or to external stakeholders. Faculty also mentioned that they felt compelled to inflate student success rates, felt undermined by the pressure to spend less time with their students, and felt a loss of influence over the college's formal FPD program.

The third type of culture change reported was in acrimony. Informants reported that there was more tension between college management and faculty and among faculty members. It was mentioned once that there appeared to be more tension between students and faculty.

Lastly, the informants reported an overall increase in the amount of administrative and clerical tasks they were expected to perform. Since this new form of audit culture in the collection and reporting of student success rates based on SLOs, faculty spent more time in administrative duties, in clerical tasks, and in writing reports. One faculty member with over 30 years in the profession explained that faculty were expected to spend more

and more of each year using computers, mostly in email, thus diminishing regular communication between colleagues.

In response to the intensifying standardization and accountability at work, informants had developed four notable strategies to cope with the accompanying stress. Most coped by relying on the academic community for support. To a lesser degree, faculty compartmentalized so as to leave the stress at work and keep it from their home or private lives. Still fewer reported retreating from work. Least often, faculty admitted to adjusting the data collection tool in order to capture more satisfactory success rates for student performances on SLOs.

Most faculty coped with the increased stress at work by reaching out to the academic community. California's community college faculty see their colleagues, both within and across divisions, as valuable members of their social and professional networks. However, they also include in their networks peers at other colleges and universities and their students. Informants explained that they shared their feelings with friends and colleagues within the academy in order to help them manage stress. The second most identified coping strategy within this category was that informants maintained, and in some cases actually increased, the amount of time connecting within the college community. The third most reported coping strategy was participating in their professional organizations in order to focus on their professional identities as scholars and pedagogues in the larger academic community outside of the college. Fourth, faculty focused more on the value of working with students when the stress became distractingly pervasive. Last, informants shared the responsibility of the increased workloads with

other faculty within their departments; faculty took turns sharing the most weighted responsibilities.

The second type of stress management technique identified by informants was compartmentalization, which meant to mentally, emotionally, and physically separate themselves from work in order to protect their personal lives from added stress. Faculty reported three types of compartmentalization: (a) Mentally disconnecting when they left work, (b) Focusing on their own PD and delving into areas of study and anticipating future career goals, and (c) Exercising and self-caring.

The third category of stress management stemming from increased standardization and accountability was retreating from work in two ways: Informants reported often daydreaming about their retirement or leaving the profession altogether and reducing the amount of time they spent connecting within their college community, thus reducing the time they spent beyond the basic requirements for shared governance.

The fourth category of stress management was adjusting their data collection tools so as to avoid, or lessen, the negative scrutiny of their deans or any other person in authority who might question unexpectedly low student success rates.

Faculty Look to the Future

When asked about what they thought their work might look like in five years, the informants reflected on reduced professional status and an academic culture dominated by corporate values. The most frequently reported change was loss of professional control. Second, informants expected to spend more time writing reports and less time teaching. Third, the informants expected an increased saturation of corporate values into academic culture. Fourth, the informants expected a decrease of strength in the academic

community. The damage to the profession caused by President Bush's *No Child Left Behind* legislation hovered prominently in the imaginations of the college faculty.

Full-time Academic Faculty

In 5+ years, JJ Shot thought that academic culture at the community college would suffer. First, she thought that education would be increasingly run as a business; second, she anticipated that fewer faculty would perceive teaching as a lifelong career and instead would use teaching as a springboard into other careers, thereby undermining the function and value of tenure; third, she thought that the spirit of altruism would decline within the academy; fourth, she thought that the divide between faculty and college management would deepen and solidify; and fifth, JJ thought that faculty would spend more time reporting data than teaching.

In 5+ years, Macha Liadov predicted that the sciences would be better funded than the arts and that the humanities would be underfunded if decisions were made at the budgetary level based on SLO data since the data were most applicable to scientific disciplines. She thought that the data would be used to defund the humanities for the benefit of the sciences and also thought that faculty would be bullied into silence and compliance.

In 5+ years, Sinisalo thought that life would be boring for faculty because the standardization of education would restrict creativity and diversity of faculty personalities. She thought that faculty would leave community colleges like they did during the early period of *NCLB*, when teachers retired or resigned because of the limiting of individuality and diversity of expression. If SLO data were not already being

used to justify the utility of faculty work, it soon would be. Sinisalo was also readying herself for a fight against Sacramento over this issue.

In 5+ years, Inzil expected to be spending less time teaching and more time in paperwork. He explained that if faculty continued to lose control, he would return to research even though he would miss teaching students.

In 5+ years, Vog expected that California community colleges would be more like those in Asian countries, with high-stakes testing, or maybe like California high schools with their exit exams and lowered expectations.

Part-time Academic Faculty

In 5+ years, Marie Zeller expected that new teachers who were educated under *NCLB* would have no memory of what it was like before audit culture and that community college academic culture would change by attrition; faculty would not know that they used to have professional control and autonomy.

In 5+ years, Jeanine thought that the classroom experience would be unchanged but that all faculty would spend more time reporting data and that the full-time workload would increase even more due to report writing. In 10 years she expected to be a full-time faculty member.

Full-time Applied Faculty

In 5+ years, Pink Pig thought that there would be less faculty control and more standardization.

In 5+ years, Kate expected faculty to spend even more time reporting data, that their workloads would increase, and that the reported data would be tied to funding. She was unsure if her particular faculty assignment would still exist in 10 years.

In 5+ years, Poid thought that education would be worse off. He thought that California community colleges would look more like K-12, with standardized exams that required faculty to “teach to the test,” restricting a rich learning experience over demonstrating discrete knowledge.

Part-time Applied Faculty

In 5+ years, Susan Wilson expected that teaching would be more bureaucratic, faculty would be more focused on data instead of teaching, and that community colleges would be more like K-12 under *NCLB*, with more stress, more monitoring, less professional control, and increased power for college management.

In 5+ years, Michael thought that academic culture in the California community colleges will change through attrition, that faculty who did not agree with data-driven education would leave and make room for the more compliantly-minded, and that part-time faculty would acquiesce more to college management in order to receive future assignments.

Of the four possible changes in faculty work (see Figure 18), the most mentioned was the decrease in professional control. Of the 34 different types of responses to this question, 38.2% of the reported comments concerned loss of professional control.

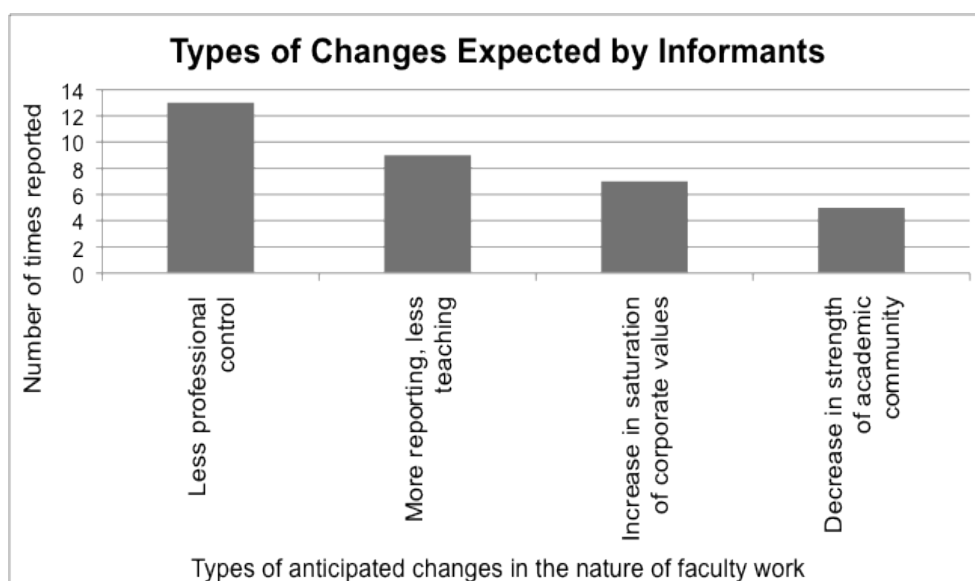


Figure 17. Informants expect four types of changes to faculty work.

They also anticipated more bureaucracy and standardization. They expected to see less tolerance for diversity in teaching and in faculty personality (see Figure 19).

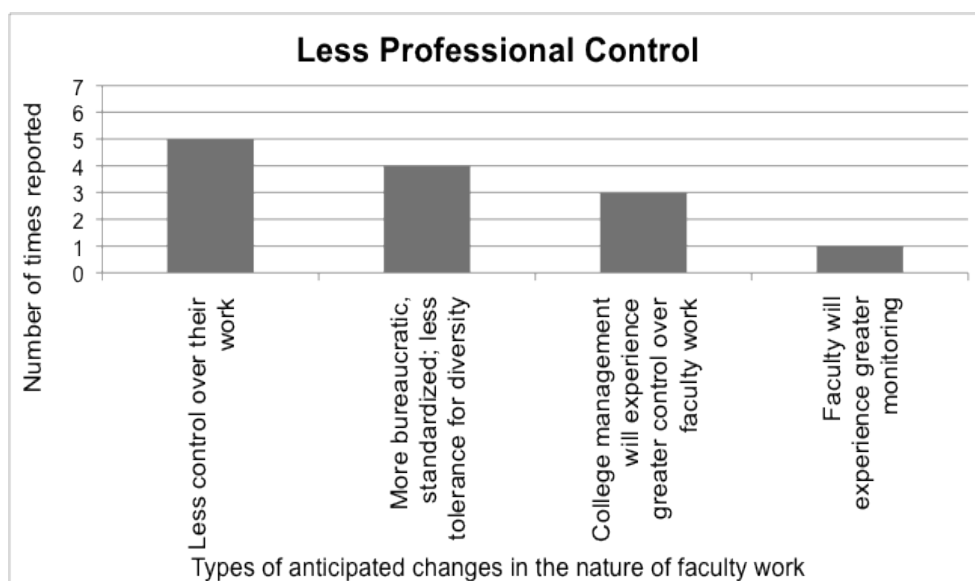


Figure 18. Faculty expect to lose more control.

The second most commonly anticipated change in the nature of faculty work in the next five years was more report writing and less

teaching time. This category made up 26.5% of the answers to this question (see Figure 20).

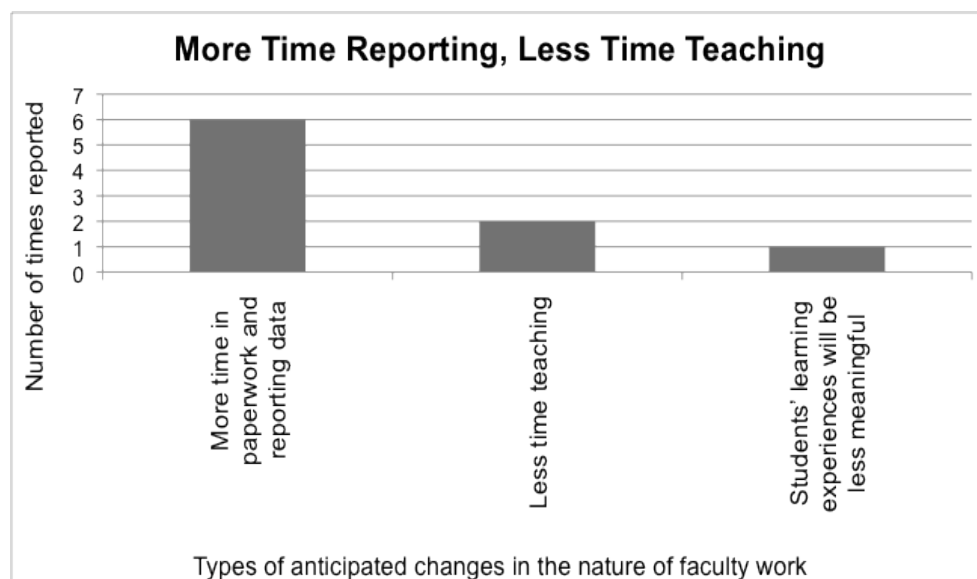


Figure 20. Faculty expect to spend more time reporting.

The third most anticipated change to the nature of faculty work in the next five years was that the academic culture would become increasingly saturated with corporate values. This category made up 20.5% of the answers to this question. The most frequently mentioned concern was that funding for faculty work would be tied increasingly to data and efficiency rates (see Figure 21).

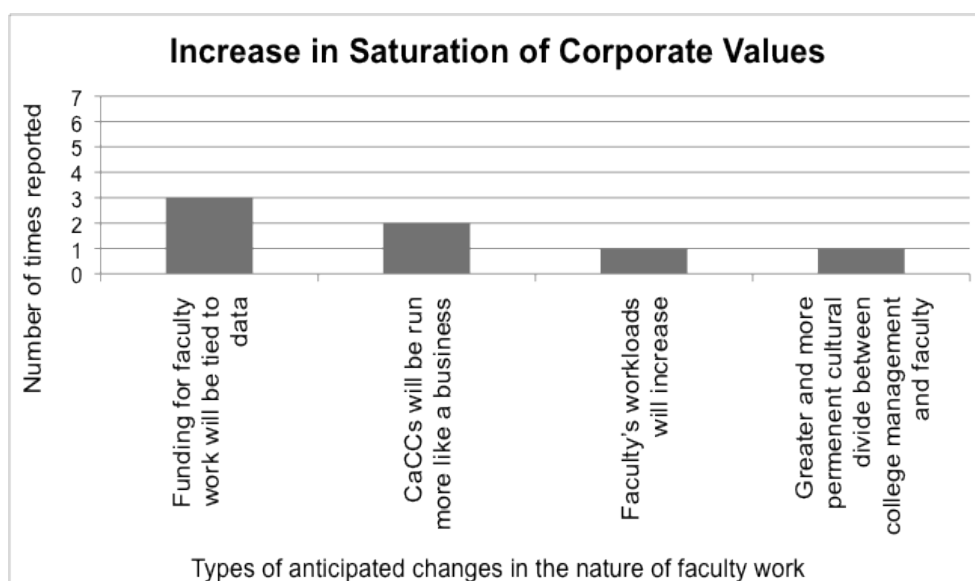


Figure 19. Faculty expect more corporate values.

Fourth, the informants expected that the strength of the academic community would decrease in five years' time. Concerns over the strength of the academic community and its value of collegiality made up 14.7% of the answers to this question. The first expectation was that the academic community would be weakened via attrition; as corporate values and accountability pressures mounted, faculty from the old guard would leave and be replaced by more compliant workers. They also anticipated decreasing collegiality and altruism within the academic community (see Figure 22).

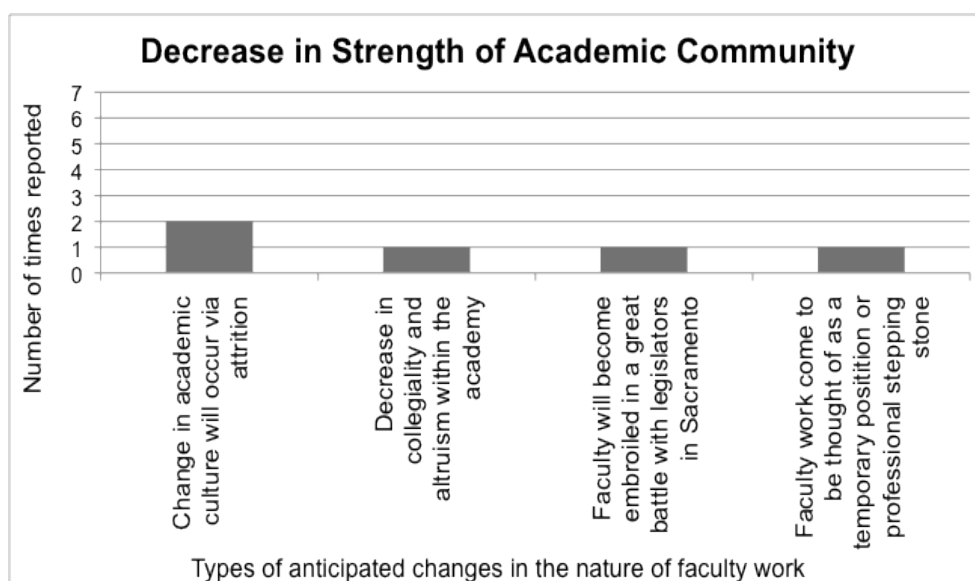


Figure 20. Faculty expect weakening collegiality.

Informants' 10-year Professional Outlooks

When faculty were asked about their 10-year professional outlooks, 75% expected significant changes, 50% of which expected to retire (see Figure 23).

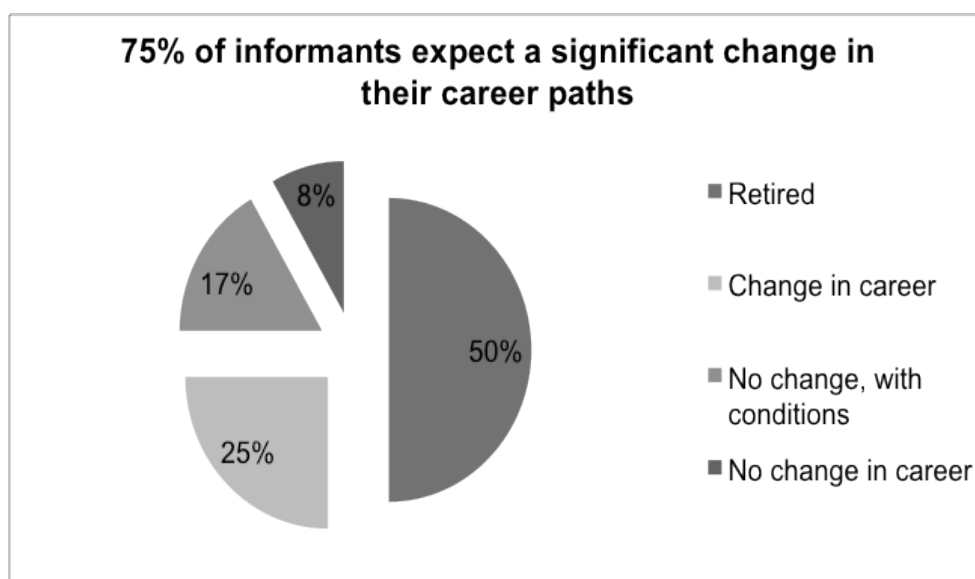


Figure 21. Seventy-five percent expect a significant career change.

Four of the informants said that they would retire and leave teaching all together, while others stated that they would retire within

the next 10 years but teach part-time, leave faculty work for other forms of employment, or remain as long as certain conditions were met at the college (see Figure 24).

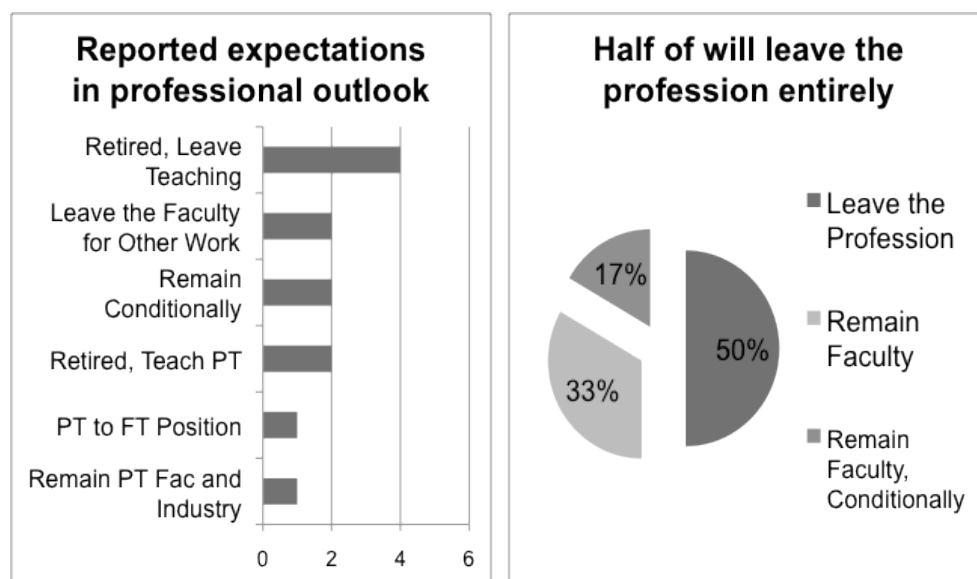


Figure 22. Half will leave teaching entirely.

The four informants who were anticipating retiring and pursuing other interests included Macha Liadov, Pink Pig, Sinisalo, and Susan Wilson. Macha, with over 31 years' experience and who was currently teaching full-time academically, expected to retire and work full-time as an artist. Pink, who also had over 31 years in the profession and who was a full-time faculty member in an applied discipline, said that she intended to retire and volunteer in adult literacy. Sinisalo, also full-time faculty in an academic discipline with over 31 years' experience, planned to retire and possibly volunteer for the college, but not in a faculty capacity. Susan, who worked part-time in an applied discipline and had

between 11 and 20 years of professional experience, believed that she will be retired and using social media in order to stay part of the professional community in her industry.

The two informants who expected to retire in the next 10 years but also wished to teach part-time included JJ Shot and Poid. JJ, who had over 31 years of faculty experience and was working full-time in an academic discipline, expected to retire and teach part-time while pursuing a new research area—she was also looking forward to spending more time with her children. Poid, who had fewer than 10 years' experience as faculty and was employed full-time in an applied discipline hoped to retire from full-time work and teach part-time overseas.

Michael and Vog intended to leave full-time faculty work for other work. Michael had between zero and 10 years' professional experience as faculty and was currently teaching part-time in an applied discipline. He thought that he would either be in college management, working in research at the doctoral level, or involved in international educational development. Vog also had between zero and 10 years' professional experience but was teaching full-time in an academic discipline. He expected to be in a position of management in higher education.

Inzil and Kate expected to remain faculty as long as certain conditions were met. Inzil, who had between 11 and 20 years' experience and was currently employed full-time in an academic discipline expected to be teaching for personal reasons. However, he admitted that he would have left two years ago because of losses of professional control. He explained that as faculty continued to lose control, he would return to research even though he would miss teaching. Kate had between 0 and 10 years of experience as faculty

and was employed full-time in an applied discipline. Kate was unsure if her particular faculty assignment would still exist in 10 years and if she would still be in it either way. If not, she would move into college management.

Janine was the one faculty member who expected to secure full-time work within the next 10 years. Janine had between zero and 10 years of professional experience as faculty and was currently employed part-time in an academic discipline.

Marie, who had between 11 and 20 years' experience as faculty and was currently employed part-time in an academic discipline expected no change in her professional career. She intended to remain teaching, empowering students to think more critically about the world in which they lived, and also expected to remain working in her industry outside of the college.

Chapter 5: Discussion

While four types of faculty were sought for this study (full- and part-time academic and full- and part-time applied), analysis of the findings revealed that the unit load and area of expertise had no significant impact on perceptions of audit culture and managerialism. Instead, two other groups emerged from the study: “managerial faculty” and “nonmanagerial faculty.” This chapter will describe the ideological differences between these two groups, draw connections to the ways that the informants developed as professionals, and reveal ways that the two groups expect to proceed in their career trajectories (see Figure 25).

A pattern emerged from the data that indicated that California community college faculty fall into two groups based on their willingness to adopt or adapt to managerial values. The differentiation was based upon their career outlooks and on the most predominant ways they chose to develop professionally. Most of the informants relied upon involvement with discipline-specific professional organizations, but also did not perceive that their development priorities aligned with those of college management.

Interviewer: *Please tell me the way that you maintain currency in your field? How do you continue to develop as a professional?*

Pink Pig: *Lots of reading. I read two or three professional publications on a regular basis. My professional organization, I am a comprehensive member, so when new literatures publish, they send me new literature. Conferences, workshops, our department ascribes to a shared based approach to learning. We regularly go to workshops and maintain connections with those schools too.*

Interviewer: *Do you think that currency in your field is valued by the college?*

Pink Pig: *Yes and no.*

Interviewer: *How so?*

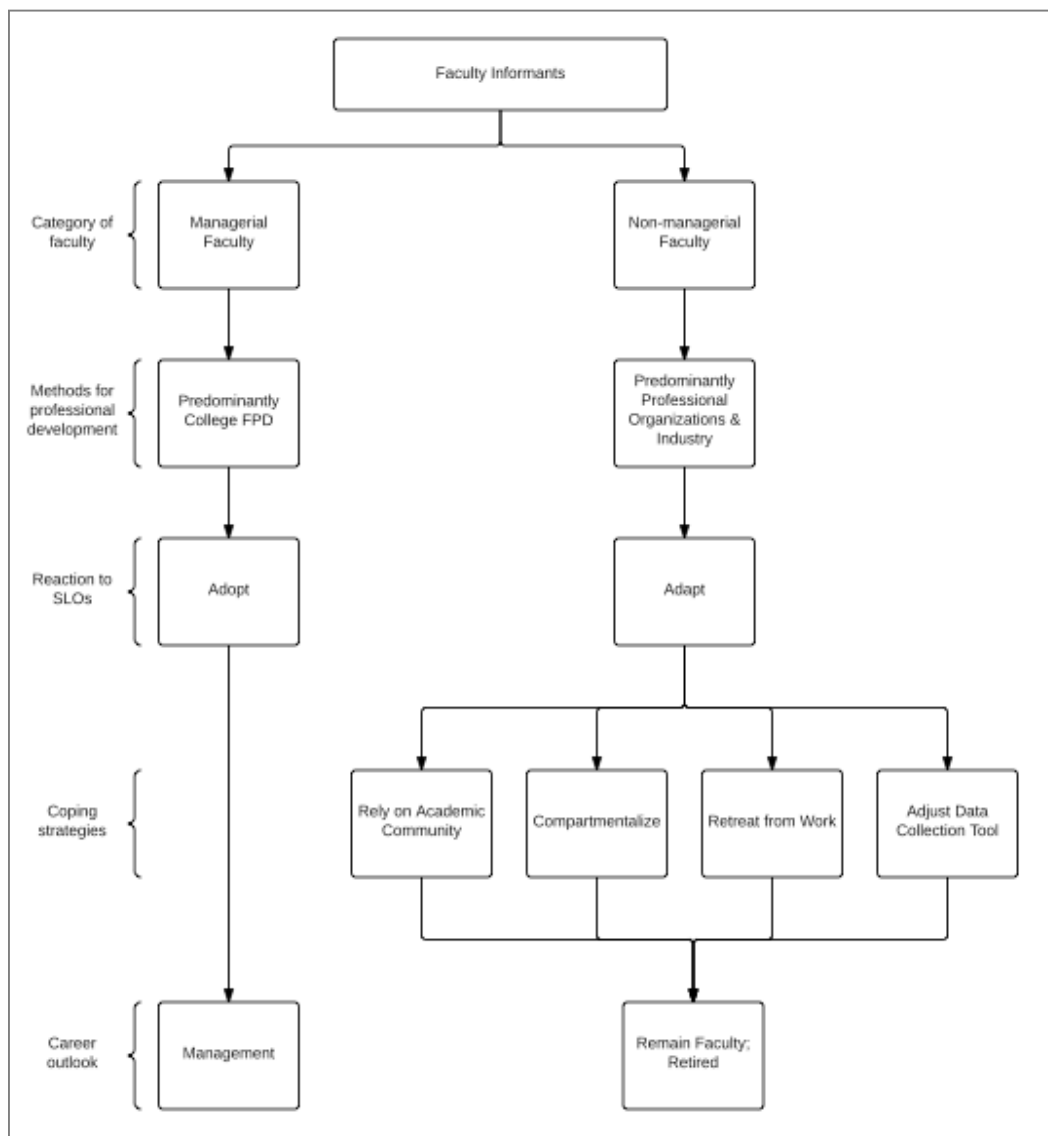


Figure 23. Faculty can be grouped into managerial and nonmanagerial categories.

Pink Pig: Obviously, if you are being evaluated, that's something you may address. Faculty professional development, that's something that could be addressed through conference attendances, things of that nature.

I think ever since we lost professional development money, that's been one thing that's really communicated that ... This sounds terrible—but there's truth to it—that if I am an administrator, I have problems with allocating funding to go to things related to accreditation, but if I am a faculty member, and no one's giving me money to go to my professional conference, like I had when I first came. That's an issue. I think it's the money involved.

Managerial faculty identified the college's formal FPD program as the primary source for their development, whereas nonmanagerial faculty relied upon academia and industry participation for their PD (see Figure 26).

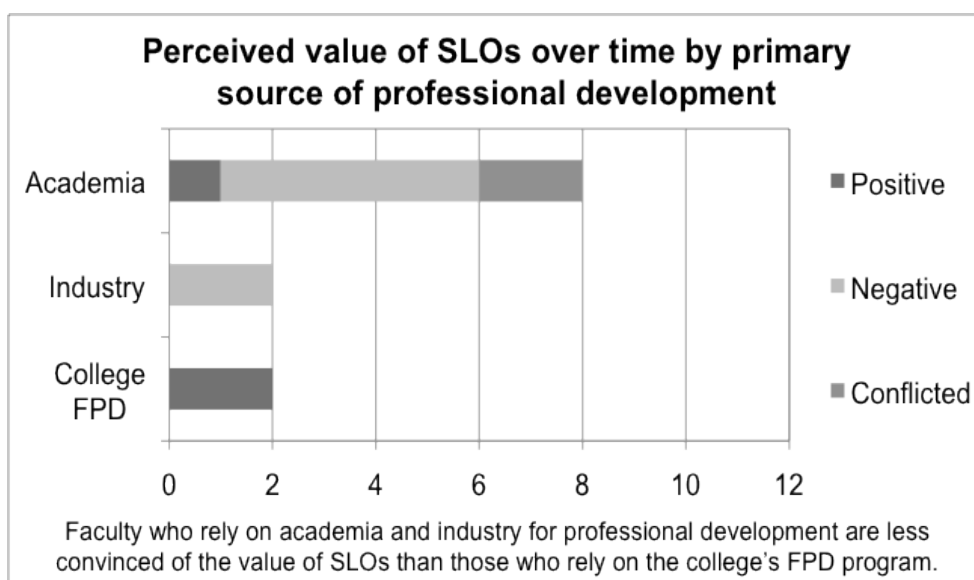


Figure 26. Informants who rely on the college's FPD consistently value SLOs.

Additionally, managerial faculty expected to hold positions of management in the next 10 years. By contrast, nonmanagerial faculty expected to remain faculty or to retire as faculty.

Faculty Responses to Audit Culture

Faculty who came under pressures of audit culture and managerialism responded in three ways: (a) Adopted managerial values as beneficial for the institution, (b) adapted to the new cultural logic of managerialism in order to continue in the profession, or (c) left the profession altogether. This study included faculty who both adopted and adapted to managerial values; it did not include informants who retired or left the profession. Managerial faculty initially and continued to perceive SLOs as valuable, but nonmanagerial faculty were more conflicted with SLOs over time. While 100% of managerial faculty maintained consistently positive perceptions of SLOs over time, 70% of nonmanagerial faculty held negative perceptions of SLOs (see Figure 27).

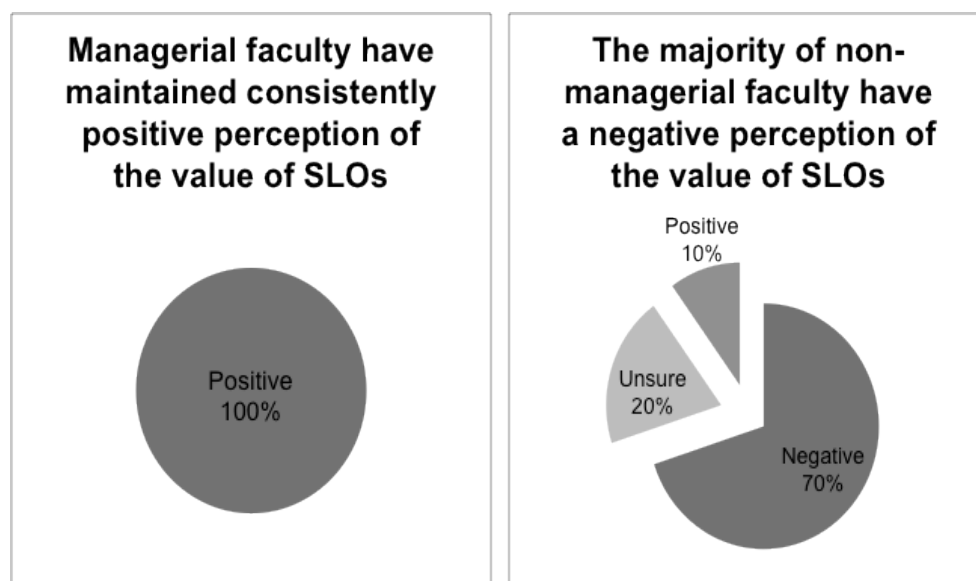


Figure 24. There is greater diversity among nonmanagerial faculty.

A handful of nonmanagerial faculty did not have high estimations of the value of SLOs when they were first introduced to them. Inzil was initially suspicious.

Interviewer: *OK. What was your initial reaction to SLOs?*

Inzil: *That's the first time I said that's fishy because now when I want something, I have to cook up a reason in my data. I know why, but I have to demonstrate it in this particular way. I don't like that. I find it to be at worst, disrespectful to the profession to do that because I'm not a machine. I know why. I don't know. I don't like the method. The method is really flawed.*

Marie Zeller associated SLOs with *No Child Left Behind*.

Interviewer: *Do you remember when you were first made aware of Student Learning Outcomes in education, either here at the college or from some other source?*

Marie Zeller: *Yes, in the form that I had a wave of school teachers in my classes, who had retired.*

Interviewer: *Who were students of yours?*

Marie Zeller: *Who were students of mine. Going back to college, because they're life-long learners. But they quit teaching because of No Child Left Behind. Then I started to realize, we're being assessed. They were very vocal on how they were no longer teachers and that's why they retired early.*

Interviewer: *Can you describe what those conversations were like?*

Marie Zeller: *One gal in particular, her name was Linda. Which, you know, it's easy to develop friendships with fellow educators, especially if they're even older than you. You naturally have a camaraderie. She taught, I think, sixth grade? So right in the middle, a real pivotal time. Everybody had to be on the same page, in the same book, on the same chapter. I don't remember where the demographic was, what the demographic was, that she was in. She just felt she couldn't be a teacher, she had to be tester.*

Interviewer: *What was your initial reaction to the idea of SLOs?*

Marie Zeller: *I didn't know what they meant and I really could not comprehend how they would be applicable. Not only did I perceive them as irrelevant, I couldn't see how that data was going to translate to a classroom. Because if I know I'm being assessed based on SLOs, I'm just going to fill them out the way they're supposed to look.*

Marie Zeller: *I don't see any legitimacy in it or honesty in it. There's none. I'll tell you what an SLO is. "F" means you're really bad, "A" means you're really good, "C" means you're average. The grade is the SLO. I don't know why we need to conjure up this formula. Either people get it or they don't. Either they perform or they don't.*

Pink Pig initially viewed SLO data as valuable for only the college's regional accreditors, but she soon realized that there was value beyond the data's usefulness to external evaluators.

Interviewer: *What was your initial reaction to the idea of SLOs?*

Pink Pig: *My initial reaction was that it was just an exercise that we had to do to check boxes for accreditation, and that there wasn't necessarily value to it. I think for me the thing that got me excited about it, honestly, is as I started working with it more and more, I saw the value of asking questions about why we do what we do, and questions about how we can improve what we do. I believe that any good instructor already does that, but to be able to do it in a more formal way, more formal dialog, in a documented way, seems like it carried a lot of value.*

Michael, a "managerial faculty" member, immediately accepted the value of SLOs and recognized their underlying corporate quality.

Interviewer: *Do you remember when you were first made aware of student learning outcomes and education, either here at the college or some other location?*

Michael: *Yeah, I think I became more aware of that through my experience with our local Union. It makes sense. I know there's mixed reviews on outcomes, but in the business realm, we have to have goals, and we have to have an idea for moving forward in a positive way. Whatever that goal might be, whether it be financial or an increase in business, percentage of customer increase, those types of things. I would think that the outcomes make sense. Maybe there's a lot of bureaucracy. Maybe it could be more streamlined, so I would probably agree with that.*

Susan Wilson's impression of the usefulness of SLOs did not change over time because she thought that they were never valuable, but she noticed that since the reporting of SLO data, her dean had intruded into her classroom work, which demonstrated the growing loss of pedagogical control of faculty at the same time that college management's power increased.

Interviewer: *Has your estimation of the function or usefulness of SLOs changed since then?*

Susan Wilson: *Not really.*

Interviewer: *No. Why not?*

Susan Wilson: *Right away I realized that is certainly a way they can assess the teacher's effectiveness by looking at the SLOs. So you certainly did not want to turn in any SLOs that were low. So you choose your information that you are going to use for your SLOs based on what will make you look the best as far as an instructor.*

For example, this Spring I was being evaluated. My dean came in for the class observation and decided that what I was doing was not conducive. The most conducive teaching methods for student learning and decided that I should use more of an interactive approach with the students and have some games in the classroom. Which in my mind, if I wanted to teach third grade I would be teaching third grade. That was my initial emotional response.

Interviewer: *Did you get a feeling that it was a suggestion?*

Susan Wilson: *Because I said, "Like, what do you mean?" And s/he said, "Well, I just observed a game being used in the classroom that worked really well." S/he didn't really say I need to use a game. I did find an online a game, and I tried it. I had two weeks left of my beginning class. I tried the game and it worked okay. I wasn't really thrilled with it. It was kind of fun. That class was ending. It's an eight week class. It was ending. My next class is the advanced class. S/he was going to be observing me in the advanced class where the first observation was in the beginning class.*

When my advanced class started, in the meantime, I was busy trying to find some kind of learning activity that I would, number one not be a waste of time for my students; number two, I have ages sixteen to sixty-five in my class—find something that everybody could participate in and not feel that it was a stupid kind of thing to be doing. I brought in, when the advanced class started the first week, I created one learning activity which I realized and had it printed up and everything. Then I realized it wasn't going to work very well. I did try another one in class. We started it. We did it for about two minutes. It was obviously not working. I stopped that.

I have a class of thirty-five students and it just wasn't going to work. Getting more panicked knowing that I had about two weeks to get something in place, in addition to teaching the regular material. I came up with a game with a small group. I ordered props online. I set these up. I had to type out the reference sheets for the leader of each group.

Anyway, I passed my observation. It was a very stressful Spring. I did almost quit.

JJ Shot explained that the constant focus on SLOs detracted from faculty efficacy in their primary duty, which was to teach.

Interviewer: *Has your estimation or the function or the usefulness of SLOs changed over time?*

JJ Shot: *No, and as a matter of fact, I think it distracts from our ability to do our jobs. I think we spend less time on teaching and preparing our classes and more time on paperwork.*

Marie Zeller was frank in her characterization of the value of SLOs over time.

Interviewer: *Has your estimation of the function or usefulness of SLOs changed since then?*

Marie Zeller: *It has diminished. (laughing)*

Interviewer: *How so?*

Marie Zeller: *It's bullshit. It's bullshit. And even the concept that you would have performance based on this nonsensical data. Especially SLOs. That's different than the assessment testing that's going on in schools. We live in a challenging socio-economic environment. We have plain, ready-to-go-to-university, middle-class students sitting right next to people coming in high, maybe trying to stay off the streets, but usually this is part of their function of living on the streets. I mean, we definitely have people who are not prepared for college; they are not college students.*

Poid's opinion of SLOs reflected Marie's, except that Poid focused more on the way that his time was wasted with tasks that college management and external stakeholders did not appear to value.

Interviewer: *Has your estimation of the function or usefulness of the SLOs changed since then?*

Poid: *Maybe gotten worse.*

Interviewer: *What do you mean?*

Poid: *I think it's crap.*

Interviewer: *Tell me about it.*

Poid: *Well, talking with other instructors from around the campus, being truthful with them. A lot of them do not take the time that is truly required because it's a joke. They give us one hour to do all the input. That's what we get professional development credit. It's one hour professional development to do all the SLO gathering and input; which is crap.*

I think a lot of the information is really just being skimmed, instead of actually taking the time. I don't think it's a true evaluation of the classes. I don't know. I can't give you a better one, but I'm just saying I don't ... Having it shoved down your throat is never a good thing.

Sinisalo offered a critique of SLOs and their continued importance to external bodies, explaining that SLOs were deleterious to teaching and were artifacts of the influence of corporate culture on the social institution of higher education.

Interviewer: *Would you say that your estimation of the function or usefulness of SLOs has changed since the beginning?*

Sinisalo: *I never liked the idea that somebody was telling me that I had to do what I was already doing and there was a certain ... It's like I am already doing that. Why do I have to prove that I am doing this?*

I had a friend of mine who was a teacher and she said something intelligent about education when she was standing in line with some people and a woman said, "Well what do you know? You are just a teacher." Hello? I am just doing a job? The ones who are doing a job are not being asked the questions about how to do things or is it broken? If it's not broken, what's the problem? To me it's the anti-intellectualism where you have these degrees that we don't understand therefore we need to regulate you so that we know that you are really doing it because we don't trust you to do it yourselves. Why do I have that piece of paper on my wall? That says a whole bunch of people at the University at California says I can do my job.

What is it the legislature doesn't get about that concept with all the rights pertaining thereto. That I think is the part about rights pertaining thereto is the ability to decide how to access our students based on our knowledge from the degrees we have gotten from reputable universities and the faculty say, "yes you know what you are doing." I think the State got involved, and I think there has been some kind of political atmosphere of anti-intellectualism of those ivory tower people; they think they know more than us. I think there is a complete lack of understanding on the part of Sacramento and a lot of other areas.

Now you got me going. It is the corporatization of the academy. This is the corporate world. I worked 5 years in the corporate world. I know about the

corporate world. We have a corporatization where we have to ... Our students are widgets and we have to have so many graduates and we have to increase every year we have to increase these graduates. You know how many sales meetings I sat through: "Let' go out there and increase what we did last year!" It's like the "rah, rah, rah" stuff.

Sinisalo also explained that faculty diversity was a casualty of the standardization and increased accountability that were hallmarks of corporate ideology. The corporate ideology eroded the collegiality between faculty and students and reduced the variety of learning opportunities available to students when faculty are diverse.

Sinisalo: When I went to college it was wonderful to get a professor who was absolutely crazy because they were different than anybody else. And then you get somebody who's really kind of very, shy and one of my Greek instructors got it wrong on the board and we were all so ... He was under tenure, it was his first year, he was so nervous and just got his PhD and one of his accents was wrong on the Greek word and we all said, "Should we tell him? I don't know. Should we tell him?" We were always whispering. "Should we tell him?" We don't want to embarrass him. We wanted him to get a good grade. He was a really good instructor so someone finally said, "Dr. So-and-So I think the breathing is wrong on that note." He went, "Oh you are right," and he put it in and we were all so relieved because we thought I don't want him to be fired but you all have all kinds of instructors and you form all kinds of wonderful relationships and they were all different.

The difference in instructors is what makes the college experience the experience that we want to have. Instructors are different. They are different people, they have different attitudes, different ideas, and it's about ideas, people! It's about ideas that you haven't ever heard of. It's about not necessarily agreeing with them but it's about hearing them. If you have professors who are locked into doing absolutely the same thing as absolutely everybody else because that's where this thing is going, you are going to lose creativity. You are going to lose a lot of people from ... You are going to lose a lot of good people just like you are losing a lot of good people in the K-12.

Interviewer: *Really good people, you mean teachers?*

Sinisalo: Yeah. Teachers are just burning out and fleeing after a few years or so. They are good people. What I fear most is this "widgetatization," corporatization. The whole aspect of putting out a product. In the corporate world, the product is the point and that's perfectly understandable. We all got that. We are working toward that but that's not the point of the academy. The point of the academy is to teach students about all men or things in the world. Make them well-rounded

people with the general education requirements from music to art, to sociology to ethnic studies, to anthropology to science. All those things make a well-rounded person. We have forgotten about general education and what it is for. It's the art, not even the liberal arts, it's to make you a well-rounded person, to expose you to ideas you've never been exposed to before. I tell people, college is meant to change you. You will not be the same person you were when you come out of here for these experiences.

By contrast, Michael perceived the infusion of corporate values into California's community college academic culture as necessary to maintain the institution's value to the economy, and greater efficiency in the process would ease faculty's resistance to the required accounting and reporting.

Interviewer: *Has your estimation of SLOs changed over time?*

Michael: *No. I see the benefit. I know in the system we have at the college, I talked to the person that's in charge of the input. Like many governmental agencies, there's a lot of layers of waste. It would be nice if there was a streamlined process, which I think would better match some of the modeling that we're seeing in our funding streams with the sector navigators and all that. I would like to see, kind of out on the side, a streamlined process which I think would create good will in those that have to participate in that process.*

From the standpoint of, I don't know, I guess we'll get to transactional ... The fewer steps you can make in the transaction, the less frustrated your customer is. Obviously the customer in this case is an internal customer. It's a faculty member that in some instances, the person that's having the responsibility, it's being added onto responsibilities that they already have. If they're already tasked with, maybe they don't have a full-time dean or they have what is called "super dean" where they're managing two different areas.

Effects of Managerialism on Faculty Interactions

with Students

On the one hand, informants explained that SLOs affected their student work in that it could inform one's teaching practice.

Interviewer: *Have SLOs influenced what you do in the classroom?*

Inzil: *Yeah. They do. The way I've tried to craft them, they have been effective. I have been able to use SLOs to identify weaknesses in what I'm doing in the*

classroom. For example, one of things that I realized is that what I was doing in the first few weeks of the lecture I found that I had a particular way of teaching a foundational concept.

I had a particular way, and I went about doing that. It involved a series of figures, and I would show some basic illustrations, and I would test students on that. I found that when I was doing SLOs and I would test people on that, they didn't really score as well as I would like them to, so I thought well OK, I should improve this in some way.

I decided I was going to start using simulation software, so I was actually going to come in with my laptop and have the simulation running. Instead of just pictures, it was more dynamic. I could play around with the models and stuff in class, and the SLO data suggests that it is an improvement. I realized it was an improvement immediately when I did it because I test people in class. I have footnote kinds of questions, and automatically I sensed right away that this is really making a difference.

That was nice. Would I have found that anyway? Yeah, probably. This made it happen a little faster though.

On the other hand, another informant said that SLOs were theoretically useful but that he and his department had not yet tested their concrete value with students.

Interviewer: *Sure, so you stay focused on teaching the students and reaching the students than you do on producing some outcome?*

Vog: *Right, because the reality is that if I'm doing that, I'm doing that well.*

Interviewer: *If you're teaching well, is what you're saying?*

Vog: *Yeah, if I'm teaching well, and I'm doing what I'm supposed to be doing, then the student learning outcome will take care of itself, right, because what I'm doing will produce those results.*

Interviewer: *Have you had to do that yet? Have you had low numbers that made you rethink the way you're teaching or how you're teaching?*

Vog: *No, again I don't think I've had to do that so far. I have thought of it so, for example like we all do, we have one assignment that seemingly went really well one semester, and the next semester for whatever reason they are just not getting, it so I have to revisit that somehow, but I don't believe I've ever gotten to the point where I've connected to learning outcomes, right?*

Interviewer: *Okay.*

Vog: *I mean in that process, I've kept within the classroom or within the structure of that, but I don't think I've again taken that step if I need to figure this out for the sake of the student learning outcome reporting or the outcomes.*

Interviewer: *Sure.*

Vog: *It is more for: How can this be more effective in the classroom? And again, how can the students become more effective with this one?*

Interviewer: *Sure but you haven't had any numbers that came up in on your SLO reporting that triggered, "Oh my gosh, I need to completely rethink how I'm teaching this one thing?"*

Vog: *No, but in the fall we'll look those numbers now, and you're making me think about it.*

Sometimes, too strict a focus on achieving an adequate success rate on SLO questions during the term deterred meaningful learning in class even when the informants previously reported that SLOs, and standardization and accountability generally, were necessary for the ongoing economic and cultural value of the institution.

Interviewer: *Have SLOs influenced what you do in your classroom?*

Michael: *Although I think from my own experience, when you're working in a particular field, you're going to bring in current information that might conflict with the textbook because the information might be dated. I might share information that might not be on a quiz, but just because I want to give them new information on what's happening currently, or challenges maybe that we're experiencing in the industry and what we look out for, different things like that that might not be in the textbooks [that have SLOs outlined in them].*

In order to remain in the profession, nonmanagerial community college faculty informants reported relying on four different coping skills in order to adapt to the changes in their working environment: (a) relying upon the academic community, (b) compartmentalizing, (c) retreating from work, and (d) adjusting the data collection tool (see Figure 28).

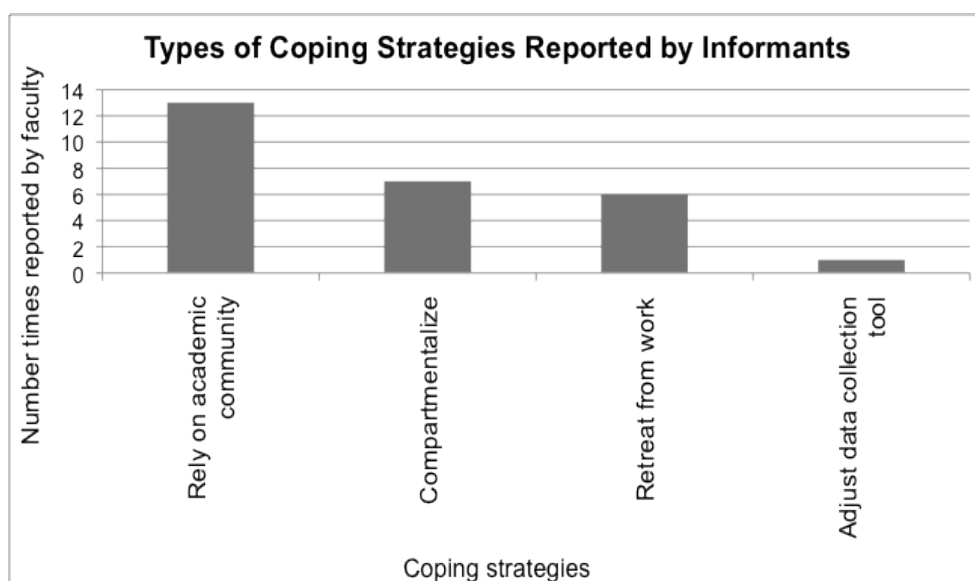


Figure 25. Informants rely on four coping strategies.

Most of informants coped by relying on the academic community (48%). When faculty reported relying on the academic community for support, many expressed that they shared their feelings with friends and colleagues within the Academy (departments, divisions, across the campus, and at other institutions). Many of the faculty also reported maintaining or increasing the amount of time they spent connecting with the college community; this could be in shared governance, Union work, or within departments (see Figure 29).

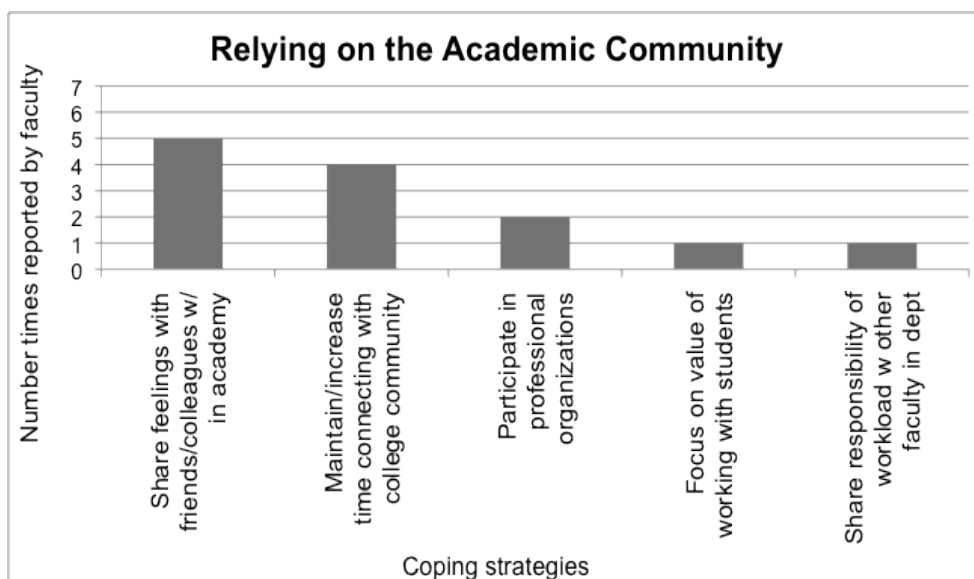


Figure 26. Most reported is reliance on professional social network.

The second most reported type of coping strategy was compartmentalization, which accounted for 26% of the identified strategies. The informants explained that they compartmentalized the stress of work from home (see Figure 30).

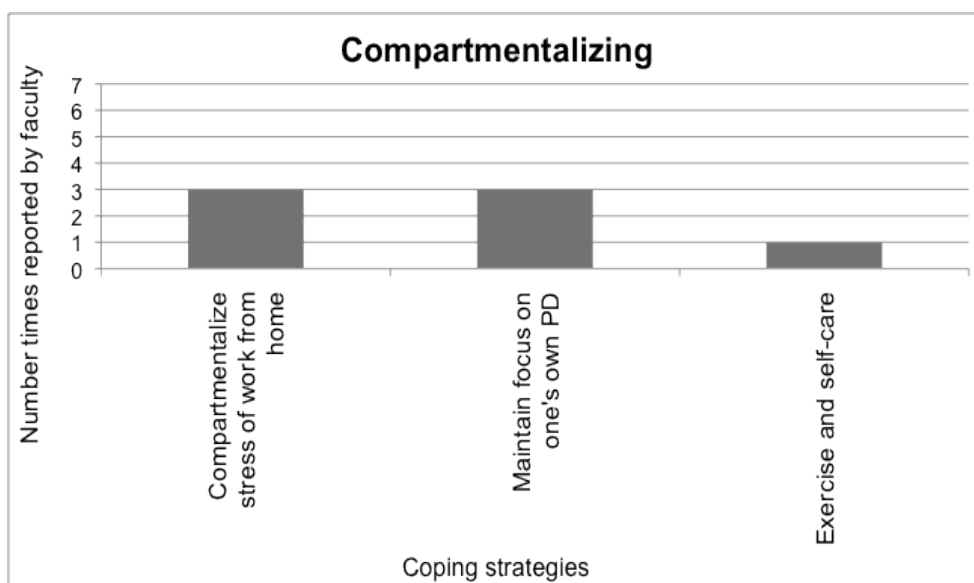


Figure 30. Second reported is compartmentalization.

The third most reported coping strategy was to retreat from work, which accounted for 22% of the identified strategies. Faculty retreated from work by daydreaming about retiring or quitting, reducing the amount of time spent connecting within the college community, and volunteering less of their time to students and colleagues (see Figure 31).

The fourth most reported type of coping strategy was to adjust the data collection tool, which accounted for only 4% of the identified strategies (see Figure 31). Faculty adjusted their data collection tools by using a selective sampling technique in order to appear more effective. While 4% may seem like an insignificant percentage, this researcher included it because she suspected that it was an underreported response to increased performance pressure. This researcher's suspicions were informed by her own participation in data collection and reporting, as well as in passing conversations with her fellow faculty.

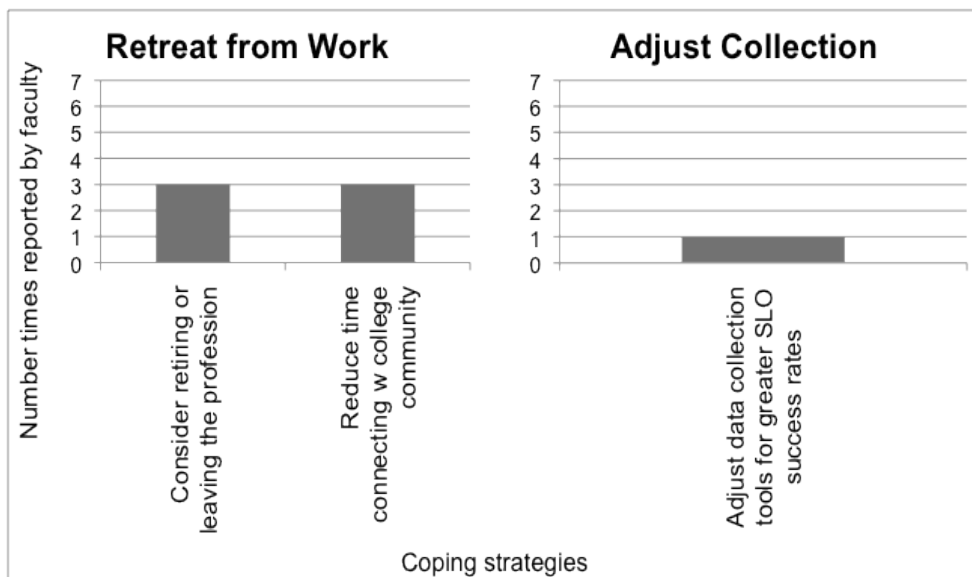


Figure 27. Third and fourth most reported strategies.

Not surprisingly, nonmanagerial faculty who adapted to increasing managerialism did so in order to continue performing faculty work, characterized by working with students and with colleagues in shared governance. By contrast, managerial faculty perceived teaching as a temporary position until they could move into management—college management or in management in another nonprofit institution. Therefore, the majority of California’s community college faculty disagreed with the managerial values being forced upon this particular labor group, but at the same time, a strong minority of managerial faculty supported the college’s official PD program. Since the financial crash of 2007, this faculty sample no longer received financial support to attend conferences and workshops for area studies, like the American Anthropological Association’s annual meeting, the annual meeting of the American Astronomical Society, or the Conference on College Composition and Communication.

Managerial logic was pressed upon the cognitive landscape of higher education at the community college level through language practices. In effect, student success rates

on SLOs were commodities that were traded for autonomy or even the right to exist. The product, SLO data, shaped the faculty's ability to conceptualize their work. Faculty spent more time both at work and in their downtime, thinking about how to retool their pedagogies in order to increase student success rates of particular SLOs. The effect was that faculty interpreted their value at work in part by the data collected from their students, which had also increased their workload. All of the informants, both managerial and nonmanagerial, perceived an increase in their workloads as a result of data collection and reporting of SLOs. Over half of the faculty (58%) did not think that the data collection and reporting were valuable to their work (see Figure 32).

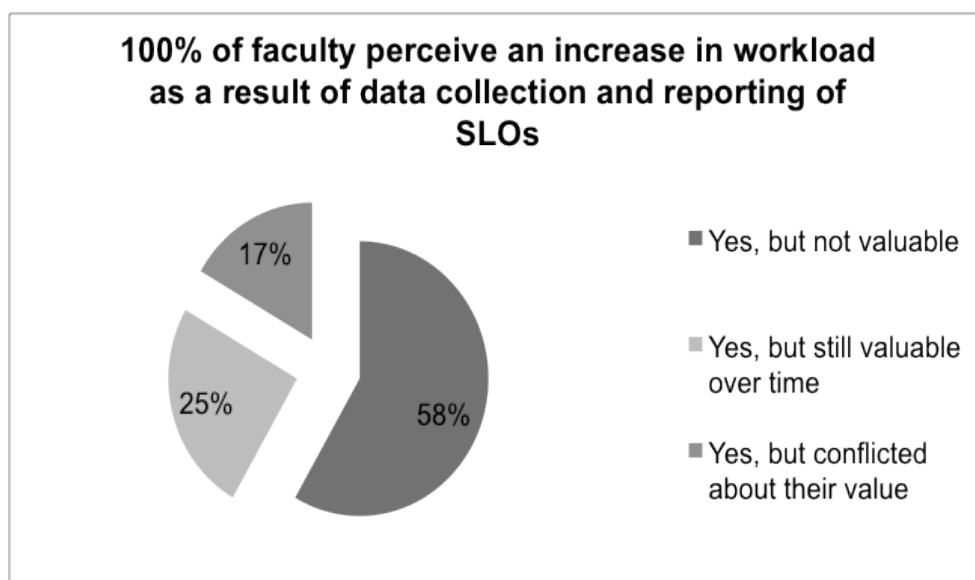


Figure 28. Nearly 60% do not think that SLOs are worth the effort.

Despite the lack of consensus between managerial and nonmanagerial faculty, all of them reported having increased workloads due to the increased pressure to quantify and report student success rates. Inzil explained that the formulation, collection, and reporting of success rates were not as much as in the beginning; the amount of time

faculty put in was much less since the work was mostly just maintenance of the database with annual updates.

Interviewer: *Have SLOs effected your overall workload?*

Inzil: *People just kind of come up with what they think is a good idea and they basically take SLOs from the various classes that are in the program and they try to combine them in a PLO.*

Interviewer: *Right.*

Inzil: *That sounds like a lot more work because it's really unclear how the changes that you see in that, how you make changes in the individual classes, if I had to do that, it sounds worse. So I don't have as much work.*

Now I have a system down. I've been doing this for so many years now, it's not really a lot of work right now.

While full-time faculty shoulder the greatest amount of responsibility in the formulation, collection, and reporting of SLO data, part-time faculty are expected to participate increasingly in the process, and informants reported that their workloads had not been offset by the new requirements.

Jeanine: *The workload increases for me in my off-time, or even in the time that I get paid for, then yeah it bleeds into my personal time.*

Interviewer: *Do you have a 'for instance' for that?*

Jeanine: *For me, perhaps, again, we'll use winter term. I will probably spend a week total time ... let's do 20 hours preparing for the spring. That's 20 hours I could be watching the Kardashians or something.*

It caused great anxiety for some faculty who worked outside of a quantitative field, and they spent time trying to manage their emotions so that they could do their work. As a result, it took more time and effort to collect, analyze, and report student success rates.

Interviewer: *Have SLOs affected your overall workload?*

Macha Liadov: *Yeah.*

Interviewer: *How so?*

Macha Liadov: *Because I have a very difficult time working with statistics and then drawing conclusions from statistics. It's very difficult for me, so it is like I have to take tranquilizer to do it. It creates a lot of stress. I am not used to that. I am not an accountant. I don't have the training, and I don't think I have the capacity to do this, because it requires a different way of thinking.*

The increased workload of data collection and reporting was made worse by the lack of additional compensation, in the form of pay, reassigned time, or in PD hours. That uncompensated work caused frustration and increased acrimony.

Interviewer: *Have SLOs affected your overall workload?*

Poid: *Yes.*

Interviewer: *Tell me how so?*

Poid: *The hour that we're given is really a joke. It takes one you have to track everybody down, full-time and part-time. You have to track them all down. You have to get them, it takes them time to take the SLO material out of what they're teaching, whether it be exam, or practicals, or labs, and accumulate that data so they can give it to me. I have to take data and again input it into the individuals SLOs. Not only is it taking more of my time, it's taking more of their time.*

Still, managerial faculty thought that the main reason for their colleagues' frustrations with SLOs was due to the inefficient process, not with the program itself.

Interviewer: *Have SLOs affected your overall workload? This from your perspective.*

Michael: *Absolutely.*

Interviewer: *Tell me about that.*

Michael: *Recently I had to get more involved than I probably would have liked to, but I was willing. I have to make it into a situation where I didn't quite understand. The full-time faculty in my area left, so someone that has no experience in my discipline had been asked to work with our SLOs. They've done a good job for the most part.*

The full-time faculty from the other discipline of study had no clue as to anything to do with our discipline. The part-time faculty haven't had to get more involved and from some not getting involved, I've had to get more involved. I tried to assist

in three classes that I don't even teach in trying to help revive the SLOs. It became a little problematic, again with the layers of process.

I think the root of the problem is—my sense is that there's a lot of wasted time and frustrated people in this process. If we could get that frustration gone through streamlining the process or maybe even giving more autonomy or authority to have those one-way conversations with the subject matter experts rather than it being that it drew someone that doesn't really know, cascade that information out, get information back, take that information and sometimes things get lost. Yeah, I would see some type of a database or input mechanism where you can get the feedback from the faculty and have it somehow correlate to where that information could then be brought over into the maybe more ... We do a lot with e-mail, but it would be nice to see some type of, and I haven't really been in WEAVE too much, that system that used, but if there was a way to have the information, that might have been sent via e-mail, brought into that somehow. I don't know what that would be ... That would be an IT question, because there's a lot of e-mails going back and forth.

The managerial logic impressed upon the cognitive landscape through language practices was a form of commodity fetishism, where efficiency data were conflated with evidence of effective teaching. However, since over half of the informants felt that the data were not valuable, it was possible that there were forces stronger than the faculty that were enforcing this managerial conflation. In essence, California community faculty were losing professional control and autonomy to external forces, but a significant minority of faculty accepted the rightness of managerial logic even though there was no data to support that the quality of education was improved through efficiency.

Of the informants who reported that their personal lives were affected by the increased stresses of work, their responses illustrated varying degrees of disturbance, ranging from mild irritation to rage. Inzil was mildly annoyed.

Interviewer: *Have SLOs had an effect on your life outside of work?*

Inzil: *No. I guess not, other than it does make me dislike what I'm doing a little bit.*

Sinisalo was irritated.

Interviewer: *Have SLOs had an effect on your life outside of work?*

Sinisalo: *My life outside of work? I just get irritated. I think the whole concept and the whole drive for SLOs has been very depressing and I was on the SLO committee for about a year because no one else was available, and I would literally feel like I want to throw up before I went because I can't buy into it. I find it repulsive, and forcing people to do these things and a lot of people don't understand or a lot of divisions don't collect data like we do. We do it because we have to, and we always have.... Other divisions don't necessarily run databases all the time to collect all of their data. They had to learn to do this in some other way. I found a lot of people were really upset and frustrated, and this was my impression. I talked to my husband and was like, "You know this is just depressing what they are doing. I think that they are trying to put us into some kind of straight jacket, and they are not allowing education to happen here. They are allowing corporatization to happen here."*

Marie Zeller was angry.

Interviewer: *Have SLOs had an effect on your life outside of work?*

Marie Zeller: *Yes, it's made me angry.*

Interviewer: *Tell me about it. What do you mean?*

Marie Zeller: *Because of its futility. I have a deep, deep standing, even before my consciousness about the corporatizing of America, and the world, for that matter, even before that came into my consciousness, I was always extraordinarily superstitious of this assessment. What are we doing with this data? It doesn't work anyway. It's phony data, so who has an interest in that?*

The other thing I'm suspicious of is how many people do we have to pay to process all this data? It's pointless. Now that I realize the push towards corporatization of education and to completely homogenize it, which corporate leaders' children will be immune from: They will get art, they will get P.E., they will get all the critical thinking skills in the world, all the mentorship, all the tutoring they need. It doesn't apply to them, and those are people who have a vested interest in quantifying us. We're not a business: We don't put out product.

The cumulative effect of the mounting frustrations was that faculty's attitudes about their work in the California community college system were changing, mostly negatively.

Marie Zeller felt demeaned while others in positions of greater power were elevated.

Interviewer: *Okay. Have SLOs influenced your attitude about your job?*

Marie Zeller: *Yes, I find it demeaning.*

Interviewer: *How so?*

Marie Zeller: *Like I mentioned before, I find it just an extreme exercise in futility. I don't see that the data has any, in itself, quantitative value. I just see it as an exercise to employ more administrative assistants. I can't imagine, I see the data creating more cost than it does result. It's just making bureaucracy bigger.*

Being in the arts, and seeing teaching as an art, you can have all the knowledge in the world. It doesn't mean you're good at passing it on, and it doesn't mean you're good at passing on valuable information. You can talk about the stars all day long, and it's not going to do me any good. But I can learn a lot about how the universe rolls through a really good astronomy teacher. You know, the physics of it, and all of that; I can allow my mind to just go crazy in exploration and make me a more critical thinker.

Sinisalo also felt like her professional status was being stripped away in this process.

Interviewer: *Have SLOs influenced your attitude about your job?*

Sinisalo: *My job didn't change dramatically due to SLOs but it influenced my attitude toward my job as a faculty member, as a member of the faculty here in the fact that, like I said, I was on the SLO committee. Listen, we spend a whole heck of a lot of time doing this. I don't, but I know my colleague does, and other people spend a whole heck of a lot of time doing all this nitty-gritty data collection because everything must be data driven. Absolutely everything must be data driven. If we don't see numbers from you we don't believe you.*

Einstein has that quote: "Not everything that counts can be counted. Not everything that can be counted, counts." That is the best. You can't count everything and make a significant decision. There's lots of things that don't end up in quantity.

As a member of the faculty I think they are treating us like we ... They are absolutely ignoring the fact that we have graduate degrees that enable us to do our jobs to evaluate our students, and to correct efficiencies, and to run this place appropriately. We don't need the help of the legislature. We don't need corporate

interests pumping money into lobbyists because it's all about the money. Whatever it is, it all comes down to follow the money. There is money being generated somewhere for somebody to do something with all these SLOs. You better believe it. Follow the money. There is money being made off of this stuff somewhere. Somehow along the line because all the corporate interests because that's how they work. They are interested in money, that's what they understand and putting out the widgets.

That's what frustrates me. That's what makes me so angry is the lack of trust. They have written us off as aliens that don't play nice. They can't control us. They want to control us and they can't control us and we don't want to be controlled. That's the thing about the academy is it breeds people who don't want to be controlled and that's the point. It's a complete insult to all of our degrees that are hanging all over the wall and yet these people wouldn't dream of going to anything but the top specialist when they have a cold. You got an MD, better have an MD. There's a real dichotomy here. If you are a sociologist, we can just tell you what to do. If you are an MD, and I happen to have a broken leg, "Do what you want. I trust you. "

Poid felt like his time was wasted and, because there was no transparency, he felt manipulated by political forces.

Interviewer: *Have SLOs influenced your attitude about your job?*

Poid: *When it comes to the SLO part of it, yes.*

Interviewer: *What do you mean?*

Poid: *It's just a pain in the ass. It's unnecessary. It's just something that we're forced to do and done begrudgingly. The old term "dragging and screaming down the hallway." It's just ... I don't know.*

I still don't trust it. I think it's what it comes down to. We've already seen it start to evaluate whether we get certain moneys or not, so I'm sure sooner or later it's going to get someday twisted to the point where it's going to be in our evaluation.

Changes in the Nature of Faculty Work

Faculty were expected to maintain communication with the college community and with students, but that increased amount of work was not acknowledged as work—it was invisible. Faculty felt depleted and taken advantage of.

Interviewer: *Would you say that the work that you do today as faculty is different from the work that you did when you began teaching at the community college?*

JJ Shot: *Absolutely. Before I would probably spend an hour a day on the computer. Now, you cannot get your work done unless you're on, and I'm not even in a computer-related discipline; I cannot get my work done between checking emails, putting in data, receiving data, and online classes. I cannot get my work done if I'm not on the computer I would say four to six hours a day. That includes time where we used to be able to go home and shut off, but the nature of the job now is there's no shut off.*

When your students are expecting, even though I say on the syllabus and communicate with them, that I don't sit by the computer twenty-four hours a day, they do expect that. That comes with 2013, but that on top of all of the other stress and deadlines and SLOs.

Interviewer: *The administrative duties that you have to perform and just the information that you have to process regularly, and then communicating with students.*

JJ Shot: *Yes.*

When faculty had to audit other faculty for success rates on SLOs, faculty creativity could be stifled. They felt pressured into giving up pedagogical control so that their professional evaluations would show recognizable effort at increasing student success rates on discrete knowledge and skills. This loss of professional control that was policed within the faculty increased tension and division among faculty.

Interviewer: *Would you say that the work that you do today as faculty is different from the work that you did when you began teaching in the community?*

Macha Liadov: *It had nothing to do with SLOs.*

Interviewer: *No?*

Macha Liadov: *Something else. Yeah, I would say that because of the way I have been evaluated, yeah. Because of the criteria that was used for my evaluation, instead of giving incentive to be a better instructor, what they did, it really depressed me, and I was extremely discouraged completely. Completely. Instead of trying to invent ... I used to invent things, and there was this pleasure of inventing because some people would appreciate it, but you know that's the thing*

that I really like, and I spend a lot of time and effort. I am not being appreciated by my peers or by my superior. It's like saying, "Okay Macha, just shut up."

My colleague told me, "You are not using your book, you have to use your book." Then when she said, "You are putting too many Black people on your syllabus." Then there was a picture of Barack Obama on the screen. Okay, he's Black. The father, the mother. And she said, "Why are you showing me?" It's like when you have this type of person, it's like saying, "Okay, cut this arm, cut this, cut this."

I felt like I didn't know what to do. I thought I was doing a good job. She castrated me. It was a castration, if you can say that. It was a castration. It was a mutilation. It was horrible, that I didn't know who I was. It was a crisis of identity. Who am I? I don't know. I thought I was a good teacher.

In addition to feeling exhausted by invisible increases in workloads and divided by internal policing from external entities, informants reported that they were pressured by college management to perceive their work through a managerial lens. Even though success rates on SLOs did not mean that students were learning, faculty were pressured by college management to conflate what faculty recognized as successful learning with high rates of students successfully choosing the right option on SLO assessments—to mistake students regurgitate pre-determined answers to prove their good teaching.

Interviewer: How would you say that the work that you do today as faculty is different from the work that you did when you began teaching in the community college?

Kate: They're like, "you have to justify this, and you have to change you're teaching to this." I'm like ... "no, I'm not, because I don't want to." I would bring in my little articles to the dean at the time, and s/he's like, "well maybe you guys should ..." and here's the kicker, and this is why I don't believe in the value of SLOs, or whatever ... I believe we need to know that what we are teaching is going to assist the students to do what they need to do.

Then the dean says, "well then you guys should pick a different question."

Interviewer: So why is that ... what's the problem with that?

Kate: Because then to me, it shows that it doesn't really matter. If it's just, "oh, not enough people passed that, just pick a different question." Let's just make sure the answers are correct.

Interviewer: *So what matters is the reporting of numbers, not the question that's being asked?*

Kate: *Yeah. I'll take that risk. What matters is that we all get 100%, not how we got it. Then at that point, why don't I just tell the students the answer?*

Interviewer: *Of course.*

Kate: *If s/he has an issue with that, we'll just remove that one and put another question that her class is going to pass. That's just ... then what's the point of that? For this quiz, you're going to choose answer A, C, F ...*

Interviewer: *And it doesn't matter the question ...*

Kate: *It doesn't matter!*

Interviewer: *What matters is the right letter?*

Kate: *Yeah.*

Interviewer: *The answer is A, so say "A."*

Kate: *Mm hmm. (affirmative) That's not learning anything. I'll put it on the board. What did they learn? Nothing! But I'm reporting it.*

The informants reported that their work lives were more stressful as a result of the new standardization and accountability pressures. Since some faculty considered SLOs a waste of time, they resented the amount of time and attention given to the collection and communication of data that was required within departments.

Interviewer: *Do you think that your life is more stressful or frustrating as a result of the increasing importance on data driven education?*

Poid: *Yes.*

Interviewer: *Yes. How so?*

Poid: *Again, the wasted time and hours collecting. Stressful? How much of a pain in the ass is it to try to track down a group of people and have them give you the data. You're getting your rear end nibbled on by whoever your SLO coordinator is for the campus about, "We need your data. This is the deadline. You've got to get it in."*

Interviewer: *Can you think of a specific time that would be a good illustration?*

Poid: *Yeah. This semester, we had a guy that hurt himself. He's had to drop out of teaching. We had to have another adjunct double up. Luckily, we were able to get an adjunct that still had enough time or enough hours that they could pick up the class. The data and stuff, I now have to wait for him to get done with the surgeries and all the different things that he's going to have to go through, before I can get the data from him for his SLO part; which isn't much, but still, it's going to probably mean I'm not going to get it.*

When it comes time for the input, which is now ... We're yearly, which is better. It gives me the spring and summer timeframe to do it. But still, I have to track this guy down. Luckily, knock on wood, we've never had anybody pass away. In another discipline in our division, they've had several do that.

The intensification of workloads makes the culture of work more stressful, resulting in greater acrimony in shared governance, particularly in budgetary decisions.

Interviewer: *Do you think that your life is more stressful or frustrating as a result of the increasing importance of data-driven education?*

JJ Shot: *I think when I'm at the job it's a lot more stressful. We just don't have enough time as a single person, as one entity, to do all the things so you spend a lot of your off time trying to figure out, okay, how am I going to get all this done.*

Yeah, I think anywhere from threatening; I've heard deans, for example, yell at people from down the hall. At shared governance budget meetings, there's been people told to shut up, get out of the room. It's just a real toxic environment if you don't do the kind of things for my health that I know I have to do.

Top-down edicts disguised as faculty-generated assessments were insulting to faculty, and to fund education at the district-level based on false measurements was perceived as inherently unfair and bad for education.

Interviewer: *Do you think that your life is more stressful or frustrating as a result of...?*

Inzil: *Yes, frustrating. When I'm asked to be doing things outside of that, it needs to be understood that those are main focus. I don't have time to research SLOs and to understand why we do it. I don't have time to be doing ... a lot of the extra administrative things I don't understand, and I don't have time to figure out why I need to be doing a lot of that stuff.*

A lot of things come down either from the administration here or from the State that I don't understand. I'm sure there's answers out there. I don't have the time

to look up those answers. I just really wish there was a better form of communication as to what I'm doing.

You know how many times I've been to SLO workshops, and I know more than the facilitators that are trying to tell me these things? We had a division meeting, and the college's SLO coordinator was there, and our new SLO person was there, and I felt like I knew more than what they were telling us. It's very frustrating. I don't think they know what they're doing.

There's this director brought down to do this SLO stuff, but it's like the directions are very poor, and so people don't really know. Faculty say, "How should I do this?" And they answer, "Anyway you want to." What does that mean, "any way I want to"? It's not our idea to do this. I think there needs to be more of an explanation as to what is going on here and what are the consequences.

As I mentioned before, all of a sudden now this affects our budget? What it's going to boil down to is who is more savvy at doing their SLOs. They're going to get the money then, right? That's scary. You're just more savvy at how you write your SLO action plans, and then you're going to get more money because of that? That shouldn't be the reason why you get more money, because you're more on top of that. I think that's a little odd actually.

Marie Zeller explained that faculty were made to feel vulnerable and, in order to buffer against that vulnerability, they felt pressured to inflate success rates.

Interviewer: *Do you think that your life is more stressful or frustrating as a result of the increasing importance on data-driven education?*

Marie Zeller: Yes.

Interviewer: *Okay. How so? Can you think of a specific moment or period in your life that illustrates your feeling?*

Marie Zeller: *When I fill out my SLOs, or when I'm dropping nonattendance students, I'm concerned about my attrition rate. As an educator I'm concerned, are four or five people really going to get this, every semester? And in the course of my life, if four or five, six people get it every semester, and the spin-off of them getting it, is, like I said, it's like religion for me. I'm proselytizing so far beyond the classroom.*

But when I'm filling those things out, I feel slightly threatened. I feel an impulse to bullshit, to put in what they want there, because it's going to be evaluated by somebody who has absolutely no concept of what it takes to be an educator, or the purpose, especially at the community level, then purpose of community college. And I think that it has an agenda far beyond the classroom.

Interviewer: *Can you think of a time when that was particularly stressful or frustrating for you?*

Marie Zeller: *Not so much when it started, because, really, the full-timers handled it. But then when [part-time faculty] started doing it, and we felt an indication as to how to respond.*

Interviewer: *What do you mean?*

Marie Zeller: *They wanted good SLOs. Everybody just wants to fill in the bubble with a nice little happy face at the end. If I'm going to fill out a report, I would like to be self-critical in that process and not feel jeopardized by that. I would like to use it as a personal critique. And I think that occurs with accreditation, that our accreditation is ... People, when we do self-study, are afraid to address legitimate concerns, because, well, then we'll get flagged. All this self-study is kind of a joke because we're critiquing ourselves not critically for betterment. We can't be objective critiquing ourselves, or legitimate in any way, because everybody is worried about what is this information going to do, and how is it going to be reflected upon me personally, not our demographic, not the state of the institution, but on me personally?*

The loss of public trust in faculty's ability to educate was stressful to informants, and it was reported that anxiety was caused by the thought of further standardization of teaching. Informants feared that California community colleges would operate like the K-12 system under *No Child Left Behind*.

Interviewer: *Do you think that your life is more stressful as a result of increasing importance on data driven education?*

Pink Pig: *Yes, it has.*

Interviewer: *How so?*

Pink Pig: *For one thing I think to some degree it takes away trust in the instructor. Unless we have numbers to back everything up, some people aren't believing that we are teaching our students, and I really have concern for that. I hate that perspective—that I can't take this person with this training and experience and put them in an industry position and trust them to do what they are supposed to do, and do what's right for the stakeholders.*

I am concerned about the fact that we may be moving towards more standardization, in courses, and that what I teach has to mirror exactly what someone else teaches in the same course. I am concerned about that, and that's a

reason that the data-driven has some part of that too. I hate what I see in the high schools, not just high schools—elementary and middle schools—where every teacher uses the same textbook and everyone is on the same page, the same day of the semester, no matter what the kids do. I am worried about that happening again.

The reliance on SLO success rates was dehumanizing teaching, and that dehumanization was reflected in the changes in the college's formal PD program.

Interviewer: *Have SLOs affected your overall workload?*

JJ Shot: *Even though they're electronic it does take some time if you want to be thorough to meet with people, other people who teach the same class, to input data and evaluate that data. It seems that the direction that we're going from the Chancellor's office all the way through our campus is training. In other words, there's so many other ways you could professionally develop.*

For example, if you took our college's formal Professional Development program catalog from, say, three years ago, it was a lot more about diversity and colloquial and actual experiences from faculty. Now it's training, training, training. You begin to feel like, what would be a good word? You feel like you're a puppet rather than a professional at times.

I'll give you an excellent example. For example, on the college's formal Professional Development program calendar we used to take a trip to the Museum of Tolerance. As a faculty and administrators and staff, we'd go and, of course, it's very thought provoking, it's very in-your-face stop-and-think-about, okay, what have you said or done as a professional that might minimize or hurt your students, but you weren't even aware of it? Let alone all the other implications of that museum.

Now the college has taken away the ability to transport faculty on the college's formal Professional Development program trips. They stopped funding things like entrance fees. This is a great example also of how this is a corporate divisiveness technique instead of a corporate cohesiveness technique.

Macha Liadov described the way that data-driven education changed the fundamental nature of teaching for many faculty, and it was salient to recall that Macha had over 31 years' experience in faculty work. This recent change triggered anxiety attacks, greatly diminishing her sense of well-being.

Interviewer: *Do you think that your life is more stressful or frustrating because of the increasing importance on data-driven education? Can you think of a specific moment or period in your life that illustrates your feeling?*

Macha Liadov: *I figure I said before when I say that sometimes because of the SLO and all that, I feel so pressured, and I have anxiety attacks, and I have to change the activities that I do outside of the school; because the report is due, and I feel I am not prepared, and I am not qualified to do this. I don't know how to do it. The thing is that some people will say, "Okay if you don't know how to do it, we are going to train you." It's not about that. If I was interested in being a business woman, I would have been one.*

People do not understand that it's not an issue of funding, of training. It has nothing to do with that. There's an issue of understanding the nature of our work. Are you going to ask a poet to be a policeman? Are you going to ask a baker to be the president?

This is wasting creativity. It's like cutting the wings off people and saying, "You know what, instead of using your time to improve the quality of your teaching, you are going to be spending your time working with numbers." To me, this is the problem. Like when they say, "We want students first," it's not true because the students are not going to do anything with those numbers.

However, education must be made to be data-driven so that it can more closely model itself after the business world. The culture change in academia, particularly within California's community colleges, was stressful initially, but that stress will diminish in time after the new managerial values are fully naturalized into the new academic culture.

Interviewer: *For you, is it more frustrating, less frustrating, more stressful, less stressful with the increasing importance on data-driven education?*

Michael: *I think initially, maybe it would be more stressful, but as we come to an understanding of why and how, I think it's a positive. Again, I think it's just like any change or anything new. There's that learning curve. I think once we get past that, it will be ... I see a shift in education going more toward a private sector, not necessarily being privatized, but I see things that are being done in the private sector being beneficial to adopt and to try to maybe re-tool, re-key, re-frame the model so that it is more efficient.*

Interviewer: *Like adapt?*

Michael: *Yeah, because I think that this is what we see with the private universities and technical institutions that are very focused. Their outcome is*

really getting people connected with jobs. I think we're going to need to do that more. That's going to be data-driven, obviously.

As observed in England, when teachers changed their behavior to mitigate the stress in their lives from the increasing standardization and accountability, they either disconnected emotionally and physically from their work, or they left the profession through early retirement or resignation (Troman and Woods 2000). The informants in this study reported similar reactions to the culture change at their place of work: They either quietly accepted the values of managerialism, they adapted their ways of working within the environment, or they resigned.

When the California community college faculty adapted to the culture change, they either relied more heavily upon the academic community for support, they compartmentalized the stresses of their work from their lives outside, they retreated from work, or they adjusted their data collection tool so as to hide inadequate student success rates. Interestingly, California community college faculty departed from the English teachers in the Troman and Woods study in that a significant portion of the California faculty increased the amount of time they spent connecting with the college community in order to help them to adapt to managerial requirements.

One informant described that she had found a greater sense of empowerment at the college because her input felt more valued in division communications.

Interviewer: Do you think that your level of frustration that you feel might have an influence on your level of involvement at the college?

Jeanine: With this frustration, then I have this anger. Then I have this feeling that I need to speak up. The only way I'm going to be able to speak up is getting involved in the e-mail threads, and having a stronger voice, and going to meetings and getting to know more people and saying, "This is not right. What are you doing for the students? What are you doing for my students?"

It's a very different me than the adjunct that was hired years ago, who was ready to just float along and "you tell me what to do," and wearing rose-colored glasses, saying to others that "you must know what you're talking about because you're in your position." I'm quite a bit more mouthy than I was when I started, and it'll probably get worse. (laughing)

Some informants reported that they had increased their involvement in shared governance in order to understand why they were expected to develop, collect, and report student success rates.

Interviewer: *OK. Do you think that the stress or the frustration, the frustration that you feel might have an influence on your level of involvement at the college?*

Inzil: *No. I want to be more involved. I think that doesn't make any sense because if I really feel like the things that we're doing are not good, to be less involved would absolutely make no sense. I want to be more involved than that. That's why I've taken an interest in doing the SLOs because I really want to understand them and know why we do them and do them right. I do want to see the bigger picture here.*

However, many informants did not respond to the increase in stress by becoming more involved, they retreated. One informant explained that it was natural to pull away from the work community if the dynamic seemed emotionally abusive.

Interviewer: *Do you think that the level of stress, and this is just in your own personal opinion, do you think that the level of stress or frustration that you feel might have an influence on your involvement at the college?*

JJ Shot: *Absolutely. I mean, if people enjoyed it more they could—it sounds corny but—if they had a warm fuzzy feeling instead of "I'm just a mechanical wind-up doll here and what more do you want me to do?" There's no feeling that you're appreciated when you don't understand the concept behind the SLOs and assessment. You're being basically told that you're not valued unless you prove it again and again.*

Nearly half of the respondents relied on the support of their academic community in order to help them to cope with the increased stress from the increased accountability pressures at work. Most reported that they shared their feelings with friends and colleagues within the academy; faculty identified both individuals within their

departments, their divisions, other faculty members across campus, and colleagues at other institutions. California's community college faculty were not isolated within the community college system but also identified both university research faculty and high school teachers as part of their support network. Four of the informants explained that they either focused on maintaining or increasing the amount of time that they spent connecting within the college community, which was a departure from the English study from 2000. Two of the faculty reported the importance of maintaining participation with professional organizations within the academy, including the faculty Union at the local and state levels. One of the informants explained that she purposely focused on working with students as a way of buffering against the stress that came from accountability pressures. Finally, in this category, one faculty member explained that she shared responsibility of the workload with the other faculty within her department. The requirements of formulating, collecting, and reporting student data and contextualizing that student data within program evaluation reports increased her workload, and she explained that the department faculty took turns bearing the greatest burden of the responsibility for those reports.

The second most popular category identified for managing stress was compartmentalization. Approximately 25% of the identified strategies could be characterized as emotionally separating the realm of work from home in order to protect one's private life from the stress of work. Next, informants related that they maintained focus upon their PD and career trajectories, which was coded as "compartmentalization," because it took focus away from day-to-day work (shared governance, running programs, working directly with students) and moved that focus outside of the immediate

workplace. Last, one faculty member identified exercise and self-care as a way of managing the stress of work under increasing audit pressures.

The third most popular category for managing stress was to retreat from work. When faculty retreated from work, they reduced the intensity that they previously devoted to the participation in the local academic community of the college. Like compartmentalization, it was a strategy that faculty used to protect their exposure to the stressors. Over a fifth of the faculty admitted to retreating from work: Three informants fantasized about retiring or leaving the profession entirely, and three admitted to spending less time engaged with the college community beyond the basic requirements of employment. Retreating from work was different from compartmentalization because faculty spent less time physically as well as intellectually or creatively engaged with work. When faculty compartmentalized, they did not reduce the amount of time spent engaged in work; faculty who retreated did.

The last coping strategy identified was adjusting the tool to detect student success rates. When an assessment was given to students, and they performed poorly in one area that was intended to gauge mastery of a particular knowledge or skill set identified as one of the three or four SLOs, some faculty used discretion in order to glean more satisfactory rates to report to the rest of the faculty in the discipline, as well as to the division. This researcher suspected that 4% was a deflated number. From her own experience as a full-time, tenured community college faculty member who has been required to attend cross disciplinary, college-sponsored faculty PD presentations, and through casual conversations with other faculty members, it was likely that more faculty had adjusted exam questions and prepared students for particular assessments with the expectation that

students would score higher as a group in their mastery of SLO knowledge and skills.

Individual faculty felt vulnerable if their success rates dipped or were below the disciplinary faculty average. Conversely, faculty with high success rates were regarded as models for other faculty and lauded for their excellence in teaching. However, an investigation into the adjustment of the data collection tools was outside the scope of this thesis, but a study of the way that faculty communicated their data could be a logical follow-up study. The precedent for this kind of study into the inflation of student success rates was established in 2013 at the K-12 level when Common Core standard-bearer Michelle Rhee's D.C. schools came under investigation for inflated test scores that were previously used to bolster the validity of high-stakes testing (Resmovits 2014). While the adjustment to a tool used in order to detect mastery of an SLO does not mean that faculty inflated their success rates, it does mean that the data gleaned from the self-study reports might not be scientifically sound since the method of collection of the data might be too varied.

Troman and Woods (2000) detected clear evidence of lost autonomy at work and increased standardization and accountability. They found that when workers resigned or disconnected from work, it equated to a loss of status. The faculty had less control over their work and the value placed upon it. As identified by Martinez-Aleman, managerialism eroded collegiality and increased distrust among colleagues (2012). When the faculty described the changes they had seen over their careers, four categories emerged: (a) Decreased sense of well-being, (b) loss of control, (c) increased acrimony, and (d) increased requirements to perform administrative tasks. Most reported a decreased sense of well-being at work and a loss of control over their faculty work. One

faculty member characterized the administrative tasks as a sort of demotion. Those four characterizations point to their loss of status as a labor class (see Figure 33).

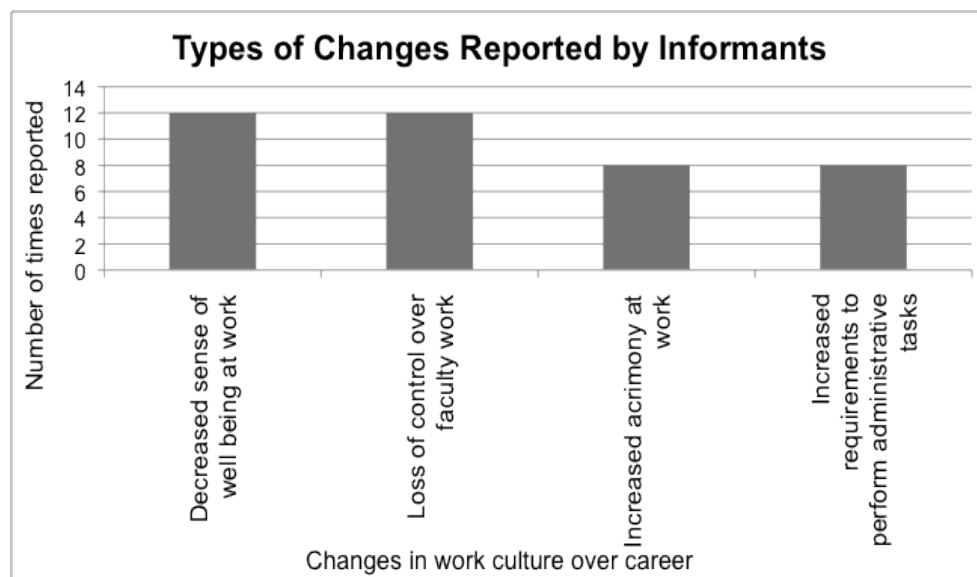


Figure 33. Work has changed in four ways.

The first category of how work had changed over time was the decrease in their overall sense of well-being and was mentioned more than any other response (9 times) (see Figure 34). It is important to note that in spite of the informants' increasing mastery of their crafts, their jobs had become more stressful under the increasing pressures to standardize and to account, and be held responsible for, student success. Of the 40 distinct responses to how work culture had changed, increased stress accounted for 22.5%. In addition, three of the faculty explained that they experienced reduced happiness in their work.

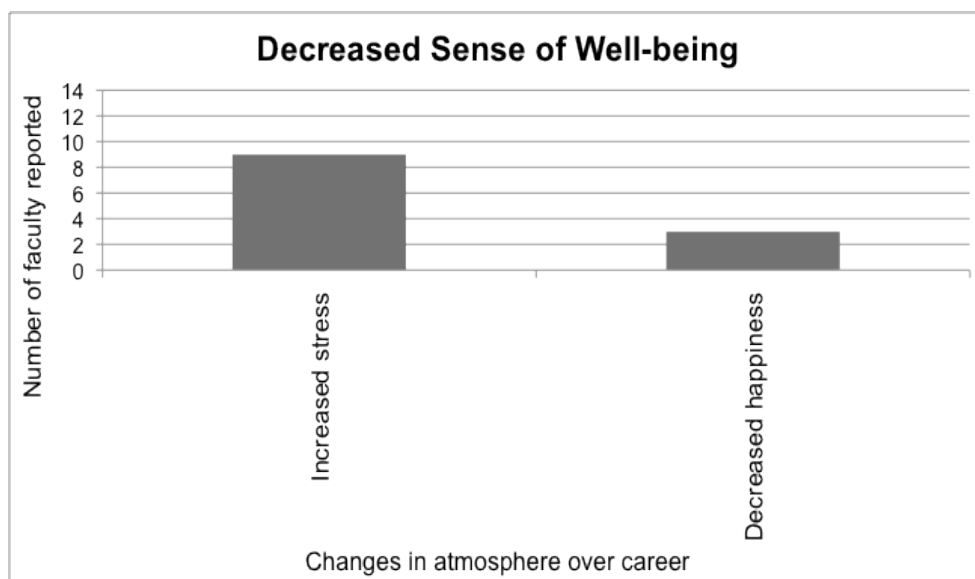


Figure 29. Decreased sense of well-being at work.

In regard to work changes over time, loss of control over faculty work was as important to the informants as was a decreased sense of well-being. However, perceptions of how control over their work had changed was far more nuanced. Faculty mentioned experiencing a loss of control to external organizations, particularly to the Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges and to the State of California. Equally important was the perception that they were losing control over their work to college management. The next five characterizations of the way that faculty experienced a loss of control included (a) a loss of control over their work to external organizations, (b) a loss of control to college management, (c) increased expectations for efficiency; (d) perceived loss of pedagogical control; (e) pressure to inflate the data reported, which also spoke to the findings that a minority of

faculty adjusted the way that they tested for student mastery of particular SLO elements; (f) the feeling that they were unable to spend as much time with students as they had in the past; and (g) the perception that the college's FPD program was being shaped by increasing accountability pressure (Figure 35).

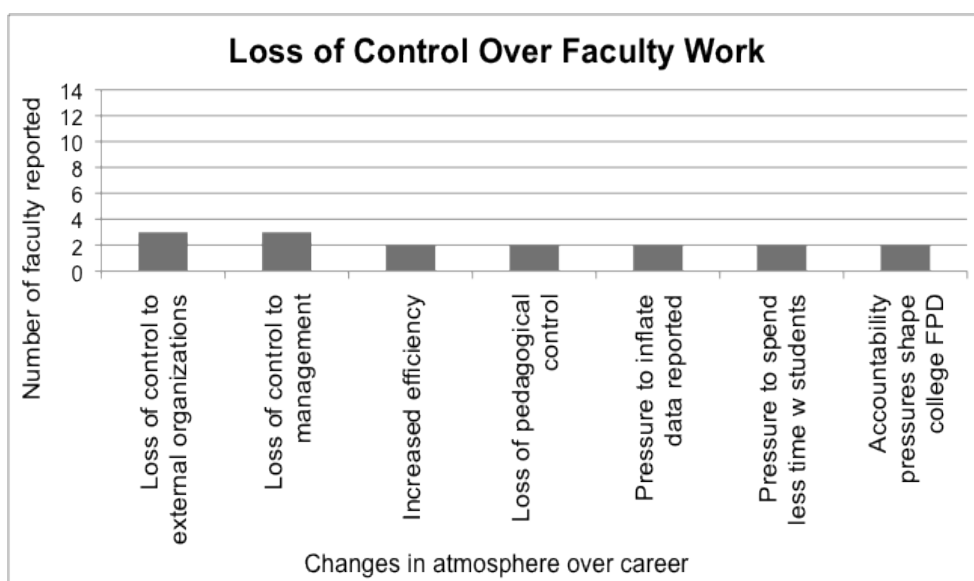


Figure 30. Loss of professional control.

The third and fourth categories describing how work had changed over time included the perception of increased acrimony at work and increased administrative and clerical work that seemed beyond the kind of work they had been originally hired to perform. When faculty reported increased acrimony, most often it manifested as tension between college management and the faculty. Next, faculty reported increased tension among members of the faculty. One person reported that there was also increased tension between students and faculty. Regarding increased

administrative work, seven faculty members reported that they were expected to spend more in reporting and clerical work. In fact, 17.5% of all responses regarding how work had changed mentioned the expansion of the work beyond what they had originally been expected to perform. One faculty member expressed frustration with having to spend increasing time on computer-related work (see Figure 36).

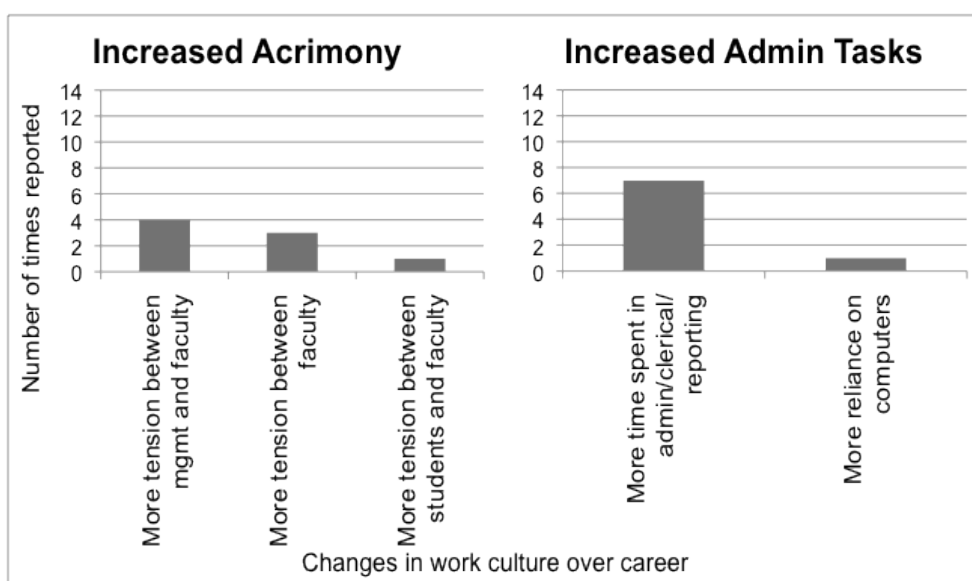


Figure 31. Increased acrimony and administrative duties.

Anticipated Changes in Near Future

If California's community colleges continue in their current trends, Kate expected that faculty work would resemble that of teachers in K-12 under *No Child Left Behind*, meaning that faculty would have less control over their workloads and that funding for community colleges would be tied to student success rates.

Interviewer: *If education continues in its current direction of quantification, data driven education, what do you see as the day-to-day life might be like for faculty in 5 years?*

Kate: *K-12 paperwork out of the ears. They say teachers have the summer off ... that's where they're preparing for this, they're preparing for that, they're reporting this ... no. That's not how I see it. I see that they would have to reduce, or, worse yet, they won't reduce, and they'll just add to the workload, thinking that "oh, it's just something you could quickly prepare," and you know it's not. The reporting demands are going to be so high, even in 5 years, the way I see it with these laws that they're trying to pass ... these laws that they have passed ... being tied to the funding, you know, it's going to be getting very scarce very fast.*

Vog thought that an intensified focus on student success rates on SLO

assessments could lead to a lowering of academic standards if college funding becomes tied to student performance rates.

Interviewer: *If education continues in its current direction of quantification, data driven education, what do you think that day-to-day might be like for faculty in five years' time?*

Vog: *What's going to happen is that the "bottom middle" will get hurt because they will not be able to meet the standards—if they couldn't do it at the high school level, or if you have adult students who have been out of school and this is new or whatever. I mean, if we look at our success rates, they are pretty abysmal right? If we're going to come in and put more pressure on them, there is a variety of thoughts there. One is that a greater focus on learning outcomes might help students because it gives them a target, and the instruction improves because there is a target. Now what can we do to help the students get to that point?*

The other side of the coin, however, is that here is the learning outcome. If I know these groups of students, is the student learning outcome, this is my fear: It would be like again the High School Exit Exam. I can take that High School Exit Exam in my sophomore year in high school and pass, but what am I do in the next two years?

There is a two-year gap of learning, so our learning outcomes in community colleges are at the temptation or in the danger for the learning outcomes to be placed lower. Does that make sense? They're placed lower so that the target is easier, so we can show, yes, we are being more in this now.

I think there's a danger of that the quality of the data and the quality of the education to be weakened because we're driven by learning outcomes that are attached to funding. Now the idealist in me says that there will be a kick back of that because there are enough people who say, "Wait a minute, this [degree] needs to mean something." The degrees that we're offering need to mean something.

Employers, that's the big indicator, right? The employers are coming back to the school saying, "Thank you so much for helping these graduates, but there is a gap between what they've learned and application so I can't hire them." If the gaps are close, that's a really great indicator of our success.

The questions about in five years I think if there is a greater focus, it can go both ways. You're hoping that there is a happy medium that's not overly negative, and we're doomed, but it's not Utopia, right? You hope there's a middle ground where we can cast a wider net, bringing that "bottom middle" up to what I consider the "middle high."

Macha Liadov thought that the arts would be defunded and the sciences would be funded because the sciences lend themselves to quantification and because scientific faculty were trained in perceiving the world in quantitative measurements.

Macha Liadov: If we continue, it's not only quantification. Two things: Quantification depends on what's the nature of the quantification, and the second thing is who or what will be benefited from this quantification? If you tell that science is going to benefit from the quantification, the people who are doing the job and will realize that they can do all the detail, get what they want, and they get support for all the things that they want, but [those who teach in the arts] will never get anything. That's going to create discrepancy, disparagement, and that will completely undermine the morale of the instructors. That's what's going to happen. They will punish us because those of us in the arts don't do a good job of quantifying.

Inzil thought that there was a possibility that there would be more top-down edicts from external stakeholders yet to come. If that happened, he would lose interest in doing any work beyond his regular responsibilities of teaching and sharing governance.

Interviewer: If education continues in its current direction of this data driven education, what do you think the day to day life might be like for faculty in five years?

Inzil: I don't know what else is going to come down that we're going to have to do. It makes me worry because I want to do things with a purpose. If I don't see the purpose, it makes it very hard to be motivated to do these things.

JJ Shot thought that the faculty culture of California's community colleges would change over time, that the faculty community would weaken and erode, and that a

permanent divide between the faculty and college management would develop because management would continue to hire fewer managers who had long-term faculty experience.

Interviewer: If education continues in its current direction for data-driven education what do you think the day-to-day life might be like for faculty in five years? This is hypothetical.

JJ Shot: Most of the teachers I know, not all of them, that's why they get into teaching. That's disappearing fast. The other example is, I used to see this specifically: If you were a good educator, if you had good ethics, if you did a good job, you were thorough, your students loved you, then you would become an administrator. Administrators already had the educational model, and they had the ethics and the principles of education when they became an administrator. Now we're hiring people that haven't even been classroom teachers or haven't even been teachers.

That's what I mean by the educational model. We have people working with a completely different mindset, setting it up as a business. I don't think we're the only ones. I think the nursing profession, the police profession, the first responder profession like police and EMTs; they're all going through the same thing.

Susan Wilson thought that faculty would lose ground to college managers over pedagogical control because management was under more direct pressure to illustrate achievement through efficiency rates.

Interviewer: If education continues in its current direction, of quantification, data driven education, what do you think the day-to-day life might be like for faculty in five years' time?

Susan Wilson: You've got people like my dean. I don't know how, if s/he ever did teach in a classroom. When s/he goes in there and observes me, I've been teaching this class for how many years? My students have been doing well. On the SLOs, I don't have to skew anything. They've been doing well. This Spring, I had to skew something because of changes, administrative changes. From the administrative level, changes I was told to make in my classroom. I think my students did not do as well as a result.

I think administrators, they're under pressure to show numbers and figures and everything else. And they are, I'm sure, trying to find ways to do it. The SLOs maybe have failed that purpose. If that's the end of it, that would be fine. If it's going to continue to get worse, and they are going to have more and more

assessments and more data collection, then I think it's going to be at some point start interfering with what we do in the classroom on a daily basis.

Sinisalo thought that the enforcement of standardization had a purpose: to stifle creativity and stilt creative and critical thought so that the economy has an ongoing supply of pliable workers who are not accustomed to entertaining multiple perspectives about the world.

Interviewer: If education continues in its current direction of standardization, what do you think the day-to-day life might be like for faculty in five years' time?

Sinisalo: Boring. If everybody has to do something you are going to lose that individuality and that creativity and that kind of mix of different personalities and different ideas about even the same subject. You are going to miss that if everybody has to do exactly the same thing. Now we have CORs. CORs make sense. We all want to make sure that when somebody takes French 1 from So-and-so, they are going to be able to take French 2 from So-and-so there. There are certainly things that are good about making sure that we all teaching [with a shared set of guidelines] so when the student goes to the next class, they do well. They have to cover the same amount of material. I get the COR; we have done the COR for years, but this isn't COR.

This is an effort, it seems to me, to take the instructor out of the instruction. You are trying to take the personalities away. You are trying to make everything standardized. If it keeps going this way you will have people that will do the same thing all the time. There is pretty much a latitude now where people don't necessarily teach the same way, but in the future, who knows? It happened in the schools, it happened in the K-12, where everybody ... A colleague's mother left K-12 because everybody had to have their board the same way. Nobody could be individualistic.

My best teacher when I was in junior high had a stuffed deer head in his room. He would stand on the tables and yell when we had a notebook. He would throw the notebook at us like a Frisbee, and we would catch it. He decorated the deer's antlers for Christmas. He was the best and most loved instructor on that campus, and they let him get away with everything, but he was a damn good instructor. I learned a lot from him.

If you standardize things, you are not going to have people out there being creative. Creativity like that woke the students up, made them say, "This is not just a generic room, What the hell is a deer head doing in here?" But it wakes you up. It makes you wonder, "who is he and what's he after? What am I going to learn from him? He is weird. This could be interesting."

As I went through graduate school, I had some very interesting and strange teachers, but they were all in their own ways. They taught me something different. It is variety that you want because they all come from a different perspective, and it's all about perspectives isn't it? It's not about one perspective it's about many, many perspectives.

I'm afraid the State would like us to have one perspective, just like they would like the K-12 to have one perspective, to turn out one kind of student, who will be one kind of person, who will get a job right out of college in some place where they do exactly what apparently the legislature feels they should be doing.

Last, there were faculty who perceived that the changes in academic culture had already been set in motion and that it was only a matter of time before the transformation of academic culture would be complete. Michael said that the change in academic culture in California's community colleges would occur through attrition, that managerial faculty would remain in the faculty positions, that nonmanagerial faculty who could not adapt to the culture change would leave, and that new faculty who share managerial values would fill in the gaps.

Interviewer: *If education continues in its current direction of data-driven education, what do you think that day-to-day life for faculty might be like in five years?*

Michael: *Again, the learning curve, I think that we're going to see a couple things happening. I think we're going to see, I don't know the statistics on this, but just looking around the room so-to-speak, a lot of people are going to retire. I think we don't necessarily have to worry about retraining. I think the people that are going to come up are going to be a little more multi-task-oriented or tech-savvy. I think being data-driven—whether it be Excel or some other type of having to account for different things—I think those individuals are going to be better prepared and able to step up without a lot of frustration. I think of that book *Who Moved ...**

Interviewer: *"My Cheese"?*

Michael: *Yeah, and I think we're seeing a lot of that. We're seeing the old regime of educators that have kind of fought against certain things and the new that are willing, that are hungry. Again, a lot of us look at the percentage of part-time faculty versus full-time. We have a lot of people that are really willing to go out of their way to do things, whereas the full-time perception is that they're set in their*

ways. They don't really need to prove themselves, and they really don't need to do a lot. Although there are probably a minority that really continue and are excited about what they do. I think the culture...

Interviewer: The culture's just going to change with the attrition, right? People who are set in their ways are going to retire or leave, and then the new folks who are more amenable to trying out these new ways of thinking about education are going to be coming up?

Michael: Correct.

Conclusion

One of the biggest reasons to study the effects of managerialism and audit culture upon community college faculty was that a number of nonmanagerial faculty perceived theirs as a vocation. For some, this teaching was more than a job, it was a calling that gave meaning to these people's lives. Some faculty recalled how community college changed their own lives, and that working with students was a form of giving back to the community, to move out of the working class and into the middle, to escape the violence of poverty. They remembered their precarious beginnings and wanted to help others in the same ways they had been helped. None of the managerial faculty identified teaching as a vocation; instead, they saw it as a stepping stone to more lucrative positions in management. The nonmanagerial faculty at this location were not unusual. Levin et al. (2011) found the same in their study of community college faculty. While this study described the way that managerial faculty adopted SLOs unproblematically and the way that nonmanagerial faculty adapted in order to continue working, the study could not characterize faculty who rejected audit culture because they no longer taught. They had left the profession. Faculty were made to reproduce neoliberal subjectivities in their students by enacting them in their own work (Tomlinson 2013). The community college faculty were, themselves, objects of political conflict and to witness their diverse

perceptions of their changing environments was to read cultural artifacts of shifts in political economy.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The objective of this study was to interview twelve community college faculty members from a representative school within the larger California community college system. This researcher wanted to research, as a result of recent intensification of accountability measures in California's higher education, particularly in the form of SLOs data, the following three things:

1. How does a representative sample of California community college faculty characterize changes in their working conditions?
2. How do California community college faculty feel about those changes?
3. How have changes in their working conditions affected their desires to remain in the profession?

The purpose of the study was to describe the diversity of California community college faculty experiences as a labor group under intensifying accountability measures, which reflect shifting tensions in political economy. More specifically, this study sought to discover how community college faculty reacted to the pressure to develop measurable outcomes that could illustrate their own professional value as well as that of their college. The assumption borne out by the literature was that reorientation of labor and concomitant institutional changes reflect shifts in political economy. The standardization of work, enforced by regimes of accountability, are consequences of managerialism. The differences in experiences in professional control are reflections of class struggle that are consequences of those shifts.

This chapter situates this study of California's community college faculty within the larger institution of public higher education in the United States. It explores the ways

that audit culture and the rise of managerial faculty make its professorate complicit in the reshaping of the institution. This chapter also considers the ways that managerialism contributes to the privatization of higher education, naturalizing the values that efficiency is the greatest good and that even intellectual labor is abstractable.

Limitations and Future Study

The most significant limitation to this study was collection of interviews over a twelve-month span, and it was possible that increased variation in faculty responses would occur as managerial values became normalized within the day-to-day life of the informants. In the future, interviews should be collected more quickly, perhaps over a two-month period. In addition to collecting interview data over a shorter period of time, the study could also be run at other community colleges in California in order to test the reliability of the informant responses.

The Spread of Managerial Values

The data collected in this study indicated that California's community college faculty were ambivalent participants in the neoliberalization of higher education. Generally speaking, two groups of faculty emerged: Managerial and nonmanagerial. Managerial faculty were characterized by three criteria: they adopted SLOs early and continued to value them, they relied upon the college's FPD program as their primary source for ongoing PD and for the maintenance of their academic currency, and they had ultimate career plans for management positions. In contrast, nonmanagerial faculty showed a greater diversity in characteristics, except for one: an expectation to continue to work as faculty until they retired or were otherwise forced out.

Managerial faculty unproblematically internalized managerial ideology, which emphasizes six core values: (a) formal planning, (b) systemic performance evaluations, (c) a centralized resource allocation system, (d) directive leadership that assumes a shared common goal, (e) conflation of efficiency with effectiveness, and (f) the disciplining of individuals within the institutions so that individuals think and feel like abstractable workers (Martinez-Aleman 103). Above all, efficiency was valued as Martinez-Aleman's six ideological values were translated into the community college work culture.

The first ideological value of managerialism could be observed as community colleges in California have experienced an increase of and shift in formal planning through shared governance and committee work. Since its initial implementation of SLO data collection, a faculty coordinator on reassigned time, along with an entirely new shared governance committee composed of representatives from the divisions across campus, had been established. Faculty within and across disciplines developed and continually refined SLO components for each course offered by the college. Faculty were to collect student success rates and report them to their discipline-specific SLO coordinators. The faculty were also to report upon their participation in the data collection within their own faculty self-study reports and evaluations. In addition, faculty and deans were expected to substantiate the necessity for departmental expenditures with SLO data that were tied to Program Learning Outcomes (PLOs), Institutional Learning Outcomes (ILOs), Organizational Outcomes (OOs), and ongoing program reviews that are tied to accreditation self-study reports.

The second ideological value of managerialism, the systemic performance evaluation, was considered a part of the formal planning above, such that faculty were

expected to evaluate their own performances using SLO data, and evaluate the value of their discipline-specific programs (the transfer sequences, Associates degrees, and certificates), the effectiveness of their divisions, and shared governance committees. Faculty were expected to use SLO, PLO, and ILO success rates in order to justify value at each level, from discipline-specific faculty to the college district. Faculty who did not share the responsibility for the creation of these reports received negative evaluation reports, indicating the need for remediation, and for part-time faculty, it could mean the loss of a teaching assignment or their very jobs.

The third ideological value of managerialism was centralized resource allocation, which took shape in shared governance committee for strategic budgeting and in Union negotiations. While budget committees and Union negotiations were not new, what was new was the amount of discussion dedicated to success rates in order to justify staffing allocations and contractions, as well as monies dedicated to the plant and infrastructure. This study did not examine length or frequency of Senate committee meetings, though the discussions of data have increased as key components in allocation decision making. The shift in the discussion to student and program success rates have displaced other decision-making logics in shared governance committees.

The fourth ideological value of managerialism was a directive-style leadership that assumed a shared common goal. This can be seen in the way that SLOs, PLOs, ILOs, and OOs were portrayed as seamlessly integrated in order to achieve the college Mission. It was assumed that all student interaction, including instruction and assignments, was geared toward the primary goal of quantifiable “student success.” However, homogenization and standardization necessarily limited the diversity of what was noble

and, therefore, limited what was considered valuable knowledge. In other words, the assumption of a shared common goal that was buttressed with strong performances in discrete areas by the college community that were detectable through objective measurements, undermined the college's ability to engage students and faculty in rich learning experiences.

A college's compromised rich learning experiences led to the fifth ideological value of managerialism: conflation of efficiency with effectiveness. There were approximately three SLOs for each course, and each SLO described a measurable, discrete skill or aptitude. It was possible for a student to display competence for each SLO and yet fail the course. Conversely, a student might perform well in the course but still not perform well in an individual skills assessment. While California's community college faculty's evaluation of student work was rich and varied, if there was pressure on individual faculty members, on groups of faculty in programs, upon divisions, and upon the college to show adequate success rates, it stood to reason that individual faculty were pressured to alter their courses to promote more success on those three discrete skills and knowledge. Limiting the types of utterances sanctioned within the courses limited academic inquiry. The consequence was another kind of censorship via time displacement, but this form in the classroom impeded academic freedom, such that it restricted a core principle of academia: to communicate without risking the loss of one's job. The pressure for adequate success rates was real, and success rates were a form of capital within the college and for the accrediting body. To conflate numerical efficiency with classroom effectiveness could, therefore, be understood as commodity fetishism. Appadurai (1986) stated that the interstices in the paths of commodities illustrated the

politics at moments of valuing and exchange. The negotiations were carved out by power relations and the difference in interests of the parties involved. People with greater political power had greater power to make calculated diversions in the path. In order to discover the politics, the movement of commodities must be demythologized. This can be done by following the paths of objects as they are exchanged from the vantage point of the objects (Appadurai 1986). Thus, the generation and movement of SLO data were illustrative of the loss of faculty control over their own professional identities and of their work.

The sixth, and last, value of managerialism was the disciplining of individuals within the institution so that they thought of themselves and their work as abstractable. The first five ideological values can be enacted only by active participants within the institution. As discussed earlier, individuals experiencing a culture change at work have three choices: adopt, adapt, or leave. The faculty members who remained necessarily adopted or adapted. Faculty who left took with them any resistance to the shift towards greater managerialism. While there might have been resistant faculty who continued to work within the community college, in order to participate in the work they were forced to perform managerial tasks, thereby reinforcing the logic that teaching and learning are knowable via abstraction and, by extension, the value of the faculty was made knowable through the abstraction of their work (Martinez-Aleman 103).

Effects of Managerial Values on Academia

Martinez-Aleman identified three effects of managerialism on higher education: outsourcing, knowledge for profit, and the standardization of instruction. At the community college, outsourcing of faculty work took the primary form of part-time and

otherwise contingent faculty who have no protections of tenure and whose continued employment was reliant upon the favor of the Dean (a nonfaculty, low-level, upper-management member who was answerable to the vice presidents, the president, and the chancellor). California's Education Code requires that K-14 schools spend 50% of their budgets on classroom instruction. While this law acts as a floor that protects teaching as the first priority of the institution, it inadvertently sets a contestable ceiling on the expenditure allocated. Recognizing that budgets are moral documents, the 50% Law discourages the hiring of full-time faculty in favor of cheaper and more flexible contingent and part-time faculty (tempered by state-wide full-time faculty obligations). Another consequence of outsourcing faculty work to part-time faculty was that part-time faculty do not have the same protections and rights of assignment as full-time faculty who are tenured or tenure-track. Contingent faculty are, therefore, motivated to seek the approval of college management instead of their peers within the faculty. In sum, the outsourcing of faculty work to contingent faculty has two benefits: cost savings and a more pliable workforce.

The second effect of managerialism was knowledge for profit. While for research universities, knowledge for profit was often understood as a wealthy benefactor owning the rights to the knowledge and patents gleaned from the support of research through endowments; in community college, because their primary function was to teach lower division undergraduates, there was no pressure from benefactors for faculty and students to produce patentable knowledge. However, there was pressure for students to understand education as a private good and a form of certification for entry-level employment and subsequent entry into middle class America. When knowledge and education are

perceived as individual goods, it is possible to offset increasing amounts of the cost of education onto students who are positioned as consumers. Figure 37 illustrates the 30-year contested trend of offsetting the cost of community college education from public to private sources.

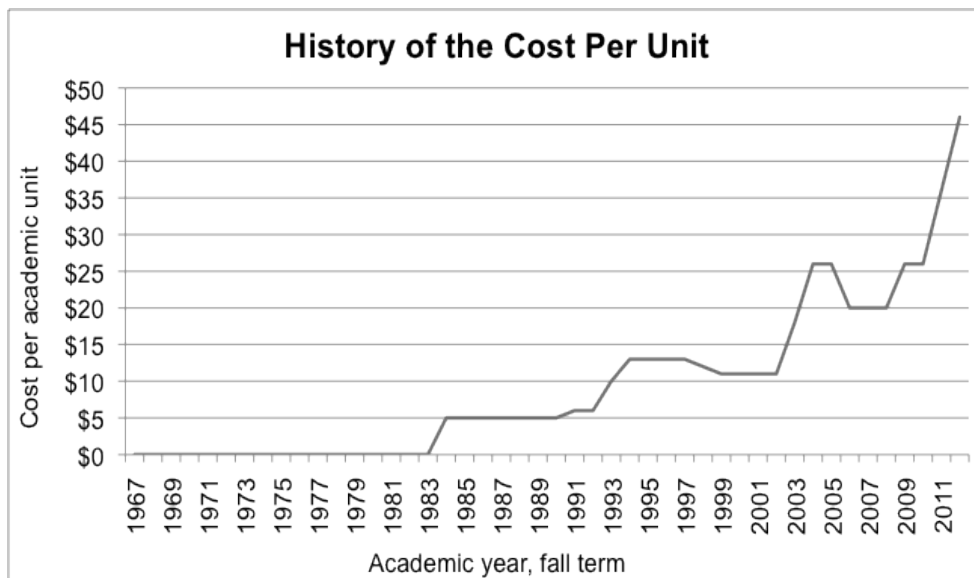


Figure 32. Tuition was contested and increasing.

The third effect of managerialism was the standardization of instruction, which was the concern of this paper. While California's community colleges had a Vision to provide lifelong learning for a "skilled, progressive workforce to advance the state's interests" (Chubb and Moe 2011), standardization of instruction for a diverse student body limited diversity, which, in turn, limited the probability of learning for more students. As such, the standardization of education through the use of SLOs actually undermined the State system's explicit Vision. The infusion of managerial values into the guiding operational strategy of California's community colleges not only impacted learning

environments, it also influenced the faculty. This study examined the diverse experiences of the faculty to understand how managerial values had infiltrated the academy at the community college level.

This study revealed that faculty were ambivalent participants in the privatization of higher education through the co-opting of managerial values, which enforced its neoliberal logic. One of the core tenants of neoliberalization is that competition brings efficiency and innovation. In order to compare colleges, faculty, and students, their individual values need to be abstractable. Standardization and bureaucratization occurred simultaneously as diversity increased so that diversity did not impede efficiency (Chubb and Moe 2011), and the standardization was not only applied to student performance, but faculty were made to abstract their own work so that faculty work and the people themselves could be accounted for and measured in relation to each other within their departments, in other programs, and against faculty in other colleges. Managerialism was enforced via external and internal accountability structures, such as self-evaluations, program reviews, and budget competitions within shared governance committees. The external accountability structures included the State and the regional accrediting body, the ACCJC. Much of the college's FPD program was geared toward the ways that faculty must account for their programs' success rates for the State and the accrediting body. The pervasive fear for the college community was the loss of its accreditation due to a systemic performance evaluation process.

Managerialism was both an ideology and a system for enforcement of that ideology. It disciplines individuals within institutions into thinking of themselves and their work as abstractable. It naturalizes the idea that the abstraction is rational and

beneficial to both students and faculty, and most importantly, beneficial to the State and the local community that financially support the college. Faculty anticipated that objective resource allocation would soon be realized in the form of performance pay; while the State's Student Success Task Force chose not to recommend performance pay, it did make note in its 2011 plan that it considered performance-based funding for colleges and left open the opportunity to revisit the topic ("Refocusing" 2011). While it was not yet a reality for California's community colleges, faculty who worked with the least privileged students, such as at the present college, lived with the anxiety that their funding would be cut unless the college could justify its efficacy through adequate student success rates and efficiencies.

Policy Recommendations

This study determined that faculty in California's community colleges have been experiencing a reduction in their professional control and autonomy as a reaction to shifts in the political economy during what has been characterized as the privatization of higher education. Recalling that the establishment of regional accreditation for colleges and universities came out of the compromise to protect free inquiry at the same time that it would provide assurance to external stakeholders that the institution was upholding its side of the social contract, and in exchange the compromise would protect faculty from pressures to serve wealthy industrialists, this author recommends that academia re-evaluate the centuries-old agreement that was intended to protect it from the encroachment of modern industrialist pressures. At the same time, it is necessary to re-establish trust with society that higher education is, indeed, upholding its commitment to

quality education. In order to protect academic freedom and to re-engage the trust with society, the following policy recommendations are offered:

- The U.S. Department of Education is to intercede in the legal conflict between the faculty of the state of California and the Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges.
 - The U.S Department of Education will intervene on behalf of the faculty of California's community colleges and suspend the current activities of the ACCJC.
 - The U.S. Department of Education will suspend the requirement of the use of Student Learning Outcomes in college accreditation reports.
 - The U.S. Department of Education will establish policy that regional accreditation for the ACCJC be composed of democratically elected faculty from within the existing faculty of the state-wide institution for terms that are conducive to faculty schedules and that full reassigned time relieves faculty from regular duty at the college so that they can devote undivided attention to regional accreditation that is not set in competition with classroom teaching.
- Meanwhile, a multi-year mixed methods study is to be conducted by faculty in order to determine the diverse attributes that make for quality teaching, and upon those findings, establish criteria for measuring effective teaching that is not limited to efficiency rates. The study will be conducted by representative faculty and it will survey the four internal stakeholders of the institution: faculty, college administrators, classified staff, and students.

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APPENDIX: RECRUITMENT MATERIAL

Recruitment Material

Title of Study: California community college faculty perceptions of their work within a postmodern market economy

Principal Investigator: Dr David McMurray (Oregon State University, Anthropology)

Dear Colleagues,

My name is Kristine Oliveira, and I'm a full-time faculty member [at a college]. Last year, I took a leave of absence in order to pursue a second Masters degree, this time in Applied Anthropology at Oregon State University. This year, I am working with the XXX Federation of Teachers, studying faculty's attitudes about their work under increasing requirements for accountability. The purpose of this study is for research.

I will be running ethnographic interviews with 12 faculty members—8 full-time and 4 part-time. If you are interested in contributing to the research project, please reply to this email with your availability and the best way to get a hold of you. Also, please indicate whether you are a full-time or part-time member of the faculty.

Thank you so much, and I hope that we have an opportunity to speak with each other soon.

Sincerely,

Kristine Oliveira

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