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Part-time faculty are best understood as extensions of institutional identity. In the twenty-first century, the identity of community colleges makes part-time faculty central to the organization's goals.

Multiple Judgments: Institutional Context and Part-Time Faculty

John S. Levin

Part-time faculty members at community colleges are customarily understood from an institutional perspective that is based on traditional conceptions of the community college as a component of a tiered educational system (high school, community college, four-year college or university). This conception places the community college in the role of either a junior college or a training school. This traditional conception highlights academic preparation, skills development, and sequential learning and justifies the institution's worth through proxies such as degree attainment, job placement, and percentage of students who transfer to a four-year college or university. It is this conception that has been used to examine the role and condition of part-time faculty, conflating those at community colleges with those at universities and aggregating all part-time faculty as if they were part of this traditional conception. From this perspective, part-time faculty are viewed as either marginal or deleterious to the community college mission of student advancement.

Yet there are other ways of viewing and understanding the community college distinct from the traditional conception. For example, I have used the term *new world college* to describe the behaviors and actions of community colleges that place them in a globalized and competitive economy (Levin, 2007). These institutions are components of the new liberalized world of economic global competition and are decidedly distinct from their old world, or European-generated, conceptions of higher education institutions, particularly universities—even those found in former European

colonies such as the United States, Canada, and Australia. In such a new world, community colleges have decidedly multiple functions and institutional identities that align them with adroit businesses, in a condition that Gee, Hull, and Lankshear (1996) and others call "fast capitalism." With multiple purposes that go beyond schooling, community colleges combine characteristics of social services agencies, training arms of business and industry, adult education centers, rehabilitation centers (think of prison education), and community developers. Furthermore, the expansion of mission that has led to the community college baccalaureate degree and the postbaccalaureate degree reshapes the junior college and training school beyond recognition. Colleges now have educational services for the severely mentally and physically impaired and partnerships with universities to offer master's degrees on campus. The range is broad indeed.

By framing the community college as a business or as an agent of economic development, we need to rethink our view of faculty work and faculty status to the extent that part-time faculty are central, not peripheral, to the community college enterprise. This centrality is based on the rationale of the efficiency and effectiveness of institutional operations. Part-time faculty are an economic necessity and provide institutional adaptation to changing circumstances. Moreover, some part-time faculty are more central and valuable than others, which indicates that viewing all part-time faculty in the same manner is misleading (Levin, Kater, and Wagoner, 2006).

Part-time faculty members in the community college are products of the conception of the institution: their condition as a labor force is identified by institutional context. The context for community colleges is largely one that is economic in its orientation and functioning. In order to fit the more ethically compelling mission of educational access into this context, community college practitioners must perform magic tricks: they must convince both the public and the private sectors that community colleges are critical to the state or region's economic prosperity, and they must endeavor to rescue students from a dissatisfying present or ill-fated future. They offer hope and promise to the disadvantaged of our society and at the same time justify their outcomes as economically productive. The argument that helps in this rationale is made to state legislators by community college presidents, such as one president from a Pacific Northwest community college: "Why are we spending so much money on incarcerating people and so little money on educating them? And that goes from pre-kindergarten all the way through with community colleges being a big part of that. So let's quit spending all of this money on juvenile justice and incarcerating and making new rules to incarcerate people."

The community college as new world college, then, is subject to what one former community college president claimed to his college constituents, in a letter I collected for an earlier publication: "All of us are aware, the tides of change are sweeping across our country, not only in a political sense but to the very core of our business, industrial, financial, governmental and educational enterprises. In this highly competitive global economy, change is

no longer an intellectual activity to become a mechanism of survival—looks. Re-structuring, re-engineering call it—it is with us and we must c

In a knowledge-based economy only the conveyors of communication that structure work. This includes college is the core activity of the organization processing and disseminating work altered. One example is seen ultimately as noted by a science faculty member whose work week adds up to about 40 hours per week—that's not teaching from home. A lot of students are available through the weekend. I tell them if they send e-mail through the weekend. . . . I'm consistently on e-mail." At that same college, the faculty of change and the increase in work reflecting on projects, always go, minutes to this kind of system—a the faculty workload went way up special at a Pacific Northwest college that affect faculty work: "Overall c downsizing of support staff. Now we are expected to do the secretarial a

Furthermore, the change in decades has challenged faculty approaches who teaches in the general education Chicago community college reflect

I have some immigrants [who] for high school or their records are deleted are refugees or whatever. Typical a to be, back in the 80s when I was to be thirty-five or forty. Now, my People drop out of high school, or a lion different reasons. Usually it friends are into drugs; they want drug problems in the family; they know, all of those kind of things,

Indeed, in the twenty-first century is a diverse one, which presents challenges to faculty, as noted by a basic skills i

no longer an intellectual activity to analyze and discuss, it has in every sense become a mechanism of survival—a way of life—regardless of where one looks. Re-structuring, re-engineering, re-framing, downsizing, whatever you call it—it is with us and we must deal with it” (Levin, 2001, p. 67).

In a knowledge-based economy, information technologies become not only the conveyors of communication but also the tools and mechanisms that structure work. This includes teaching, which in the community college is the core activity of the organization. Teaching is redefined as information processing and disseminating, and those who teach have seen their work altered. One example is seen in work hours and student access to faculty as noted by a science faculty member at a California community college, whose work week adds up to about fifty-six hours: “I’d say I work forty hours per week—that’s not teaching time—but I work from home. I have a home office. A lot of students e-mail me at home, and I respond to them from home. I tell them if they send me an e-mail, I’ll respond quickly. So, I’m available through the weekend. I check my e-mail regularly through the weekend. . . . I’m consistently on-call since I make myself available via e-mail.” At that same college, the faculty senate president articulates the pace of change and the increase in work for faculty: “We are always moving, never reflecting on projects, always go, go, go. . . . There are a lot of pluses and minuses to this kind of system—a lot of pressure. . . . With more computers, the faculty workload went way up.” A faculty member who is a union official at a Pacific Northwest college also discussed the organizational changes that affect faculty work: “Overall campus restructuring has brought about a downsizing of support staff. Now that most [faculty] have computers, they are expected to do the secretarial and administrative things themselves.”

Furthermore, the change in student demographics over the past two decades has challenged faculty approaches to instruction. One faculty member who teaches in the general educational development testing program at a Chicago community college reflects on his students and their characteristics:

I have some immigrants [who] for various reasons either didn’t graduate from high school or their records are destroyed or they can’t get them, because they are refugees or whatever. Typical age has become younger and younger. It used to be, back in the 80s when I was teaching this class, my average age would be thirty-five or forty. Now, my average age is twenty-five or twenty-eight. People drop out of high school, or they never finish. They drop out for a million different reasons. Usually it has to do with kids that are poor; their friends are into drugs; they want to go out and play; there is alcoholism or drug problems in the family; they have to go to work; they are pregnant; you know, all of those kind of things, plus a million different other stories.

Indeed, in the twenty-first century, the community college student body is a diverse one, which presents considerable frustrations and dilemmas for faculty, as noted by a basic skills instructor in North Carolina:

Our students are as diverse as the phone book. . . . There are times when as an instructor and as a human being I want to do everything on earth for them. There are other times when I would like to strangle them and make them completely disappear. Most of them have had challenges all of their life. Most of them have no encouragement at home. A lot . . . have been told all their lives that they're nobody and nothing and they will never amount to anything. So they've been put down. I try to be honest with my students. I tell them exactly like it is. They appreciate that. If they have done well, I tell them that, but I don't sugar coat it. . . . I don't make them think that they've . . . gone beyond the limits. . . . Sometimes we always like to think about the good ones. I worry about the ones that fall between the cracks. I always worry about the ones that drop out. They come for a while and then they drop out, and we never hear from them again. I often wonder what happens to them. Sometimes they come back. And then sometimes they never do . . . and you wonder what, if you did something wrong or just what happened in that process.

The considerable range of students makes traditional approaches to instruction problematical and makes a myth of the customary concept of a postsecondary faculty member who is a full-time employee, teaches a group of young students who recently graduated from high school, uses a traditional teaching format, gives weekly assignments, and holds office hours for student meetings on their work.

Faculty Differences by Program Area

There is both evidence and scholarship to indicate that there are not only demographic differences among part-time faculty by program area but also by employment satisfaction level (U.S. Department of Education, 2003; Levin, Kater, and Wagoner, 2006; Wagoner, 2004). Current research suggests that humanities and social sciences part-time faculty members are less satisfied with their condition as part-time faculty than those in occupational and vocational areas. While compensation is one plausible explanation for differences in satisfaction (Levin, Kater, and Wagoner, 2006), another explanation is that the organizational context and the institution's orientation to a globally competitive economy are more compatible with part-time faculty in particular program areas. A new world college is conducive to a faculty that is not only part time but also aligned in their expertise and instructional responsibilities with the demands of the economic marketplace.

Liberal arts faculty are essentially hired not for their expertise but rather for their labor as substitutes for full-time faculty. Part-time faculty in this area are less expensive than full-time faculty; they can and do teach large numbers of students, many of whom will not advance to higher levels or find their way to the labor market in their academic areas. The economic benefits of this stratum of faculty allow community colleges to fulfill their access role: inexpensive labor for student enrollments.

In general, occupational and vocational areas are the primary focus of part-time faculty. While these part-time faculty are not necessarily as expensive as full-time faculty and thus are a cost-effective expertise that the institution can utilize, the majority of liberal arts faculty are full-time at a community college.

We can assert that there are two strata of faculty who are contract labor and that the institution is in a developing condition of transition from a community college mission of access to a mission that expresses the institution to the market. On the one hand, the institution is developing and labor market practices of business and industry are being adopted for what are termed employees who are designed to fit the institution's needs. These requirements are more than those of a part-time faculty in such a role. On the other hand, newly established postsecondary institutions are rate trainers for their fields, and the institution's orientation on community college is more market-driven (Richardson, Fisk, and Okun, 2004).

Both strata are central to the institution's goal of efficiency and effectiveness. The institution refers to actions, not simply to the institution (Levin, 1983). This is not to say that the institution of the community college's mission will support the legitimacy of the institution. The multieducational purpose of the institution—provider of vocational and occupational education and basic skills or remedial education—is the institution if it does not force development. In the institution's interests of the community college.

Implications

This rather austere view of the high level—67 percent of the institution. As long as community college is an institution characterized by access, it occupies a critical place. We

In general, occupational and professional program faculty are hired for their specialized knowledge or because of labor market shortages of full-time faculty. While these part-time faculty members are less expensive than full-time faculty and thus an economic benefit to the institution, they have expertise that the institution needs and is not readily available. Unlike the majority of liberal arts faculty, they do not have full-time employment aspirations at a community college.

We can assert that there are two distinct strata of part-time faculty: those who are contract labor and those who are specialized labor. Both groups reflect a developing condition of the community college. On the one hand, the community college mission of access and state financing based on enrollments presses the institution to the limits of performance by adding more and more students. On the other hand, the community college, as a vehicle of economic development and labor market provider of a trained workforce, emulates the practices of business and industry and endeavors to satisfy their expectations for what are termed employability skills (Levin, 2001). These include employees who are designed to fit employer requirements. Who knows better about these requirements than those who work in business and industry? Thus, part-time faculty in such areas as nursing, business, and technology and in newly established postbaccalaureate teaching certificate programs are corporate trainers for their fields, not traditional faculty as understood in the literature on community college faculty (Grubb, 1999; McGrath and Spear, 1991; Richardson, Fisk, and Okun, 1983; Seidman, 1985).

Both strata are central to the community college and indeed characterize the community college as an institution that revolves around two goals: the goal of efficiency and the goal of workforce development. *Goals* here refers to actions, not simply intentions, of the organization (Mintzberg, 1983). This is not to say that effective education and training are not part of the community college's purposes, but these are enacted as strategies that will support the legitimacy of the institution and satisfy its constituents. The multieducational purposes of the community college codified in state legislation—provider of university preparation or parallel education, vocational and occupational education, community and continuing education, and basic skills or remediation—are not the sole and permanent claim of the institution if it does not meet its two prime goals of efficiency and workforce development. In these goals, part-time faculty are the critical components of the community college.

Implications

This rather austere view of the community college justifies the continuation of the high level—67 percent of all faculty—of employment of part-time faculty. As long as community colleges continue to develop along the lines of an institution characterized as a new world college, part-time faculty will occupy a critical place. While some argue that the practice of high levels of

part-time employment is unethical, unfair labor practice, irresponsible, exploitative, and the like (Gappa and Leslie, 1997; Rhoades, 1998; Roueche, Roueche, and Milliron, 1995; Wagoner, Metcalfe, and Olaore, 2005), they refrain from challenging the goals of the institution—goals that are the basis of the practice. In order to change the practice, community college goals must be altered.

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3 This chapter analyzes of Postsecondary Faculty labor in the new economy

Globalization, the New Economy, and Part-Time Faculty

Richard L. Wagoner

As John Levin noted in Chapter 1, the new economy depends on the organization of work. In this chapter, I present an analysis of how community colleges can be conceptualized in the new economy. Initially I review the literature on the new economy and then describe how community colleges might be understood in terms of the new economy. Finally, I present an analysis of how community college part-time faculty resemble the new economy's employment patterns, and I

New Economy Labor

Perhaps the most striking feature of the new economy is the isolated individual workers and flexibility (see Chapter 1). The fundamental transformation of work and the fragmentation of work have provided a new environment for themselves in the new economy. Government or unions (Osterman, 1991) can then, there is the potential for a new set of rewards, but many of



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