

Cooking the Goose That Lays the Golden Eggs: California's Higher Education System in Peril: A Master White Paper for the CSU

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It became necessary to destroy the village in order to save it.

— A US major on laying waste to Ben Tre Village during the Vietnam War

Introduction

California's higher education system, the world's largest and the pride of the state and nation, faces an unprecedented threat. That threat emanates from the defunding, privatizing, and dismantling of public institutions. The course and outcome of this battle over higher education, between radically different visions of what constitutes the public interest, will have major repercussions for California, the nation, and the world.

Education offers a ticket to extraordinary riches: knowledge, skills, opportunity, and the passing on and further development of prior generations' accumulated experience over millennia worldwide. It is the bedrock basis for genuine democratic participation and self-governance by an informed, thoughtful, analytical, and therefore truly free public. A poorly informed and poorly educated citizenry can only bring about the nation's material and intellectual impoverishment.

Education functions as a key process through which new generations are exposed to and develop the necessary skills and wisdom to assume the mantle of responsibility for society. Universities also function as sites that concentrate and support many of society's best minds as they carry out research and create scholarship, in part in collaboration with their students. As vital as education, and higher education in particular, is to society, the highest administrative levels at public universities have been and are perversely destroying it "in order to save it."

We must not and will not allow this to continue. We rise in defense of education as a precious public good. We call upon the people of California and all those who value education to do likewise. It will take nothing less than a collective and determined movement of people from all walks of life to accomplish the critical task of saving public higher education from the disaster of privatization, commodification, and McDonaldization.

Contrary to common perceptions, the underlying threat to higher education does not arise from the present budget crisis. The crisis itself *and* the measures being implemented by the California State University¹ system's executives are each the product of a long-standing agenda to promote private interests and private profit at the expense of public goods. Should these executives get their way, the immensely successful public good that the California higher education system has been for so long will be irreparably damaged.

Our Goal

This study is an analysis of the CSU's situation conducted by faculty and students; a unifying call to action on behalf of faculty, students, and the larger community; and a source of ideas and programs for communicating with the public and educating the legislature on what is required to salvage the situation. Manager-bureaucrats say that professors waste a lot of time looking into causes and histories. This is because looking into causes and histories and examining actual consequences results in a searing indictment of the current system and of the philosophy that has come to dominate that system, those who run it, and those who improperly profit from hijacking public goods for their own selfish interests. The process that is uprooting educational traditions effective for millennia and replacing them with the superficial order of the factory is called variously "restructuring," "transformation," "prioritization and recovery," or "accountability."² These harmless, even reasonable-sounding slogans shroud a grimmer truth: the university of today (especially the public university or college) is being remade in the image of Wall Street, not of Socrates.

A University's Mission

The mission of any university is straightforward: to foster learning and to advance and transmit knowledge. Without the mission to instruct, including the dissemination of research to other specialists, to students, and to the general public, an institution is not a university. By the same token, without research—including research as an intellectual pursuit that may have no obvious immediate economic benefit—an institution is not a university. The core of any institution that deserves the name "university" is instruction *and* research. One informs and enriches the other. The pursuit of knowledge, the sharing of findings, and the processes involved in discovery are as much an integrated whole as the engine and transmission in a car. Learning, broadly understood, is not merely skill acquisition but also entails the development of critical thinking, the consciousness of the individual as part of a broader social body, and the ability to apply social awareness at all levels from the local to the global.

Education is a combination of research and teaching. The CSU is a system of universities, and thus, teaching and research—that is, learning—is its central mission. Faculty and their students are the most precious and critical assets for the achievement of these dual goals. One would think, given this, that in a time of crisis, instruction and research would be protected over all other less crucial activities, and jobs not related to them would be cut back or sacrificed first, just as when a person's life hangs in the balance emergency medicine must address the most critical life functions, leaving noncritical matters for later. CSU executives have been doing the exact opposite. We are experiencing sharply reduced class offerings, major layoffs and furloughs of faculty, and bloated class sizes; department, program, and even college eliminations; and a reduction by tens of thousands in the number of students being admitted into the CSU system—disproportionately and adversely affecting historically underrepresented minorities and the disadvantaged. In addition, CSU executives are attempting to concentrate in their hands historically unprecedented powers to hire, fire, and “discipline” faculty in an attempt to render faculty (and students) impotent in the face of executive fiat.

Although devastating budget cuts threaten the integrity and mission of California's higher education system, CSU executives have refused to reduce administrative ranks. Indeed, they have been expanding overpaid vice-presidential and mid-level management positions for years and awarding themselves fat pay raises annually. They are still squandering precious resources on boondoggles and corrupt projects (a recent example being the misuse of millions of dollars of general-fund fees), hiring expensive and unnecessary outside consultants, and loading on perks for themselves, ex-presidents, and their corporate friends.³ Academic services should experience the fewest cuts or none at all, but they have, instead, been the primary target.

Administrators have reduced research opportunities and support for both faculty and students. Research, like teaching, takes time and requires resources. If there is little support for the facilities and materials necessary to conduct research, for the technical staff to maintain equipment, for the presentation and dissemination of results, or for library collections, then there is no viable support for the research mission.

The latest research fad pushed by administration is the “scholarship of pedagogy,” or studies of the teaching process and student behavior. Its widespread recommendation is a thinly veiled attempt to substitute inexpensive on-site, classroom-based research for field, laboratory, library, and community research. But not all scholars can or should be engaging in this kind of research, which falls into the domain of education specialists.

Aiming to secure a stable funding source for California’s public higher education systems (the CSU, University of California, and community colleges) in the face of severe and debilitating budget cuts, state representatives Ron Torrico and Warren Furutani have each introduced bills in recent years to tax oil companies for their extraction of oil and natural gas, something that other states such as Texas and Alaska have done for years. In Texas, the tax undergirds an excellent public university system. California is the only major oil-producing state that does not impose such a tax on oil companies.

If it had passed, AB 1326 (Fair Share for Fair Tuition) would have generated some \$2 billion annually, thereby solving the UC, CSU, and community college budget shortfalls.⁴ Given this prospect, CSU executives should have been welcoming it with open arms, as they should have done with the previous bill, AB 656. Instead, CSU administrators publicly opposed AB 656. They said that they opposed the bill because it would mandate that the monies raised by the tax go exclusively to teaching. As Karen Zamarripa, CSU’s assistant vice chancellor for advocacy and state relations, said, “We have things that need to be done that aren’t just about hiring faculty.”⁵ But this argument makes no sense: the bills’ funding of teaching would support the central mission of the CSU and free up other resources that the CSU could spend where necessary.⁶

The CSU chancellor and various CSU campus presidents have also offered other unreasonable and illegitimate reasons for their opposition to the bills. They predicted, for example, that if AB 626 passed, the legislature would simply undo its effect by taking away other monies presently going to the universities. CSU executives would have us believe that the same legislative body that had just passed a bill designed to support higher education in

California would immediately turn around and deprive higher education of funds. Our higher education leaders may be concerned about capricious and ideological legislators' whims, but if the very figures that the state expects to be the strongest proponents on behalf of higher education are voluntarily accepting defeat ahead of time, then what kind of leaders are they?

Instead of supporting efforts to increase funding to higher education, such as those represented by the oil-tax bills, CSU executives are embracing "deliverology" as their solution to the crisis. This concept is the invention of Sir Michael Barber, a former assistant to British Prime Minister Tony Blair, hired as a consultant by CSU chancellor Charles Reed. Deliverology is an efficiency concept drawn from business practice and applied to government agencies.⁷ Barber and Reed say that deliverology will shorten time to graduation and increase graduation rates for both the historically underrepresented and other students. Certainly, improving graduation rates overall and bridging achievement gaps is a fine idea. But is it sensible to adopt this as your major policy initiative in the midst of the worst budget crisis in the system's history, ignoring the need for more faculty members to offer the classes that would improve the graduation rates? And why hire an expensive foreign consultant who prides himself on getting the "trains to run on time" (by having trains skip stations when they are running behind schedule) instead of working with CSU faculty, who are much more knowledgeable about what students need to graduate? Barber's critics point out that his initiatives in England led to teachers teaching to the test and emergency personnel keeping patients in ambulances longer so that they appeared to be handled more quickly once ER staff could attend to them in the hospital itself.⁸

Several months before Reed's December 2009 announcement that he was imposing deliverology upon the CSU, a widely circulated, discussed, and reportedly influential white paper by CSU East Bay's president, Mohammed H. Qayoumi, stated explicitly what was reasonable to expect as a result of the budget cuts.⁹ Qayoumi said, "I think we can expect that average student course loads will decrease, time to degree will increase, waiting lines will get longer, and traditionally under-represented groups will be hit disproportionately harder than

others.”

The only way that deliverology can produce the results CSU executives anticipate is by cutting back on degree requirements. Indeed, administrators have been floating the idea of reducing general education requirements and the number of courses required for a degree. Such cuts would cheapen the value of a CSU degree, and would be in addition to previous cuts, such as reducing the graduation requirements from 192 or more to 180-quarter units at Cal Poly Pomona.

Even some educators have joined in the obfuscation of education’s purposes. A new plan produced by Robert Zemsky and Joni Finney of the University of Pennsylvania was nearly adopted by the CSU to transform the CSU into something more recognizably businesslike.¹⁰ Zemsky and Finney provide a deliverology-style analysis of education’s problems. They identify the core problems as cost and outcomes—the same problems supposedly justifying deliverology and proposed sweeping changes in the CSU.¹¹ Zemsky and Finney complain of the need for a better match between institutional resources and student needs. Administrations interpret this as a call for more courses in business and engineering, as few students think they need French literature, anthropology, or physics. Defining education as a product for immature students to purchase in order to get a job makes it just another commodity.

Administrators see other “innovations” associated with Zemsky and Finney’s proposal to restructure or reengineer the curriculum as the key to solving the problem of having insufficient resources to achieve desired outcomes. In addition to promoting a lock-step pathway through a major involving fewer side excursions and alternatives, they would award credit for demonstrated competence in subjects not taken. And much greater use would be made of information technology to achieve what are touted as better learning outcomes and to verify specific competencies by testing. These ideas are old favorites of our CSU administration, since they potentially diminish the role of faculty and also speed up and mechanize the process of education. Administrators cheer the prospect of students graduating in three years. They seem to disregard the CSU context, in which the percentage of students who graduate within *six*

years is in the low thirties at some colleges, and where difficulty finding courses and poor precollege preparation are principally to blame. Given these issues, the only way to quickly achieve the goal of having many students graduate in three years is to degrade the quality of education.

In an attempt to obscure the disparagement and disempowerment of faculty contained in their proposal, Zemsky and Finney state that faculty are the key to this reengineering. They admit that their hypothesis is not susceptible to analysis by traditional research methods, but say that it instead requires an elaborate national demonstration plan involving many institutions, state legislatures, executive personnel, and faculty. Their goal—like Barber’s—is to test whether we can raise graduation rates. That seems to be the sole measure. If the measure for learning is graduation rates per se, without regard for educational content and process, then the goal of graduation can and will become a goal in and of itself, a stand-in for real learning, undermining the real content of a higher education. Zemsky and Finney’s proposals include the assessment protocols and methods with which we are all too familiar.

Another question Zemsky and Finney raise is whether faculty would be willing to “provide the necessary curricular design the innovation requires.” With such a design, they will be able to “demonstrate statistically that the curricular structure we have in mind will allow a publicly funded institution to increase enrollment without requiring an increase in state appropriation.” In other words, do more with less—the mantra of the management class who award themselves more every year but ask the faculty and students to make do with less and less.

Students and their families know from hard personal experience that before the budget crisis, getting the classes needed to graduate in a timely fashion (six years or less) was difficult. The idea that you could accelerate graduation rates and bridge achievement gaps with the massive budget cuts resulting in substantially fewer faculty and far fewer classes being offered makes no sense. The very proposal, in this context, suggests at best extraordinary incompetence and at worst cynical deceitfulness by CSU executives.

A careful examination of deliverology reveals that its real objective is not to improve

services. As this master white paper demonstrates, deliverology fits into the philosophy and policies of the last three decades, based upon a radically wrong view of education's (and government's) purpose. Education is a public good, part of the commons, not a business or a job-training factory. Higher education should not abandon this historic mission so that a relatively small number of wealthy individuals and corporations can enrich themselves.¹² Tax cuts for them equal budget cuts for the rest of us and an increasingly circumscribed life.

While UC administrators publicly supported AB 656 (as they should have), even though most of the money would go to the CSU system, CSU administrators have been hostile to the oil-tax bills, standing in opposition to the very institutions that they are charged with protecting and advancing. Their opposition to the bills, advocacy of deliverology (which they have renamed the innocuous sounding "Early Start and Graduation Initiative" programs), and other egregious actions and statements (which we analyze in detail later in this paper) reveal that the budget crisis actually serves as an excuse for them to institute "restructuring."

Even prior to the budget crisis, CSU executives attempted unsuccessfully to impose restructuring "reforms" aimed at transforming the CSU into something more akin to the for-profit University of Phoenix, a system that top CSU administrators openly admire. When asked in summer 2009 what the solution to the budget crisis was, Cal Poly Pomona's president Michael Ortiz declared: "Privatization. It's the only way."¹³ It's the only way to turn a public good into private profit, by making the universities into training divisions for corporations that the latter do not have to pay for. The private sector supports only things that serve its narrow interest. This is exactly the opposite of what higher education needs, both materially and philosophically.¹⁴

A Mutiny against Our Bounty

Every dollar invested in California's higher education system produces three or more dollars down the road in tax revenue and productivity, based on average lifetime earnings of graduates versus high school diploma holders.¹⁵ California's innovation and powerful economic role can

be directly attributed to the 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education, about which we will have more to say shortly. Those who are charged with safeguarding this treasure at the executive level (chancellor, presidents, and vice presidents) are, nonetheless, now intent on imposing a business model upon higher education and running it like a for-profit corporation. This strategy, if allowed to continue, will be ruinous. We are living through the wreckage all around us created by a deregulated financial sector, corporate corruption, and private greed. One would therefore think that privatization and profiteering Wall Street-style bottom-line logic would be the last approaches education would want to adopt. But education executives want to take the goose that lays the golden egg, chop off its head, pluck its feathers, and cook it. They believe that education can be understood and treated as an assembly-line process in which students are turned out like cookie-cutter piecework.

In its essence, education has not changed fundamentally since the time of Socrates. It is a process of human, mostly face-to-face, interactions involving exploration, investigation, debate, and learning through trial and error. Education is not something to be simply procured like any other purchase. Education is something to work for, struggle for, and earn by hard effort. A meaningful diploma cannot simply be bought. It is not something that you can be handed like mass-produced hamburger and fries. You can no more become educated by paying someone to stamp you as “educated” than you can become an accomplished musician, athlete, or writer without having to work extremely hard.

What is at stake is more than education, however, as important as education is. What is at stake is the kind of society in which we want to live. Education’s impact is deep and wide: the kind of broadening that people receive through the educational system—and more generally through media, art and culture, child-rearing, and so on—bears directly and substantially upon the way that young (and not so young) people learn to think, gather and evaluate information, recognize disinformation, and make choices about political, economic, and social issues.

Life does not come with an answer key. The correct and best answers to all questions are not always definitively known at any given point, and having only incomplete and indirect

information is the norm rather than the exception. Primarily as a result of the influence of the proponents of privatization, the educational system increasingly is becoming one in which the main emphasis is on memorization and regurgitating answers. Students are not being properly taught how to analyze and weigh information, think holistically, decide between competing claims, and make wise choices based on frequently incomplete information.¹⁶ This lack of teaching becomes all the more significant when there is a growing storm of misleading information emanating from individuals and organizations trying to seduce people into buying their wares, whether those wares are commodities or ideas. Should this trend persist, it will mean that our society will become increasingly intellectually impoverished, because its citizenry will have become vulnerable to manipulation by hucksters, opportunists, and those who have ready access to mass media by virtue of their wealth or power.

We must not underestimate the importance of training students how to think, as opposed to training them in tasks, memorization of facts, and passing tests. Basic skills are important, but education is more than the inculcation of answers and formulae. The first author of this master white paper gives to his students an annotated primer that elaborates on the concept of the development of stages of thinking. As a class handout created by the first author of this article reads in part:

[Benjamin] Bloom argues that if college classes do not call for undergraduates to develop the higher-level cognitive skills [of Analysis, Synthesis and Evaluation], then the student *has not* received a higher education. Course expectations that require you to use higher-level cognitive skills are of course more difficult, but if you are only being tested for recognition and recall then you may never develop higher-order intellectual skills. Thus, for example, a professor who tells you beforehand exactly what you should know (for example, for a test) is in effect telling you what you can afford to ignore in what he/she was trying to teach you. This would be the equivalent of going to someone to teach you how to hit a baseball who told you ahead of each pitch exactly what kind of pitch he was going to throw. You'd think

that you were a really great hitter based on this until you got into an actual game where the pitcher didn't tell you beforehand what he was going to send your way. Life is a little bit like that pitcher, sending curves, sliders, fastballs, and even screwballs your way. A proper higher education will help you deal with all of those pitches and situations. This is what you can expect in my class. You have a right to expect nothing less.

CSU Executives Have Shown They Are Unfit to Lead a University

CSU executives' actions—most recently, their stand on and response to the budget crisis and their advocacy of deliverology—present us with dramatic evidence of their unfitness to lead. Deliverology is the antithesis of teaching people how to think; its attitude to student learning is, “head 'em up, move 'em out.” The philosophy and policies of CSU's decision-makers present a grave danger to the treasure that California's higher education system represents. Not only do CSU's executives need to be removed from their positions, but the practices that they have imposed upon education from above for the last three-plus decades, and *that have brought on this crisis*, also need to be reversed. The criteria by which these executives' replacements are selected—and remunerated—need to be transformed. The CSU does not need very many twelve-month administrators, and it does not need to pay any of them a salary much higher than that of the highest-paid full professor.

Mismanaging Education

Managed education is working about as well as for-profit managed health care, big agriculture, and corporate finance. That is to say, disastrously. Since 1983, when President Ronald Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education issued its report *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative For Educational Reform* and launched the era of educational “reform,” schools and colleges have been subjected to an ever-tightening net of controls over curriculum, class time, subjects, pedagogy, use of technology, tests, and standards—not to mention funding. The modern education management organization has more in common with McDonald's than with

a traditional school. Its values are efficiency, cheapness, quantification, standardization, replacement of human abilities with nonhuman technology, and top-down control of every aspect of “production.” All these features of “fast food” production are present in “fast education” production, to the detriment of actual student engagement and learning, though the latter two phrases have become mantras of the managerial class with which they attempt to brand “their” institutions.

As administrations talk more and more about promoting student engagement and learning, and use these slogans as cattle prods on the faculty to keep them in line, their actions have the opposite effect. They crowd students into classes; make education more expensive for families; replace full-time with part-time teaching personnel; shrink general education requirements in favor of alleged job-specific preparation; reduce faculty autonomy, pay, teaching and research support, and benefits; force teaching to the test; enforce standardized and streamlined, seriated curricula; rush graduation; replace human contact with technology; refer derogatorily to the classroom experience as “seat time,” as if schools were like McDonald’s, where the seats are deliberately designed to be uncomfortable so that the customers will not stay long; attack and undermine teachers and malign the teaching profession; intensively focus on private fundraising (requiring revision of education’s role and activities so that the wealthy will feel at home with them); and reduce funding for instruction while increasing funding for administration and technology.

We constantly hear the refrain today that universities should consult business to find out how we should operate. Business, which triggered the economic wreckage most of us are experiencing so that financial moguls could make a Wall Street killing, does not honor knowledge, critical thinking, scientific inquiry, or anything but the bottom line. Profit seeking and self-centeredness should not be the values that govern the institutions that teach our youth. Preparing students for specific slots in the employment structure is fine, but it is far more important and necessary for students to share in the collective wisdom and experience of

humanity. Anything less than that promotes narrowness and self-regard at the expense of the community and the public interest. Education finds its mission and role in achieving this broader goal.

The famous educator-theorist Ivan Illich said that learning requires four things: materials (books, tools, artifacts) for the student to use; one or more practitioners of the field to model and instruct students in its technology, ideas, history, and so on; peers or fellow learners who stimulate the student and reinforce learning; and one or more mentors, gurus, or guides to inspire and encourage the student in a more general sense (these might be practitioners at the same time).¹⁷ The CSU and other public institutions, and certainly private ones, can still offer these supports for learning if the administration, the Department of Education, the legislature, and the accreditation establishment would stop erecting the accountability platform on top of them, which merely installs the apparatus of corporate control with its appearance of productivity and which threatens to crush or distort the mission to which faculty are committed. Faculty as a whole are better at and more knowledgeable about this mission than anyone else: they selected their career because they love and respect teaching and learning; they constantly interact with students, which no other segment of the university or society does; and they are experienced at carrying out the extraordinarily important mission of passing on and developing the collective wisdom of humanity. Youth are the nation's next generation, the leaders who inherit society's mantle of responsibility. Harming this mission injures the entire society and endangers that society's very viability.

Changes We Need to Make

A. Administrative control and overall leadership of the universities must be firmly in faculty hands.

Problem 1: So-called "shared governance" whereby faculty are supposed to share governing responsibilities with executive administrators has been an unqualified failure, providing the pretense of faculty co-leadership with executives exercising de facto authoritarian control. Since "shared governance" has been a failure, who should be in charge of the universities and how

should they be run? To answer this question we should first ask what segment of the university community is indispensable, without which a university would no longer be a university.

Would it be a body of administrators? No, certainly not. We would have a university with no teaching, no scholarship, and no learning. Would a university be a student body? No. Students alone could not make a university, for they are not yet scholars nor are they yet teachers. A community of scholars is the only segment that could by itself constitute a university.

Faculty, moreover, are devoted by their career choices and the nature of their protracted training to serving the interests and needs of the community, the most important public good that exists. We enter academia because we are devoted to serving the community's interests. We do not become scholars and teachers to become personally wealthy; the pay and working conditions do not appeal to those seeking personal material wealth. Under the current system, executives, by contrast, are expressly sought out, compensated, and retained based on the inducements of material wealth. Their perspective on higher education often is that it should be run like a business for profit, both institutional and personal, rather than as a community good in the community's interests. At a time when budgets are being slashed and the universities' accessibility and ongoing viability are under dire threat, the university's central mission of learning and teaching must be protected above all else. It is shocking to see huge and ever-widening pay differentials between faculty and administrators, especially in times of extreme budget deficits. This must change.

If the center of power is to be restored to those who are central to higher education's mission, if the highest and best values of education are to be reestablished, and if highly distorted pay differentials and shifts in power to executives are a prime example of wrong values, then a necessary part of the solution is to bring pay levels of executives and faculty more in line with each other. All superfluous or harmful factors must be eliminated, beginning with administrative bloat and administrators' bloated salaries. Devotion to the universities' fundamental purpose and mission must be maintained. Administrators should be selected and

retained on the basis of their desire and ability to serve the largest interests of higher education and the community, present and future.¹⁸ Some administrators can also teach. Part-time administration would produce a more learning-focused institution. This model works well at the department level. Why not higher? CSU faculty have a lower pay scale than community college faculty, and higher job demands.

We recognize that there is a difference between the responsibilities of those in managerial positions and those of faculty, scholars, and teachers. The people in indispensable managerial and administrative roles (such as outreach, fundraising, coordination, record-keeping, and accounting) are not taking on responsibilities of the same kind as faculty. But the people who occupy the newly defined and slimmed-down administrative positions that we are advocating must be those who are genuinely motivated by the same educational goals as the faculty. There should not be a disguised authoritarian regime under the cover of “shared governance,” nor should administrators and faculty be at odds with one another as is now the case, with administrators attempting to constrain the role of faculty and subordinate educational goals to those of private, moneyed interests.

Faculty should make the decisions about the curriculum and research directions in their disciplines, not managers or even an academic officer who has an earned terminal degree. The lack of true shared governance has meant dominance over these decisions by administrators. The People’s University cannot be run like a for-profit corporation, with doctrines imposed from above by managers. A failure of the People’s University has much worse consequences than a failure of any for-profit corporation.

Recommendation: We should require the campus presidents to consult and get approval from the campus senate for *all* new education- and research-related initiatives; presidents should not be allowed to impose discretionary mandates and projects that are not in the university community’s best interests. Keep curriculum and programs in the hands of those who know the material the best: the faculty. Shared governance will include shared control of the budget, not just adversarial bargaining with no real authority in faculty hands.

Results: The university will represent the educational needs of the students, not the immediate fad that may be popular with management. Money will go first to instruction.

Problem 2: We need public control of the People's University.¹⁹ In fact, the board of trustees and the board-selected chancellor (the management head of the entire CSU system) and the selected executive for each campus (the presidents) largely control the CSU. The faculty have little if any say in this operation, except through the limited powers of the academic senates and the California Faculty Association (CFA), a SEIU-affiliated labor union that has exclusive bargaining representation for the faculty labor unit over issues of salary and certain other working conditions. Unlike a conventional management-union relationship, management (that is, the board and chancellor) have the right to impose a contract upon the faculty, allowing the faculty only the option of a work action, or strike, when no agreement is reached.

Administrators know full well that such an action would cause the faculty to abrogate, at least temporarily, the core responsibilities of teaching and research. It is wise to have the board separate from direct political control of whoever occupies the statehouse; it is not wise to have a board over which the people have no real input—a board answerable primarily to the governor who appointed most of them and many of whose members serve special interests rather than the general good of the People's University and the people.

Recommendation: A majority of the members of the board should be nominated and elected by faculty. The present state-elected positions that are entitled to serve on the board need to be retained, as do some appointments from the governor and a faculty trustee nominated by the CSU statewide academic senate. Given the fact that the CSU is a public, secular, nonpartisan institution, the People's University, members of the board of trustees should not be political appointees of the governor. The board should serve the universities and the community and be made up of people who are educators and students. One faculty member and one student could be nominated and elected from each CSU campus. Campus presidents should be subject to approval by the campus senate and be selected on the basis of their clear

commitments to the mission of the university. The board must cease to be an extension of the Business Roundtable.

Results: The CSU under the board will be answerable to the people whom it serves, rather than to special interests that fund a particular governor or political agenda. The university will represent students' educational needs and the faculty's pursuit of knowledge for society, not the immediate fad that may be popular with management.

B. Discard the Education Management Organization (EMO) model: it has demonstrated its unsuitability for a public good like higher education.

Problem: Thirty years of "reform" have done nothing to enrich students' educational experience or performance. They have enriched a lot of education consulting companies, education bureaucrats, and test companies such as the suppliers of the \$660 million PeopleSoft program. The only "stakeholders" in the operation who have benefited from the corporatization regimen are administrators and managers. Reforms instituted at all levels of education have failed to improve the university as a learning environment, a workplace, or even a simulated factory for future employees. We must look to what we already know about the best approaches to teaching and learning, many of them traditional practices that have stood the test of time, some of them new. We know that the following are important: small class sizes, reading- and writing-intensive instruction, hands-on and interactive teaching, face-to-face time, individual and group projects, academic freedom and diversity, emphasis on students pursuing ideas and interests of their own, good libraries, labs, databases, field experiences, connectedness with communities, support for students who need assistance to meet academic demands, and many choices of programs and activities.

Most faculty at CSU campuses have experienced workload inflation. The requirements for success have been ratcheted up beyond reason. This is a classic characteristic of the corporate work environment, where "continuous improvement" and constant planning, monitoring, and reporting are the hallmarks of production, performance, and output. In our case, though the

CSUs are teaching institutions first and foremost, the research expectations for most faculty have steadily grown, while support for research, such as course releases, grants, and travel money, has remained negligible. Teaching and service loads prevent most people from doing any kind of meaningful research during the academic year. Full-time faculty have a load of fifteen “weighted teaching units” each semester. Three units are allotted to the service component of our assignments, which has grown into a juggernaut of committee work, assessment, advising, administrative initiatives, outreach, and efforts to participate in shared governance. The remaining twelve units are allotted to teaching (commonly three four-unit classes per quarter). Some faculty have suggested that, if the administration is serious about our research, we carry three units of research time in lieu of three of the teaching units (see Recommendation H below).

Recommendation: Ensure that those who serve in administrative capacities explicitly reject the EMO approach as inimical to education. Carry out educational campaigns about the problems of the EMO, involving the entire university community and creating an explicit consensus that a university must be allowed to do what universities do best: educate and expand knowledge.

Result: A university that is no longer weighed down by the negative consequences of EMO’s philosophy, policies, and practices and is united in purpose rather than divided against itself.

C. Reduce stratification of faculty.

In light of not only AAUP findings and the California Higher Education Employer-Employee Relations Act but also the California Public Employees Relations Board Decision No. 173-H and ACR 73, this CSU master white paper makes short- and long-term recommendations regarding the hiring practices and working conditions of instructors with the goal of stabilizing the CSU faculty for the benefit of student learning and faculty careers. These recommendations aim at

accomplishing the restoration of the integrity of faculty work, academic freedom, and shared governance, as well as the stability and permanence of all faculty employment as the only way for the CSU to fulfill its social contract.

Problem: The caste system of tenured and tenure-track faculty versus lecturers (also known as adjunct faculty) is inimical to building good academic programs and making academic governance effective. The CSU should immediately begin to convert many adjunct faculty members who possess their discipline's terminal degrees to tenure-track employment so that we have at least three-fourths tenured or tenure-track teaching staff. The goal of two-thirds tenured and tenure-track faculty espoused by CSU administrators is a good step, but even it is not honored in the CSU system. The long-term effect of paying people as little as possible and giving them no security will be to turn future scholars away from graduate school. It is unfair to the faculty who must teach for low wages and must therefore carry too many classes, often at more than one school simultaneously (thus their nickname, "freeway flyers"), and it is unfair to their students, who may not receive the same attention from adjunct faculty as they would from faculty with fewer teaching commitments. The world needs highly educated people as it faces increasingly dangerous problems such as the climate change, environmental degradation, conflict, poverty, disease, natural disaster, and economic collapse. (See appendices 1 and 2 for further discussion of this situation.)

We recognize, however, that there is no consensus among tenure-track faculty on the following recommendations. Many are ambivalent about adjunct faculty: they need adjuncts to staff courses they cannot teach, but they wish to retain the management prerogative of hiring and firing them at will. It is vital to provide stable employment with adequate remuneration for all faculty. It is often said, "Faculty working conditions are student learning conditions." This cannot apply only to tenure-track professors. The existing caste system among faculty serves only to dilute the faculty's power and enable administration to pick us apart. Nor does it serve students well.

Fixing the “lecturer problem” will also help us fix a related problem: insufficient numbers of tenure-stream faculty members with direct instructional and research responsibilities. In 2001, a resolution of the California Assembly put the appropriate fraction of tenure-stream faculty appointments (as contrasted with lecturers, who do not have tenure-stream appointments) at seventy-five percent of the total number of faculty. At present, the CSU is below fifty percent tenure-stream by head count (not including librarians, counselors, or managers who happen to have retreat rights to a faculty line).

Recommendation: Replace tenure-stream faculty members who retire or leave the university with new tenure-stream faculty members. Recruit additional tenure-stream faculty. For current CSU lecturers who have a terminal degree appropriate for a university faculty appointment and are willing and able to teach at all levels (lower division, upper division, and graduate) as well as to conduct an active program of research, a serious program of conversion from lecturer to tenure-stream status should be instituted to take advantage of an extant pool of faculty members. By a serious program, we do not mean merely a cosmetic statement that allows existing lecturers to be judged as unqualified because they hold teaching-heavy lecturer positions and therefore lack a recent active research record. Rather, once it can be established by a lecturer that she or he will be able to initiate a program of research while maintaining quality instruction, such an internal candidate should be considered before an external (and costly) search is conducted. This is not an “inside track” or “preferential treatment” but rather a means to reduce the cost of a search, retain lecturers who have provided years of service to the CSU, and address the excessive use of lecturer appointments in the CSU. Since it was founded in 1915, the American Association of University Professors has conceived of tenure as the means to ensure academic freedom for faculty—as a right of all faculty, not as a privilege for the few. As the 1940 *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure* observes, tenure is “indispensable to the success of an institution in fulfilling its obligations to its students and to society.”²⁰ Thus, the Association’s position on tenure is that all faculty work is tenurable, that

tenure can be granted at any professional rank (or without rank), and that tenure-line positions can be either part- or full-time.²¹

Results: Classes will be taught by faculty members who have a permanent commitment to the university and who have in return a permanent commitment from the university—real mutual stakeholders. Students will be advised by tenure-stream faculty who are familiar with the institution throughout the student’s career at the campus. Quality of instruction will improve because a tenured faculty member can be more concerned with the level of material and student learning than with the constant need to perform well on what amount to customer satisfaction surveys—student evaluations of instructors. Although student input is important, students who want a diploma but are unwilling to put in the hard work required by a legitimate education are often dissatisfied with a demanding, rigorous course with honest grading.

D. Call things what they are.

“Restructuring general education” means stripping it down. Those who use that phrase should say as much. “Assessment” is testing. Perhaps the testing takes new forms, but it does not require an elaborate bureaucracy to manage it. Do not say that you believe in “quality” or “excellence” of education if you are overloading classrooms and cutting sections. “Efficiency,” according to executives now in charge, means eliminating small programs. Claims about “teacher-scholars” are disingenuous: what executives mean is that they want faculty to do more with less. The CSU’s public documents describe a great university but mask a mission gone astray. “Restructuring the CSU” means a command-and-control maneuver to assign niches to campuses or regions, standardize all sorts of academic and administrative operations (including faculty evaluations at all levels, calendars, admission, and programs), and produce efficiency (that is, convenience for management—usually the opposite of quality education). “Budget crisis” means that the corporations and wealthy class have successfully engaged in predation of the resources formerly belonging to the commonwealth of the people, leaving the latter with no

jobs, homes, health care, and so on. Calling faculty “instructional delivery technicians” or “learning environment designers” means we have replaced human experts with unsalaried nonhuman technology.

E. Support public services, programs, and institutions.

Problem: The CSU and other public institutions have moved from being state supported to state assisted and are now rapidly privatizing. The evidence of the failure of for-profit education is abundant. The failure of the business model for education (or for society in general) is a lived reality of most people. The majority of Californians qualified to pursue higher education cannot resort to private institutions with high tuition. We must therefore continue to demand publicly supported education. Whether through income tax, corporate taxes such as the oil-extraction tax, or other levies on excess profit, property, capital, or luxury purchases (such as restoring the dramatically cut corporate taxes while retaining Proposition 13’s tax relief for homeowners), we must return our state to a rational footing by creating community wealth again. We know it is not fashionable to request taxation of the rich and the corporations, since they threaten to leave the state if we do. But others who are less wealthy do not have this prerogative of extorting personal gain from the community. The rich should not have it, either.

We recognize that the funding situation is serious. The ability of the legislature to increase taxation is limited. The political party that controls over one-third of the legislature is unwilling to support equitable taxation and instead demands a curtailment of state functions. The reality is that the epoch of a state-supported CSU—as required by the original Master Plan—is over. At present, the CSU is state subsidized, and it soon may merely be state located. This is different from the University of California system, which has been at best state subsidized almost from the first Master Plan and today is highly dependent upon outside support. For better or worse, the UC funding model must be applied to the CSU. A tax on raw materials, such as the oil tax previously discussed, would help, and we strongly encourage such a revenue stream.

Nonetheless, without a state constitutional amendment, it is unlikely that the minority party in the legislature will support such a new revenue stream. If proposed through the state's initiative process, those who would have to pay the new tax — for example, major petroleum-extracting corporations — would muster their resources to cause the initiative to fail. Under the US Supreme Court's *Citizens United* decision, a for-profit corporation can spend as much as it wishes to influence a political outcome, short of direct bribery or extortion.

Without sufficient funding, the CSU's ability to hire and retain quality tenure-stream faculty members and to have those faculty members engage in both teaching and research is greatly diminished. A reduction in the overhead represented by the bloated CSU management structure could recoup some of the funds needed, but even this would not be enough. Other revenue streams are needed to maintain and expand (as the number of students increase) the capabilities of the CSU.

Recommendation: The most cost-efficient solution might be as follows. The original Master Plan envisioned a three-tiered system of public higher education. In this system, the UC was designed to compete with elite institutions worldwide — institutions such as Harvard or Oxford University. The UC was to have a monopoly on public advanced and terminal degrees — doctorates and the production of attorneys, medical doctors, dentists, and the like — with competition only from private institutions. Although the infrastructure is in place for the public production of the medical, dental, and veterinary doctors for state licensure strictly within the UC, it is much less clear that advanced degrees in other fields should be reserved for the elite. If the state cannot afford a viable CSU, then the only cost-effective solution is to merge the UC and CSU systems, much as states like Wisconsin and New York have done with their university systems. The result would be similar to the State University of New York system.

This approach might cause howls of protest from the management of both the UC and CSU, from many faculty members in the UC who regard CSU faculty as unworthy and inferior, and from faculty in the CSU who regard UC faculty as professional researchers and external-funding specialists with little or no interest in undergraduate instruction. However, the UC and

the CSU management—the regents and the board and all of the other tiers of management—do not have to endure the inherent duplication of two senior university systems. The people of California do. Because of the elite nature of the UC, it is reasonable for present UC campuses to maintain their elite status and not serve all of the people, while the present CSU campuses should serve all of the people. The CSU’s official policy of admitting only the upper one-third of high school graduates is more fiction than reality, whereas the UC is much more steadfast in maintaining the upper 12 percent that it admits, as measured by a combination of required high school courses and grades and college entrance examination scores. Thus, in the sense of having nearly open admissions, the CSU is much closer to a people’s university. A merger would lead to dramatic cost reductions through the elimination of unnecessary management and facilities duplication. There is no reason to have a UC Riverside a short distance from a CSU San Bernardino, a UC Merced formed out of whole cloth at great expense when there is a CSU Fresno a short distance away.

A multipronged approach is needed.

First, a dedicated and secure revenue stream, such as a tax on resource extraction, must be established.

Second, there seems to be no choice but to void the original Master Plan and have the students pay for a larger portion of their education, comparable to what is charged by public institutions in many other states. This approach is strongly opposed by the California Faculty Association—but short of increased taxes, CFA has no fiscally viable solution. It is true that a reduction in CSU managers and the overhead costs these positions represent, a goal on which we agree with CFA, would help, but this simply would not be enough to ensure fair compensation and sane workloads for a majority tenure-stream faculty. However, when considering increased student fees and tuition, a number of areas must be addressed. The state and the people need an educated population in fields that do not pay extremely well—not everyone can be an attorney, a medical doctor, or a corporate executive. If the state is not

willing to tax those with excessive wealth to support public institutions, the people will have to accept the idea that many individuals who are capable of doing college-level work will not get the chance to do it if they cannot afford the tuition. Thus, we dispel the illusion of a public university.

The state needs K–12 teachers, tenure-stream CSU faculty members, and other persons working in the public interest (even if in the private sector). However, if the cost of an education, particularly an education in the CSU—the people’s university—is such that the student loans required make the graduate a permanent indentured servant to pay for those loans, then only those persons planning on careers in very high-paying fields will stay, and the needs of the state and the people will not be met. Thus, the CSU must have a sensible loan-forgiveness program where the payments correspond to a prearranged fraction of the graduate’s income. This is not an income tax but rather a means to allow graduates to pursue careers that are vital to the state and the people but are not lucrative enough to provide graduates a reasonable standard of living while they are servicing an excessive debt burden.

Third, additional revenue streams must be generated. A public university has four sources of revenue: state funds that are dependent upon some sort of taxation by the state (the only source of revenue to a state), student fees, external grants and contracts (from federal, state, private, corporate, and international sources—some truly competitive and others essentially “earmarked”), and private donations. The latter two, but especially private donations, are controlled by the CSU management and with little input from the faculty. This must change.

Private donations can be used to fund tenure-stream positions and research and instructional facilities. Obviously, a public, secular university must place constraints on restrictions by a donor—a faculty position or research or instructional support dedicated to the defense and promulgation, say, of Aryan racial supremacy is not proper and should not be accepted. At present, each campus president keeps tight control of which programs may seek external funding. The priorities for donors need to be set by the faculty, perhaps through each campus senate as well as through the statewide CSU senate, not by the presidents. These

programs must represent the needs of the faculty in both research and instruction, as well as students' needs to defray fees. There must be an aggressive campaign to seek out support for the people's university.

Grants and contracts are the other source of external funding. In many cases, a faculty member must seek management approval even to be allowed to submit a grant application. If the application does not accord with management priorities, either the grant will not be submitted or the university will offer none of the earnestness needed for a successful (awarded) grant. Such earnestness will be kept as a management prerogative for those programs, other managers, and even faculty members that the management favors, in violation both of the academic mission and of shared governance. This is waste of resources of the CSU, often establishing management boondoggles that in the long run offer little benefit for the amount of funds received.

Result: A stable funding stream for the CSU, supporting a majority tenure-stream faculty that conducts instruction and research, while at the same time providing sensible class sizes for both undergraduate and graduate students. This would ensure predictable costs for students by providing loan forgiveness to those students who want to pursue relatively low-paying careers that are vital to society, and it would also ensure that such careers remain attractive.

F. Fix the middle-class financial aid problem.

Federal and state student aid programs do not help students whose annual family earnings exceed about \$80,000. With the high expense of housing and transportation these days, this is not a very high income, especially for families with more than one student in college. The fee increases at the UC, CSU, and community colleges will soon put them out of reach for even more Californians.

Fees of students who can pay them end up supporting financial aid for those who cannot. We have all seen the scandals surrounding for-profit schools whose exorbitant fees are

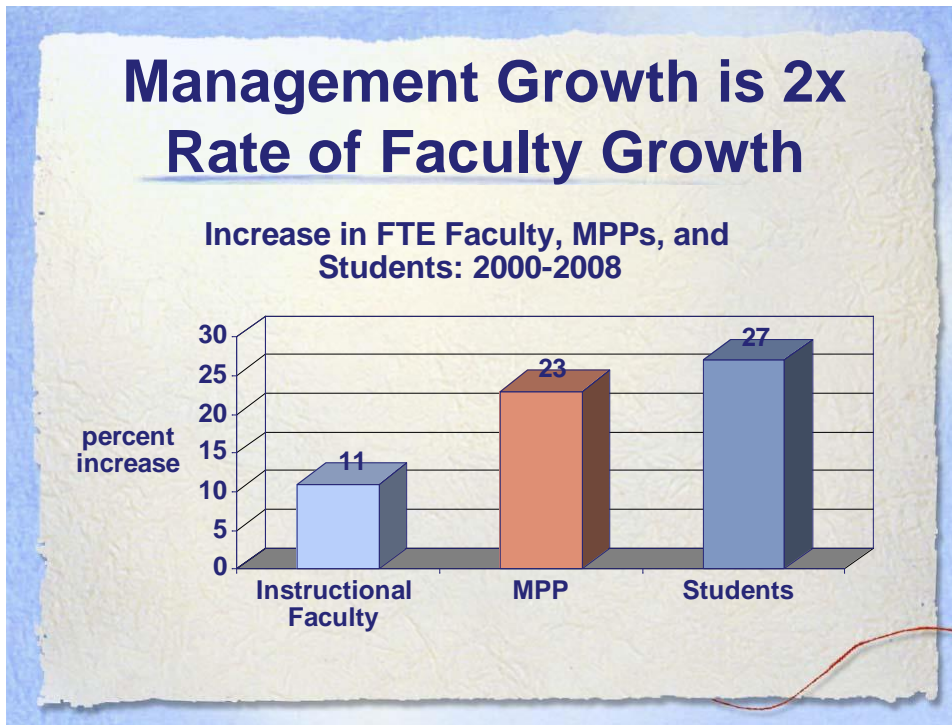
exceeded only by the worthlessness of the promises of future employment used to lure students. Such students end up with a huge burden of debt and little means to pay it off: the school has extracted the profit; the taxpayer holds the bag in the end. Student loan debt now exceeds that of credit-card debt in the United States. Insofar as some CSU campuses target the vocational and professional markets and emphasize practical, applied, or technical programs to the detriment of traditional majors, we are using the same marketing strategy. In a reduced grant and scholarship setting, this means more loans and indebtedness created by the public university. We must change the calculus for student financial assistance.

Recommendation: Raise the ceiling to \$100,000 for family earnings and add a specified amount for each additional student enrolled in college.

Result: More students go to college.

G. Significantly revamp the administration.

Problem: The cost of the CSU chancellor's office is the equivalent of a small CSU campus. When we add to that the costs that are being regularly squandered by wrong-headed policies of the chancellor's office (such as the \$660 million PeopleSoft boondoggle and the \$4.3 million Chancellor Reed is now spending on an outside, anti-faculty-union consultant to represent him in his duties at the bargaining table with the faculty union), eliminating these functionaries would make a very big financial difference and, even more important, would end the current destructive antagonism of the chancellor's office and the various campus presidents toward the core mission of the universities. The CSU system is a house divided and cannot continue in such a fashion. We have an excessive number of managers, academic and nonacademic, as contrasted with faculty who both teach and conduct research. In the CSU, these positions are termed MPP for Management Plan Personnel.



Source: Aimee Shreck, Report to CFA Presidents' Council, CFA Assembly, April 4–5, 2009.

Recommendation: Reduce the number of managers, eliminating many of the nonessential MPP positions. For example, every university campus needs an executive (in the CSU, the executive is the campus president, which is categorized as an executive, not an MPP position), a provost, and a dean for each college within a university (arts and letters, natural sciences, engineering, business, and so on). Each CSU campus also needs a manager with academic credentials and retreat rights in charge of graduate programs. In the CSU, a central administrator is in charge of the official mechanisms of academic personnel, such as producing formal offer letters and answering questions about specifics of the administration view on faculty employment issues; this position is needed. Most other matters can be handled by staff appointments, not by management.

Outside of the academic sector, an organization generally needs a manager in charge of the physical plant (including custodians, grounds maintenance, and building and related

infrastructure repair) as well as a manager of financial matters, typically an accounting position. In the CSU system, many administrators have retreat rights, or rights to job reassignment, to either the tenured faculty or the permanent staff, and such current administrators either should retreat or separate (those who are eligible to retire and do not wish to retreat should retire). The chancellor must resign and other administrators who do not perform their duties in line with the highest needs of the university system must go. The highly distorted pay for top administrators must be curtailed. The chancellor now is paid more than the president of the United States. We do not think that this is appropriate, especially for a system in financial crisis. He does not protect or effectively advocate for the university.

Results: Increased number of operational faculty and staff, helping to address item two below. Decreased overhead and thus a reduction in cost of operational goals.

We suggest that operational staff should be allowed to decrease through attrition, and then that administrative personnel work in operational functions as needed to handle cyclical peaks. In addition, administrative functions need to be evaluated for effectiveness just as academic programs are currently being evaluated. If they cannot demonstrate clear-cut benefits in excess of costs, they need to be eliminated or reorganized in ways that reduce the need for highly paid personnel.

The benefits of revamping the administration along the lines suggested would be:

1. Reduce administrative costs, and thus lessen the need to cut academic programs and faculty.
2. Make the administrators aware of the impacts of the budget cuts on our students and perhaps more concerned about reducing nonessential spending.
3. Help public relations. Many members of the public feel that there is a lot of administrative bloat and waste in the system. This would demonstrate a commitment on our part to address such problems. (We have no problems with asking for more money. However, we should do what we can to reassure the voters that it will benefit students rather than go into overhead.)

H. Regularization of programs of the CSU with retention, tenure, and promotion requirements.

Problem: The original Master Plan had one real university system in California, the University of California, and then two teaching college systems: the California State Colleges and the community colleges. The vitality of a real university was deemed so important that the UC was made quasi-independent of the state with a payroll system administered by the UC regents; the legislature may suggest and request changes to this system but cannot actually require any action. The CSC was not intended to be a real university, but rather a six-year version (through the master's degree) of the academic portion of the community college system, preparing K–12 teachers and many others for whom a four-year undergraduate education and degree was sufficient to provide the needs of society. The community colleges nominally had the first two years of the academic curriculum of the CSC and UC systems, but also offered purely vocational fields as well as courses required for the completion of the high school diploma. Typically, a UC faculty appointment required a terminal degree, whereas a faculty appointment in the California State Colleges—strictly teaching institutions, not universities—would often only require a master's degree without any real research training or proof of scholarly ability such as a PhD.

The preceding arrangement ceased as the CSC became the California State University system. The typical CSU tenure-stream faculty member today has a terminal degree that is often a condition of employment, generally a PhD with a research dissertation. Intellectually and academically, a modern CSU tenure-stream faculty member is as competent and as much a scholar as is the equivalent tenure-stream faculty member at a typical PhD-granting university, including the UCs. Then what is the difference? Why do CSU tenure-stream faculty members often have fewer scholarly outputs than their equivalents at PhD institutions? In the CSU, the only work assignment under the California Faculty Association contract is teaching. The load is measured in a metric called the “weighted teaching unit” (WTU); although some current

chicanery attempts to claim that WTUs are not used, they are very much in place. The base load for a tenure-stream CSU faculty member is fifteen weighted teaching units—twelve of direct instructional responsibility and three of advising, service, and other activities. Perhaps, and only perhaps, one unit might in practice be allocated to research, and even that would be unofficial. On a semester calendar, twelve WTUs of direct instruction corresponds to four courses every semester. At a typical research university, such as the UC, the direct instructional load is one course every semester, and in universities that keep a balanced approach between teaching and research, the direct instructional load may be two courses per semester, but not four courses. What institutions have an instructional responsibility of four courses per semester? Community colleges and other strictly teaching institutions.

Recommendation: Support the research mission required under the retention, promotion, and tenure process in the CSU through teaching responsibilities with which such research realistically is possible. As an interim measure, for a fifteen-unit load, faculty would have three units of advising and other non-research responsibilities, three of research, and nine of direct instruction, with an eventual goal of these categories respectively becoming three, six, and six.

An active research program requires PhD or equivalent terminal-degree students and programs. Except for a recently approved EdD degree, the present Master Plan allows the CSU to have such programs only jointly with a unit of the UC or any independent (private) accredited college or university located within the state of California. In general, under this provision, the “senior” PhD-granting university treats the CSU campus and faculty as very “junior” partners. This approach is a throwback to the CSC and simply is not appropriate to the CSU. The CSU must be allowed either to initiate independent terminal-degree programs or to expand the “joint” programs so that a UC or private institution cannot hold the CSU forever hostage; otherwise the people will not have the access to a true higher education that the people’s university must be allowed to provide. Research is a fundamental part of a true higher education for those students who want to understand the field they have selected.

Alternatively, if this is not to be the case, then turn back the clock: reestablish the California State College system (don't attempt to have a second university system); eliminate research as a requirement for retention, tenure, and promotions; drop the terminal research degree for appointment and tenure to the tenure-stream faculty; and become once again a six-year, teaching-only college. Because the legislature has control over the CSU, a return to the previous CSC system could be accomplished, although we don't recommend this. However, such a return would be better than to demand the maintenance of research and a research-capable and active faculty without any meaningful support. The Carnegie Foundation, which evaluates the mission and niche of a university, recognizes just one CSU campus, San Diego State University, as a research university. In the event that the CSC is reestablished, SDSU should be given exceptional status—perhaps merged with the UC.

Results: A university in which the actual mission under which faculty are evaluated and expected to perform would be consistent with the mandated mission under the Master Plan.

Protecting the CSU as the People's University

We have made recommendations regarding the management role, organization, mission, and direction of the CSU and public higher education in California and alternative means of funding this branch of education. We offer our critique and ideas in the most collegial spirit and out of our dedication to our institutions and the youth, communities, and future of California. All of these analyses and recommendations will work together to protect this precious social good for the people of California.

Appendix 1

PERB Decision No. 173-H, September 22, 1981:

Composition of CSU Bargaining Unit 3²²

In 1981, the California Public Employment Relations Board (PERB) determined the composition of bargaining Unit 3 employees based on “the internal and occupational community of interest among the employees” and not on the basis of tenure-/non-tenure-track status:

After careful consideration of the evidence and the arguments of the parties, and the recommendations of the hearing officer, we have concluded that the purposes and policies embodied in HEERA [will be best served by placing all instructional faculty, full-time and part-time, tenured and non-tenured, including coaches and librarians, together in a comprehensive unit. It is important to note that the Decision refers to all Unit 3 employees as “instructional faculty.”

The community of interest shared by all faculty groups includes the following factors: (1) instruction as the primary function and goal; (2) supervision by means of a common scheme; (3) teaching ability as the primary qualification for employment and retention; (4) preference of advanced degrees as a basic qualification. While the Decision notes that there are a community of interest factors that differ among the faculty groups, they are insufficient to outweigh the “substantial similarity.” Tenure is not considered “so important as to overcome the community of interest which exists between tenured and non-tenured faculty.” In regards to participation in shared governance, the decision observes that

Because the membership and participation rights of faculty members in the campus and statewide academic senates do not fully conform to their status as tenured, full-time temporary, or part-time temporary faculty . . . we do not find that the degree to which faculty participate in these governance bodies provides a basis for splitting faculty along such lines.

Assembly Concurrent Resolution (ACR) 7323

In 2001, the California Assembly passed a resolution urging the CSU Trustees (1) to “study its faculty hiring practices over the past decade in order to effectuate improvements in those practices” and (2) “along with the Academic Senate of the California State University and the California Faculty Association, to jointly develop a plan to raise the percentage of tenured or tenure-track faculty to at least 75%. . . .” The Resolution acknowledges that, contrary to contingent (lecturer) appointments,

Appointments of faculty to tenured and tenure-track positions recognize a mutually beneficial relationship that contributes to the long-term development of the faculty member and the quality of the instructional program available to California State University students...

It urges the Board of Trustees, the statewide Academic Senate and the California Faculty Association to develop a plan providing that “no lecturers currently employed by the university will lose their jobs as a result of implementing the plan” and that “qualified lecturers will be seriously considered for tenure-track positions.”

Appendix 2. Recommendations for Lecturers.

For the Short Term

1. The CSU should follow best practices with respect to lecturer provisions of the Collective Bargaining Agreement.

- Offer unconditional appointments to part-time lecturers with six or more years of service in a department/program with the view of extending layoff rights to them. Although not mandated by the CBA, present CSU practice is to offer all part-time lecturers conditional appointments (Articles 12 & 38).
- Consult with lecturers regarding availability and preference for classes (Article 12), and issue assignments on a timely fashion so that lecturer names may appear on the class schedule when student enrollment begins.
- Incorporate service and scholarship in lecturer assignments so as to 're-bundle' faculty work.²⁴ The CBA does not prohibit this practice and there is precedent.
- In terms of workload, institute lecturer class caps that are the same as for tenure-track faculty and based on the principle that "educational quality is a function of the number and quality of faculty resources" and that a lower student-faculty ratio (SFR) improves the quality of instruction (Article 20).
- Upon initial hire, appoint lecturers to the highest salary range available to them based on qualifications, recommendations and experience (Salary Schedule).

2. The CSU should consider statewide implementation of these other best practices from individual campuses.

- Grant an automatic range elevation to lecturers who complete a terminal degree
- Include lecturers in Emerita/Emeritus Faculty programs
- Allow lecturers to bank units towards SSI's
- Extend to lecturers eligibility for travel, professional development and research funding/grants
- Upon hiring, provide lecturers with a joint CSU-CFA orientation

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- Train department Chairs regarding lecturer rights and, in particular, correct application of the preference for work provisions in Article 12 of the CBA
 - Provide appointment letters in a timely fashion²⁵
 - Provide notification of non-reappointment²⁶ and of assignment reduction in a timely fashion
 - Provide access to office space, phones, instructional technology and support, etc.

3. Academic Senates should:

- Officially recognize all lecturers as *faculty* for the purpose of representation at all levels of shared governance in accordance with CSU Senate Resolution AS-2674-04.²⁷
- Inform lecturer faculty about the university's commitment to the protection of their academic freedom, and encourage them to report violations.
- Develop a plan for achieving equity between lecturers and tenure-track faculty.²⁸

4. Departments should:

- Encourage eligible full-time lecturers to participate in difference-in-pay and sabbatical leaves and in other programs that provide opportunities for professional development (CBA Articles 27 & 28).
- Give lecturers priority consideration for tenure-track positions, in the spirit of ACR 73.

For the Long Term

HEERA, PERB Decision No. 173-H and ACR 73 provide compelling arguments in support of implementing AAUP recommendations on conversion of part- and full-time lecturers in the CSU.

The CSU, the CFA and the academic senates should jointly develop and implement a plan for the conversion of qualified lecturers to tenured and tenure-eligible status based on the principles and guidelines set forth by the AAUP in *Contingent Appointments and the Academic Profession* (2003) and *Conversion of Appointments to the Tenure Track* (2009). The former includes

guidelines for the development of a conversion plan (for example, through the “grandfathering” of positions) and recommends that “plans for conversion...be addressed by duly constituted faculty bodies that invite the participation of contingent faculty.”²⁹ The latter contains an appendix on existing conversion practices and proposals. Like ACR-73, both documents emphasize that conversion of appointments can and should be carried out without negative consequences for faculty currently serving in contingent positions.³⁰

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Notes

¹ The authors all teach at CSU campuses, so much of our argument refers to the CSU, though we make the same kinds of observations about the University of California and the California Community College systems. We have collaborators from these other branches of public higher education whose input is greatly valued.

² Teri Yamada, "Restructuring the California State University: A Call to Action," *Thought and Action* 26 (Autumn 2010): 91–107.

³ Examples abound on all campuses and at the CSU system headquarters. To name a few: At Cal State Sacramento, administrators used general fund money to cover an investment that went bad. See Jack Dolan, "California Public Universities Tap Student Fees for Unintended Projects," *Los Angeles Times*, April 4, 2010, <http://articles.latimes.com/2010/apr/04/local/la-me-student-funds4-2010apr04>. At CSU Fullerton, a retired administrator was hired into a half-time administrative post at a salary of \$165,104, while his retirement income is \$105,129. Were a faculty member to have this kind of opportunity or income, the trustees and public would be up in arms.

⁴ AB 1326 died in the Appropriations Committee due primarily to the opposition of anti-tax Republican assembly members.

⁵ "Higher-Education Leaders Split Over Proposed Oil Tax," Matt Krupnick, *Contra Costa Times*, February 9, 2010, p. 9A.

⁶ If someone offered you money, and the only strings attached to it were that you had to spend the money that they gave you on food, your hands would not be tied regarding the rest of your budget. The gift would free you to reallocate funds toward other bills that were going unpaid because you previously had to devote your inadequate funds to food. California's higher education system could do the equivalent of this. The CSU Chancellor's Office's rejection of AB 1326 on these grounds thus surpasses all understanding.

⁷ Michael Barber, *Instruction to Deliver: Fighting to Transform Britain's Public Services* (London: Politico's Publishing, 2007).

⁸ John Seddon, *Systems Thinking in the Public Sector: The Failure of the Reform Regime. . . and a Manifesto for a Better Way* (Axminster: Triarchy Press, 2008).

⁹ "Perspectives on CSU Budget Gap," July 24, 2009. His view that reorganization, increased class size, changes in admission policy, program elimination, and more distance learning were a natural response to budget cuts was echoed in a later memorandum from vice chancellor and CFO Benjamin Quillian (2009).

¹⁰ Robert Zemsky and Joni Finney, *Changing the Subject: Costs, Graduation Rates, and the Importance of Re-engineering the Undergraduate Curriculum*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Institute for Research on Higher Education, 2010).

¹¹ Every entity in a resource-limited environment must deal with costs, and outcomes are a reasonable approach to a cost-benefit analysis. However, it is the benefits – the outcomes – that are not properly constructed in the CSU model, nor are all of the costs – such as the extravagantly expensive CMS (Common Management System software) that cost the CSU over \$660 million – justifiable. In fact there wasn't even any attempt to justify those costs. The state auditor found that "The university did not

establish a business case for CMS to define its intended benefits and associated costs and ensure that the expenditure of university resources is worthwhile." From California State Auditor, "California State University: Its Common Management System Has Higher Than Reported Costs, Less Than Optimal Functionality, and Questionable Procurement and Conflict-of-Interest Practices," Report 2002-110 Summary, March 2003, <http://www.bsa.ca.gov/reports/summary/2002-110>.

¹² Public Citizen provides a comprehensive analysis of the transition of higher education from public service to global service industry, "WTO U: GATs and Higher Education Policy," <http://www.citizen.org/Page.aspx?pid=1213>.

¹³ This was at a public gathering attended by some of the authors.

¹⁴ As an illustration of this distorted value system, between 1975 and 2009 managerial and professional staff in the CSU have grown by 221 percent while faculty have grown by only 28 percent. See Analytic Studies, CSU Office of the Chancellor, http://www.calstate.edu/as/stat_abstract/stat0809/pdf/z7a09.pdf (2009). There are now more administrators in the CSU than there are faculty members.

¹⁵ Kathleen Porter, "The Value of a College Degree," *ERIC Digest* (2002), <http://www.ericdigests.org/2003-3/value.htm>.

¹⁶ See, for example, Richard Arum, Josipa Roksa, and Esther Cho, "Improving Undergraduate Learning: Findings and Policy Recommendations from the SSRC-CLA Longitudinal Project," <http://www.ssrc.org/publications/view/D06178BE-3823-E011-ADEF-001CC477EC84/>.

¹⁷ Illich makes this argument in several of his works, but especially *Deschooling Society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971).

¹⁸ One of us was surprised and pleased to see that her alma mater, Mount Holyoke College, was undertaking a President's Commission on Work-Life Balance; see http://www.mtholyoke.edu/hr/docs/hr/work-life_summit.pdf. Such a community-oriented, collegial initiative would never occur to the corporate leadership of the modern CSU.

¹⁹ A true People's University would have universal access—no financial restriction on those who are qualified to attend. We are far from this goal in our country.

²⁰ American Association of University Professors, *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure*, <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/1940statement.htm>.

²¹ American Association of University Professors, "Tenure and Teaching-Intensive Appointments (2010)," <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/comm/rep/conversion.htm>.

²² State of California Decision of the Public Employment Relations Board, PERB Decision No. 173-H, September 22, 1981, <http://www.perb.ca.gov/decisionbank/pdfs/0173h.pdf>.

²³ Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 73--Relative to the California State University, May 15, 2001, http://info.sen.ca.gov/pub/01-02/bill/asm/ab_0051-0100/acr_73_bill_20010924_chaptered.html.

²⁴ "To support the essential mission of higher education, faculty appointments, including contingent appointments, should incorporate all aspects of university life: active engagement with an academic discipline, teaching or mentoring of undergraduate or graduate students, participation in academic decision making, and service on campus and to the surrounding community. Faculty who are appointed to less-than-full-time positions should participate at least to some extent in the full range of faculty responsibilities. For all faculty members in contingent positions, this participation should be supported by compensation and institutional resources and recognized in the processes of evaluation and peer

review." *Policy Statement on Contingent Appointments and the Academic Profession* (2003), <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/conting-stmt.htm>

²⁵ For part-time faculty, the AAUP recommends that "Written notice of reappointment or non-reappointment...be issued no later than one month before the end of the existing appointment." Regulation 13 on "Part-Time Faculty Appointments" in *Recommended Institutional Regulations on Academic Freedom and Tenure* (2006), <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/RIR.htm>. For full-time faculty, the AAUP recommends greater advance notice. *1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure*, <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/1940statement.htm>.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Service of Lecturer Faculty on Campus Academic Senates, AS-2674-04/FA, November 11-12, 2004, <http://www.calstate.edu/AcadSen/Records/Resolutions/2003-2004/2674.shtml>.

²⁸ "The isolation of contingent faculty from opportunities to interact with their tenured or tenure-track colleagues and to participate in faculty governance, professional development, and scholarly pursuits promotes divisions and distinctions that undermine the collegial nature of the academic community. Taken together, these inequities weaken the whole profession and diminish its capacity to serve the public good." *Policy Statement on Contingent Appointments and the Academic Profession* (2003), <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/conting-stmt.htm>

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ American Association of University Professionals, *Tenure and Teaching-Intensive Appointments* (2010), <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/comm/rep/conversion.htm>.