

**The Paradox of an Orphaned Policy:
Postsecondary Remedial Education**

BY

CONSTANCE ANNE MIXON
B.A., Cornell College, 1988
M.P.A, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1995

DISSERTATION

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Dissertation Committee:

Dennis Judd, Chair and Advisor
Dick Simpson
Andrew McFarland
Barry Rundquist
Mark Warden, City Colleges of Chicago (Retired)

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, the Reverend Bettye Mixon. Throughout my life she has nourished and encouraged my desire to wonder, seek knowledge, and love learning for learning's sake. Without her support, encouragement, and constant love, this work would not have been possible.

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“If I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants.”
- Isaac Newton to Robert Hooke (1676)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AACC	American Association of Community Colleges
ACF	Advocacy Coalition Framework
AGI	American Graduation Initiative
CCC	City Colleges of Chicago
CCRC	Community College Research Center
CCCSE	Center for Community College Student Engagement
CCCTU	Cook County College Teachers Union
ESEA	Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965
HEA	Higher Education Act of 1965
IBHE	Illinois Board of Higher Education
ICCB	Illinois Community College Board
ICCTA	Illinois Community College Trustees Association
ICPR	Illinois Campaign for Political Reform
ISAC	Illinois Student Assistance Commission
ISBE	Illinois State Board of Education
NADE	National Association of Developmental Education
NCES	National Center for Education Statistics

Abstract

This dissertation uncovers a paradox in what we understand to be true about public policy processes. Embedded in nearly every political science theory, model and framework of the policy process, is the critical role of advocacy groups who support, nurture, pay attention to, and advocate for specific governmental policies and programs. Fundamental to the stability, maintenance and persistence of governmental policy, these groups play a central role in setting the agenda, defining problems, proposing solutions, influencing decisions, guiding implementation, and maintaining the status quo.

The policy and the practice of providing postsecondary remedial education at American universities and colleges has been around for over a century, millions of U.S. students enroll in these academic programs every year, and taxpayers spend billions of dollars on it. Despite this, the findings of this dissertation indicate that postsecondary remedial education in Illinois is an orphaned policy. It lacks a supportive and stable advocacy group acting on its behalf. The paradox is how and why, without advocacy, it continues to persist. This paradox becomes even more confounding as the policy persists in an often hostile and adverse political environment riddled with opposition.

The findings of this dissertation challenge our existing theories of the policy process. In an attempt to account for policy persistence, without advocacy, this dissertation builds an empirical and theoretical argument explaining the paradox of an orphaned policy as resulting from institutional inertia and budgetary dependence, coupled with political and societal pressure for equity in postsecondary education policy.

I. INTRODUCTION¹

Overview

As a participant-observer of Illinois community colleges and Illinois state legislative processes since 1999, I have been directly engaged in one of the most challenging and arguably most important problems facing community colleges – unprepared students in need of postsecondary remedial coursework. While students may meet high school graduation requirements or obtain the equivalent of a high school diploma in the form of a GED, many students enter postsecondary institutions (primarily community colleges) unprepared for college-level courses and find that they must enroll in remedial coursework. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) defines “remedial courses, usually in mathematics, English, or writing” as courses which “provide instruction to improve basic knowledge and skills within a subject and to develop studying and social habits related to academic success at the college level” (Aud, 2011, p.70).

As a professor and administrator who frequently lobbied the Illinois General Assembly on behalf of community colleges, it seemed to me that our state legislators were overwhelmingly concerned with finding blame for the problem of postsecondary remedial education, rather than how well and where (primarily community colleges) it was delivered. The dominant policy narrative has been that public K-12 schools caused the need for colleges and universities to remediate their students. This narrative is also

¹ Portions of this chapter previously appeared as a journal article in the *Illinois Political Science Review*. Mixon, C. A. (2011). A persistent problem: Postsecondary remedial education. *Illinois Political Science Review*. Vol. 14: 72-115. See Appendix G for permission to reprint statement.

prevalent in the literature of higher education as “many blame the pervasive need for college remediation on poor K-12 quality and lack of rigor” (Bettinger, 2009, p. 737). One legislator interviewed for this dissertation said, “colleges and universities in Illinois should not have to remediate their students. The blame for this problem lies squarely with our K-12 schools.”

The provision of postsecondary remedial education at community colleges is like a deep, dark family secret. Everyone knows it is there, but no one likes it and no one talks about it. One of the community college stakeholders interviewed for this dissertation frankly stated, “remediation is a dirty word.” Yet, year after year, the state continues to fund it and community colleges continue to provide it. When lobbying for community colleges, I never mentioned the fact that the majority of our students needed remediation. When I visited Springfield to meet with legislators, I focused on our traditional baccalaureate and honors programs from which students transferred to four-year institutions. I also stressed the contributions our colleges were making to workforce development. These things were “sexy” and interesting. I never once brought a remedial education student with me to Springfield. But, I frequently took well groomed, smart, and articulate honors program students. Legislators loved to hear and see our student success stories.

In an effort to determine whether or not Illinois state legislative attention was, as I suspected, overwhelmingly focused on placing blame with K-12 education; rather than the actual provision of postsecondary remedial education, I uncovered something quite unexpected. Contrary to our theories of the public policy process, the long-standing policy of providing postsecondary remedial education in Illinois appears to lack a

coalition or community of advocates. During my years of research for this dissertation, I was hard pressed to find anyone in Illinois who supported the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education at community colleges. Although the policy exists, and has existed for quite some time, it is seemingly on its own - an orphan.

Embedded in nearly every political science theory, model and framework of the policy process, is the critical role of groups who support, nurture, pay attention to, and advocate for specific governmental policies and programs. Fundamental to the stability, maintenance and persistence of governmental policy, they are often referred to as policy communities, policy or issue networks, advocacy coalitions, or policy subsystems, among other terms. Regardless of the labels attached to them, there is consensus in the policy literature, as detailed in Chapter II of this dissertation, that these groups play a central role in setting the governmental agenda, defining problems, proposing solutions, influencing decisions, guiding the policy implementation processes, and maintaining the status quo (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993; Berry, 1999; Patashnik, 2003). For the purpose of this dissertation, I use the term **advocacy group** to encompass and embody a broad understanding of these entities and their sustaining role in the continuity of public policy.

Long-standing public policies typically mature through a political process of competing interests, lobbying, and ultimately the formation of stable groups that guard and champion continued policy funding, expansion and innovation. In a political environment of multiple policy domains, competing interests and shrinking resources, governmental policies and programs should not be able to persist as an orphan, without advocates championing their cause. They should die. As this dissertation explains,

postsecondary remedial education has been around for over a century, millions of U.S. students enroll in these academic programs every year, and taxpayers spend billions of dollars on it. Despite this, the findings of this dissertation indicate that postsecondary remedial education in Illinois is an orphan policy. It lacks a supportive and stable advocacy group acting on its behalf. The paradox is how and why, without advocacy, it continues to persist. This paradox becomes even more confounding as the policy persists in an often hostile and adverse political environment riddled with opposition.

The National Center for Postsecondary Research states that remedial courses “are the most common policy instruments used to assist underprepared postsecondary students who are not ready for college-level coursework” (Calcagno, 2008, p.iii). It is estimated that 2 million U.S. college students enrolled in remedial courses during the fall of 2012 (Vedder, 2012). As detailed in Table 1 on page 5, The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) reported that during the 2007–08 academic year, just over 36 percent of first-year undergraduate students enrolled in at least one postsecondary remedial education course. At public 2-year institutions, nearly 42 percent of first-year undergraduate students enrolled in at least one postsecondary remedial education course.

Studies from the Community College Research Center (CCRC) at Columbia University peg national community college student enrollment in remedial coursework at 60 percent of all undergraduates, significantly higher than the NCES official reports (Bailey, 2009, p.1). The Illinois Community College Board (ICCB) has reported that nearly half (48.7%) of first-time community college students enroll in remedial

coursework (Parke et al., 2012, p.7). At some colleges within the Illinois system, remedial rates are as high as 90% (Fain, 2012a).

Table 1

First –Year Undergraduate Students Enrolled in a Remedial Course by Level of Institution, 2007-08

Level of Institution	Number of students (in thousands)	Percent who took a remedial course
All institutions	8,517	36.20%
Public 2-year	4,855	41.90%
Public 4-year Non-Doctorate	690	38.60%
Public 4-year Doctorate	823	24.20%
Private not-for-profit 4-year Non-Doctorate	415	25.80%
Private not-for-profit 4-year Doctorate	319	22.30%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, NCES (2011)

In 2011, the National Bureau of Economic Research estimated the annual cost of college-level remediation to be nearly \$7 billion (Scott-Clayton et al., 2012, p.1). In 2013, the state of Illinois appropriated \$4,743,332.00 for remediation at community colleges. The total state appropriation for all categories of instruction at community colleges, including remediation, was \$1,914,382,621.00 (ICCB, 2013b). Thus, remediation accounts for 2.49% of appropriations for community college instruction in Illinois. Despite the fact that the appropriations for remediation are a drop in the bucket of overall community college appropriations in Illinois, it has been the target of opposition and disdain. In August of 2010, *Education Week* published a story about remediation at one Illinois community college district. The headline read: “Community Colleges Rethink ‘Open Door’ Admissions as Remedial Costs Rise” (Adams, 2010). The article reported that then Chicago Mayor Richard Daley,

called for an end to the 'open door' admissions policy at Chicago City Colleges, citing concerns about the cost of remedial courses and a desire to build a quality program. Every year, the system spends about \$30 million for remedial classes—about 6 percent of its \$457.5 million budget. Daley suggested that a better approach might be to offer programs through alternative high schools to get students up to speed before they enter college (Adams, 2010).

Mayor Daley was not first, and certainly will not be the last, to call for an end to college remediation. Postsecondary remedial education first “came under attack in the policy environment of the 1990s” (Heller, 2002, p.5). At the heart of the debate about college remediation are questions and assumptions about who can and should benefit from a college education. “For many policymakers, instead of providing a path toward educational opportunity, remediation in college came to represent the failure of the K-12 system, the erosion of standards at American colleges and universities, and the inefficient use of economic resources” (Heller, 2002, p.5). Believing that higher education should not be in the business of providing remedial coursework, many policymakers and postsecondary institutions have addressed the problem by refusing admission to students who are not prepared for college work. These actions are typically based on the premise that if colleges and universities refuse to admit students who are not prepared for college work, market forces will compel public K-12 schools to improve.

In 1999, former Interim President of CUNY’s Bernard M. Baruch College, Lois Cronholm, said that remedial courses had a “devastating effect” on her institution. The solution she enacted was eliminating remedial education courses from Baruch College (Cronholm, 1999). Following her action, the entire CUNY system stopped admitting remedial students. Cronholm’s explanation was that,

when precollegiate institutions know that public colleges and universities have justifiable standards that they hold inviolate, K-12 schools will behave toward public institutions as they do toward private colleges and universities – and adjust their standards to insure the ability of their students to attend. When students and families see that public colleges and universities mean business about reforming the system, they will know what they must demand of the schools and themselves. And we will return public higher education to its rightful role in securing the American dream for future generations (Cronholm, 1999, p.B5).

Although postsecondary remedial education has a large and vocal contingency of activist critics, there are supporters. These supporters occasionally write about the policy of postsecondary remediation in academic journals and in op-eds to media outlets like the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. Yet, they have failed to take on the role of championing the cause and advocating for or against policy action. In their writings, these supporters often frame attacks on postsecondary remedial education as attacks on access to college. They contend that postsecondary “remedial education programs are essential to open access to higher education, crucial to national economic development, and can be effective if appropriately organized, managed, and delivered” (Zhang, 1999). As such, they often “draw attention to the fact that students of color, students from less affluent families, and students for whom English is a second language are greatly overrepresented in remedial courses” (Attewell et al., 2006, p. 887). For example, Alexander Astin (1998), has argued that

The education of the ‘remedial’ student is the most important educational problem in America today, more important than educational funding, affirmative action, vouchers, merit pay, teacher education, financial aid, curriculum reform, and the rest. Providing effective “remedial” education would do more to alleviate our most serious social and economic problems than almost any other action we could take (Astin, 1998, para. 4-5).

While Astin and other supporters have called for increased attention to “effective remedial education,” these calls have not spurred action by policymakers.

“Unfortunately, while debates for and against have been vociferous, the effectiveness of these programs has not been visible as an issue” (Grubb, 2001, p.1). Donald Heller and Deborah Schwartz (2002) found that state policies regarding postsecondary remedial education have focused on one or more of approaches listed below:

- limiting the number of remedial students accepted for admission;
- limiting the time allowed for students to complete remedial courses;
- limiting remedial courses to community colleges;
- limiting funding for remedial education; and
- implementing stricter admissions and/or placement standards at four-year institutions (Heller, 2002, p.6).

A cursory review of state level postsecondary remedial education policies in the United States, for the purpose of this dissertation, found that each of the policy solutions to the problem of postsecondary remedial education identified by Heller and Schwartz (2002), continue to persist today. Additionally, several states including Illinois, have enacted policies to align high school student preparation with college admission and placement standards. None of these policy instruments, aimed at making the problem of postsecondary remedial education go away, address the actual provision and/or effectiveness of the delivery and outcomes of postsecondary remedial education.

Research Question and Hypotheses

This dissertation began as an effort to determine if public policy solutions to the problem of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois were reflective of the narrative that public K-12 schools were to blame for the problem. As detailed in Chapter VI, this dissertation answers its initial research question in the affirmative: Public policy

solutions to the problem of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois have focused on finding blame for the problem with public K-12 schools. Digging deeper into the politics and policy of postsecondary remediation in Illinois, this dissertation evolved and expanded its scope to explain why this is so and presents two related hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1) Community colleges in Illinois have failed to act as an advocacy group on behalf of the policy of postsecondary remedial education.

Hypothesis 2) The policy of providing postsecondary remedial education in Illinois persists because of institutional inertia and budgetary dependence coupled with political and societal pressure for equity in postsecondary education policy.

Illinois community colleges were chosen as a key component of this case study because they are the primary providers of postsecondary remedial education in the state. This designation dates back to legislation (P.A. 81-803) enacted in 1979. Although Illinois, unlike some other states, has not passed legislation nor enacted rules or regulations prohibiting four-year colleges and universities from offering remedial courses, community colleges are the only recipients of state funding for remediation (ICCB). As detailed in Table 2, the bulk of postsecondary remedial enrollment in Illinois is delivered at community colleges. In 2011, the Illinois Board of Higher Education reported that a total of 142,153 “undergraduate students enrolled in at least one remedial/developmental course during a 12-month period (2010-2011)” (IBHE, 2013). Of those 142,153 remedial students, 119,154 were enrolled in a state community college. This equates to 84% of all state postsecondary remedial enrollment being delivered at community colleges.

Table 2

Illinois Postsecondary Remedial Enrollment

Academic Year	Public Universities	Community Colleges	Independent Institutions	Illinois Total
2011	10,184	119,154	12,815	142,153
2010	9,259	118,032	22,120	149,411
2009	8,291	101,972	20,597	130,860
2008	7,873	100,423	18,113	126,409
2007	8,516	98,907	14,152	121,575

Source: IBHE (2013)

Additionally, Presley (2005) found that nearly three quarters of underprepared college students in Illinois attend a community college. As Illinois community colleges are the primary providers of postsecondary remedial education; are the only postsecondary institutions funded by the state to provide it; and most underprepared Illinois college students attend a community college, community colleges are an appropriate unit of analysis for this case study.

An exploratory qualitative case study methodology is used to test the hypotheses of this dissertation, triangulating data from: 1) Illinois state legislative, executive, lobbying and budgetary records; 2) Illinois community college documents; and 3) elite interviews. The dissertation's research design and the methods employed to test each of the dissertation hypotheses are detailed in Chapter V of this dissertation.

Purpose and Significance of the Study

Although remedial coursework is provided by nearly every college and university in the United States, very little is known about it. It "remains an understudied component of higher education. Early research on remediation has been mainly descriptive, simply comparing the outcomes of students in remediation to those not in

remedial courses” (Calcagno and Long, 2008, p.4). Specifically, “research about the effectiveness of remedial education programs has typically been sporadic, underfunded, and inconclusive” (Merisotis and Phipps, 2000, p. 75). Furthermore, research related to postsecondary remedial education has overwhelmingly been conducted by academics in the education discipline.

This dissertation investigates the problem, politics, and policy of postsecondary remedial education from the perspective of a political scientist. Approaching postsecondary remedial education in this manner provides unique insights. First, higher education is a policy area not routinely studied by political scientists. As a result, our understanding of higher education public policy processes is somewhat limited. This dissertation contributes to a deeper understanding of the politics of higher education policy, specifically state policy, which has been notably underdeveloped (Tandberg, 2010; McLendon, 2003). Second, examination of this admittedly small niche of higher education policy sheds light on the larger complexities of public policy making. This dissertation uncovers a paradox in what we understand to be true about public policy processes and theories. This paradox provides an opportunity for the advancement of existing theories and may lead to the creation of new frameworks of public policy understanding.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of eight chapters. Chapter I is an introduction to the study. Chapter II provides a review of the relevant political science and public policy literature addressing the persistence and resilience of public policies over time. Chapter III examines the history and current state of community colleges within the context of

higher education in the United States. Chapter IV digs deeper into the condition and problem that is postsecondary remedial education. Postsecondary remedial education in this chapter is examined through the lens of the perpetual problem of failing public K-12 schools. Chapter V details the dissertation's research design and methodology. This chapter explains why a case study approach using qualitative research methods fits the purpose of this study and details the primary sources of evidence used to test the hypotheses of the dissertation.

Chapter VI addresses the initial research question of this dissertation. Evidence is presented from archival legislative analyses demonstrating that public policy solutions to the problem of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois have primarily focused on the widely accepted cause of the problem: public K-12 schools. Chapter VII details support for the first hypothesis of this dissertation that community colleges in Illinois have failed to act as an advocacy group on behalf of the policy of postsecondary remedial education. Although the policy exists, and has existed for quite some time, it is seemingly on its own - an orphan. Chapter VIII is the concluding chapter of this dissertation. While addressing the second hypothesis of the dissertation, this chapter takes on the paradox of how postsecondary remedial education in Illinois, as an orphaned policy, is able to persist.

II. MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO: POLICY PERSISTENCE AND RESILIENCE

Introduction

Thomas Dye defines public policy as “anything a government chooses to do and not do” (2013, p.3). Public policy inquiry, frequently termed “policy sciences” (Stone, 2002), attempts to “understand why public decisions and their outcomes change, stay stable, vary from sector to sector, and differ in their consequences for the publics that consume and appraise them” (John, 2003, p.482). Although inquiry is often focused on understanding the conditions (punctuations, focusing events, indicators) that produce a disruption of equilibrium and public policy change, understanding the stability and continuity of policy over time is likewise important. Maintaining the status quo is an important policy decision.

As public and governmental attention to issues waxes and wanes over time, advocacy groups are fundamental to the stability and continuity of public policies. Advocacy groups serve as a supportive constituency with a vested interest in policy maintenance and expansion. As Weible et al. (2011) point out, “the political battle does not end at policy adoption...policy participants should nurture a particular idea or protect their preferred policy throughout the stages of the policy cycle” (Weible et al. 2011, p.14). Despite the diversity of approaches political scientists have used to describe and explain policymaking processes, one of the main conclusions is that policy actors, both inside and outside of government, who share common values, perceptions and preferences cooperate in a coordinated manner over time to achieve and maintain desired policy objectives and outcomes.

Long-standing public policies are able to persist because stable advocacy groups pay attention to the policy while continually guarding, nurturing, and championing policy continuity and often promoting expansion. In the wide-ranging literature of political science and public policy, these groups are referred to as policy subsystems, policy or issue networks, policy communities, policy monopolies and advocacy coalitions, among other terms. Recognizing the wide variety of names given to these groups, True, Jones, and Baumgartner (1999) state that “whatever the name one gives to these communities of specialists operating out of the political spotlight, most issues most of the time are treated within such a community of experts” (p.158). This dissertation uses the broad and encompassing term of **advocacy group** to describe varied alliances of individuals, groups and institutions that guard, nurture, reinforce, and champion existing public policies and programs. The paradoxical question of this dissertation is how a public policy continues to persist in the absence of such an advocacy group. This chapter situates this puzzle within the literature illustrating the critical role of advocacy groups in the stability and continuity of public policies.

Group Theory of Politics

In *Federalist 10*, James Madison (1787) recognized that groups or “factions” would unite around particular interests. These factions according to Madison, “grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views.” While they may have grown by necessity, Madison had a negative view of these groups and states that “by a faction I understand a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of

other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community" (Madison, 1787). Despite Madison's early warnings and fears about factions, political parties and interest groups quickly developed in the United States. In 1835, Alexis de Tocqueville took note of the power of groups in the United States:

As soon as several of the inhabitants of the United States have taken up an opinion or feeling which they wish to promote in the world, they look out for mutual assistance; and as soon as they have found one another out, they combine. From that moment they are no longer isolated men, but a power seen from afar, whose actions serve for example and whose language is listened to (Tocqueville, 1835, pp. 117-118).

In 1939, Ernest Griffith recognized that a variety of groups had significant influence on public policy decisions. Griffith contended that examination of alliances, both inside and outside of government, was more fruitful than the examination of institutions like Congress. These alliances or "whirlpools," as Griffith called them, provided a more accurate understanding of the way things really are (Griffith, 1939, pp. 182-3). Specifically, Griffith identifies "legislators, administrators, lobbyists, scholars" as being at the center of public policy processes:

One cannot live in Washington for long without being conscious that it has whirlpools or centers of activity focusing on particular problems...It is my opinion that ordinarily the relationship among these men - legislators, administrators, lobbyists, scholars - who are interested in a common problem is a much more real relationship than the relationship between congressmen generally or between administrators generally. In other words, he who would understand the prevailing pattern of our present governmental behavior, instead of studying the formal institutions or even generalizations of organs, important though all these things are, may possibly obtain a better picture of the way things really happen if he would study these 'whirlpools' of special social interests and problems (Griffith, 1939, p.182).

By the 1950s, David Truman building on the work of Arthur F. Bentley (1908), proposed a group theory of politics in an effort to understand “how interest groups shaped political and policy activities” (Austin, 2006, p.678). Truman (1951) defined an interest group as “a shared-attitude group that makes certain claims upon other groups in society” (p.37). Truman’s focus was the “primacy of interest groups in determining policy outcomes in American politics” (McFarland, 2007, p.46). Truman’s finding of fragmented political power among numerous groups is considered by many to be the precursor to the theory of pluralism advanced by Robert Dahl (1961) in *Who Governs?* Dahl’s theory of pluralism in American politics was in response to the power elite theory, first promoted by C. Wright Mills in 1956.

Both pluralists and elite theorists have attempted to explain the policymaking process and both have stressed the importance of advocacy groups in promoting and sustaining public policy. They differ however, in their assessment of which groups have the most impact on policy outcomes, stability and continuity. Pluralists argue that power is dispersed amongst groups of like-minded citizens with shared preferences. “The central concern of pluralism in a democratic society is how public decisions are to be made and action taken given the multiplicity of, and likely conflict between, legitimate interests” (Austin, 2006, p.678). The pluralist view of policymaking “assumes that there is something of a marketplace in policies, with a number of interests competing for power and influence, even within a single arena...the groups are assumed...to be relatively equal in power” (Peters, 2011, p.71).

Central to a pluralist theory of policymaking is a political system fragmented by issue or policy sectors where groups compete with one another. There are typically

different groups for different issue or policy sectors, although some members may belong to multiple groups with influence in various different sectors. Robert Dahl “assumed that the structure of power and the nature of the process might vary in different policy areas” (McFarland. 2007, p.49). Although frequently overlooked, Dahl did not claim that all interests were equal. In fact, he states that pluralism “does not mean that every group has an equal control over the outcome. In American politics, as in all other societies, control over decisions is unevenly distributed; neither individuals nor groups are political equals” (Dahl, 1956, p.145). In his description of the bargaining that takes place between various minority interests that results in the formation of policy, Dahl argues, “the majority rarely rules” (Dahl, 1990, p.205).

In the pluralist world, “the group becomes the essential bridge between the individual and government” (Dye, 2013, p.21). Government plays the role of adjudicator and decides which of the competing group demands is heard. “According to group theorists, public policy at any given time is the equilibrium reached in the group struggle” (Dye, 2013, p.21). In describing the pluralist equilibrium, Key (1964) stresses that there are holders of power that maintain this stability and continuity. He states:

Political systems may exist in a stable, even static, form over long periods. The holders of power are unchallenged; the allocation of rights, privileges, and benefits remains acceptable to all sides; every man know his place and keeps it. In modern states so serene a balance does not prevail for long. The equilibrium - the balance, the ordered course of affairs, the established pattern - is disturbed from time to time by some change that generates discontent (p. 40).

Elite theorists view policymaking somewhat differently from pluralists. Yet, they too recognize the importance of groups in the policy process. Elite researchers, according to McFarland (2007) “observed elite coalitions controlling specific issue

domains without checks from executive or legislative authority, thereby contradicting Dahl's pluralist theory" (p.54). One of the most often quoted criticisms of pluralism comes from E.E. Schattschneider (1960), who said "the flaw in the pluralist heaven is that the heavenly chorus sings with a strong upper-class accent" (p.35). While elite theorists argue that representation and resources are not equally distributed amongst the various groups competing in the policy marketplace, they do recognize that groups maintain the status quo. Elite theorists view the policy marketplace as one where real power and influence is held by a few select people, groups, and institutions. Rather than multiple groups competing for policy, the elite model proposes a pyramid of power with a small group of influential elites at the top.

Thomas Dye (2013) explains that "elite theory suggests that the people are apathetic and ill informed about public policy, that elites actually shape mass opinion on policy questions more than masses shape elite opinion. Thus, public policy really turns out to be the preferences of elites" (p.23). Elites exercise their power and authority over the masses who are powerless to hold the elite accountable. In *The Power Elite*, Mills (1956) states

The power elite is composed of men whose positions enable them to transcend the ordinary environments of ordinary men and women; they are in positions to make decisions having major consequences. Whether they do or do not make such decisions is less important than the fact that they do occupy such pivotal positions: their failure to act, their failure to make decisions, is itself an act that is often of greater consequence than the decisions they do make. For they are in command of the major hierarchies and organizations of modern society. They rule the big corporations. They run the machinery of the state and claim its prerogatives. They direct the military establishment. They occupy the strategic command posts of the social structure, in which are now centered the effective means of the power and the wealth and the celebrity which they enjoy (pp.3-4).

In Floyd Hunter's (1953) study of policy making in Atlanta, he found an elite group of decision makers – rather than a plurality of groups competing for policy outcomes. He concluded that elite policy communities controlled policy:

The top group of the power hierarchy has been isolated and defined as comprised of policy-makers. These men are drawn largely from the businessmen's class in Atlanta. They form cliques, or crowds, as the term is more often used in the community, which formulate policy. Committees for formulation of policy are commonplace, and on community-wide issues policy is channeled by a "fluid committee structure" down to institutional, associational groups through a lower-level bureaucracy which executes policy (Hunter, 1953).

Policy Subsystems

Related to the theory of policy being decided by a group of elites, is the iron triangle model, initially referred to as a policy subsystem. The first to use the term policy subsystem was J. Leiper Freeman in 1955. He defined a policy subsystem as a "pattern of interactions or participants, or actors, involved in making decisions in a special area of public policy" (Freeman, 1955, p.5). Douglass Carter (1964) further explains a policy subsystem:

In one important policy after another, substantial efforts to exercise power are waged by alliances cutting across the two branches of government and including key operatives from outside. In effect, they constitute subgovernments of Washington comprising the expert, the interested, and the engaged...the sub government's tendency is to strive to become self-sustaining in control of power in its own sphere. Each seeks to aggregate the power necessary to its purpose. Each resists being overridden (p.17).

Advancing the subsystem work of Freeman and Carter, McCool (1990) referred to these "tripartite alliances formed between Congressional committees or subcommittees, interest groups, and government agencies" as iron triangles that are "all

concerned with the same substantive policy” (p.269). These subsystems form, according to McCool, within the context of reciprocally beneficial relationships: lawmakers need political backing and campaign funding; bureaucracies continually strive to increase their budgets, power and staffing; and interest groups seek political, ideological and financial rewards. The iron triangle or “tripartite alliance” is a closed, impermeable subsystem. This closed system according to Hugh Hecló (1978) however, was too narrow of an explanation of the policy process and he argued that the iron triangle model was that it was “not so much wrong as it was disastrously incomplete” (p.87).

Preoccupied with trying to find the few truly powerful actors, observers tend to overlook the power and influence that arise out of the configurations through which leading policy makers move and do business with each other. Looking for the closed triangles of control, we tend to miss the fairly open networks of people that increasingly impinge upon government (Hecló, 1978, p.88).

McFarland (2004) in his book *Neopluralism*, summarizes the iron triangle literature under the characterization of multiple elite theory where theorists argue that in distinction to single elite theories, multiple elite theory is divisible into multiple issue areas, each generally controlled by a particular iron triangle type coalition. In response to the empirical critiques of subgovernments and iron triangles presented by Hecló and others, later scholars of power came to conclusions of “neopluralism,” finding a reduced number of policy subgovernments and a wider distribution of power in various issue areas. Neopluralists, according to McFarland, were careful not to argue that such wider distributions of power resulted in fair policymaking (McFarland, 2004, Ch.3-4).

Issue/Policy Networks

Within the policymaking process, Heclo (1978) saw looser and more permeable groups of what he termed issue networks (also called policy networks). These issue networks are comprised of individuals with varying degrees of commitment and/or dependence on others within a policy arena. Heclo defined issue networks as “a shared knowledge group having to do with some aspect (or, as defined by the network, some problem) of public policy” (p.103). Issue networks, according to Heclo, are fluid and operate on multiple levels, without clear boundaries. They may consist of professionally organized interests, academics researching and providing expertise about a particular issue, or a group of protesters gathered outside of the state capitol. Heclo (1978) states:

Looking for the few who are powerful, we tend to overlook the many whose webs of influence provoke and guide the exercise of power. These webs, or what I will call ‘issue networks,’ are particularly relevant... Increasingly, it is through networks of people who regard each other as knowledgeable, or at least as needing to be answered, that public policy issues tend to be refined, evidence debated, and alternative options worked out...” (pp.102-3).

Andrew S. McFarland (1991) offers a concise definition of Heclo’s issue networks as “patterns of persons continually concerned with some issue area and constantly communicating about it...” (p.281).

Policy Communities

Growing out of the literature about policy subsystems and networks is a significant strain of literature devoted to policy communities. Baumgartner (2013) explains that this policy community literature “differed from the literature on iron triangles, policy whirlpools, and the like because it placed its emphasis not so much on

the shared economic interests but rather on the ideas and shared worldviews that identified the members of a single policy community” (p.251). Richardson and Jordan (1993) were among the first to identify the importance of policy groups, or “communities” as they referred to them, in the policy making process. They state, “the term ‘community’ was chosen deliberately to reflect the intimate relationship between groups and departments, the development of common perceptions and the development of a common language for describing policy problems” (Richardson and Jordon 1993, p.93).

Coleman and Skogstad (1990) also “used the term ‘policy community’ to refer to the set of actors, public and private, that coalesce around an issue area and share a common interest in shaping its development” (Skogstad, 2005, p.3). Skogstad (2005) states that “a major premise of the policy community/network approach is that governments cannot govern without non-state actors. They need the latter’s resources of information, knowledge, cooperation, and sometimes, administrative capacity” (Skogstad, 2005, p.12). The “core” of the policy community framework for the study of public policy “was that there was the development of institutionalized relations between governmental and non-governmental bodies to facilitate policy-making and implementation” (Jordan, 1990, p.472). According to Baumgartner (2013), this “focus on communities of experts, rather than particular agencies or institutional positions, was an important shift in focus” (p.251).

Policy Streams and Punctuated Equilibrium

In the 1990s, “complex accounts of policy streams, advocacy coalitions, and punctuations emerged” in the policy literature (John, 2003, p.487), each stressing the importance of groups and policy communities. John Kingdon’s (1984; 1995) multiple

streams framework of the agenda setting process is just one of these accounts. In *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, Kingdon builds on the Cohen, March, and Olsen (1972) garbage can model of the policy process, conceptualizing policymaking as a “complex adaptive system” in which agents react to changing environments (Kingdon, 1995, p.224). Policy communities, or as he refers to them, “communities of specialists,” are a critical component of Kingdon’s model.

Kingdon separated the agenda setting process into three components. He states that “there are three families of processes in federal government agenda setting: problems, policies, and politics.” He refers to these “families of processes” as “streams” that “develop and operate largely independent of one another” and contends that the “key to understanding the agenda and policy change is their coupling.” Coupling is described by Kingdon as “the separate streams [joining] together at critical times” (Kingdon, 1995, pp.87-88). This coupling of the streams occurs when “windows of opportunity” open. The coupling of the streams can also open windows of opportunity that were otherwise closed. When a policy window is opened, issues are moved to the “decision agenda” and this often results in legislative action.

Kingdon’s policy stream is an ongoing process of evolution “by which proposals are generated, debated, redrafted, and accepted for serious consideration.” This process “takes place in communities of specialists” (Kingdon, 1995, p.143). The combination of actors and ideas creates what Kingdon calls the “policy primeval soup” where:

generating alternatives and proposals...resemble a process of biological natural selection. Much as molecules floating around in what biologists call the “primeval soup” before life came into being, so ideas float around

in these communities. Many ideas are possible, much as many molecules would be possible (Kingdon, 1995, pp.116-117).

Kingdon and others (Schneider and Teske, 1992; Baumgartner and Jones, 1993) further identify the importance of policy entrepreneurs within policy communities who are active in the policy process. Policy entrepreneurs are people who are "willing to invest their resources in pushing their pet proposals or problems, [and] are responsible not only for prompting important people to pay attention but also for coupling solutions to problems and for coupling both problems and solutions to politics" (Kingdon, 1995, p.21). They can "be in or out of government, in elected or appointed positions, in interest groups or research organizations" (Kingdon, 1995, p.122).

Through their collection and construction of data, Baumgartner and Jones (1993) developed a policy model that "account[s] for long periods of stability and domination of important policy areas by privileged groups of elites, and for rapid change in political outcomes" (p.3). Their theory of "punctuated equilibrium" depicts the U.S. political system as one "that displays considerable stability with regard to the manner in which it processes issues, but the stability is punctuated with periods of volatile change" (p.4). As issues and institutions evolve, they expect punctuations of rapid change followed by a return to stability - until the next punctuation occurs.

Expanding upon their model of punctuated equilibrium, Baumgartner and Jones (2002) developed the concepts of negative and positive feedback periods within the policy process. These feedback periods explain "both periods of dramatic change and those of relative stability" (p.4). Baumgartner and Jones' periods of "negative feedback"

and stability can be compared to Kingdon's "policy stream" where policy stability is found and issues receive little attention but are "bubbling along" in a "primeval soup."

Although they may call them different things, both Kingdon and Baumgartner and Jones recognize the role that advocacy groups play in the policymaking process, both in periods of stability and in periods of disruption or punctuation. Kingdon argues that the policy process remains stable until streams of problems, policies, and politics converge. Advocacy groups based within communities of experts, according to Kingdon, are most influential in "blocking" agenda items and keeping the windows of opportunity closed since they are "often concerned with protecting benefits and prerogatives" (Kingdon, 1995, p.67). Similarly, Baumgartner and Jones argue that policy stability and continuity is the norm until punctuation occurs. This stability however, is only possible according to Baumgartner and Jones because of a policy monopoly that is "a monopoly on political understandings concerning the policy of interest and an institutional arrangement that reinforces that understanding" (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993, p.6). Interestingly, their argument is that "where a well-established monopoly exists...a status quo orientation [is] likely to result" (Howlett et al., 2009, p.107). They do not find or at least do not acknowledge, a status quo orientation resulting without a policy monopoly.

Advocacy Coalitions

In 1991, Paul Sabatier observed that "one of the conclusions emerging from the policy literature is that understanding the policy process requires looking at an intergovernmental policy community or subsystem composed of bureaucrats, legislative personnel, interest group leaders, researchers, and specialist reporters within a substantive policy area as the basic unit of study" (p.148). Paul Sabatier and Hank

Jenkins-Smith (1988; 1993) developed the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) to guide inquiry into the policymaking process with a focus on these communities and subsystems, emphasizing policy elites, belief systems, and the activities of interest groups over time to explain incremental policy change.

In *Policy Change and Learning*, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993), define advocacy coalitions as consisting "of actors from a variety of public and private institutions at all levels of government who share a set of basic beliefs (policy goals plus causal and other perceptions) and who seek to manipulate the rules, budgets, and personnel of governmental institutions in order to achieve these goals over time" (p.5). According to Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993; 1999), policy actors will aggregate themselves into coalitions and communities that act in a coordinated manner when pursuing policy objectives. At the core of these coalitions and communities are basic normative beliefs about and commitments to certain policy goals and the instruments used to achieve those goals. These shared beliefs are what enable policies to persist (Sabatier, 1993, p.27).

James Anderson (2003), explains that the advocacy coalition framework holds that within a policy arena there are subsystems and within a subsystem "advocacy coalitions may develop." He defines these coalitions as "a set of people within a subsystem who share basic values, perceptions of problems, and policy preferences, and who cooperate to advance the attainment of their policy goals and interests" (p.77). "The ACF assumes that policy participants hold strong beliefs and are motivated to translate those beliefs into actual policy" (Sabatier and Weible, 2007, p.192). As such,

“the beliefs of the policy participants are very stable over [a decade or more] and make major policy change very difficult” (Sabatier and Weible, 2007, p.192).

Path Dependency and Institutions

In addition to policy studies emphasizing the critical role of advocacy groups in the stability and continuity of policy, there is further literature devoted to path dependency within historical institutionalism that provides yet another explanation for policy persistence and resilience. Although the concept was initially used in the study of economics, path dependence in public-sector actions and public policy often appears within the literature of political science. Studies of policy path dependency emphasize increasing returns (Pierson, 2000), self-reinforcing sequences (Mahoney, 2000), and the mechanisms of reproduction (Collier and Collier, 1991). The concept of path dependency holds that initial policy decisions “lock-in” future decisions and results in policies and programs that are resistant to change. “Policy stability emerges when a problem definition or policy solution is routinized, increasing the constituency for its preservation and raising the costs and difficulty of its alterations or termination” (Howlett et al., 2009, p. 215). There are strong incentives not to change direction once an initial course of policy action has been taken. Specifically, path dependency can be conceived as a condition where “preceding steps in a particular direction induce further movement in the same direction” (Pierson, 2000, p.252). Increasing returns sometimes referred to as self-reinforcement or positive feedbacks, provide further insight as to why public policies persist.

In *The Making of Economic Policy*, Dixit (1996) observes that policy actions are durable over the long term and that once policies are implemented, they are difficult to

undo. In particular, he points to the entrenched interests of bureaucrats and the constituencies who benefit from specific policies as the champions and defenders of the status quo. Guy Peters and his colleagues (2005), also point out “political conflict...is not just a feature of formative moments but just as often occurs during path dependent periods, whenever path dependency is sustained by a dominant political coalition successfully fending off all attempts by minorities to alter the political course” (p.1278).

Institutions are an important component of path dependency, as they are central to historical institutional analysis. Path dependency holds that “organizations and actors are part of institutions that structure and channel their behavioral standards and activities along established paths. These paths are made up of institutions (with their values, standards and rules) and public policies determined by previous choices that impose constraints on institutional development processes” (Trouvé, 2010, p.4).

According to Peters et al. (2005):

Historical institutionalism has substantial appeal as a central organizing approach for explaining politics and policy...its central argument that policies persist unless there is a strong force exerted for change agrees with numerous observations, both popular and academic (Peters et al., 2005, p.1282).

Institutions, especially those in the public sector, play a role in advocating for the persistence of policies for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is self-preservation. Robert Salisbury (1984) argued that while “institutions have come to dominate the processes of interest representation in American national politics...there are important empirical differences between a system driven by membership groups and one in which institutions occupy center stage” (p.63).

Public administration literature on policy implementation, which explores what happens after a bill becomes a law, frequently references the concepts of “bounded rationality” and “satisficing” for understanding decision-making processes. “Leaders of organizations will minimize decision-making costs rather than maximizing goal attainment when coping with policy choices.” As such, “the status quo has a very high probability of being pursued in such a decision-making scenario” (Peters et al., 2005, p.1285). Path dependency holds that institutions and policies are persistent and continue over time. This persistence is a result of lock-in; increasing returns; the lack of policy alternatives; and the impact that interest groups and institutions have on the continuance of a policy.

Conclusion

One common theme found in the literature is that policy change is difficult, albeit not impossible. Long-term policies are able to persist and are resilient to change because entrenched interests (advocacy groups and institutions) benefit from the status quo and seek to maintain stability and continuity. In this sense, policies create politics. Frank Baumgartner (2013), confirms this common theme and states that “policy change is typically highly constrained because the ideas that support the status quo remain extremely powerful” (p.240). In their 2009 book *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why*, Frank Baumgartner, et al. found that in 98 congressional issue areas, the most important factor in lobbying was the political advantages of supporting the status quo, as opposed to the greater difficulties for groups seeking a change in the status quo. “The real outcome of most lobbying — in fact, its greatest success — is the achievement of nothing, the maintenance of the status quo” (Burns,

2010). This dissertation presents an anomaly to this widely accepted premise of the policy process. Most public policies of long standing and with a significant resource base and institutional support have come through a political process involving interest groups, lobbying, and ultimately, the formation of stable policy advocacy groups (which include institutions) that continue to guard and champion the status quo. Despite policy longevity and stability, postsecondary remedial education is an interesting exception.

III. LAST CHANCE U: COMMUNITY COLLEGES AND THE HIERARCHY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The Federal Role in Higher Education

Prior to the U.S. Civil War, higher education in the United States was exclusive, private, and reserved for wealthy white males. During the Civil War, Congress passed and President Abraham Lincoln signed, the Morrill Act of 1862, which authorized the creation of what became known as land-grant colleges. “Forty-eight colleges were formed as a result of the first Morrill Act” (Staley, 2013). The Morrill Act provided loyal Union states with 30,000 acres of land per Congressman for the building of colleges and universities (Cross, 1999). The purpose of this transfer of federal land to the states was

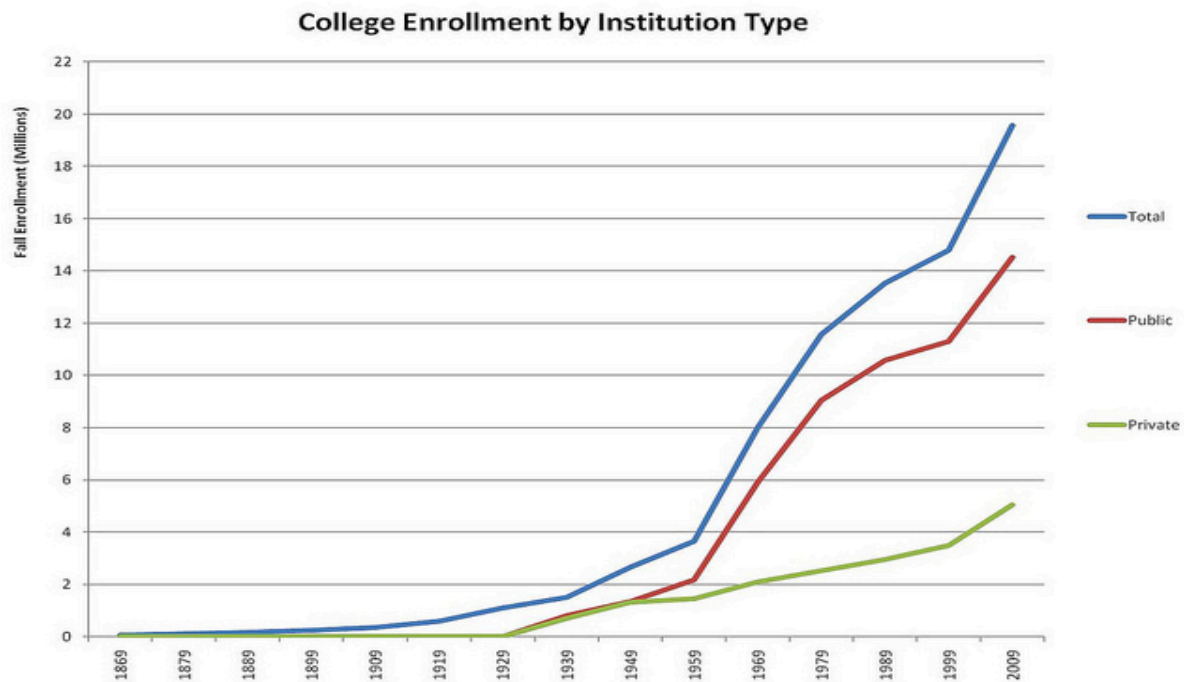
...without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactic, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life (Morrill Act, 1862).

The Morrill Act “was based on two principles that have continued to influence the way in which we think about higher education in the United States: that it should be widely accessible (with states underwriting higher education so that it is affordable for many) and practical” (Staley, 2013). After the Civil War, the 1862 Act was extended to southern states and to states joining the Union after 1862 (Cross, 1999). In 1890, Congress enacted a second Morrill Act that blocked federal grants to any land-grant college that engaged in discriminatory admission policies (Lee, 2013). According to the National Archives, the Morrill Act “opened opportunities to thousands of farmers and

working people previously excluded from higher education... land-grant support became a substantial factor in providing education to most American children who could never hope to attend private or charity-supported schools” (Morrill Act, 1862). In addition to expanding access to higher education, the Morrill Acts served to establish a federal role in postsecondary education. This role further expanded during the Great Depression as “New Deal programs contributed to the construction of 600 campus buildings, while Federal Work-Study helped 620,000 students stay in college” (Loss, 2012).

Prior to World War II, few Americans attended college. In 1937, only 15% of 18 to 20 year olds sought postsecondary education and “most of them came directly out of high school and directly from our wealthier classes” (Hunt, 2006, 1). During World War II, the federal government “pumped \$3.5-billion into military research, anchored by the development of the atomic bomb, and then into the education of returning veterans under the GI Bill” (Loss, 2012). “Optimists assumed that perhaps 10% of veterans would matriculate, and that most would instead seek employment. By fall 1945, 8,000 GIs enrolled in college, but by 1946, that number had swelled to one million; and by 1950, to two million” (Staley, 2013). Enactment of the G.I. Bill in 1944 permanently changed the demographics of higher education in the United States and conceptions of who could attend and succeed in college. By 2010, 41% of 18-24 year olds were enrolled in college (NCES, 2012). As detailed in Figure 1, in the years following the enactment of the GI Bill, higher education enrollment increased dramatically, especially at public colleges and universities.

Figure 1: College Enrollment by Institution Type



Source: NCES (2012b)

Federal involvement in higher education continued to expand in the years following World War II. The Soviet launch of Sputnik spurred enactment of The National Defense Education Act in 1958. For higher education, this legislation “included funding for federal student loan programs, graduate fellowships in the sciences and engineering, institutional aid for teacher education, funding for capital construction, and a surge of funds for curriculum development in the sciences, math, and foreign languages” (Douglass, 2000, p.342). The federal government’s role in funding low interest loans for college students was one of the most important provisions of this legislation and the availability of student loans continues to expand access to higher education today. The Higher Education Act (HEA) of 1965 created grants, further

increased student loan availability and developed other programs to help students enroll in postsecondary education.

In 1972, an amendment to the Higher Education Act created the Basic Educational Opportunities Grants (BEOG) program. In 1980, the BEOG was renamed "Pell Grant" after Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island (Staley, 2013). While Pell Grants were and are need-based, they were not tied to a specific college or university. Any student, who qualifies for and receives Pell Grant assistance, may take the grant to any institution allowed to participate in federal student aid programs. Today, "federal Pell Grants help nearly nine million low-and moderate-income Americans attend and complete college and are the cornerstone of our nation's student aid system" (TICAS, 2013). "In their heyday, Pell Grants covered about 75 percent of tuition costs at a four-year public college; however, today a Pell Grant covers less than 30 percent of those costs" (Payne, 2012). The combined effects of federal legislation in the post-war years expanded access to higher education and as discussed further in this chapter, greatly contributed to the proliferation of community colleges across the United States.

History and Expansion of Community Colleges

In 1971, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education noted that the "most striking structural development in higher education has been the phenomenal growth of the community college" (Ogilvie and Raines, 1971, p.v). From 1960 to 1970, the number of community colleges in the United States more than doubled (see Table 3) due in part to "the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963" which "provided funds necessary to build many of these community colleges" (Staley, 2013). Today, there are 1,132 community colleges located throughout the United States (AACC, 2012).

Community colleges enroll over 13 million students and 44% of all undergraduates in the United States attend a community college (AACC, 2012). Table 3 details the rapid growth in the number of community colleges from 1901 through 2010.

Table 3

Number of Community Colleges 1901-2010

Year	# of Community Colleges
1901	1
1910	25
1920	74
1930	180
1940	238
1950	330
1960	412
1970	909
1980	1,058
1990	1,108
2000	1,155
2010	1,132

Source: AACC (2012). *CC Growth Over Past 100 Years*

Although commonly referred to as community colleges today, the first two-year institutions of higher education were called junior colleges. The first public junior college was founded in 1901 in Joliet, Illinois by William Rainey Harper who served as the President of the University of Chicago. With his “plan to separate the first two years of college from the second two years, he started a movement that would revolutionize higher education” (Kane and Rouse, 1999, p.64). Harper’s impetus for these new junior colleges grew from his concern “about the high number of under-prepared students that were entering the university. He believed, as many did, that a different kind of institution

was needed to serve these students well” (Maine Community College System). In an 1898 speech to the National Education Association, Harper stated that

The work of the freshman and sophomore years is only a confirmation of the academy or high school work. It is a confirmation not only of the subject matter but of the methods employed. It is not until the end of the sophomore year that university methods of instruction may be employed to advantage (Harper, quoted in Monroe 1972, p.8; also quoted in Brint and Karabel, 1989, p.24).

Echoing the sentiments of Harper, Alexis Lange, Dean of the School of Education at the University of California argued in 1915 for secondary schools to take responsibility for the freshman and sophomore years of college since “the upward extension of the high school [would be] in the educational interests of the great mass of high school graduates who cannot, will not, should not, become university students” (Lange, quoted in Brint and Karabel, 1989, p.24).

The belief that the first two years of college really belonged in the secondary schools, was widespread among educational leaders by the late 1800s. Many universities, including the University of Illinois, the University of Michigan and Stanford considered eliminating the first two years of college, on the “theory that the university should not be engaged in secondary instruction” (Brubacher and Rudy 1976, p.254). In the early 1900s, Harper and other university administrators hoped that newly created junior colleges would be able to divert many students away from their prestigious institutions. This would leave them “free to concentrate on specialized professional and scientific programs” (Brint and Karabel, 1989, p.27). The early junior college provided extended secondary education and weeded out students unprepared for the rigors of advanced education. Casazza and Silverman (1996) observed that junior colleges

frequently engaged in “sorting.” That is, they served as a gatekeeper, directing some students away from more advanced education.

As William Raney Harper and others imagined, most of the first junior colleges grew from secondary schools. For example, the City Colleges of Chicago (CCC) were first established in 1911, under the Chicago Board of Education and typically operated within existing high schools, located throughout the city (CCCb). Although junior colleges never completely took over providing the first two years of undergraduate instruction, they did proliferate and no doubt diverted many students away from traditional four-year colleges and universities. According to Brint and Karabel (1989), “Wherever they developed, the public junior colleges faced two contradictory tasks: the democratic one of bringing new populations into higher education and the exclusionary one of channeling them away from the four-year institutions that they hoped to attend” (Brint and Karabel, 1989, p.208).

Truman’s Presidential Commission on Higher Education (1947) marked the shift of two-year colleges from junior colleges to community colleges. The Commission called for “the name ‘community college’ to be applied to the institution designed to serve chiefly local community education needs” (Truman Commission on Higher Education 1947, p.5). The Truman Commission “was charged with re-examining the structure of higher education and assessing its ability to deliver the education needed to maintain a post WW II workforce” (Mellow and Heelan, 2008, p.6). With a focus on access and equity in higher education, the Commission was driven

...by its findings that access to higher education in the post-World War II era was not equitable, and was too heavily dependent on student ability (with a strong bias toward the upper end of the ability spectrum), family

and community circumstances, race, gender, and religion. There were also concerns that the capacity of higher education, both in the number of seats in colleges and universities and the location of the institutions themselves was insufficient to meet growing demand (Heller, 2010, p.2).

Commenting on the Commission's report, President Truman in 1950 said,

I am particularly interested in knowing more about efforts to reduce geographical and economic barriers to the development of individual talents through extended educational opportunities which seem to be reflected in many states and localities by so-called 'community colleges.' It is apparent that various patterns are being followed and that an important educational development is being undertaken through trial, adoption, and democratic experimentation (Truman 1950, quoted in Griffith, 1994, p.1).

Community college leaders took advantage of Truman's attention, while capitalizing on postwar prosperity to expand their reach and influence. By the 1960s, community colleges had grown substantially and they "seemed to solve the problems of access, convenience, and cost while leaving the other institutions largely insulated from any need for adaptations and with even less responsibility for introductory instruction. By the late 1960's there were 1.8 million students in community colleges, and a new college was being opened somewhere every week, on average" (Orfield, 1990, p.328).

Multiple Missions: Jack-of-all-Trades and Master of None

What has characterized community colleges throughout their history is a desire to grow and expand. Over the past century, two-year community colleges have continually transformed their identity and purpose, as their leaders have coveted increased legitimacy, resources, and new educational markets. As early as 1950, Jesse Bogue, then Executive Secretary of the American Association of Junior Colleges argued that "*junior* connotes a restricted function for [the colleges] that more aptly describes a

role they were supposed to play in former days” (Bogue 1950, p. xvii [italics in original]). The original junior college, whose primary mission was to provide a general education leading to transfer and completion of the baccalaureate degree, has evolved to what is now the comprehensive community college.

The Community College Research Center (CCRC) states “today’s community college curriculum covers a broad array of programs, modes of education, and services, thereby earning the colleges the designation of comprehensiveness” (CCRC). The comprehensive mission of today’s community college includes not only the original transfer function, but also preparation for the workforce and providing remedial, continuing and adult education. In their analysis of the efficiency of these multiple community college missions, Bailey and Morest (2004) state,

The list of community college missions now goes well beyond the core degree granting programs that either lead to transfer or terminal occupational degree or certificate. Activities now include developmental education, adult basic education, English as a second language, education and training for welfare recipients and others facing serious barriers to employment, customized training for specific companies, preparation of students for industry certification exams, non-credit instruction in a bewildering plethora of areas (including purely vocational interests), small business development, and even economic forecasting (Bailey and Morest, 2004, p.2).

Commenting on the broad mission of community colleges, Cohen and Brawer (2003) reported that

Community colleges reached out to attract those who were not being served by traditional higher education: those who could not afford tuition; who could not take the time to attend a college full time; whose ethnic background had constrained them from participating; who had inadequate preparation in the lower schools; whose educational progress had been interrupted by some temporary condition; who had become obsolete in their jobs or had never been trained to work at any job; who were confined

in prisons, physically disabled, or otherwise unable to attend classes on campus; or who were faced with a need to fill increased leisure time meaningfully (Cohen, 2003, pp.28-29).

As Cohen and Brawer describe, community colleges have sought to be many things to many people. In the 5th edition of their classic work titled *The American Community College*, Cohen and Brawer (2008) argue that “community colleges thrived on the new responsibilities because they had no traditions to defend, no alumni to question their role, no autonomous professional staff to be moved aside, no statements of philosophy that would militate against their taking on responsibility for everything” (Cohen and Brawer 2008, p.3).

Community college advocates contend the constant expansion of responsibilities is necessary to fulfill the community-based mission of the colleges. In a report published by the American Association of Community Colleges, George B. Vaughan (2006) argues “by broadening program offerings, community colleges have extended educational opportunities to millions of students ignored by other higher educational institutions” (Vaughan, 2006, p. 6). Vanessa Smith Morest (2006) however, points out, “the potential problem of offering so many educational services is that it is impossible to do any of them well” (p.28). Likewise, Patricia Gumport (2003) expressed that “one concern is that community colleges...In demonstrating eagerness to diversify their activities based on changing demands...appear to lack a central core” (p.39).

Despite the concerns raised, the comprehensive community college with multiple missions has persisted and proliferated. Bailey and Morest (2004) argue that this continued expansion of their mission is to be expected and given the limited resources available to community colleges “it is not surprising that almost all community colleges

are eager to take on more activities” (p.23). “As an organizational strategy, comprehensiveness has been highly resilient” (Morest, 2006, p.28). This resiliency is what keeps community colleges in business. Commenting on the increasing roles and responsibilities of community colleges, Gary Orfield (1990) reported that:

The community colleges changed their mission without really telling anyone. An institution initially designed to provide access to college for students with little money or poor preparation (which includes most black, Hispanic, Native American, and poor white students), the community college became an all-purpose gatherer of miscellaneous enrollment, keeping state and local dollars and the staff at work (p.344).

The Emergency Rooms of Higher Education

Community colleges are institutions of higher education situated at the bottom of a vast and vertically hierarchical system. A hierarchy of institutions within higher education has long existed. However, it was not until 1970 that the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching classified and institutionalized this hierarchy. Today, the basic Carnegie classification categories are: Doctorate-Granting Universities; Master’s Colleges and Universities; Baccalaureate Colleges; and Associate’s Colleges (Carnegie, 2010). The Carnegie Foundation defines Associate’s Colleges (Community Colleges) as “institutions where all degrees are at the associate's level, or where bachelor's degrees account for less than 10 percent of all undergraduate degrees” (Carnegie, 2010).

Since their inception, two-year community colleges have had second-degree status within the American higher education system, and have “been stigmatized as the bottom rung in the postsecondary hierarchy” (Morest, 2006, p.236). Recognizing their marginalized status during a speech in 2009, President Obama said, “all too often,

community colleges are treated like the stepchild of the higher-education system. They're an afterthought, if they're thought of at all" (Obama, 2009b). Quoted in an article published by the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education in 2000, a Librarian at one of the City Colleges of Chicago (CCC), acknowledged the perception of community colleges as "glorified high school." The Librarian said "I think that's probably right. But if we weren't here, what would happen with all these people? It's not like there's any place else in the system they can go" (Witkowsky, 2000).

The stereotype of community colleges being subpar may stem from their open admission policies. With virtually no admissions requirements, community colleges constitute an open system of post-secondary educational opportunity, offering first, second, and even third chances for people to attain a college education. Most community colleges accept anyone 18 or older with or without a high school diploma or GED. Many assume this means community college coursework is easier. However, at nearly all of these institutions, each new community college student must take a placement exam or submit ACT/SAT scores prior to registering for classes. As discussed further in Chapter IV, students who are not prepared for college level work are required to pass remedial courses prior to moving on to college level courses. This open door policy has led to the growth of remedial programs at community colleges across the nation.

Rhoads and Valadez (1996) observed, "many of America's poor seek a pathway to a better life through the community college. They believe that higher education will provide the way for them, and the 'open door' is seen as opportunity to achieve their vision of the American dream" (Rhoades, 1996, p.217). One of the founding hopes of

community colleges was that they would narrow inequalities in higher education. Griffith and Connor (1994), argued that the open door policy of community colleges provides nontraditional and underserved populations with access and opportunity, as they frequently serve students who do not follow a direct path into higher education after completing high school. Community college students often “leave school to take a job or have a baby or reorganize their lives; they come back, perhaps with a different goal, a different attitude, once, twice, three times” (Griffith, 1994, p.2).

While community colleges may provide an open door to higher education, there are reasons to question how well they are meeting that goal. It has been estimated that approximately 80 percent of community college students intend to transfer to a four-year institution. Yet, only 23 percent successfully do so within six academic years (United States Department of Education, 2005). Ria Sengupta and Christopher Jepsen (2006) of the Public Policy Institute of California, found at California community colleges, “roughly 15 percent of full-time community college students eventually transfer to a four-year college; another 3 percent get an associate degree; 3 percent get some other certificate; 79 percent get no credential. Half of entering students never go past the first year” (Schrag, 2006, para.3).

Using U.S. Department of Education data, College Measures (a joint venture of American Institutes for Research and Matrix Knowledge Group) calculated the success rate of every community college in the United States. They defined “success” as the federally reported 3-year graduation rate, plus transfer rates. In their view, a successful student was one who either graduated from a community college or transferred from a community college to a four-year institution (Clark, 2012). Results for the state of

Illinois are detailed in Table 4 on page 45.

While community colleges are the most likely point of entry into higher education for minorities, women, first generation, part-time, low income and working class students, many of these students do not graduate or transfer (as indicated in Table 4). This lends credence to the argument that community colleges contribute to increased stratification within higher education. Because of community colleges, four-year institutions are frequently able to ignore many nontraditional, underserved and minority populations (Brint and Karabel, 1989).

Socioeconomic status is a key determinant not only of college enrollment, but also in the type of institution in which students enroll. Since the 1960s, underrepresented minority students of lower socioeconomic status, have been much more likely to attend community colleges, while more upper and middle class Caucasian students, have been more likely to attend four-year colleges and universities. (Baker and Velez, 1996; Davies and Guppy, 1997; Hearn 1984, 1988, 1990, 1991; Persell et al., 1992). "Patterns of high school segregation - by race, ethnicity and poverty - continued in the community college system because students typically attend the college closest to home" (Rivera, 2012, para.11). Lavin and Hyllegard (1996) found that more whites attended four-year schools after graduating from high school. They also found that minorities, who were more likely to attend community colleges, were disproportionately represented in vocational rather than transfer programs. Interestingly, Hearn (1991) found that minority students and students from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to attend a two-year college, regardless of their academic preparation.

Table 4

Illinois Community College Success Rates

College	City	State	Success Rate
Rend Lake College	Ina	IL	68%
Kaskaskia College	Centralia	IL	61%
Sauk Valley Community College	Dixon	IL	60%
McHenry County College	Crystal Lake	IL	57%
John Wood Community College	Quincy	IL	57%
Parkland College	Champaign	IL	55%
South Suburban College (estimated)	South Holland	IL	54%
Spoon River College	Canton	IL	54%
Oakton Community College	Des Plaines	IL	54%
Lake Land College	Mattoon	IL	54%
Carl Sandburg College	Galesburg	IL	51%
Kishwaukee College	Malta	IL	51%
Highland Community College	Freeport	IL	51%
Illinois Valley Community College	Oglesby	IL	50%
John A Logan College	Carterville	IL	50%
Danville Area Community College	Danville	IL	50%
Harper College	Palatine	IL	50%
Heartland Community College	Normal	IL	49%
College of DuPage	Glen Ellyn	IL	49%
Prairie State College	Chicago Heights	IL	49%
Moraine Valley Community College	Palos Hills	IL	48%
Elgin Community College	Elgin	IL	47%
Rock Valley College	Rockford	IL	47%
Waubensee Community College	Sugar Grove	IL	47%
Richland Community College	Decatur	IL	46%
Joliet Junior College	Joliet	IL	46%
Lewis and Clark Community College	Godfrey	IL	45%
Lincoln Land Community College	Springfield	IL	45%
Black Hawk College	Moline	IL	44%
Illinois Central College	East Peoria	IL	42%
College of Lake County	Grayslake	IL	42%
City Colleges of Chicago-Harry S Truman College	Chicago	IL	41%
Southwestern Illinois College	Belleville	IL	41%
Triton College	River Grove	IL	40%
City Colleges of Chicago-Kennedy-King College	Chicago	IL	40%
City Colleges of Chicago-Harold Washington College	Chicago	IL	38%
City Colleges of Chicago-Wilbur Wright College	Chicago	IL	38%
Morton College	Cicero	IL	36%
City Colleges of Chicago-Malcolm X College	Chicago	IL	35%
City Colleges of Chicago-Olive-Harvey College	Chicago	IL	35%
City Colleges of Chicago-Richard J Daley College	Chicago	IL	29%

Sources: U.S. Dept. of Education data compiled by Collegemeasures.org and reported in Clark (2012)

In 2010, PEW's Research Center on Social & Demographic Trends found that "minority college students tend to be clustered more at community colleges and trade schools than at four-year colleges" (Fry, 2010). Using data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Bailey (2005) found

- Community colleges enrolled over half (51 percent) of all Hispanic undergraduate students
- Hispanic undergraduates were underrepresented in four-year public and private non-profit institutions.
- Public four-year institutions enrolled 35 percent of all undergraduate students, but only 25 percent of Hispanic undergraduates.
- African-American undergraduates were somewhat overrepresented in community colleges and somewhat underrepresented in four-year public and private non-profit institutions (Bailey, 2005, 13).

Community colleges educate a disproportionate number of high-risk, underserved, minority populations of low socioeconomic status. Thus, they serve as the emergency rooms of higher education. Within community colleges, students are triaged, much like in a hospital emergency room. They are triaged by high stakes placement examinations and sorted into a variety of different college program offerings. Unfortunately, as this dissertation details, the most vulnerable students, triaged with the most severe and remedial needs, are the students these colleges most frequently fail.

President Obama and Community Colleges

On July 14, 2009, President Barack Obama announced his American Graduation Initiative (AGI) at Macomb County Community College in Michigan. AGI was proposed as the "largest federal investment in postsecondary education outside of the Higher Education Act" (Kuntz, 2011, p.488). AGI was needed, according to the President, for the United States to have the most 25 to 34 year-olds with college degrees in the world

by 2020. In his speech announcing the initiative, President Obama said that, “it will reform and strengthen community colleges from coast to coast so that they get the resources students and schools need – and the results workers and businesses demand” (Obama, 2009b). Hopes for the AGI were high in Washington and in community colleges across the nation. The AGI called for an investment of “\$12 billion in community colleges over 10 years, with the goal...[of] increasing the number of community college graduates by 5 million over that time” (Berube, 2010). Shortly after President Obama’s announcement, George Boggs, then President of the American Association of Community Colleges said:

The new investment announced today by the Obama administration is a historic vote of confidence in America’s community colleges. It underscores the central role of these institutions to ensure an educated U.S. citizenry and a competitive workforce. We are deeply grateful for the added capacity this support will provide to meet the challenge of economic recovery today and to expand opportunity for the future...the financial strain that our colleges are experiencing cannot be overemphasized. New federal assistance will help our colleges weather the current financial storm but, just as importantly, position community colleges to help sustain the nation’s long-term prosperity (AACC, 2009)

The AGI contained “five strategic aims: (a) increase the number of community college graduates by 5 million, (b) create a series of competitive community college tuition grants, (c) promote strategies to increase collegiate degree acquisition, (d) improve community college facilities, and (e) create a series of online courses distributed through community colleges that emphasize skills training and lifetime experience” (White House, 2009; quoted in Kuntz, 2011, p.489). Commenting about AGI’s funding for community colleges, Stephen G. Katsinas, Director of the Education Policy Center at the University of Alabama said “it’s probably not enough; it’s probably

nowhere near enough...But this is the first administration since Lyndon Johnson to see the need” (Parry and Fisher, 2009). Alan Berube, Senior Fellow and Deputy Director of the Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings, said that community colleges “have been the neglected stepchild of federal higher ed policy for so long, that it was really a remarkable moment when the administration...moved to make a substantial bet on their future” (Berube, 2010). U.S. Congressperson Virginia Fox (R-N.C.), who chairs the House Higher Education Subcommittee however, was not as pleased with the goals of AGI. She said “a college degree doesn’t do any good if there aren’t any jobs...the major reason people go to college is to get a job. And I think the president should be focusing a whole lot more on creating an environment that allows for job creation” (Marcus, 2011).

While community college leaders were overjoyed by their newfound AGI attention in 2009, they were already struggling with how to balance their multiple missions. AGI called for community college reform and gave them yet another mission – to save the struggling U.S. economy. In the words of President Obama “now is the time to build a firmer, stronger foundation for growth that will not only withstand future economic storms, but one that helps us thrive and compete in a global economy. It’s time to reform our community colleges so that they provide Americans of all ages a chance to learn the skills and knowledge necessary to compete for the jobs of the future” (Obama, 2009b). Community colleges did not have to worry for too long about how to address this new mission however, as the ambitious plan to increase college attainment by 2020, was blocked by Republicans in Congress. The original \$12 billion AGI plan for community colleges “collapsed during negotiations over legislation to overhaul student

aid and the nation's health-care system. The final bill left community colleges with a \$2-billion career-training program under the Department of Labor” (Gonzalez, 2011).

Although proposed in 2009, it took until September of 2011 for the first \$500 million of AGI to be made available to community colleges. The President of Macomb Community College, where President Obama announced AGI said “The money didn’t happen...He [President Obama] gave a great speech and the program has now been reduced from \$12 billion to \$2 billion in \$500 million chunks.” (Marcus, 2011).

Despite trading AGI funding for healthcare reform, President Obama has continued to press his goal of having the highest proportion of college graduates in the world by 2020. In 2012, President Obama again shined the spotlight on community colleges. As part of his 2013 budget (proposed in February of 2012), he called for \$8 billion to be invested in a “Community College to Career” Fund (Lewin, 2012). This proposed program would be “co-administered by the Department of Labor and the Department of Education” with the goal of forging “new partnerships between community colleges and businesses to train two million workers for good-paying jobs in high-growth and high-demand industries” (White House, 2013). Stephen Steigleder, a Higher Education Policy Analyst at the Center for American Progress said that

The Community College to Career Fund would fill a tremendous hole in our workforce system. Right now our nation is on pace to have a shortfall of nearly 5 million middle-skill workers in the next five years. Middle-skill positions tend to require the type of skills—often demonstrated by an associate’s degree or one-year technical certificate—that are best developed at the community-college level... By training 2 million skilled workers, the Community College to Career Fund would fill nearly half of the projected gap in middle-skill positions (Steigleder, 2012).

In September of 2013, the Community College to Career Fund bill (H.R.2560) was referred to the Subcommittee on Higher Education and Workforce Training in the U.S House of Representatives. No action has been taken since. Likewise, the Senate version of the same bill (S.1269) is still stuck in the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions. Although the legislation has yet to make it out of committee and federal funds have yet to materialize, the next section of this chapter addresses the efforts community colleges across the United States are taking to implement more vocational focused programs.

Educating Our Way to a Better Economy

Although always an important mission of community colleges, workforce and vocational training has recently taken center stage. Much of this recent focus on human capital and preparing the workforce may be attributed to President Obama and his administration, who have come to view community colleges as a key component of economic policy. Jamie Merisotis, CEO and President of the Lumina Foundation, sent a memo to the Obama transition team in 2008. In that memo, he urged the new administration to “make human capital development a cornerstone of U.S. economic policy” (Merisotis, quoted in Hebel, 2012). Through AGI and the Community College to Career Fund, the Obama administration has done just what Merisotis suggested. In both programs, the U.S. Department of Labor plays a key role. Although funding for the Community College to Career program has yet to materialize, AGI is administered by the U.S. Department of Labor, rather than the Department of Education, with funding dedicated solely to career training. However, if AGI had been administered by the Education Department, it is not likely that it would have had a different focus. U.S.

Secretary of Education, Arne Duncan recently said, “President Obama is dedicated to creating an America that’s built to last, and a core element of his strategy is to educate our way to a better economy” (Lieszkowszky, 2012).

At their founding and through the great expansion of postsecondary education in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, community colleges were viewed in terms of providing access and improving equity in higher education. Much like the shift from equity to efficiency in the K-12 education system further detailed in Chapter IV of this dissertation, efficiency has come to dominate the discourse of higher education in the United States.

Arguments for efficiency in higher education are promoted by those “who are interested in the efficient use of taxpayers’ dollars and effective development of human capital to meet the needs of the economy” (Dowd, 2003, p.97). Dowd (2003) argues that this focus on efficiency and “a capitalist ideology has been forcefully reshaping the community college mission...[and] concern for the vitality of the community college’s democratizing role is barely evident in the policy agenda” (Dowd, 2003, p.98). Levin (2001), in his study of federal and state policies directed at community colleges during the 1990s, found that policies “clearly favored the interests of business, industry, and capital. The state’s attention to issues of equity, access, and an informed citizenry – issues that could be held up as critical to the community college movement – was marginal” (Levin, 2001, p.112; also quoted in Dowd, 2003, p.7).

Community colleges themselves have come to embrace the interests of business and their demands for more vocational programs and workforce training. Dowd (2003) states “college administrators view these programs as offering an important service to the community, where the community is defined in terms of business interests” (Dowd

2003, p.99). Grubb (1996) sees this as a welcome mission shift. He asserted that community colleges “need to take their broadly defined occupational purposes more seriously...They are not academic institutions...even when many of their students hope to transfer to four-year colleges” (Grubb 1996, p.83).

Community colleges now frequently define their mission and goals in economic terms, where education is viewed as a means for economic development. In December of 2011, nearly three months before President Obama announced his “Community College to Career” program, Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel launched his own “College to Careers” program at the City Colleges of Chicago (CCC). Mayor Emanuel, in a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, said that the program will be based on “partnerships between our community colleges and our top employers that will draw on their expertise to develop curricula and set industry standards for job training in high-growth sectors like health care, high-tech manufacturing, information technology and professional services” (Emanuel, 2011). Fittingly, the title of Emanuel’s op-ed was “Chicago’s Plan to Match Education With Jobs.”

The community college mission shift and focus on efficiency is on full display at CCC, where market forces are not only driving the educational curriculum, but also designing it. The CCC webpage indicates that the system “is in the midst of a Reinvention...to review and revise CCC programs and practices...to ensure student success and become an economic engine for the City of Chicago” (CCC, About City Colleges). The number one goal of this “Reinvention” project is “to increase the number of students earning college credentials of economic value” (Ylisela, 2012). Pushed by Mayor Rahm Emanuel, Cheryl Hyman the Chancellor of CCC, has taken bold moves to

focus attention on the needs of business. “Campus by campus, she is creating specialized job-training programs,” where businesses, rather than faculty, develop the curriculum (Yisela, 2012).

Hyman was appointed Chancellor of CCC by former Mayor Richard M. Daley in April of 2010. Writing in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Jennifer Gonzalez (2011b) points out that Ms. Hyman, who lacks the typically required Doctoral credential of someone in her position,

has no prior experience in higher education, or in education at all. The Reinvention project, which she began almost immediately after being appointed, is modeled on a similar effort at ComEd...where she had spent her career...most recently as vice president for operations strategy and business intelligence. The structure of the Reinvention effort at City Colleges is almost identical to that of a project Ms. Hyman worked on at ComEd. (In fact, ComEd's logo for its rebates and savings programs is similar to the Reinvention logo. Both incorporate a green swirl)...A few months after her April 2010 appointment, Ms Hyman asked six of the seven college presidents to reapply for their jobs. Only one did, and she replaced the five others with more vocational-focused candidates from outside the system (Gonzalez 2011b).

When asked about the new vocational focus at CCC, Dr. Larry Goodman, the President and CEO of Rush University Medical Center, said, “we’ve recognized that City Colleges has a different set of aspirations going forward. They’re focusing their programs on where the jobs are expected to be and to provide the very best training for their students” (Goodman, quoted in Ylisela, 2012). Brint and Karabel (1989) however, argue the community college mission shift to workforce development risks “turning them into vocational schools for low and middle class occupations, and thus limiting students’ opportunities for advancement” (Bailey and Morest, 2004, p.3). This potential for limited social mobility is what concerns Hector Reyes, a CCC Chemistry Professor. In an

interview with Crain's Chicago Business, Reyes said, "they're taking advantage of people's desperation for jobs...there is no individual job that is worth consigning an entire community to an educational ghetto" (Reyes, quoted in Ylisela, 2012). In their report about transforming community colleges, Brian Pusser and John Levin (2009) agree with Reyes. They state, "the vocational goal of preparing students for the 'knowledge economy of the 21st century' has become more central, arguably at the expense of providing students more complex preparation for fulfilling lives" (Pusser, 2009, p. 6).

Conclusion

Higher Education in the United States is a pyramid-structured organization of institutions, reflecting larger societal stratifications. While the doors of American higher education have opened to more segments of the population, largely due to community colleges, access has not been equal and it has been argued that the stratification between institutions within the higher education system amplify disparities. According to Stanford's David F. Labaree (2007), "the system works so well for students who attend the schools at the top (leading research universities) in large part because it works so badly for students who attend the schools at the bottom (community colleges). The successes at one end of the system tend to mask the failures at the other end" (p.1).

IV. THE PROBLEM, POLITICS, AND POLICY OF POSTSECONDARY REMEDIAL EDUCATION²

Overview

College readiness and completion have received a great deal of attention in recent years. While students may meet high school graduation requirements or obtain the equivalent of a high school diploma in the form of a GED, many students are not prepared for college coursework, and as a result often fail to complete postsecondary degree programs. This, according to the Center for American Progress (2008), has resulted in a higher education “readiness problem...Students are not ready for college, colleges are not ready for students, and public policy, long focused on making college more affordable, is not yet ready to take on the complex challenge of ensuring people successfully complete college degrees and transition into rewarding careers” (Soares and Mazzeo, 2008, p.2). It is further feared that failure to “ensure students’ readiness for postsecondary education and the labor market threatens to slow American productivity, lower our standard of living, and widen the gulf between rich and poor” (Achieve Inc., 2005, p.5).

In today’s global economy, an estimated “85 percent of current jobs and nearly 90 percent of the fastest growing and best paying jobs now require some postsecondary education” (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2007). Given these estimates, concerns have arisen regarding the ability of the United States to fully meet future labor demands.

² Portions of this chapter previously appeared as a journal article in the *Illinois Political Science Review*. Mixon, C. A. (2011). A persistent problem: Postsecondary remedial education. *Illinois Political Science Review*. Vol. 14: 72-115. See Appendix G for permission to reprint statement.

In a *New York Times* editorial arguing that the political and economic dominance of America is coming to an end, due in part to an “education gap,” Thomas Friedman (2005) wrote that “the dirty little secret that no C.E.O. wants to tell you” is that American businesses are “not just outsourcing to save on salary. They are doing it because they can often get better-skilled and more productive people than their American workers” (Friedman, 2005).

Rather than an individual problem, lack of preparation for higher learning and training has come to be viewed as a collective problem in need of corrective public policy action. According to Kirsch et al. (1993),

In the past, the lack of ability to read and use printed materials was seen primarily as an individual problem, with implications for a person’s job opportunities, educational goals, sense of fulfillment, and participation in society. Now, however, it is increasingly viewed as a national problem, with implications that reach far beyond the individual. Concerns about the human costs of limited literacy have in a sense, been overshadowed by concerns about the economic and social cost (p.x).

In a speech to the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce in March of 2009, President Obama stressed the importance of education to “the nation’s long-term prosperity” and argued that “education is no longer just a pathway to opportunity and success, it is a prerequisite” (Jackson, 2009). Bob Wise, former Governor of West Virginia and current President of the Alliance for Excellent Education, has argued that “there is a national interest in ensuring that all students have the academic preparation, easy transition, and financial tools necessary for success in postsecondary education” (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2009).

The practice of providing postsecondary remedial education at American colleges and universities has become a contentious public policy issue and the subject of ongoing debate among educators, policymakers and the public. While concerns over remediation have produced an array of state and institutional policy initiatives aimed at limiting the cost and extent of college-level remediation, little is known about how the issue of remedial education became defined as a public policy problem (Mazzeo, pp.20-21). This chapter places postsecondary remediation within the context and history of U.S. educational reform efforts and attempts to shed further light on how the condition and practice of providing postsecondary remediation became a problem in need of a public policy solution.

The Debate Over Education: Equity vs. Efficiency

To fully understand the problem, politics and policy of postsecondary remedial education, it is useful to briefly review the ongoing battles over education policy in the United States, as the outputs of the public policy process are typically reflective of the social, political, and economic values of the larger environment within which they exist. David Easton (1953) defined politics as the “authoritative allocation of values for a society” (p.129). Taking Easton’s definition a step forward, J.S. Sorzano (1977) argued that politics is not just about who gets what. He claimed it is also a conflict about “which value(s) ought to be preferred” (Sorzano, 1977, p.29). The debates over postsecondary remedial education are about which values ought to be preferred.

Imbedded within most policy debates in the United States are conflicts focused on the values of equity and efficiency. Education is no exception. Economist Arthur Okun (1975) argued, “the conflict between equality and economic efficiency is

inescapable” (p.120). The conflict between these values holds that increases in policy equity come at the expense of reductions in policy efficiency. Likewise, increases in policy efficiency produce less policy equity. While it is difficult, yet possible to design equitable and efficient policy solutions, the struggle over which value (equity or efficiency) is to be preferred plays itself out in nearly every policy debate. This struggle over which value is to be preferred is especially useful for understanding the evolution of education policy in the United States.

The idea that public schools are broken and in need of fixing through reform has influenced the educational policy discourse in the United States since the late 1800s. “The term ‘reform’ has become one of the most over used ideas in the political vocabulary. It presupposes legitimacy and invites support for the ideas propagated in the particular policy” (Taylor et al., 1997, p.5). John Dewey was one of the earliest Americans to suggest that public education needed reform. Led by Dewey, the Progressive Education Association was founded in 1919 and sought to reform “the entire school system of America,” and “opposed a growing national movement that sought to separate academic education for the few and narrow vocational training for the masses” (Koliba, 2002). According to Dewey: “Education is a social process. Education is growth. Education is, not a preparation for life; education is life itself” (Dewey, 1897). Those words, articulated by Dewey, summarize many of the equity arguments, which are still entangled in the debate over education today.

On the other side of the education value debate, are arguments concerning efficiency, excellence, achievement, choice, markets, and accountability. For the purpose of this discussion, these terms will be condensed under the umbrella term of

“efficiency.” Milton Friedman (1955) was among the first to call for more efficiency in education. Efficiency, he believed, could be realized through the use of vouchers that “would widen the range of choice available to parents.” It was his view that “competitive private enterprise [was] likely to be far more efficient.” Friedman also argued for increased attention to vocational training. Vouchers and vocational training according to Friedman would result in,

...a sizable reduction in the direct activities of government, yet a great widening in the educational opportunities open to our children. They would bring a healthy increase in the variety of educational institutions available and in competition among them. Private initiative and enterprise would quicken the pace of progress in this area as it has in so many others. Government would serve its proper function of improving the operation of the invisible hand without substituting the dead hand of bureaucracy (Friedman, 1955).

Dewey and Friedman’s competing equity and efficiency arguments provide an insightful frame from which to examine the evolution of education policy in the United States from 1940 to the present day. Their value arguments are at the very core of contemporary debates about the role and responsibilities of education today.

1940 – 1960: Battle Between Educational Equity and Efficiency

Prior to World War II, higher education in the United States was primarily reserved for the elite. Enactment of the Serviceman’s Readjustment Act of 1944, commonly known as the G.I. Bill, significantly increased access to higher education. Although the G.I. Bill was initially intended to increase efficiency by boosting economic growth, it also had the effect of increasing equity in education. As a result of the G.I. Bill, higher education “enrollment surged from 1.5 million in 1940 to almost 2.7 million in

1950” and “permanently changed our conception of who could benefit from higher education” (Hunt, 2006, p.1).

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* had a profound and lasting impact on education. Although the ruling was not easily implemented, it overturned the “separate but equal” doctrine that had prevailed since *Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)*. Delivering the opinion of the Court, Chief Justice Earl Warren stated:

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal (*Brown v. Board of Education, 1954*).

This ruling “focused attention on the dire need for federal assistance to minority and other low-income segments of the population” (Koven, 1998, p.180). This focus on equity in public education was briefly interrupted however, in 1957, with the Soviet launch of the *Sputnik* satellite. At the height of the Cold War, the launch of *Sputnik* was widely viewed as a national security threat. On the day following the launch, *The Chicago Daily News* proclaimed that if the Soviets “could deliver a 184-pound ‘moon’ into a predetermined pattern 560 miles out into space, the day is not far distant when they could deliver a death-dealing warhead onto a predetermined target almost anywhere on the earth's surface” (Guillemette, 2003). Lyndon Johnson, then a U.S. Senator, feared that Soviets would soon be “dropping bombs on us from space like kids dropping rocks onto cars from freeway overpasses” and Senator Mike Mansfield declared “what is at stake is nothing less than our survival” (Guillemette, 2003).

Using *Sputnik* as an indicator of Soviet educational dominance over the United States, reformers advocating efficiency in public education claimed the Soviets beat the

United States into space because of the failure of public schools. Framing public schools as the culprit and the real national security threat (as opposed to the Soviets) gained the attention of policymakers and the public. In a November 1957 Presidential Address entitled "*Science in National Security*," President Eisenhower observed "one of our greatest and most glaring deficiencies is the failure of us in this country to give high enough priority to education" (Eisenhower, 1957). Education was made a national priority through the *National Defense Education Act (1957)*, "which provided millions of federal dollars for education in mathematics, science, and foreign language." Accordingly, "the focus shifted dramatically to the pursuit of excellence through academic rigor" (Koven, 1998, p.180).

1960 – 1979: Educational Equity

The ideal of education as a means by which to promote equity in society gained significant strength in the 1960s. This emphasis on equity persisted as the dominant value "of American national education policy throughout the 1960s and 1970s, which were punctuated by student demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, for civil rights, and free speech, and by governmental efforts to remedy past societal inequalities" (Koven, 1998, p.181). During the 1960s, many educational policies which directly and indirectly sought to improve equity in education were enacted as part of the Great Society and the War on Poverty programs.

In 1964, Congress passed, and President Johnson signed, the now historic *Civil Rights Act*. This legislation impacted education in that it "authorized the Commissioner of Education to arrange for support for institutions of higher education and school districts to provide in-service programs for assisting instructional staff in dealing with

problems caused by desegregation” (NCES, 2004). Also in 1964, the *Economic Opportunity Act* went into effect. This legislation: “authorized grants for college work-study programs for students from low-income families; established a Job Corps program and authorized support for work-training programs to provide educational and vocational training and work experience opportunities in welfare programs; authorized support of education and training activities and of community action programs, including Head Start, Follow Through, and Upward Bound; and authorized the establishment of Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA)” (NCES, 2004). One of the most popular programs of this legislation was the Head Start Program, which provides “special preschool preparation to disadvantaged children before they start kindergarten or first grade” (Dye, 2013, p.129).

The largest federal aid program for education enacted during the Johnson administration was the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA)*. ESEA’s purpose was to “strengthen equal opportunity” in education through the provision of additional resources to make up for the disadvantages of being a minority or coming from a low-income family (Koven, 1998, p.181). Title I of ESEA specifically addresses schools impacted by poverty:

In recognition of the special educational needs of low-income families and the impact that concentrations of low-income families have on the ability of local educational agencies to support adequate educational programs, the Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance... to local educational agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various means (including preschool programs) which contribute to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children (ESEA, Section 201).

ESEA was developed “under the principle of redress, which established that children from low-income homes required more educational services than children from affluent homes” (Schugurensky, 2002). Enactment of ESEA also meant that, “for the first time, the federal government got into the business of providing financial assistance to local schools for textbooks, libraries, and other instructional materials, and special instruction for disadvantaged students” (Bonser, 2009, p.247).

As a result of Supreme Court rulings, the civil rights movement, and Johnson’s *Great Society* and *War on Poverty* programs, “a movement for the nation to respond by offering equal access to education, housing, and other resources” took hold (Garrison-Wade and Lewis, 2004). The result of this movement was affirmative action. Speaking about affirmative action, President Johnson in 1965 stated:

You do not take a man who for years has been hobbled by chains, liberate him, bring him to the starting line of a race, saying, 'you are free to compete with all the others,' and still justly believe you have been completely fair... This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity-not legal equity hut human ability-not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result (Johnson, as quoted in Garrison-Wade and Lewis, 2004).

Following that speech, President Johnson issued an executive order which required all “government contractors and subcontractors to take affirmative action to expand job opportunities for minorities” (Wilcher, 2003). In 1967, Johnson amended his executive order to include women (Wilcher, 2003).

Although education was not specifically mentioned in Johnson’s executive order, “many colleges and professional schools started to recruit minority students as a part of their education mission. Ultimately, this led to these institutions initiating admission

policies that took race into consideration. These policies increased admission for African Americans and Hispanics at predominately white institutions” (Garrison-Wade and Lewis, 2004). Most colleges and universities “that began using affirmative action in their admissions did so under strong social pressure, and because they knew that some positive measures were necessary if they were going to have more black students enrolled” (Stone, 2002, p.386).

Affirmative action policies were frequently met with resistance amongst the white population. The first case dealing with affirmative action policies in higher education was *Regents of University of California v. Bakke* (1978). In her book, *Policy Paradox*, Deborah Stone (2002) summarizes the case:

Allan Bakke, a white man whose application to medical school at the University of California at Davis had been rejected, challenged the university’s affirmative action plan. Under the plan, sixteen places were reserved for black students, and black and white applicants were considered in separate processes. Five places were reserved for children of trustees and donors. Bakke claimed that his test scores were higher than some blacks who were admitted, and that he would have been admitted but for the black quota, and that he was a victim of ‘reverse discrimination’ (Stone, 2002, p.387).

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Bakke* “that the establishment or use of ‘racial quotas’ in determining admission violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment; however, institutions of higher learning can still consider race as one factor, among many, in the admission process” (Garrison-Wade and Lewis, 2004). As a result of this case, most colleges and universities continued to consider race in admission decisions. The University of Michigan was one of those schools. In 2003, two cases were brought before the U.S. Supreme Court, questioning the use of affirmative

action in admission decisions for undergraduates and law students. The Court ruled in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003, case no. 02-0241), that the law school could continue to use “race-based affirmative action to diversify its student body.” In *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2004, no. 02-0516), the court clarified its position and held that the “College of Literature, Science, and Arts could not use an admission process that awarded points based on an applicant's race and ethnicity” (Garrison-Wade and Lewis, 2004).

1980 – Present: Educational Efficiency

In 1979, under the direction of President Jimmy Carter, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was divided into the Department of Education and the Department of Health and Human Services. Shirley Hufstедler served as the first Secretary of Education and sought to maintain a focus on equity (Stalling, 2002). That focus however, was disrupted with the 1980 election of President Ronald Reagan. Reagan’s “anti-government vision had no room for a federal Department of Education” (Cannon, 1991, p.813). During his campaign for the presidency, Reagan “made it clear that abolishing the Department, which he saw as an intrusion on the local and state control of education, was high on his list of priorities” (Stallings, 2002). Upon taking office, President Reagan appointed Terrel H. Bell to serve as Secretary of the Department and promptly gave him the job dismantling it (Stallings, 2002). Bell however, fought to preserve the department and in 1983 commissioned a now famous report entitled *A Nation at Risk*. As a result of this report, Bell insured that the “dissolution of the Department [would] not...ever again be a serious issue” (Bell, 1986, p.492).

Through the use of “prose befitting a public relations firm preparing the nation for war” (Berliner, 1995, p.139), the authors of *A Nation at Risk* successfully created an economic crisis that they claimed was caused by the failure of public schools. *A Nation at Risk* charged that “American students never excelled in international comparisons of student achievement and that this failure reflected systematic weaknesses in our school programs and lack of talent and motivation among American educators” (Berliner, 1995 p.3).

Our nation is at risk...The educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people. What was unimaginable a generation ago has begun to occur--others are matching and surpassing our educational attainments. If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war. As it stands, we have allowed this to happen to ourselves...We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral education disarmament (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983)

David Rochefort and Roger Cobb (1994) argue that the use of crisis language, such as that used in *A Nation at Risk*, “denotes a special condition of severity where corrective action is long overdue and dire circumstances exist” (Rochefort, 1994, p.21). Deborah Stone (2002) adds that in crisis, “people want to ensure ‘that kind of tragedy’ never happens again. The crisis or the disaster becomes the enemy, and, like a foreign invader, it unites a community and makes people temporarily forget other conflicts” (p.297). The solution to the economic crisis identified in *A Nation at Risk* was more efficiency educational reforms. In 1984, President Reagan signed the *Education for Economic Security Act* into law. This legislation established more standards and

measures of accountability while adding “new science and mathematics programs for elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education” (NCES, 2004).

A Nation at Risk served as what John Kingdon (1995) refers to as a “focusing event” (Kingdon, 1995, p.113). It described an economic crisis for “American businesses, coupled with a belief that this crisis was linked to changes needed in education” (Berliner, 1995, p.141). Like all focusing events, *A Nation at Risk* needed “accompaniment in the form of preexisting perceptions which reinforce” the problem (Kingdon, 1995, p.113). The perception of failing schools had existed in the minds of the public since *Sputnik*. *A Nation at Risk* reinforced past perceptions of failing schools while identifying and defining a new problem within the frame of an economic crisis. Framing the problem in this way provided “a meaning for the past, the present, and the future compatible with the audience’s ideology” (Edelman, 1988, p.105).

Liberal opponents of the reforms proposed by the report, David C. Berliner and Bruce J. Biddle, claimed that it “merely gave public voice to charges about education that right-wing ideologues had already been telling one another. Thus it served to publicize tenets of conservative educational thought and was, as a result, embraced with enthusiasm by right-wing troops in the Reagan White House” (Berliner, 1995, p.140). Even William F. Buckley, the conservative founder of the *National Review*, felt that *A Nation at Risk* was a “recombination of old elements more than fresh invention of new ones” (Kingdon, 1995, p.124). Buckley stated that the report,

called for nothing new, only more: more science, more mathematics, more computer science, more foreign language, more homework, more rigorous courses, more time on task, more hours in the school day, more days in the school year, more training for teachers, more money for teachers. Hardly the stuff for revolution (Bracey, 2002, para. 5).

Although the findings of the report were “hardly the stuff for revolution,” the report led to an educational revolution in which efficiency in education became the dominant value and goal. Robert Sexton, the Executive Director of Educational Trust, commented, “unlike many federal reports, which are released with great fanfare and then gather dust and fade away, *A Nation at Risk* actually galvanized people to take action” (MacPherson, 2003). *A Nation at Risk* reached the “decision agenda” not because of policies it proposed, but because it served the political interests of key actors. One of the authors recalled President Reagan’s response upon receiving the report,

On April 26, 1983, about 30 of us walked into the White House with a report for President Ronald Reagan, ‘A Nation at Risk’...The bumbling began immediately as Reagan startled us by hailing our call for prayer in the schools and the abolition of the Department of Education. We hadn’t said a word about either (Harvey, 2003, para. 3).

Regardless of what the report actually defined as a problem or proposed as a solution, *A Nation at Risk* served as a politically efficient means for President Reagan to promote his own ideological-driven education agenda (vouchers, tax credits, school prayer). He capitalized on the opportunity and “used it to help fuel support for his ultimately successful 1984 re-election, traveling around the country with [Education Secretary] Terrel Bell” (MacPherson, 2003). The report also appealed to Republicans “who found that the interest generated by this report helped [them] discover the political power of having an education plank in the Party platform” (Stallings, 2002, p. 5).

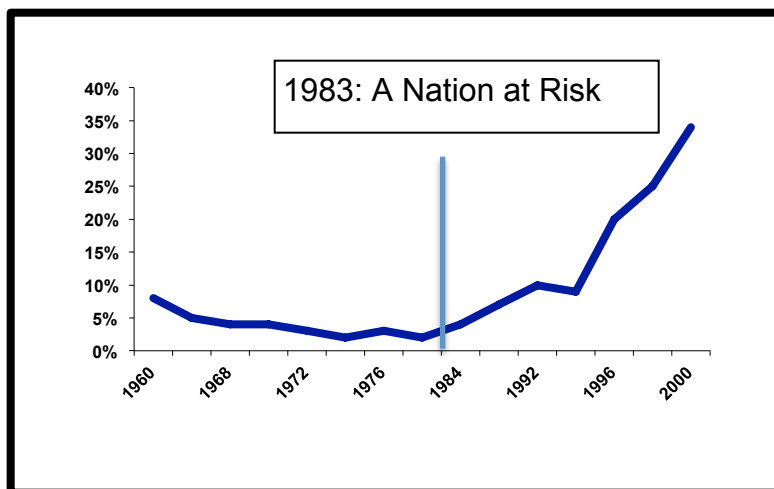
A Nation at Risk “played big in the media. In the months following the report’s publication, the Washington Post carried no fewer than 28 stories. Few were critical”

(Bracey, 2002). More telling than the number of articles that appeared in the media is the effect that *A Nation at Risk* had on public opinion and the “national mood.” As Figure 3 illustrates, public attention to education drastically increased after 1983.

Chester Finn, who served as Assistant Secretary for Research and Improvement in the Department of Education from 1985 to 1988, contended that the national mood surrounding education in the 1980s was different and stronger. He stated,

...this is an educational reform movement that draws its force neither from the federal government nor from the profession. It is very nearly a populist movement, led primarily by self-interested parents and employers and by elected officials responding to overt and implicit signals from the voting, tax-paying public (Finn, 1985, p.75).

Figure 2: Adults identifying education as one of the most important problems facing the United States: 1960 – 2000.



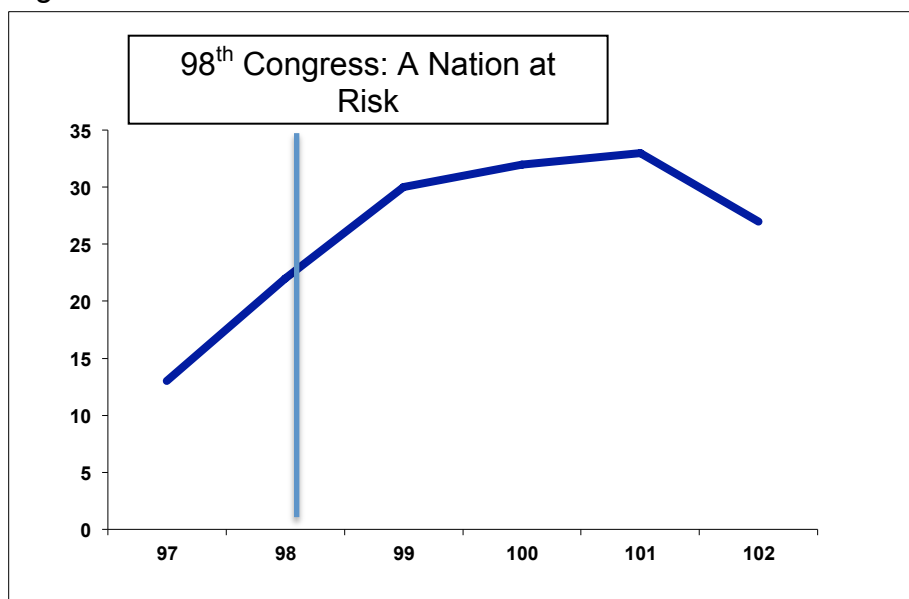
Source: Figure created by author from National Election Studies data reported in Manna, Paul (2003), p.25.

Baumgartner and Jones (1993) have argued, “when an issue emerges on the national agenda in an atmosphere of criticism...conditions are ripe for the destruction or dilution of any policy subsystem that may have been created in the past” (Baumgartner,

1993, p.84). Prior to the launching of Sputnik, the progressive model of education that was developed in the early part of the Twentieth Century prevailed. It was a period of relative stability with a focus on educational equity. The release of *A Nation at Risk* was the “punctuation” that destroyed the model of progressive education that had already been diluted after Sputnik.

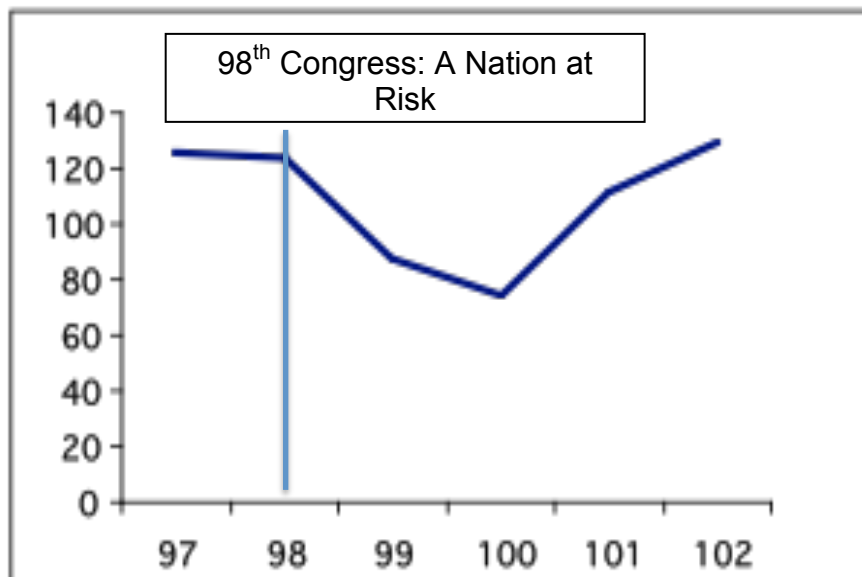
Using data from Baumgartner and Jones’ *Policy Agendas Project* (1993), an interesting institutional reaction to the report was found. As illustrated in Figures 4 and 5, the number of education related laws increased following the release of the report, but the number of Congressional hearings decreased.

Figure 3: Number of Education Related Public Laws: 97th – 102nd Congress



Source: Compiled by author in 2006, from data obtained from Baumgartner, F.R. & Jones, B.D. *Policy Agendas Project*.

Figure 4: Number of Education Related Committee Hearings and Public Laws: 97th – 102nd Congress



Source: Compiled by author in 2006, from data obtained from Baumgartner, F.R. & Jones, B.D. *Policy Agendas Project*.

Baumgartner and Jones' (1993) model of "punctuated equilibrium" would seem, at least on its surface, to indicate that Congressional hearings should increase in response to a "focusing event." In this case however, discourse in Congress declined. The explanation for this is fairly simple, there was little mobilized opposition to the path prescribed, the problem had been defined and the solutions were widely accepted. The "window of opportunity" that allowed efficiency focused educational reform to reach the "decision agenda" in the 1980s, also caused the institutions associated with education policy to react and change. Baumgartner and Jones (2002) found that "when a given policy monopoly begins to lose its supporting policy image, rival institutions of government which may not have been involved in the issue previously may assert their authority to become involved" (Baumgartner, 2002, p. 21). When the policy window opened for efficiency reforms, the U.S. Department of Education was given new life.

In an effort to determine which political “players are important” in the agenda-setting process, John Kingdon (1995) found that “political appointees in departments and bureaus turn out to be among the most frequently mentioned actors in the political system (Kingdon, 1995, p.28). Secretary Bell was what Kingdon characterizes as a “policy entrepreneur,” someone that is “willing to invest their resources – time, energy, reputation, money – to promote a position in return for anticipated future gain in the form of material, purposive, or solidary benefits” (Kingdon, 1995, p.179). The benefit for Bell was job security and a “window of opportunity” to promote his preferred educational policies. By 1984, less than one year after the release of *A Nation at Risk*, elimination of the department and budget cuts were no longer discussed. This was a major departure from the campaign promises of 1980 (Stallings, 2002). Upon his death in 1996, then Secretary of Education, Richard W. Riley said that he was “our national school bell, ringing in a new era of commitment to excellence” (Riley, 1996).

Baumgartner and Jones (1993) assert that “when the rhetoric begins to change, venue changes become more likely” (Baumgartner, 1993, p.37). The image of education was changed by the rhetoric of the 1980s and as a result, the venue of education policy was changed. The U.S. Department of Education took control of what had previously been a state and local responsibility. The Director of the Center on Education Policy commented that,

A Nation at Risk helped to energize us and pull us together. Much of what has happened has flowed from the sense of urgency that it created... [It] fired a shot heard across the U.S. A state of emergency was declared. The federal government couldn't afford to leave education to state and local governments (Coeyman, 2003).

Kingdon (1995) states that “the institutional feature of federalism complicates an analysis of agenda-setting, because there are multiple agendas possible for the same subject matter at a given time” (Kingdon, 1995, p.230). Just as there are multiple agendas, there are multiple venues that often overlap within education policy. “The first consequence of system fragmentation is policy fragmentation” (Kingdon, 1995, p.119). In addition to the growing role of the federal government, each state has its own policies that govern local school districts. While the U.S. Department of Education has taken on an increased role in education, the department has primarily served as a “bully pulpit” to coerce states to adopt their policies. Adoption of these policies has been, as Kingdon suggested, fragmented. In addition to the federal *Education for Economic Security Act (1984)*; 43 states raised high school graduation requirements; 37 states began assessing student achievement; and 30 states raised teacher certification requirements in the wake of *A Nation at Risk* (Parker, 1987, p.32).

Every president since Ronald Reagan has proposed corrective educational reforms based on values of efficiency. George H.W. Bush claimed that he was to become the “education president” during his 1988 campaign. Upon becoming president, he held an educational summit with all fifty U.S. Governors. That summit eventually resulted in Bush proposing *America 2000* in 1991 – three years into his presidency. However, the proposal contained many controversial provisions and lacked the bipartisan support needed to get through both the House and the Senate. “The major contested issues included national testing, private school vouchers, the Bush administration’s proposal to bypass both the states and local school districts, and the

extent to which added federal funding would be authorized through the legislation” (New York State Archives, 2009).

Bill Clinton’s “first legislative proposal – and success – was called *Goals 2000: The Educate America Act*” (New York State Archives, 2009). *Goals 2000* was an amended version of President Bush’s *America 2000* proposal. *Goals 2000* was “met with criticisms from all sides, but the greatest concern focused on the continuing push for standards-based reform. Though Secretary Riley himself acknowledged that he supported multiple measures for determining educational progress, standards-based reform became a hallmark of the Clinton Administration’s educational philosophy” (New York State Archives, 2009).

Building on his father’s and Bill Clinton’s education policies, President George W. Bush proposed his *No Child Left Behind (NCLB)* efficiency reform plan in 2001. He signed it into law in 2002 – just one year into his presidency. Shortly after its passage, Jack Jennings, Director of Center on Education Policy, wrote an article entitled, *Stricter Federal Demands, Bigger State Role: What To Expect From The No Child Left Behind Act*. In that article he states,

Through this law, our national leaders are asking a lot from public schools. After two decades in which public schools were harshly criticized, policymakers have made ‘accountability’ their favorite buzzword. Teachers are expected to increase academic achievement for all students and eliminate achievement gaps between various racial, ethnic, and income groups. School districts and states are expected to improve continuously failing schools or close them down. States are expected to strengthen the quality of the teaching force—sooner in poor schools, and within a few years in all schools. Clearly, the federal government is becoming more assertive in education (Jennings, 2002).

Quoted in an interview at Harvard University, Gary Orfield also criticized the NCLB legislation stating,

What emerged was a bill that reflected none of what's known in educational research, primarily because of the extremely partisan processing: an almost complete rejection of everything, except some research on phonics. What emerged was an 1100-page document calling for impossible achievements that have never been accomplished anywhere; use of 50 different sets of standards; and very rigid sanctions. Some of these sanctions are going to take hold...for thousands of schools and the states are utterly unprepared to implement them. (There is nothing in the law that will equalize the schools before they are sanctioned) (Orfield, quoted in Lester, 2004, para.1).

Although President Barack Obama has tried with limited success to find an equilibrium between the values of equity and efficiency in education policy, he signaled early support of efficiency reform solutions with the appointment of former Chicago Public Schools CEO Arnie Duncan as U.S. Secretary of Education in 2009. "Although not the architect, Duncan has shown himself to be the central messenger, manager, and staunch defender of corporate involvement in, and privatization of public schools...limiting local democratic control, undermining the teachers union, and promoting competitive merit pay for teachers" (Brown, 2009).

Obama's selection for Secretary of Education pitted efficiency minded reformers within the Democratic party against the teachers' union establishment members of the party. Many observers of education policy and politics had thought early on that Obama would choose Linda Darling-Hammond of Stanford University as the Secretary of Education. Darling-Hammond had served as Obama's chief education advisor during the presidential campaign. But, "the new breed of reformers thought she was too friendly with the teachers' unions" (Ravitch, 2010, p.22). In *Newsweek*, Jonathan Alter

(2008) wrote “if he chooses a union-backed candidate such as Linda Darling-Hammond...he'll have a revolt on his hands from the swelling ranks of reformers” (Alter, 2008). As detailed in Chapter III, many of President Obama’s educational initiatives to date, have focused on higher education, especially community colleges.

New Models of Educational Efficiency: Choice and Corporatization

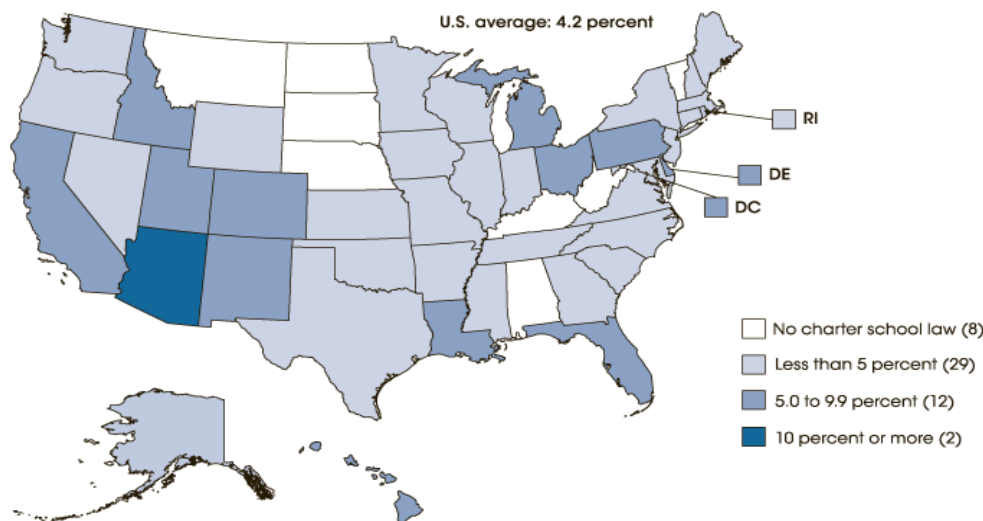
The increasing federal role in education policy since *A Nation at Risk* has been characterized by a preferred reliance on the value of efficiency. Market based educational policies have been proposed “to break up the public school monopoly, and to prompt schools to operate more efficiently” (Anderson, 2003, p.304). Free market advocates contend that competition will resolve most of the public education problems in the United States.

Many of the most recent efficiency reform solutions to the problem of education, place an emphasis on school choice and include magnet schools, charter schools, and vouchers. Magnet schools according to John E. Chubb and Terry M. Moe (1990), “are alternative schools that are set up with special programs and often granted additional funds and equipment in order to attract students from throughout the district” (Chubb 1990, 209). Magnet schools are very popular and have enjoyed bipartisan support. Chicago Public Schools for example, have designated 47 elementary schools and 8 high schools as magnet schools (Allensworth and Rosenkranz, 2000).

Charter schools are public schools, but they are “freed from many of the rules and regulations governing traditional schools” (Manna, 2006, p.14). The first state to permit charter schools was Minnesota in 1991 (Dye, 2013, p,181). As Figure 6 details,

as of April of 2014, all but eight U.S. states have enacted legislation enabling the formation of charter schools (NCES, 2014).

Figure 5: Percentage of all public school students enrolled in charter schools, by state or jurisdiction: School year 2011–12



Source: Reprinted from NCES (2014, April). *Charter School Enrollment*. See Appendix G for permission to replicate statement.

Community groups, nonprofit groups, for-profit groups, and colleges, while being sponsored by state and local boards of education, often run Charter Schools. They have “their own independent governing boards. They hire their own teachers and staff, and develop their own curriculum” (Wilson, 2013, p.351). The first charter school in Illinois opened in 1996. Statewide enrollment in charter schools has grown from 6,152 students in 2000 to 54,054 in 2013 with 132 campuses operating under 58 state charters (Chicago Tribune, 2013).

Despite their popularity, the results on charter schools are mixed. A 2014 report from the Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity at the University of Minnesota Law School found that “Chicago’s charter schools actually underperform their traditional

counterparts in most measurable ways” (Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity, 2014, p.1). When asked about the report, Myron Orfield who directs the Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity, said “The question is whether charters are the best path available to find ways to better serve low-income students and students of color, given that this approach has failed to improve overall student performance by most measures, and led to less racial and ethnic diversity in the city’s schools” (Fitzpatrick, 2014).

Educational vouchers, first proposed by Milton Friedman in 1962, are one of the most controversial programs within the broader efficiency concept of “choice.” In these programs, parents are given vouchers that they can “redeem” at “any school they choose - public or private. “State governments then...pay specified amounts – perhaps the equivalent of the state’s per pupil educational spending” to the selected school (Dye, 2013, p.132). Terry M. Moe (2001) argued that vouchers

...would open up a range of new opportunities... generate healthy competition for the public schools, promote higher student achievement, and bring about significant improvements in social equity for the disadvantaged, who are now trapped in the worst schools in the country and are most desperately in need of choice (Moe, 2001, p.1).

Voucher opponents argue that public education will suffer if public money is diverted to private and religious schools. They contend that vouchers will “exacerbate already unequal opportunities and further erode differences between relevant social and racial groups in terms of educational results” (Witte, 1998, p.230). Nat LaCour (2002), a critic of voucher programs, has argued that vouchers will return education to the days of *Plessy v. Ferguson* by creating “separate and unequal” schools. He contends,

The voucher movement is primarily financed and orchestrated by the political right, by individuals and organizations that have never stepped up

to the plate for poor or minority children, and continue to resist every measure on their behalf except for school vouchers...at their political heart vouchers are about money and responsibility – that is about defunding public schools, subsidizing private school families, spending less on disadvantaged children, and transforming education from a civic and social responsibility into an individual one (LaCour, 2002, p.6).

The argument for choice in education is generally based on the premise that the private sector outperforms the public sector and is more efficient. Proponents of choice also argue that with competition, public schools will improve. Although limited to just a study of the Milwaukee voucher program, John F. Witte (1998) found “no achievement difference between the voucher and public school comparison groups” (LaCour, 2002, p.11). Other academic studies related to vouchers report similar findings. Alex Molnar (2000) found that reducing class size was more effective than voucher programs; and Cecilia Rouse (1998) found that special programs in public schools were better than private schools at raising low-income test scores.

The rhetoric of efficiency now dominates the discourse of education politics. Proposals which promote “choice” in education “have captured the attention of the both the media and the broader public” (Witte and Rigdon, 1993, p.98). Unlike previous debates related to standards in education, John F. Witte and Mark E. Rigdon contend,

The controversy surrounding choice is well warranted. It has the potential to move far beyond traditional reform proposals, such as national achievement tests, teacher competency certification, and stricter graduation requirements. In its most conservative guise, choice would facilitate greater access to local public schools by ensuring students the right to attend whichever school they desired within their district. In its most comprehensive form, the implementation of choice would dramatically transform the delivery of education by transferring the administration of public education to a market-driven network of essentially private schools (Witte and Rigdon, 1993, p.98).

While a market-driven network of private and charter schools has yet to fully materialize, the market continues to provide its own solutions to the persistent problem of education. Recent efforts to impose business models on education go much further than previous efficiency attempts to implement standards, and greatly expands on choice reforms. This corporatization of education includes increased power for school administrators, reducing the power of teachers to collectively bargain, eliminating tenure, more testing of students and more accountability for teachers. “Business rhetoric of efficiency, accountability, and performance standards and the redefinition of education to serve the labor market have become the common vocabulary of educational policies across the United States” (Lipman, 2005, p.170). While previous efficiency reforms in education were historically championed by conservative Republicans, the business model rhetoric is now appealing to a much broader audience, including Democrats. “The lure of the market is the idea that freedom from government regulation is a solution all by itself” (Ravitch, 2010, p.11).

Although the business community has always had an interest in public education, the corporatization of public education began in earnest during the 1990s with Mayoral takeover of schools in Boston and Chicago. “Mayoral control - which usually means dissolving elected school boards and replacing them with commissions appointed by the mayor - was pioneered in Boston in 1992” (Resmovits, 2010). In 1995, the Illinois General Assembly “turned over control of the city’s schools to Chicago’s Mayor, Richard M. Daley. Daley promptly installed a corporatist regime, focused on high stakes tests, standards, accountability, and centralized regulation of teachers and schools” (Lipman, 2005, p.2). Mayors in cities like New York, and Washington, D.C. quickly followed

Daley's lead. The "rationale for a mayoral power grab is it brings more accountability and a clear line of authority" (Bracey, 2009). The appeal to Mayors is that they "understand public education not as a separate entity but as part of a comprehensive set of services and institutions that improve the overall quality of life for city residents" (Wong, 2007, p.xii).

Diane Ravitch (2010), once an influential and vocal supporter educational efficiency and standards based education reform, now argues, "testing and choice are undermining education." In her most recent book titled *The Death and Life of the Great American School System*, she states that today's efficiency reformers "are promoting school reforms based on principles drawn from the corporate sector, without considering whether they are appropriate for educational institutions" (Ravitch, 2010, p.4). These new corporate reformers, according to Ravitch "betray their weak comprehension of education by drawing false analogies between education and business. They think they can fix education by applying the principles of business organization, management, law and marketing and by developing a good data-collection system that provides information necessary to incentivize the workforce – principals, teachers, and students – with appropriate rewards and sanctions" (Ravitch, 2010, p.11).

The Narrative of Postsecondary Remedial Education

Public policy problems like postsecondary remedial education do not come into existence by themselves. Rather, someone has to identify that there is a problem, define what the problem is, explain what caused the problem, and then frame the problem within a context that provides meaning and understanding. This process is made possible by the use of narratives. Maarten J. Hajer contends, "whether or not a

situation is perceived as a political problem depends on the narrative in which it is discussed” (Hajer, 1993, p.44). In Part II of *Policy Paradox*, Deborah Stone (2002) provides a useful description of “how problems are defined and demonstrated in politics.” She argues that “narrative stories provide explanations of how the world works...[and] definitions of policy problems usually have a narrative structure; that is, they are stories with a beginning, a middle, and an end, involving some change or transformation” (Stone, 2002, pp.133-134).

Defining and Framing the Problem: A Story of Decline

The “story of decline” is one of the frequently used narratives Stone refers to. This narrative is especially relevant and applicable to the problem of postsecondary remedial education. Stone describes the “story of decline” in the following manner: “In the beginning things were pretty good. But then they got worse. In fact, right now, they are nearly intolerable. Something must be done” (Stone 2002, p.138). The story of decline is the narrative that is most often used to define and frame the problem of postsecondary remedial education.

In the beginning things were pretty good...

It is assumed from the way postsecondary remedial education has been framed in the policy discourse that there was once a “golden age” when all students who entered colleges and universities were well prepared for postsecondary work. While it may be true that students were at one time better prepared for college work, one must recognize that education in the United States was previously limited to only the upper class. Even by 1940, only half the country had graduated from high school (Rushefsky, 1996, p.264). While the common perception is that postsecondary remedial education

is a new problem, American colleges and universities have been offering what is now termed “remedial education” for over one hundred years. Remedial education is “arguably as old as American higher education.” In the 1630s, Harvard College provided Latin tutors for incoming students and the first comprehensive remedial education program was offered at the University of Wisconsin in 1849 with “remedial courses in reading, writing, and arithmetic” (Breneman, 1998, p.4).

But then they got worse...

Discussions about the need for college remediation typically include what Diane Ravitch (2000) called the “great meltdown” of the intellectual purposes of education that occurred after World War II and continues through the present day. It was at this time that access to higher education was significantly expanded through public policies like the G.I. Bill and affirmative action for women and minorities. Critics of remedial education have argued that the resulting increase in student diversity yielded more students lacking in college level skills and that this has negatively impacted the quality of higher education and placed a financial drain on the institutions that provide remediation.

According to Stone (2002), the story of decline almost always includes “a recitation of facts or figures purporting to show that things have gotten worse” (Stone, 2002, p.138). J. Martin Rochester (2002), a political science professor and vocal critic of remedial education, does just that when he claims, “from 1967 to 1997, the average composite SAT score fell in the United States” (Rochester, 2002, p.17). While a decline in SAT scores is frequently used as an indicator and cited as evidence of public school failure and the resulting need for college level remediation, what is typically left out of

this discourse is the fact that more students are taking the SAT than ever before. Deborah Stone (2002) reminds her readers that what is “far more important than the actual number of a measure is how the measure is interpreted” (Stone, 2002, p.169). “When only a few students take the SAT, those students are likely to be people with strong high school records, who are trying to get into ‘the best’ colleges. In contrast, when a larger proportion of students take the SAT, that proportion will include more students with weak high school records, who are merely hoping to qualify for some kind of higher education” (Berliner, 1995, p.17). What Rochester and others leave out of their story of decline is that when more students take the SAT exam, average scores will naturally decline.

Right now, they are nearly intolerable...

Stone (2002) states that “persuasion as a policy instrument rests on giving people information and letting them make up their own minds” (Stone, 2002, p.262). For example, a recent Bloomberg News article (2012) authored by a professor at Ohio University, titled “College is No Place for Remedial Education,” stated that “more than 2 million U.S. college students this fall will be spending a good bit of their time reviewing what they were supposed to learn in high school or even earlier. They are taking ‘remedial’ education courses” (Vedder, 2012). Often in policy debates, “facts” are frequently used to persuade others there is an intolerable problem. However, “facts” may not present the full story and are often taken out of context. Professor Vedder in his Bloomberg article highlights the fact that 2 million college students take remedial courses. This number will appear to the average reader as extremely high, yet it is a relatively small percentage of the total 21 million students enrolled in higher education

(NCES, 2010). The article also fails to mention that some of the students needing remediation are returning adults who have been out of school for a significant period of time and that they may only take one or two remedial courses before moving on to traditional college-level courses.

Without the context of history or overall expenditures, critics of remedial education have cited declining test scores, rising enrollments in remedial classes, and anecdotal observations from professors as evidence of the now “bad” the problem of remedial education is. “These evidential strands are combined in rhetorically powerful ways to spark alarm and anger – in legislators, in academics, in the public” (Rose, 1989 p.198).

Something must be done...

Stone (2002) argues that “policy stories use many literary and rhetoric devices to lead the audience ineluctably to a course of action” (Stone, 2002, p.145). Narrative stories about postsecondary remedial education place blame for the problem with public K-12 schools. Edelman (1988) contends that the explanation of a problem is “likely to strike a large part of the public as correct for a fairly long period if it reflects and reinforces the dominant ideology” (p.17). Blaming K-12 schools for the problem of postsecondary remedial education strikes the public, policy makers, and even educators as correct. Cries of “double billing” - paying a second time to teach students what they should have learned in high school - echo in legislative chambers. (Clayton, 2002, p.1).

The Blame Game: Problems and Solutions

“In politics, the representation of issues is strategically designed to attract support to one’s side” (Stone, 2002, p.34). What is portrayed as having caused the

political problem determines the policy solution. Edelman (1988) states that an “explanation for a troubling condition is typically more important to partisans than the possibility of eliminating the condition” (p.18). Since the launch of Sputnik in 1957, many of the most troubling conditions our nation has faced have been explained by one constant: the failure of public schools. By repetitively blaming public schools for political and economic problems, efficiency based educational reforms have become the dominant policy solution. The event of Sputnik could have been framed in many different ways. However, it was framed as a national security problem that was caused by the failure of public schools. Because the problem was caused by the failure of public schools, efficiency reforms were proposed and adopted as the solution. Likewise, *A Nation at Risk* identified an economic problem that was also caused by the failure of public schools and again efficiency reforms were adopted as the solution.

Rocheftort and Cobb (1994) argue “who and what is portrayed as the cause of a policy problem is crucial to determining how that issue is to be resolved” (Coughlin, 1994, p.148). By arguing that the perpetual failure of public schools has caused different problems, educational efficiency reformers have built, maintained, and increased support for their solutions. The most recent problem to be defined as resulting from the failure of public schools is postsecondary remedial education. Claiming that the public schools’ failure to adequately educate their students has produced a college student population in need of basic remedial courses, reformers have found another problem to which they can attach efficiency solutions. Today, the problem of postsecondary remedial education is framed as a threat to the integrity of higher education, quality of our workforce, ability to compete in a global marketplace,

and the wallets of taxpayers. As expected, this “new” problem is also blamed on the failure of public schools.

According to Elaine Sharp (1994), “an issue can be saved from saturation if it can be transformed in a way that sustains its novelty and hence it’s dramatic value...[if it] can be recast or repackaged in a different light, it can continue to capture attention” (Sharp, 1994, p.102). Repackaging the perpetual problem of failing schools within the context of postsecondary remedial education saves the problem from saturation and enables efficiency solutions to continue to capture attention.

In his analysis of governmental agenda setting, John Kingdon (1995) found that it is not uncommon for predetermined solutions to search for problems (p.86). Efficiency solutions like more standards, vouchers, and charter schools have been predetermined. Postsecondary remedial education is just another problem for these predetermined efficiency solutions. What often “appears to be a rational, and often technical, debate” about postsecondary remedial education actually “hides political agendas” (Coughlin, 1994, p.155). The condition of postsecondary remedial education has long existed. Colleges and universities have regularly provided remediation to underprepared students. Yet, rather than a solution to the perpetual problem of failing schools, postsecondary remedial education has been defined and framed as a problem created by failing schools. It is the contention of this dissertation that despite its longevity, the policy of postsecondary remedial education lacks an advocacy group working actively on behalf of increased funding and improved provision of postsecondary education. The lack of an advocacy group also enables the existing narratives which frame postsecondary remedial education as a problem, rather than a solution, to persist.

Remedial: What is in a Word?

Remediation at the college level has become “one of the most controversial aspects of higher education today. Policymakers and politicians wonder why students, most of whom have already been given a free public education, need to be re-educated at taxpayer expense” (Hasselbach, 1999, p.29). The language and terms used to frame the postsecondary remedial education problem affects how the issue is perceived and responded to. Stone (2002) states “that the way we think about problems is extremely sensitive to the language used to describe them” (p.249). The term “remedial education” has a negative connotation and as a result, our willingness to allocate scarce higher education dollars to those in need of remedial courses is “conditioned by the societal perceptions of the people who are going to benefit” (Rocheft, 1994, p.23).

Postsecondary remedial education students are often depicted as individuals who cannot learn, lack motivation and are not worthy of higher education. A retired college professor commented that “going to college is an utter waste of time for those students who have emerged from high school neither literate nor numerate, with cultural forces revolving around hip-hop and body piercing and with zero interest in changing their behavior” (Reeves, 2003, p.6). Designating students as “remedial has powerful implications in education – to be remedial is to be substandard, inadequate – and, because of the origins of the term, the inadequacy is metaphorically connected to disease and mental defectiveness” (Rose, 1989, p.209). “Just as in medicine one gives a ‘remedy’ to cure an illness, so in education there must be something ‘wrong’ with the student who needs to be ‘remedied’” (Astin, 1998). The negative portrayal of students benefiting from the provision of postsecondary remedial education does not leave

taxpayers and policymakers eager to provide them with more of their already limited funds.

Anne L. Schneider and Helen M. Ingram have written extensively about public policy, target populations, and how populations are socially constructed. They argue that

Public policy – and the laws that policy produces – are the principle tools in securing the democratic promise for all people...Yet, policy has also been the primary means of legitimating, extending, and even creating distinctive populations – some of whom are extolled as deserving and entitled and others who are demonized as undeserving and ineligible (Schneider and Ingram, 2005, p.2).

In Schneider and Ingram's 2005 anthology, entitled *Deserving and Entitled: Social Construction and Public Policy*, Linda Newton and Mara Sydney write about dividing target populations into good and bad. In an effort to obtain favorable public policies for target groups, some portions of a target group are often portrayed as being good or better than other members of the group. For example, some immigrants are portrayed as "good, hardworking, and legal, in contrast to others who were free loaders, lazy, and illegal" (Stone, 2005, p.x). A similar division of a target group (college students) can be found within higher education, and specifically within community colleges. As was discussed in Chapter III, community colleges and their students are at the bottom rung of the higher education pyramid. Yet, some community college students have been socially constructed as hardworking and deserving, while others like remedial students, have been socially constructed as undeserving. Policy designs within the state of Illinois have focused on these different types of community college students and have deemed some students as more deserving than others.

Examination of state budgetary allocations for Illinois community colleges was completed to enhance this case study and to gain a richer and more clearly articulated understanding of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois. The Illinois Community College Board (ICCB) receives budgetary allocations on a yearly basis from the Illinois General Assembly. These allocations are then distributed through grants to the 39 community college districts in Illinois utilizing credit hour funding formulas for six categories of community college instruction: Baccalaureate; Business; Technical; Health; Remedial; and Adult Basic/Secondary Education (ABE/ASE). Detailed in Table 5, from 2005 to 2010, postsecondary remedial education at Illinois community colleges received the lowest ICCB credit hour grant rate of any category. In 2010, community college remediation received an ICCB grant of only \$14.40 per credit hour. The highest funded category in 2010 was health, which received \$90.56 per credit hour from the ICCB. The average ICCB credit grant for all six categories of instruction was \$39.24 in 2010.

Table 5

Illinois Community College Board Credit Hour Grant Rates by Category: FY 2005 - 2010

Year	B.A.	Business	Technical	Health	Remedial	ABE/ASE	Average
2005	\$21.72	\$27.90	\$59.26	\$94.88	\$18.68	\$56.87	\$33.63
2006	\$19.31	\$27.02	\$61.05	\$89.33	\$13.82	\$46.37	\$31.20
2007	\$19.06	\$23.62	\$59.36	\$91.56	\$15.78	\$56.23	\$31.97
2008	\$18.61	\$22.98	\$61.65	\$97.19	\$16.01	\$51.42	\$32.87
2009	\$20.04	\$23.00	\$55.31	\$94.09	\$16.49	\$51.97	\$33.04
2010	\$19.41	\$29.96	\$55.39	\$90.56	\$14.40	\$56.45	\$39.24

Source: Compiled by author with data from ICCB (2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010)

Through differentials in funding, policymakers in Illinois are telling students in need of postsecondary remediation that they are not as important or deserving as other community college students. In real monetary terms, these remedial students are told that they are worth less than half of the average community college student, as measured by ICCB credit hour grants. “All things being equal, people we like and find attractive and pleasant seem to get more help” (Rocheffort, 1994, p.23). ICCB credit hour grants by category of instruction, provides insight as to who “gets more help” and who is considered more “deserving” at Illinois community colleges.

How Much Remediation and Does Remediation Remediate?

The National Center for Postsecondary Research states that remedial courses “are the most common policy instruments used to assist underprepared postsecondary students who are not ready for college-level coursework” (Calcagno, 2008, p.iii). It is estimated that 2 million U.S. college students enrolled in remedial courses during the fall of 2012 (Vedder, 2012). As detailed in Table 6 on page 93, the National Center for Education Statistics (2011) reported that during the 2007–08 academic year, just over 36 percent of first-year undergraduate students enrolled in at least one postsecondary remedial education course. At public 2-year institutions, nearly 42 percent of first-year undergraduate students enrolled in at least one postsecondary remedial education course.

Studies from the Community College Research Center (CCRC) at Columbia University peg national community college student enrollment in remedial coursework at 60 percent of all undergraduates, significantly higher than the NCES official reports (Bailey, 2009, p.1). The Illinois Community College Board (ICCB) has reported that

nearly half (48.7%) of first-time community college students enroll in remedial coursework (Parke et al, 2012, p.7). At some colleges within the Illinois system, the need for remediation can be as high as 90% (Fain, 2012a).

Table 6

Percent of First-Year Undergraduate Students Enrolled in a Remedial Course by Level of Institution, 2007-08

Level of Institution	Number of students (in thousands)	Percent who took a remedial course
All institutions	8,517	36.20%
Public 2-year	4,855	41.90%
Public 4-year Non-Doctorate	690	38.60%
Public 4-year Doctorate	823	24.20%
Private not-for-profit 4-year Non-Doctorate	415	25.80%
Private not-for-profit 4-year Doctorate	319	22.30%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, NCES (2011)

Increasingly, the debate over postsecondary remediation has focused on the effectiveness of these programs at institutions of higher education. As Chapter III detailed, typically less than half of the students who begin their education at a community college graduate and/or transfer to a four-year institution. One explanation for this lack of completion and success is that many community college students need remedial coursework (Bailey et al., 2010; Greene and Forster, 2003). Thomas Bailey and Sung-Woo Cho (2010) of the Community College Research Center have found that “less than one quarter of community college students who enroll in developmental [remedial] education complete a degree or certificate within eight years of enrollment in college” (p.1). Bailey and Cho’s research confirms other accounts claiming that enrollment in postsecondary remediation does not improve persistence or rates of

success at the college level (Calcagno and Long, 2008; Martorell and McFarlin, 2011). Bettinger and Long (2009) however, in their study of Ohio remediation, found that “students in remediation have better educational outcomes in comparison to students with similar backgrounds and preparation who were not required to take the courses” (p.760). Yet, they note that “by increasing the number of requirements and extending the time to degree, remediation may negatively impact student outcomes such as persistence, major choice, and eventual labor market returns” (p.737).

Systematically, there “are no current benchmarks by which to judge the success of higher education’s remediation efforts” (Bettinger and Long, 2009, p.738). As a result, “conjecture and criticism have filled the void created by the lack of basic information” (Phipps, 1998, quoted in Bettinger and Long, 2009, p.738). While there is little evidence that remediation works (or does not work), there are also problems with how we measure the extent and true need for remediation. In 1995, the U.S. Department of Education began collecting information from colleges and universities related to enrollment in postsecondary remedial education courses. Enrollment data have since been used as a measure of the need for remediation. While useful, enrollment data alone are not a sufficient or accurate measure of the real need for remediation. Although enrollment data can provide valuable information, it is important to recognize that colleges and universities often fail to supply the full demand for remediation.

Due to state laws and funding, many colleges and universities limit the number of remedial education courses they offer. As a result, it is possible that demand (need for remediation) exceeds supply (courses offered). While most “colleges mandate basic skills assessment for all entering freshmen, many institutions do not require that low-

scoring students actually attend developmental education classes” (Perin and Charron, 2003, pp.1-2). If a limited number of remedial courses are offered, only the students actually enrolled will be counted. The missing variable from enrollment data is the number of students who need remediation, but fail to enroll due to a lack of available classes and/or become discouraged after failing their placement exam and being told that they are not “college ready.” At present, there is no standardized mechanism in place at most colleges and universities, to determine and accurately report how many students need remediation and fail to get it. There are also few mechanisms to accurately assess the impact that the intervention of remediation has.

Research conducted in 2006, by the author of this dissertation found that demand (need) for remediation regularly exceeded supply at the City Colleges of Chicago (CCC). As Table 7 highlights, at least half of all new CCC students in 2003 failed to enroll in needed remedial courses after taking placement exams in three proficiency areas.

Table 7

Remediation Demand and Supply at City Colleges of Chicago (2003)

Subject	% of new students failing to test at minimum college proficiency levels	% of new students enrolled in remedial courses
Reading	61%	27%
Writing	65%	33%
Math	94%	47%

Source: Mixon (2006)

A Paradox of Conflicting Values in Postsecondary Remedial Education

Similar to this chapter's discussion of debates over values (equity and efficiency) in education policy, Rochefort and Cobb's (1994) analysis of competing arguments is applicable to the issue of postsecondary remedial education. Their analysis provides an additional lens through which to view the issue. The question of whether or not to provide remedial education at colleges and universities "is dominated by two perspectives." Rochefort and Cobb call these perspectives "instrumental and expressive, the first oriented to rational problem-solving and the second to defense of moral values" (Rochefort, 1994, p.172).

With regard to remedial education, the instrumental perspective argues for market driven (efficiency) solutions where higher education is "regarded as a privilege accorded those who clear the hurdles and demonstrate their merit" (Rhoades, 1987, p.6). From this perspective, only college-ready students should be admitted to institutions of higher education. When the City Universities of New York (CUNY) eliminated all remedial education courses from their four-year colleges and universities in 1998, the Vice-Chairman of CUNY's board" stated,

there comes a time when students have to be able to do college work...The University system needs to function as a higher-education provider, not a support group, and get over its very lax attitude toward students' finishing their studies in a timely manner (Schmidt, 1998).

From this perspective the most important value is efficiency and the allocation of scarce higher education resources. Opponents argue that not only are states paying twice, but that remedial education takes much needed funds away from more deserving higher education students. A recent article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* quoted

Brunno V. Manno, a conservative critic of remedial education from the Hudson Institute as saying,

Colleges are now devoting more of their resources – financial and human – to what our elementary and secondary schools should be doing...Dumbing down the system sends the wrong message. It says to students: Don't bother working hard. It does not matter. We'll admit you anyway (Burd, 1996).

The solution to the problem from an instrumental perspective is perfectly rational. If colleges refuse to admit students who are not prepared for college work, public schools will have no choice but to improve. Not surprisingly, the strongest opponents to remedial education are also those who support the previously discussed efficiency education reforms. Eliminating remedial education fits within their ideology and provides support for their own policy solutions.

When applied to remedial education, Rochefort and Cobb's (1994) expressive perspective has at its core the value of equity with the goal of serving the public good. It is "a model of the polis [that] must assume both collective will and collective effort" (Stone, 2002, p.18). Remedial education supporters argue that remediation itself is not a problem, but a necessary service that recognizes the differing abilities and skill sets of each individual. The following quote from the St. Louis Dispatch is typical of the narratives this perspective promotes,

They started college behind and caught up – and even came out ahead in some cases. They're roughly 600 of the 1,200 students graduating from St. Louis Community College this month, the ones who made the grade by first taking remedial courses (Thompson, 1998 p.B1).

Advocates for remedial education contend that, limiting access to college remediation disproportionately impacts socially and economically disadvantaged

students, many of whom have not had a strong college preparatory curriculum (Perin, 2006). Supporters believe that remedial education programs “level the playing field” and provide equality of opportunity (although not necessarily equality of outcome) for those that might not have otherwise had access to higher education. Kathleen M. Shaw (2001) argues that remedial education policies are at the center of a larger debate about the “purpose and function of higher education.” She states that,

Unlike most debates about educational practices, which remain in the esoteric journals of career academics or policy makers, debates about remediation have entered the public domain. That remediation has entered the public-debate arena with such intensity is precisely because our approaches to it reflect deeper beliefs about the purpose of higher education in general. Should colleges and universities function as democratizing institutions that provide access and opportunity to students who have traditionally been shut out of this experience? Should we create and maintain an educational hierarchy based on meritocratic principles that only allow an elite few to enter the halls of four-year colleges and universities? And ultimately, what role should a college education play in the life chances of American citizens? (Shaw, 2001 p.194).

In their discussion of frames and subsequent analysis of the different types of perspectives that are utilized in policy arguments, Rein and Schon (1993) contend, “not all frames, and not all stories in which they are expressed, are equally acceptable or compelling” (Rein and Schon, 1993, p.149). While the social benefits of remedial education described in the expressive model are extremely difficult to measure, the costs and problems identified in the instrumental model are more often than not, given credibility. To date, the instrumental market-based model serves as the prevailing narrative about remedial education. As a result, effective opposing arguments are difficult to develop within the already established perimeters where “efficiency is

hallowed ground” (Stone, 2002, p.401). To counter this dilemma, Stone (2002) suggests taking a page from the opponents’ handbook to “demonstrate that your preferred policy is more efficient” (Stone, 2002, p.401).

When responding to efficiency arguments about the high cost of postsecondary remedial education, a few supporters have followed Stone’s advice and countered that “we can pay the costs of welfare, costs of prison construction and money required to maintain the prison population, or we can invest in the lives of people we need for a healthy society” (McClenney, 2001, p.2). Alexander Astin, writing for the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education insists that,

If we fail to develop more effective means for educating remedial students, we will find it difficult to make much headway in resolving some of our most pressing social and economic problems: unemployment, crime, welfare, health care, racial tensions, the maldistribution of wealth, and citizen disengagement from the political process (Astin, 1998, para. 6).

Both the instrumental and expressive perspectives embody and express different societal values and goals that are often in conflict with and opposed to one another. It is commonly proclaimed, “a problem to some is a benefit to others” (Edelman, 1988, p.14). Those who value efficiency and accountability in higher education see remediation as a problem. However, those that favor equity, fairness, and justice in higher education see remediation as a benefit and a solution. Herein lies the paradox; it is nearly impossible to develop a policy solution that can balance the problem of academic accountability, efficiency, and cost to taxpayers with the benefits of access and equity.

V. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS³

Overview

This dissertation initially began as an attempt to determine if public policy solutions to the problem of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois were, as I suspected, reflective of the narrative that public K-12 schools were to blame for the problem. As detailed in Chapter VI of this dissertation, this initial research question is answered in the affirmative. Digging deeper into the problem, politics and policy of postsecondary remediation in Illinois, this dissertation evolved and expanded its scope to explain why this is so and presents two related hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1) Community colleges in Illinois have failed to act as an advocacy group on behalf of the policy of postsecondary remedial education.

Hypothesis 2) The policy of providing postsecondary remedial education in Illinois persists because of institutional inertia and budgetary dependence coupled with political and societal pressure for equity in postsecondary education policy.

An exploratory qualitative case study methodology is used to test the hypotheses of this dissertation, triangulating data from: 1) Illinois state legislative, executive, lobbying and budgetary records; 2) Illinois community college documents; and 3) elite interviews. This methodological triangulation utilizes a variety of data sources within a

³ Portions of this chapter previously appeared as a journal article in the *Illinois Political Science Review*. Mixon, C. A. (2011). A persistent problem: Postsecondary remedial education. *Illinois Political Science Review*. Vol. 14: 72-115. See Appendix G for permission to reprint statement.

relevant context (State of Illinois) to explore and describe the problems, politics and policy of providing postsecondary remedial education at state community colleges. This phenomenon is explored through different and contrasting lenses, allowing for multiple facets and perspectives to be revealed and understood. In sum, the benefits of this multi-method triangulation include “increasing confidence in research data, creating innovative ways of understanding a phenomenon, revealing unique findings, challenging or integrating theories, and providing a clearer understanding of the problem” (Thurmond, 2001, p.254).

Case studies are ideally suited to in-depth exploration of issues. According to Yin (2009), the case study is an “empirical inquiry that 1) investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when 2) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p.18). Case studies enable researchers to describe and explain complex phenomena and can be thought of as “exploratory forays into previously unexplored territories: a kind of scouting expedition, useful (more or less) to those who possess more systematic means of defining, mapping, and understanding the conceptual terrain opened up by a case study” (Van Maanen, 1993, p.v). Case studies are “the preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon with some real-life context “ (Yin, 1984, p.1). In case study research, knowledge is understood as socially constructed, and “through experiential and contextual accounts, case study researchers assist readers in the construction of knowledge” (Stake, 2005, p.454).

As this is a case study centered within higher education, Yin's (2005) argument for the use of qualitative case study research in education is insightful:

...statistics is not what education is really about. Starting to understand the world of education means bringing life to what goes on in [the setting] and how [this is] connected to a broader panoply of real-life...Case studies fill this need. They can provide both descriptive richness and analytic insight into people, events, and passions as played out in real-life environments" (Yin, 2005, p. xiv as quoted in Brown, 2008, p.6).

Stake (2005) notes, "case researchers usually enter the scene expecting, even knowing, that certain events, problems, and relationships will be important" (p.456). This point is particularly relevant in this case study of postsecondary remedial education, as I have been an active participant-observer of Illinois community colleges and Illinois state legislative processes for many years and entered the scene with preexisting knowledge, experience and expectations. My role as a participant-observer is what led to my initial research question, as it seemed to me that our state legislators were overwhelmingly concerned with finding blame for the problem of postsecondary remedial education, rather than how well and where (primarily community colleges) it was delivered. As such, this case study "is both the process of learning about the case and the product of [my] learning" (Stake, 1994, p.237).

Ongoing debates within the social sciences frequently question the value of case study research and some methodological purists have argued that quantitative and positivistic research methods are the only way to conduct rigorous scientific inquiry and achieve objective results. Flyvbjerg (2006) has pointed out that case study research and other qualitative methods are frequently criticized for reasons including subjectivity and

“giving too much scope for the researcher’s own interpretations” (p.2). He counters these criticisms and argues,

the question of subjectivism and bias toward verification applies to all methods, not just to the case study and other qualitative methods. For example, the element of arbitrary subjectivism will be significant in the choice of categories and variables for a quantitative or structural investigation, such as a structured questionnaire to be used across a large sample of cases. And the probability is high that (1) this subjectivism survives without being thoroughly corrected during the study and (2) that it may affect the results, quite simply because the quantitative/structural researcher does not get as close to those under study as does the case-study researcher and therefore is less likely to be corrected by the study objects ‘talking back’ (pp.19-20).

Increasingly, scholars in the social sciences, and specifically political science recognize the ambiguity and uncertainty that is inherent in any research design. Within the discipline of political science, “there is a rich history of case study research in bureaucracy, implementation, and other public administration and public policy studies” (Yanow, 2008, p.1). Political scientists Erik Bleich and Robert Pekkamen (2013) have observed that “over the past several years, scholars have reinvigorated the use of qualitative research, arguing that it has advantages over quantitative methods in many contexts” (p.84). When the goal of inquiry is “explanation, propositional knowledge, and law...the case study will often be at a disadvantage. When the aims are understanding, extension of experience, and increase in conviction in that which is known, the disadvantage disappears” (Stake, 2000, p.21). As clearly stated by Lincoln and Guba (2003), “no one would argue that a single method – or collection of methods – is the royal road to ultimate knowledge” (p.274).

In this case study of postsecondary remedial education, the construction of knowledge is possible through the use of multiple sources of evidence (triangulation) to

help verify consistency in meaning and interpretation. The multiple methods employed provide a more complete and robust understanding of the problem, politics and policy of postsecondary remedial education at Illinois community colleges than could have been obtained through other (perhaps more quantitative) means.

Illinois community colleges were chosen as a key variable in this case study of postsecondary remedial education. As detailed in Table 8, Illinois ranks 3rd among the states in community college enrollment, with 48 community colleges located throughout the state, within 39 community college districts (ICCB). In 2005, 64% of all undergraduates in Illinois, attended a community college.

Table 8

2005 Enrollment in Public 4-Year and Community Colleges in Selected States; Number of Public Community Colleges per State

STATE	PUBLIC 4-YEAR ENROLLMENT (2005)	PUBLIC COMMUNITY COLLEGE ENROLLMENT (2005)	TOTAL PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION ENROLLMENT	% OF ALL STUDENTS ENROLLED IN A COMMUNITY COLLEGE	NUMBER OF PUBLIC COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN STATE
California	609,397	1,398,758	2,008,155	70%	113
Texas	537,844	543,491	1,081,335	50%	64
Illinois	202,325	352,824	555,149	64%	48
Florida	371,553	277,446	648,999	43%	54
New York	354,914	271,308	626,222	43%	36
Michigan	290,001	215,585	505,586	43%	31
Arizona	120,020	200,845	320,865	63%	20
North Carolina	196,248	200,507	396,755	51%	60
Washington	106,333	190,423	296,756	64%	35

Source: Compiled by author with data from the U.S. Department of Education (2005)

Community colleges are the primary providers of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois. This designation dates back to legislation (P.A.81-803) enacted in

1979. Although Illinois, unlike some other states, has not passed legislation nor enacted rules or regulations prohibiting four-year colleges and universities from offering remedial courses, community colleges are the only recipients of state funding for remediation (ICCB). In Illinois, nearly half (48.7%) of all first-time community college students enroll in remedial coursework (Parke, 2012, p.7). Through an examination of ACT scores, Presley (2005) also found that nearly three quarters of underprepared college students in Illinois attend a community college, rather than a traditional four-year institution. As Illinois community colleges are the primary providers of postsecondary remedial education; are the only postsecondary institutions funded by the state to provide it; and most underprepared Illinois college students attend a community college, community colleges are an appropriate unit of analysis.

Primary Sources of Evidence

Archival Legislative Analyses

To answer the initial question of this dissertation, it was necessary to assess whether or not Illinois state legislators had accepted the premise that the need for postsecondary remediation at community colleges had been caused by the failure of public K-12 schools. To make this assessment, an archival analysis of Illinois state legislation identified by the Illinois Community College Trustees Association (ICCTA) as impacting and/or being of interest to Illinois community colleges from 2000-2010 was undertaken. The ICCTA was created in 1970 and serves as the primary advocacy group for Illinois community colleges. The ICCTA represents community colleges “before legislators and public officials” and “monitors the Illinois Community College Board, the

Illinois Board of Higher Education, the Illinois Student Assistance Commission, the Illinois State Board of Education, the Joint Education Committee, the U.S. Department of Education, and other government agencies.” The ICCTA also “tracks state and federal legislation and legislative committees” (ICCTA).

Legislation impacting and/or being of interest to Illinois community colleges from 2000-2010 was obtained from the electronic records of the ICCTA. These electronic records, identified as “Action Alerts,” are posted on the ICCTA website (www.communitycolleges.org). Upon collecting bill numbers and bill titles from electronic ICCTA records, content analysis of bill summaries, and if needed, the entire bill, was conducted. This process of bill content analysis and tracking was completed by the author of this dissertation, through electronic legislative records maintained by the Illinois General Assembly (<http://www.ilga.gov>). To facilitate legislative analysis and tracking, bills were coded by the author of this dissertation and classified into content categories irrespective of year, such categories following the data themselves. Collection and analysis of the bills identified by the ICCTA as impacting and/or being of interest to Illinois community colleges took place from June of 2009 through June of 2010.

Elite Interviews

The most appropriate sources from whom to get information about whether or not community colleges are acting as an advocacy group on behalf of the policy of postsecondary remedial education are Illinois legislators who serve on the higher education committees and community college stakeholders who have regular interaction with members of the Illinois General Assembly. Consistent with elite

interviewing techniques (Dexter, 1970), purposive sampling, coupled with limited snowball sampling, was utilized to identify potential interview subjects who are directly involved in community college and postsecondary remedial education policy in Illinois. State legislative leaders serving on higher education committees in the Illinois General Assembly and community college stakeholders who have regular interaction with these legislators were selected for elite interviews.

Interview subjects were chosen based on their official position, knowledge of higher education policy, and potential to influence community college legislative decisions in the Illinois General Assembly. Patton (1990) states “the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in-depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research” (p.169). Subjects chosen for interviews in this case study were able to provide rich and detailed information about community colleges and postsecondary remedial education.

As elites involved in the policy niche of postsecondary remedial education constitute a fairly small group in Illinois, only twenty potential interview subjects were initially identified and contacted (multiple times, as necessary) by phone and/or email to schedule an interview. A sample of the email message used to make initial contact with the interview subjects is included in Appendix A of this dissertation. Interview subjects were promised anonymity. The positional statuses (excluding names) of the twenty potential interview subjects are shown in Tables 9 and 10 on page 107.

Table 9

Potential Interview Subjects: Illinois State Legislative Leaders Serving on Higher Education Committees in the Illinois General Assembly

Position	Legislative Committee	Chamber
Chair	Higher Education Appropriations	House
Former Chair	Higher Education Appropriations	House
Vice Chair	Higher Education Appropriations	House
Minority Spokesperson	Higher Education Appropriations	House
Chair	Higher Education	House
Vice Chair	Higher Education	House
Minority Spokesperson	Higher Education	House
Chair	Higher Education	Senate
Vice Chair	Higher Education	Senate
Minority Spokesperson	Higher Education	Senate

Table 10

Potential Interview Subjects: Illinois Community College Stakeholders

Position	Organization
Chair	Illinois Community College Board
Executive Director	Illinois Community College Board
Legislative and External Affairs Liaison	Illinois Community College Board
Member	Illinois Community College Board
Executive Director	Illinois Community College Trustees Association
Lobbyist	Illinois Community College Trustees Association
Director, Intergovernmental Affairs	Illinois Community College
Communications Officer	Illinois Community College
Chair of Legislative Relations	Illinois Council of Community College Presidents
Lobbyist	Illinois Community College Faculty Union

Interviews began in January of 2013 and continued through October of 2014. Eleven of the initially identified twenty subjects completed interviews. Of the eleven, six are current or former state legislators; and five are community college stakeholders. Although small in number, the completed interviews have provided rich, in-depth, and unique insights of central importance to this inquiry. In elite interviewing, a small number of interview subjects is common, as the knowledge and insights of the subjects are privileged and unique. Concentrating on a relatively small number of interview subjects enabled me to gain a richer more in-depth understanding of whether or not community colleges have acted as a policy advocacy coalition in support of postsecondary remedial education.

Each interview took approximately forty-five minutes and was conducted in-person when possible. Phone interviews were substituted when an in-person interview was not possible or when requested by the interview subject. Before beginning each interview, the author of this dissertation gave a brief personal introduction and reviewed the purpose of the study. Each interview subject was asked for his or her verbal informed consent to participate in the study prior to the start of each interview. Verbal informed consent was chosen for this study, as some of the interviews were conducted by telephone and it was not feasible or practical to obtain written verification from all interview subjects. Additionally, this research presents no more than minimal risk and involves procedures that do not require written consent. A copy of the “Verbal Informed Consent to Participate in Research Statement” is included in Appendix B of this dissertation.

Of the eleven interviews completed, six were conducted in person and five were conducted by phone. To obtain the most frank and candid responses from the interview subjects, interviews were not recorded. The author of this dissertation took detailed notes during each interview and responses were transcribed in greater detail as soon as possible after each interview. Interview responses were then coded based on common themes, consistent phrases, words, expressions and ideas. Each person interviewed was subjected to a common interview protocol. One set of questions was developed for semi-structured, open-ended interviews with state legislators and another was developed for semi-structured, open-ended interviews with community college stakeholders. This interview format enabled me to probe respondents with potential follow up questions regarding their thoughts on key issues relevant to this inquiry. Each of the respondents talked very freely, providing rich details about community colleges, the state legislature and postsecondary remedial education.

As this dissertation uses a combination of methods, a method used to test one aspect may inform and influence the methods used to test other aspects. While elite interviews were primarily used to test the first hypothesis of this dissertation, responses shed light on the initial research question and the second hypothesis. Stitching together responses from each interview subject has enabled me to form a broader interpretation of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois. The full set of semi-structured, open-ended interview questions for both state legislators and community college stakeholders are detailed in Appendix C of this dissertation.

Illinois State Lobbying Records

The Illinois Lobbyist Registration Act (P.A. 76-1848) defines “lobbying” as “any communication with an official of the executive or legislative branch of State government...for the ultimate purpose of influencing any executive, legislative, or administrative action.” To help determine whether or not community colleges in Illinois are acting as an advocacy group for any sort of public policies, examination of lobbying records maintained electronically by the Illinois Secretary of State was undertaken. Entity searches were conducted via the Secretary of State website (<http://www.ilsos.gov/lobbyistsearch>). This examination conducted in January of 2010 and again in October of 2014, determined which of the 39 community college districts in Illinois has officially registered as a lobbying entity. If districts were registered as lobbyists, attempts were made to include them as community college stakeholders in the purposeful sample of elite interview subjects.

Financial Records

Appropriations for Illinois community colleges are made by the General Assembly directly to the Illinois Community College Board (ICCB). The ICCB “has statutory responsibility for the statewide planning and coordination of the community college system and administering state grants to the community college districts” (ICCB Website). The ICCB receives budgetary allocations on a yearly basis from the Illinois General Assembly. State funding for community colleges in Illinois “is distributed via grant programs administered by the Illinois Community College Board...ICCB grants to community colleges are the difference between total funds needed to offer educational programs and total funds available from local property taxes and tuition and fees (IBHE,

n.d.). ICCB Base Operating Grants “fund reimbursable credit hours in six funding categories (Baccalaureate, Business, Technical, Health, Remedial, and Adult Education)” (IBHE, n.d).

Evaluation of credit hour costs, expenditures, and revenue across categories of instruction at community colleges in Illinois was undertaken as part of this dissertation’s inquiry. This effort required analysis of financial documents from the Illinois Community College Board (ICCB) and cross-referencing those documents with various other ICCB reports and student enrollment documents. Data from fiscal year 2013 (FY2013) were used across all documents and reports for consistency. FY2013 was the most recent year for which full information was available. The financial records used in this dissertation are available to the public on the Illinois Community College Board (ICCB) website through various links by year and topic.

Illinois Community College Board (ICCB) Documents

Various documents and reports, including those related to community college enrollment data, were retrieved from the ICCB over the course of this research. Documents related to enrollment data, across multiple years, were cross-referenced with financial documents, also obtained from the ICCB.

Community College Documents

To gain insight related to individual college support for remediation, an analysis of the mission and/or vision statements of all 48 Illinois community colleges was undertaken for the purpose of this case study. In some instances, a college statement of philosophy, core values, goals and/or objectives were included with mission content to determine whether or not the college clearly articulated a mission, which included

providing remedial (or as some colleges referred to it, developmental) education.

Mission statements were accessed on each of the 48 colleges' website in January of 2010 and again in October of 2014. These statements are located under the heading "about us" on most college websites. In some instances, mission statements were found in other online documents such as course catalogs and external publications.

Conclusion

The design of this multi-method case study has enabled me to illuminate the case of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois from various different angles. The synthesis and integration of the information obtained from multiple sources of data further add to the reliability of the findings presented in this dissertation. As an exploratory (or as Stakes refers to them, instrumental) case study, this dissertation, while providing rich description and deep understanding of postsecondary remediation, has the goal of extrapolating what is learned from this unique case to advance learning and understanding of the larger complexities of public policy processes and more specifically the politics of state higher education policy.

VI. THE BLAME GAME ⁴

Something Must Be Done

Believing that “something must be done” about the problem of postsecondary remedial education, many states have enacted public policies aimed at the amelioration of the problem through reform of K-12 public education (Heller, 2002; Soares and Mazzeo, 2008). This dissertation, through its archival legislative analysis, finds that Illinois is no different. Public policy solutions to the problem of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois have primarily focused on placing blame with the widely accepted cause of the problem: public K-12 schools.

Of the 55,176 bills introduced in the Illinois General Assembly from January of 2000 through May of 2010, the Illinois Community College Trustees Association (ICCTA) identified 338 bills as impacting and/or being of interest to Illinois community colleges. As detailed in Chapter V, the ICCTA serves as the primary advocacy group for Illinois community colleges. Figure 7 provides a summary of the number of bills (by year) impacting and/or being of interest to Illinois community colleges from 2000 to 2010. Upon collecting bill numbers and bill titles from electronic ICCTA records, content analysis of bill summaries, and if needed the entire bill, were conducted. To facilitate legislative analysis and tracking, bills were coded and classified into seven (7) content categories irrespective of year, such categories following the data themselves. The seven content areas identified and utilized for coding purposes in this study are detailed

⁴ Portions of this chapter previously appeared as a journal article in the *Illinois Political Science Review*. Mixon, C. A. (2011). A persistent problem: Postsecondary remedial education. *Illinois Political Science Review*. Vol. 14: 72-115. See Appendix G for permission to reprint statement.

in Table 11. A summary of the number of bills by coded content area is detailed in

Figure 8.

Figure 6: Bills Introduced in the Illinois General Assembly Impacting and/or of Interest to Illinois Community Colleges 2000-2010*: By Year ($n=338$)

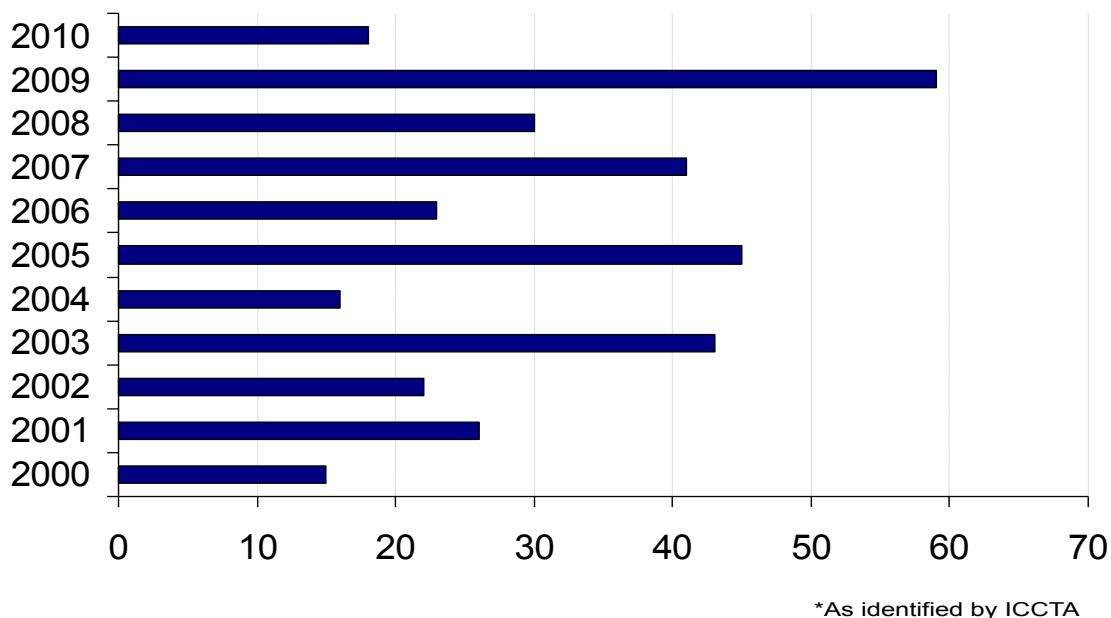
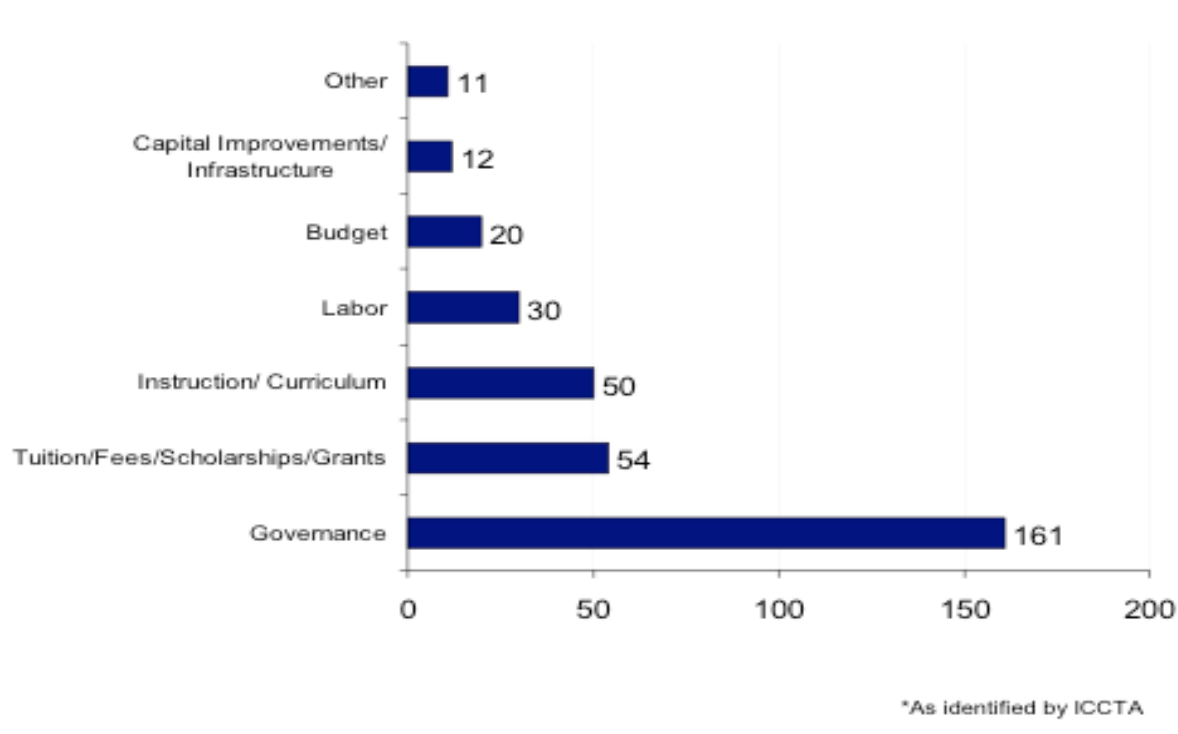


Table 11

Coded Content Areas

Content Area	Description
Governance	Bill addresses rules and regulations that impact the governance and operating procedures of Illinois community colleges.
Labor	Bill addresses issues that impact Illinois community college labor relations.
Instruction/Curriculum	Bill addresses instruction and curriculum of Illinois community college programs.
Tuition/Fees/Scholarships/Grants	Bill addresses student tuition, fees, scholarships and grants at Illinois community colleges.
Budget	Bill addresses budgetary issues, including tax revenue, impacting Illinois community colleges.
Capital Improvements/Infrastructure	Bill addresses capital improvements and infrastructure at Illinois community colleges.
Other	Bill content not covered by other coded content areas.

Figure 7: Bills Impacting and/or of interest to Illinois Community Colleges* by Coded Content Area: 2000-2010 ($n=338$)



Of the 338 bills identified by the ICCTA as impacting and/or being of interest to Illinois Community Colleges from 2000 through 2010, 50 bills addressed issues of instruction and curriculum. Of those 50 bills, 8 were identified through content analysis as addressing and/or related to the problem of postsecondary remediation. The following provides an overview of these 8 bills and the outcome of each.

What Was Done: Eight Bills

SB 575

The first bill identified by the ICCTA as impacting and/or of interest to Illinois community colleges, and coded for the purpose of this study as pertaining to postsecondary remediation, was introduced as SB 575 in 2005. SB 575 made changes

to the Illinois K-12 public school code by adding “course prerequisites to receive a high school diploma” (SB 575). The bill, passed both chambers of the Illinois General Assembly, and became Public Act 094-0676 which

provides for an additional year of mathematics beginning with the 2005-2006 school year. Provides for two years of writing intensive courses beginning with the 2006-2007 school year, which may be counted towards the fulfillment of other graduation requirements. Provides for an additional year of science beginning with the 2007-2008 school year. Provides for an additional year of language arts beginning with the 2008-2009 school year. (IL P.A. 094-0676)

In a Governor’s office press release about the passage of SB 575, then Governor Rod Blagojevich, was quoted as stating, “I look forward to signing this legislation, and am proud to have worked with the General Assembly on passing these important new graduation standards...We must expect more from public education, and it is critical that we help Illinois’ schoolchildren live up to these new requirements. They will prepare the next generation for the life that awaits them after high school” (IGNN, 2005). The press release further asserted that “effective writing and communication skills are critical to being successful in college and the workplace” and that the “President of the University of Illinois system, B. Joseph White, has endorsed this effort to better prepare the children of the state to move on to successful careers in college or the workforce” (IGNN, 2005).

Despite the fanfare which surrounded the passage of SB 575, the Center for the Study of Education Policy at Illinois State University argued in a report submitted to the Illinois Board of Higher Education (IBHE), that the new graduation requirements still fell short of college admission requirements. Because of this, they believed that “Illinois

high schools will continue to have a two-tiered system and students will still be able to graduate from an Illinois high school without being fully prepared for college.” (Center for the Study of Education Policy, 2005).

SB 2225

The second bill identified by the ICCTA as impacting and/or of interest to Illinois community colleges, and coded for the purpose of this study as pertaining to postsecondary remediation, was introduced in 2006 by then Democratic State Senator Edward D. Maloney (IL-18) as SB 2225. Senator Maloney served as the Chair of the Illinois Senate Higher Education Committee. The original title of SB 2225 was “*Board of Higher Education: University Remediation.*” As introduced, SB 2225 amended section 9.07 of The Illinois Board of Higher Education Act (P.A. 89-450) and amended section 35 of The Illinois Higher Education Student Assistance Act (P.A. 92-45).

Section 9.07 of The Illinois Board of Higher Education Act (P.A. 89-450) requires the Illinois Board of Higher Education by “June 30, 1981” to “develop guidelines which: (1) place the emphasis on postsecondary remedial programs at Public Community Colleges and (2) reduces the role of the state universities in offering remedial programs.” SB 2225 amended this section to add “under the guidelines, if a State university determines that a student needs remedial coursework, then the university must require that the student complete the remedial coursework” (SB 2225).

The other amendment proposed by SB 2225 was to section 35 of The Illinois Higher Education Student Assistance Act (P.A. 92-45). Section 35 states that, “no applicant, including those presently receiving scholarship assistance under this Act, is eligible for monetary award program consideration under this Act after receiving a

baccalaureate degree or the equivalent of 135 semester credit hours of award payments.” SB 2225 amended this section by adding that,

a student is not ineligible for monetary award program consideration under this subsection if both of the following apply: (1) A State university that the student was enrolled at required that the student complete remedial coursework. (2) By subtracting the total number of semester credit hours, not to exceed 30 semester credit hours, of required remedial coursework that the student successfully completed and received award payments for, the student has received less than the equivalent of 135 semester credit hours of award payments (SB 2225, 15-25).

Senator Maloney’s proposed amendment to Section 35 would have enabled students enrolled in remedial coursework to receive state Monetary Award Program (MAP) financial assistance, without the fear of exhausting these funds prior to earning 135 semester credit hours of baccalaureate coursework.

SB 2225 passed the Illinois Senate by a vote of 52-0 on March 2, 2006. The House sponsor for SB 2225 was Representative Kevin A. McCarthy (IL-37), a Democrat, who served as the Chair of the House Higher Education Committee. Upon reaching the House, SB 2225 was amended numerous times in committee and on the House floor. In the end, the final bill deleted everything after the enacting clause, including the original Senate provisions requiring remediation at state universities and MAP funding beyond the 135 semester credit hours maximum.

The final bill, which became Illinois Public Act 94-1056 on July 31, 2006 failed to amend either section 9.07 of The Illinois Board of Higher Education Act (P.A. 89-450) or section 35 of The Illinois Higher Education Student Assistance Act (P.A. 92-45). Instead, it only amended an entirely different section (39) of the Illinois Higher Education Student Assistance Act (P.A. 92-45) to create the Monetary Award Program Plus

Program (MAP Plus). MAP Plus requires the Illinois Student Assistance Commission to “receive and consider applications for monetary grant assistance...to benefit those students who will not receive Monetary Award Program grants” (P.A. 94-1056). As created by this statute, the Illinois Map Plus Program provides grants up to \$500 per academic year “which do not need to be repaid, for Illinois residents who do not receive a MAP grant and whose families' adjusted gross incomes are less than \$200,000 in the applicable tax year” (ISAC).

SB 313

The original version of SB 2225, was reintroduced on February 7, 2007, again by State Senator Edward D. Maloney (D, IL-18), as SB 313. SB 313 is the third of eight bills identified by the ICCTA as impacting and/or of interest to Illinois community colleges, and coded for the purpose of this study as pertaining to postsecondary remediation. As introduced, SB 313 contained the same two provisions as SB 2225 regarding university remediation and MAP grant funding. On March 20, 2007, during Senate floor debate, Senator Maloney amended his own bill to remove the provision for expansion of MAP grant funding benefiting college students enrolled in remedial coursework. The final version of SB 313, which reached Third Reading in the Senate on March 28, 2007, only amended section 9.07 of The Illinois Board of Higher Education Act (P.A. 89-450) to add “under the guidelines, if a State university determines that a student needs remedial coursework, then the university must require that the student complete the remedial coursework before pursuing his or her major course of study.” (SB 313). SB 313 bill passed the Illinois Senate by a vote of 58-0 on March 29, 2007.

On April 19, 2007, SB 313 was introduced in the Illinois House by Republican House Representative Richard P. Myers (IL-94) and assigned to the House Higher Education Committee. On May 16, 2007, SB 313 was passed by committee with a vote of 8 Yeas; 0 Nays; and 3 members voting Present (SB 313). On May 22, 2007, Republican House Representative Mike Fortner (IL-95) was added as a sponsor of SB 313 and the bill proceeded to Third Reading in the House. With little debate and no amendments, SB 313 passed the Illinois House with a vote of 113 members voting Yea; 0 members voting Nay; and 2 members voting Present (SB 313). On August 7, 2007, Illinois Governor Rod Blagojevich signed the bill into law as Public Act 095-0272.

SB 858

The fourth bill identified by the ICCTA as impacting and/or of interest to Illinois community colleges, and coded for the purpose of this study as pertaining to postsecondary remediation, was also introduced by State Senator Edward D. Maloney (D, IL-18) in 2007. SB 858, titled *College and Career Readiness Pilot Program*, required the Illinois Community College Board (ICCB) to create a three-year pilot project to:

(1) diagnose college readiness by developing a system to align ACT scores to specific community college courses in developmental and freshman curriculums; (2) reduce remediation by decreasing the need for remedial coursework in mathematics, reading, and writing at the college level; (3) align high school and college curriculums; (4) provide resources and academic support to students to enrich the senior year of high school through remedial or advanced coursework and other interventions; and (5) develop an appropriate evaluation process to measure the effectiveness of readiness intervention strategies. Provides that the first year of the program shall begin with the high school class of 2008, with the Board selecting 4 community colleges to participate in the program. Sets forth provisions with regard to selection criteria; analyzing courses; creating a data-sharing agreement, a Readiness Prescription for a student, and

college and career readiness teams; developing an evaluation process, and establishing operational processes and a budget. Sets forth the duties of the Board with respect to the second and third years of the program (SB 858, 8-26).

Illinois Senate President, Emil Jones, Jr. (D, IL-14) was added as the chief co-sponsor to SB 858 on February 8, 2007. As such, the bill was assigned to the Senate Executive Committee and was passed out of committee on March 15, 2007 by a vote of 7 to 5, along party lines. On July 11, 2007 the entire Illinois Senate approved SB 858 with a vote of 51-0. The Illinois House Assistant Majority Leader, Representative David E. Miller (D, IL-29), sponsored SB 858 in the House. Although Miller served as Chair of the House Higher Education Appropriations Committee, SB 858 was assigned to the House Higher Education Committee. The Chairperson of that committee, Democrat Representative Kevin A. McCarthy (IL-37), was designated as the bill's alternate chief co-sponsor on July 19, 2007. SB 858 was passed by the Higher Education Committee by a vote of 8 to 4 on August 1, 2007 (SB 858). On August 2, 2007, SB 858 was approved during Third Reading by the Illinois House with a vote of 100-0 (SB 858). On November 5, 2007 SB 858 became Public Act 095-0694 and was effective immediately (SB 858).

The College and Career Readiness Pilot Program created by Illinois Public Act 095-0694 "is designed as a partnership between the community colleges, their feeder high schools, and ACT, which will evaluate freshmen courses at the colleges and, based on scores on the ACT, determine each high school junior's readiness for coursework at the community colleges." The program will also "diagnose gaps in

curriculum between what is offered in high school and what is needed in college” (IBHE, 2007).

Guy Alongi, Chair of the Illinois Community College Board (ICCB), was quoted by the Illinois Board of Higher Education (IBHE) as saying “The Illinois Community College Board is excited about implementing this new program, which we believe will become a model throughout the state for helping to ensure that students are ready for the academic rigors of college when they walk through the door” (IBHE, 2007). The Chairwoman of the Illinois Board of Higher Education (IBHE), Carrie J. *Hightman*, said that “The college and career readiness initiative is a clear statement from the General Assembly and Governor that we must strengthen the link between the P-12 system and higher education to ensure students get what they need, when they need it, and at the appropriate venue to keep them on track for success in college and in the workforce” (IBHE 2007). Senator Maloney (D, IL-18) stated he was “confident this pilot project will prove a valuable tool in alleviating the need for remedial coursework in college and improve retention and graduation rates” (IBHE, 2007).

HB 1648

The fifth bill identified by the ICCTA as impacting and/or of interest to Illinois community colleges, and coded for the purpose of this study as pertaining to postsecondary remediation, was also introduced in 2007, during the 95th Illinois General Assembly. HB 1648, titled, “*P-20 Council*,” was introduced by Republican House Representative Jerry L. Mitchell (IL-90) who served as the Republican Spokesperson for the Elementary & Secondary Education Committee in the Illinois House. As introduced in the Illinois House, HB 1648,

Amends the School Code and the Board of Higher Education Act. Provides that the State Board of Education shall create a P-20 Council. Sets forth the membership of the Council. Provides that the Council shall (1) coordinate prekindergarten through grade 20 education in this State; (2) begin the process of aligning educational programs; (3) articulate a framework for systemic educational improvement that will enable every student to meet or exceed Illinois learning standards and be well-prepared to succeed in the workforce and community; (4) coordinate and leverage strategies, actions, legislation, and resources of all stakeholders to support fundamental and lasting improvement in this State's public schools, community colleges, and universities; (5) meet to discuss issues that are vital to educational reform in this State; (6) provide recommendations on subjects related to education; (7) make recommendations for improving academic standards; (8) develop consensus on educational policy reforms and innovations; and (9) align university teaching programs with the needs of Illinois schools. (HB 1648)

HB 1648 was assigned to the Elementary and Secondary Education Committee on February 27, 2007. By a vote of 22-0, HB 1648 was sent to the Illinois House floor by the committee. On April 18, 2007, HB 1648 passed the Illinois House with a vote of 116 to 0 and proceeded to the Illinois Senate. The chief Senate sponsor of HB 1648 was Democratic State Senator Deanna Demuzio (IL-49). Democratic State Senators Susan Garrett (IL-29) and Edward Maloney (IL-18) were later added as co-sponsors. HB 1648 passed the Senate Education Committee on May 2, 2007 by a vote of 9-0. Upon reaching the Senate Floor, HB 1648 was amended as follows by Senator Demuzio:

Deletes everything after the enacting clause. Amends the School Code and the Board of Higher Education Act. Creates the Illinois P-20 Council to study and make recommendations concerning education at all levels to avoid fragmentation of policies, promote improved teaching and learning, and continue to cultivate and demonstrate strong accountability and efficiency. Includes provisions concerning membership, funding, staffing, duties, and working groups (HB 1648).

As amended by Senator Demuzio, HB 1648 establishes an “Illinois P-20 Council” which will develop a statewide agenda that will move the State towards the common goals of improving academic achievement, increasing college access and success, improving use of existing data and measurements, developing improved accountability, promoting lifelong learning, easing the transition to college, and reducing remediation (HB 1648).

Once amended, Illinois Republican Senator Pamela J. Althoff (IL-35) became the alternate chief co-sponsor of HB 1648 in the Senate. HB 1648 was approved by a vote of 56-0 in the Illinois Senate on May 28, 2007.

When the bill returned to the Illinois House, the original House sponsor of HB 1648, Republican Jerry L. Mitchell (IL-90), filed a motion to concur with the Senate version of HB 1648. On June 29, 2007, the Illinois House unanimously approved (87-0) the Senate version and HB 1648 was sent to the Governor. On September 25, 2007, Governor Blagojevich signed the bill into law (P.A. 095-0626). In a press release from the Illinois State Board of Education (ISBE) shortly after enactment, Representative Mitchell was quoted as saying “Our state’s economic future is directly tied to how well we educate our students...The Illinois P-20 council will bring together a diverse group of education stakeholders to better coordinate Illinois’ education systems from top to bottom” (ISBE, 2007).

HB 4621

The sixth bill identified by the ICCTA as impacting and/or of interest to Illinois community colleges, and coded for the purpose of this study as pertaining to postsecondary remediation, was titled “*Higher Education University Automatic*

Admissions.” HB 4621, was introduced by Democratic Representative William Davis (IL-30) on January 25, 2008. The synopsis of this bill, as introduced, is detailed below:

Amends various Acts relating to the governance of the public universities in Illinois. Subject to certain other admission requirements, requires a university to admit an applicant for admission to the university as an undergraduate student if the applicant graduated in one of the 2 school years preceding the academic year for which the applicant is applying for admission from an approved high school with a grade point average in the top 10% percent of the student's high school graduating class. Requires the university, after admitting the applicant, to review the applicant's record and any other factor the university considers appropriate to determine whether the applicant may require additional preparation for college-level work or would benefit from inclusion in a retention program. (HB 4621)

HB 4621 was assigned to the Illinois House Higher Education Committee on February 6, 2008. On March 12, 2008, the bill failed to make it out of committee by a vote of 3 to 10.

HB 150

The seventh bill identified by the ICCTA as impacting and/or of interest to Illinois community colleges, and coded for the purpose of this study as pertaining to postsecondary remediation, was HB 150, titled “*21st Century Scholars Program.*” HB 150 was introduced on January 12, 2009 by Democratic Representative David E. Miller (IL-29). As mentioned previously, Representative Miller was the Assistant Majority Leader of the Illinois House and served as the Chair of the House Higher Education Appropriations Committee. As introduced, HB 150

Creates the 21st Century Scholars Act to provide an incentive for low-income students in the 8th grade to improve their academic preparation for postsecondary education. Sets forth provisions concerning annual tuition scholarships to applicants who qualify; requiring the State, the participating school district, and the student to enter into a 3-part compact;

rules to implement the Act; and reporting to the General Assembly on awards (HB 150).

On February 4, 2009, Republican Representative Robert W. Pritchard (IL-70) was added as a co-sponsor of HB 150. Representative Pritchard serves as the Republican Spokesperson for the House Higher Education Committee. On February 19, 2009, HB 150 passed the House Higher Education Committee by a vote of 7 to 0. HB 150 was scheduled for short debate on the House Floor and passed by the Illinois House on February 25, 2009 by a vote of 115 to 0. HB 150 was sponsored in the Illinois Senate by Democrat Edward D. Maloney (IL-18). By May 8, 2009, HB 150 had not been addressed by the Senate Higher Education Committee and was “re-referred” to the Senate Assignments Committee under Rule 3-9(a) of the Senate which states, “All legislative measures, with the exception of resolutions to amend the State Constitution, that have failed to meet the applicable deadline...for reporting to the Senate by a standing committee shall automatically be re-referred to the Committee on Assignments” (IL Senate Rule 3-9(a)). HB 150 failed to make it to the floor of the Illinois Senate prior to the end of the 96th General Assembly session in January of 2011.

SB 3705

The eighth, and final bill, identified by the ICCTA as impacting and/or of interest to Illinois community colleges, and coded for the purpose of this study as pertaining to postsecondary remediation, was introduced as SB 3705 by State Senator Edward D. Maloney (D, IL-18) on February 11, 2010. SB 3705 is a reauthorization of the *College and Career Readiness Pilot Program*. When asked why this reauthorization was necessary, Senator Maloney stated that "universities want first-year students who are

prepared for college-level work...When students are prepared for the rigors of a university education, they don't need to take costly remedial courses that don't even count towards graduation requirements. Eliminating remedial classes saves schools and families money" (Senate Democrat News, 2010).

After amendment in the Senate Higher Education Committee, the synopsis of SB 3705 provided that,

subject to appropriation, on July 1, 2010, the Illinois Community College Board shall extend the current College and Career Readiness Pilot Program for an additional 3 years and include an additional 7 sites or as many as are allowed by available funding; and provides that if in any of these 3 additional years, money is not appropriated for the program, then the Board shall extend the program for an additional year (instead of beginning July 1, 2010, requiring the Board to extend the current pilot project for 3 years and include an additional 7 sites). Makes changes concerning the goals of the program. Provides that each participating community college shall establish an agreement with a high school or schools to retest students upon the completion of the appropriate intervention (instead of retesting students in the spring of 2012). Provides that the evaluation process shall include measures selected by the Board. Removes a provision requiring the Board to work with participants to establish operational processes and a budget for college and career readiness pilot programs. Makes other changes. Effective July 1, 2010 (SB 3705).

On March 11, 2010, SB 3705 passed Third Reading in the Illinois Senate with a vote of 56 to 0. Democratic Representative Keith Farnham (IL-43) and Republican Representative Robert Pritchard (IL-70) sponsored SB 3705 in the House. SB 3705 passed in the Illinois House with a vote of 82-30. SB 3705 became Public Act 096-1300.

Placing Blame

Of the six postsecondary remediation bills that became law, four focused on improving K-12 education and/or aligning K-12 and college curriculum to reduce the need for college remediation:

1. SB 575 added “course prerequisites to receive a high school diploma” (SB 575);
2. SB 858 created the College and Career Readiness Pilot Program, which “partners community colleges with local high schools to ensure that college-bound students will be ready to begin their studies with little-to-no remedial coursework” (College Readiness, 2010);
3. HB 1648 established the Illinois P-20 Council which is “responsible for establishing a statewide agenda that better integrates all levels of learning in Illinois” (IBHE, 2010); and
4. SB 3705 was a reauthorization of the College and Career Readiness Pilot Program.

The remaining two postsecondary remediation bills that became law (SB 2225 and SB 313), along with one of the bills that failed (HB 4621), provide important insight about postsecondary remedial education in Illinois. SB 2225, which became Illinois Public Act 94-1056, started out as addressing the provision of remediation at the college level by requiring remediation at state universities and increasing state MAP funding for students enrolled in remedial college coursework. In the end however, the final law contained none of the original provisions, and created an entirely new MAP program

(MAP Plus) for middle and upper class students, who are less likely to need remediation.

SB 313, which was a reintroduction of the original version of SB 2225, became Public Act 095-0272 on August 7, 2007. The final Act however, only required that “if a State university determines that a student needs remedial coursework, then the university must require that the student complete the remedial coursework before pursuing his or her major course of study” (SB 313). Provisions which would have allowed MAP grants to be used by students enrolled in remedial college coursework were once again removed prior to final passage. Nothing in the final Act enhanced the provision of postsecondary remediation or required evaluation of its effectiveness. Furthermore, it did not require universities to provide remedial coursework. The Act only required students to complete remediation “before pursuing his or her major course of study” (SB 313).

Two of the bills identified by the ICCTA as impacting and/or of interest to Illinois community colleges, and coded for the purpose of this study as pertaining to postsecondary remediation failed to become law. HB 150 “create[d] the 21st Century Scholars Act to provide an incentive for low-income students in the 8th grade to improve their academic preparation for postsecondary education” (HB 150). This bill also focused on the accepted cause of the problem of postsecondary remediation: public K-12 schools.

HB 4621 which also failed to become law, was the only bill examined in this study which might have enhanced the provision of postsecondary remedial education. HB 4621 required public universities to accept students from the “top 10% percent of

the student's high school graduating class" (HB 4621). The bill further required universities to "determine whether the applicant may require additional preparation for college-level work or would benefit from inclusion in a retention program" (HB 4621). By requiring public universities to accept students from the top 10% of their graduating class, universities would as a result, have to provide remediation for some of these students. The failure of this bill again solidified the role of community colleges as the primary providers of college remediation in Illinois.

Rochefort and Cobb (1994) argue "who and what is portrayed as the cause of a policy problem is crucial to determining how that issue is to be resolved" (Coughlin 1994, p.148). As demonstrated by this analysis of legislation in the Illinois General Assembly, it is clear that policymakers have focused on placing blame for the problem of postsecondary remedial education with public K-12 schools. As a result, very little has been done to change or improve remediation policies and procedures at Illinois community colleges.

Chapter VII of this dissertation presents the bulk of information obtained from elite interviews of Illinois state legislators and community college stakeholders. However, one of the questions included in the interview protocols is of particular relevance to this chapter's discussion of blame. Question 6 of both the legislator and community college stakeholder interview protocols asked: "In your opinion, why are so many students unprepared for college level coursework in Illinois?" All six of the current or former state legislators interviewed for this study responded that failing K-12 schools were to blame. One legislator said, "colleges and universities in Illinois should not have to remediate their students. The blame for this problem lies squarely with our K-12

schools.” Another said, “we have to hold our elementary and secondary schools accountable, if it were up to me, I would allow community colleges to charge K-12 schools for the students they have to remediate.” Elaborating further, this same legislator said, “taxpayers are the ones really hurt by this remediation mess, they are paying twice.”

Interestingly, community college stakeholders were reluctant to place blame. While all stakeholders acknowledged that K-12 schools bear some responsibility for the problem, they were quick to point out the multiple reasons for students being unprepared and in need of remediation. One stakeholder responded that “blame for the problem has to be shared...it is not just one factor, it is a combination of things like first generation college students, lack of family support, undiagnosed learning disabilities, returning adult students, and poor K-12 schools.”

Three of the five community college stakeholders interviewed also identified community colleges as the solution to the problem of remediation, regardless of who was to blame. One said, “community colleges have an important role to play in finding the solution...we cannot afford to waste human capital, we need these students as workers contributing to society.” Another said, “...remediation presents an opportunity for community colleges to take on a leadership role. We should be taking the lead on strengthening the connection between high school and college. This will reduce the need for remediation.” A third said, “it really does not matter who is at fault, the bottom line is community colleges have to deal with it. We don’t want to have to deal with it, but it has landed in our lap...community colleges are the best deal you can get for remediation.”

Legislator responses to the question of why students are unprepared for college level coursework are in line with their own public policy solutions to the problem of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois. Both (legislator responses and legislation) place blame for the problem of remediation with K-12 schools. Community college stakeholders, on the other hand, articulated a more nuanced understanding of the complexities involved. While it was clear from stakeholder responses that community colleges were not happy about providing remediation, they conveyed a broader understanding of the problem and its causes. This understanding might be useful for legislators to know. Unfortunately, as the next chapter explains, stakeholders are not advocating for or even talking to legislators about postsecondary remedial education.

VII. AN ORPHAN

Introduction

As detailed in Chapter VI of this dissertation, public policy solutions to the problem of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois have focused on placing blame for the problem with public K-12 schools. In an attempt to explain why this is so, this dissertation has presented two related hypotheses. This chapter addresses the first of these hypotheses and presents findings indicating that **community colleges in Illinois have failed to act as an advocacy group on behalf of the policy of postsecondary remedial education.**

Postsecondary remedial education occupies a policy niche within higher education policy. Typically, policy niches are “characterized by low interest group participation and producer group dominance” (McFarland, 2004, p.60). A producer group is defined as a governmental agency, business or professional group “with an economic stake in the issue” (Godwin, 2013, p.142). In the policy niche of postsecondary remedial education, community colleges are the clear producer group. They are the primary providers of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois, and as detailed in this chapter, have an economic stake in the issue. Following this line of thought (and the literature), Illinois community colleges (as a producer group) should function as an advocacy group on behalf of the policy of postsecondary remedial education. However, given my preexisting knowledge and experience as a participant-observer of Illinois community colleges and legislative practices, I was fairly certain at the onset of this inquiry that community colleges were not advocating for the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education. The findings summarized in this chapter,

support my belief that postsecondary remedial education in Illinois lacks a supportive and stable advocacy group acting on its behalf. Although the policy exists, and has existed for quite some time, it is seemingly on its own - an orphan.

Follow the Money

Community colleges are the primary providers of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois. They are the only institutions of higher education funded by the state to provide remediation and 84% of all postsecondary remedial education in Illinois is delivered at community colleges. To support the premise that community colleges, as a producer group, also have an economic stake in the provision of postsecondary remedial education, an evaluation of postsecondary remedial education credit hour costs, expenditures, and revenue at community colleges in Illinois was undertaken. This required analysis of budget documents from the Illinois Community College Board (ICCB) and cross-referencing those documents with various other ICCB reports and student enrollment documents. Data from fiscal year 2013 (FY2013) were used across all documents and reports for consistency. FY2013 was the most recent year for which full information was available.

State funding for community colleges in Illinois “is distributed via grant programs administered by the Illinois Community College Board...ICCB grants to community colleges are the difference between total funds needed to offer educational programs and total funds available from local property taxes and tuition and fees (IBHE, n.d.). ICCB Base Operating Grants “fund reimbursable credit hours in six funding categories (Baccalaureate, Business, Technical, Health, Remedial, and Adult Education)” (IBHE, n.d). In FY2013, the ICCB estimated the per credit hour unit cost to deliver remedial

education to be \$226.21 (ICCB, 2013b). The ICCB also reported that in FY2013, the state average tuition and fee rate per credit hour was \$105.06 (ICCB, 2013b) and the average local tax revenue per credit hour was \$103.83. (ICCB, 2013b). Subtracting average per credit hour tuition and fees (\$105.06) and local tax revenue (\$103.83) from the estimated credit hour unit cost (\$226.21) results in a gap of \$17.32, which should then be, according to their formula, the ICCB credit hour rate for FY2013. However, in recent years including 2013, the state has failed to fully fund ICCB Base Operating Grants (IBHE, n.d.). Due to this shortfall in state funding, the ICCB has reduced credit hour rates in all funding categories, including remediation. As a result, the effective ICCB FY2013 credit hour rate for remediation was adjusted from \$17.32 down to \$7.03 (ICCB, 2013b). A representation of these calculations across all six Base Operating Grant categories is detailed in Table 12.

Table 12

Credit Hour Grant Rates by Category for Fiscal Year 2013

Instructional Category	Estimated Credit Hour Cost	Less Average Tuition and Fees	Less Average Local Tax Revenue	Calculated Credit Hour Rate	Adjusted Credit Hour Rate
Baccalaureate	261.28	105.06	103.83	52.38	21.26
Business	295.03	105.06	103.83	86.14	34.96
Technical	285.18	105.06	103.83	76.26	30.96
Health	354.05	105.06	103.83	145.16	58.91
Remedial	226.21	105.06	103.83	17.32	7.03
ABE/ASE	248.5	0	103.83	144.67	58.71

Source: ICCB (2013b)

As detailed in Table 12, remedial education credit hours generate the least amount of state funding per credit hour. On the surface, this does not appear to provide community colleges with a significant economic stake, as a producer group, in the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education, especially when compared to other state funded categories. However, these numbers do not tell the full story of actual costs, expenditures, and revenue generated by remedial credit hours at Illinois community colleges.

The ICCB “Instructional Cost Report,” released in February of 2014, “summarize[s] the expenditure information the Illinois Community College Board received from the community college districts” for FY2013 (p.i). This information “provides the ICCB with basic cost information for determining the state credit hour grant rates, which are a primary source of state financial support to the public community colleges in Illinois” (p.i). This ICCB document reported the amount that each of the 39 community college districts in Illinois submitted to the state board as actual FY2013 direct instructional expenditures and actual FY2013 indirect expenditures for each of the six categories of state funded instruction. The report defines direct instructional expenditures as consisting

of those activities dealing directly with the teaching of students. It includes the activities of faculty in the baccalaureate-oriented/transfer, occupational-technical career, general studies, and remedial and ABE/ASE programs (associate degree credit and certificate credit). It includes expenditures for department chairpersons, administrators, and support staff for whom instruction is an important role. It also includes all equipment, materials, supplies, and costs that are necessary to support the instructional program (ICCB, 2014, p.1).

Indirect expenditures, according to the ICCB include:

Academic Support

This category includes activities designed to provide support services for the institution's primary missions of instruction, public service, and research. Academic support includes the operation of the library, educational media services, instructional materials center, and academic computing used in the learning process. It also includes other activities including tutoring, learning skills centers, and reading and writing centers, and expenditures for all equipment, materials, supplies, and costs that are necessary to support this function.

Student Services

The student services function provides assistance in the areas of financial aid, admissions and records, health, placement, testing, counseling, and student activities. It includes all equipment, materials, supplies, and costs that are necessary to support this function.

Auxiliary Services

Auxiliary Services provides for the operation of the cafeteria, bookstore, student organizations, athletics, and other related activities. It also includes all equipment, materials, supplies, and costs that are necessary to support this function.

Operations and Maintenance of Plant

Operation of plant consists of housekeeping activities necessary in order to keep the physical facilities open and ready for use. Maintenance of plant consists of those activities necessary to keep the grounds, buildings, and equipment operating efficiently. This function also provides for campus security and plant utilities, as well as equipment, materials, supplies, fire protection, property insurance, and other costs that are necessary to support this function.

Institutional Support

Institutional support includes expenditures for central executive-level activities and support services that benefit the entire institution. Examples include expenses for the governing board, administrative data processing, fiscal operations, legal services, etc. (ICCB, 2014, p.3).

While expenditures varied among the 39 different community college districts, the ICCB reported that the total direct instructional expenditure for remedial education at all Illinois community colleges was \$47,107,732.00 in FY2013 (ICCB, 2014, p.2). The total

indirect expenditures for all remediation in FY2013 were reported to be \$68,116,949.00 (ICCB, 2014, p.4). Adding together both the direct and indirect expenditures, the total amount actually spent on providing remedial education in FY2013 at all Illinois community colleges, was \$115,224,681.00 (ICCB, 2014, p.6).

In FY2013, students at Illinois community colleges enrolled in 614,906 ICCB unrestricted reimbursable remedial credit hours (ICCB, 2013b, see Table 18). Dividing the actual FY2013 total expenditures on remediation (\$115,224,681.00) by the number of FY2013 remedial credit hours (614,906) results in a real cost of \$187.38 per credit hour to provide remediation at Illinois community colleges. This is \$38.83 less than the FY2013 ICCB estimated cost of \$226.21 to provide one remedial credit hour.

In FY2013, community colleges in Illinois generated, on average, \$215.92 in revenue for each credit hour of remediation (tuition and fees + local tax + ICCB grant) that was provided. This is \$28.54 more than the reported real cost of \$187.38 to provide each hour of remediation at Illinois community colleges. Multiplying the credit hour revenue of \$215.92 by 614,906 remedial credit hours results in total revenue of \$132,770,503.52 for providing remedial education at Illinois community colleges in FY2013. Given that the actual total expenditures for providing that same remediation was only \$115,224,681.00, community colleges in Illinois made a profit of \$17,545,822.52 for providing remediation in FY2013. Table 13 summarizes FY2013 remedial revenue, expenditures and profit at Illinois community colleges in FY2013.

Table 13

Illinois Community College Remedial Revenue, Expenditures and Profit

	Remediation Revenue	Remediation Expenditures	Remediation Profit
Per Credit Hour	\$215.92	\$187.31	\$28.61
ICCB System Total	\$132,770,503.52	\$115,224,681.00	\$17,545,822.52

Source: Author's own calculations from ICCB (2014) and ICCB (2013b) data.

While Chapter VIII of this dissertation explains the budgetary dependence community colleges have on remediation, it is important to note here that remediation is the only ICCB funded category of instruction that produces a profit for community colleges in Illinois. Thus, it is a fairly safe assumption that as a producer group, community colleges in Illinois have a significant economic stake in the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education.

Mission Matters

Bart and Tabone (1998) contend, "mission statements have become recognized in modern management theory as one of the cornerstones of an organization. The conclusion of most commentaries on mission statements is that they are an essential factor contributing to an organization's enduring success" (p.54). With regard to higher education, "institutional mission statements provide various constituencies - students, faculty, legislators, etc. - with the institution's educational goals and guidance concerning the achievement of these goals" (Foley, n.d, para. 1). Quoted in *Inside Higher Education*, University of Rochester Provost Ralph W. Kuncel said that mission statements are "an authentic way of saying what's important about an institution. An explanation of what you do and why you do it" (Kiley, 2011). Christopher K. Bart, "a

business professor at McMaster University and an authority on mission statements” has also argued that “they answer an organization's most fundamental question, which is 'Why do we exist?'" (Kiley, 2011).

With regard to remedial education, the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC) states, “remedial courses and programs...provide a critical device for addressing the community college access mission” (AACC, 2000). The Illinois Community College Board (ICCB) also says that “helping students prepare for, access, and succeed in postsecondary education is a crucial component of the community college mission” and that “all [Illinois] community colleges have active developmental education departments that help remediate academic deficiencies and transition students into college-level coursework” (ICCB, 2008).

To gain insight related to an individual college's support for remediation, an analysis of the mission and/or vision statements of all 48 community colleges in Illinois was undertaken for the purpose of this case study. In some instances a college statement of philosophy, core values, goals and/or objectives were included with mission content to determine whether or not the college clearly articulated a mission which included providing remedial (or as some colleges referred to it, developmental) education. A broad reading of college mission statements included references that inferred, but did not name remediation. For example, Richland Community College in Decatur, Illinois states that it offers programs in “basic educational skills designed to prepare students to engage in college-level study” (Richland Community College). This inferred reference to remediation was counted as a reference to remediation in this study.

Mission statements were accessed on each of the 48 colleges' websites in January of 2010 and again in October of 2014. These statements were typically located under the heading "about us" on most college websites. In some instances, mission statements were found in other online documents such as course catalogs and external publications. This document analysis found that all of the 48 community colleges (and 2 of 2 districts) in Illinois had some form of a mission statement. 21 of the 48 colleges included a reference to remediation. 27 colleges did not make any reference to remediation. A list identifying which Illinois community colleges did and did not include a reference to remediation in their mission statement may be found in Appendix D of this dissertation.

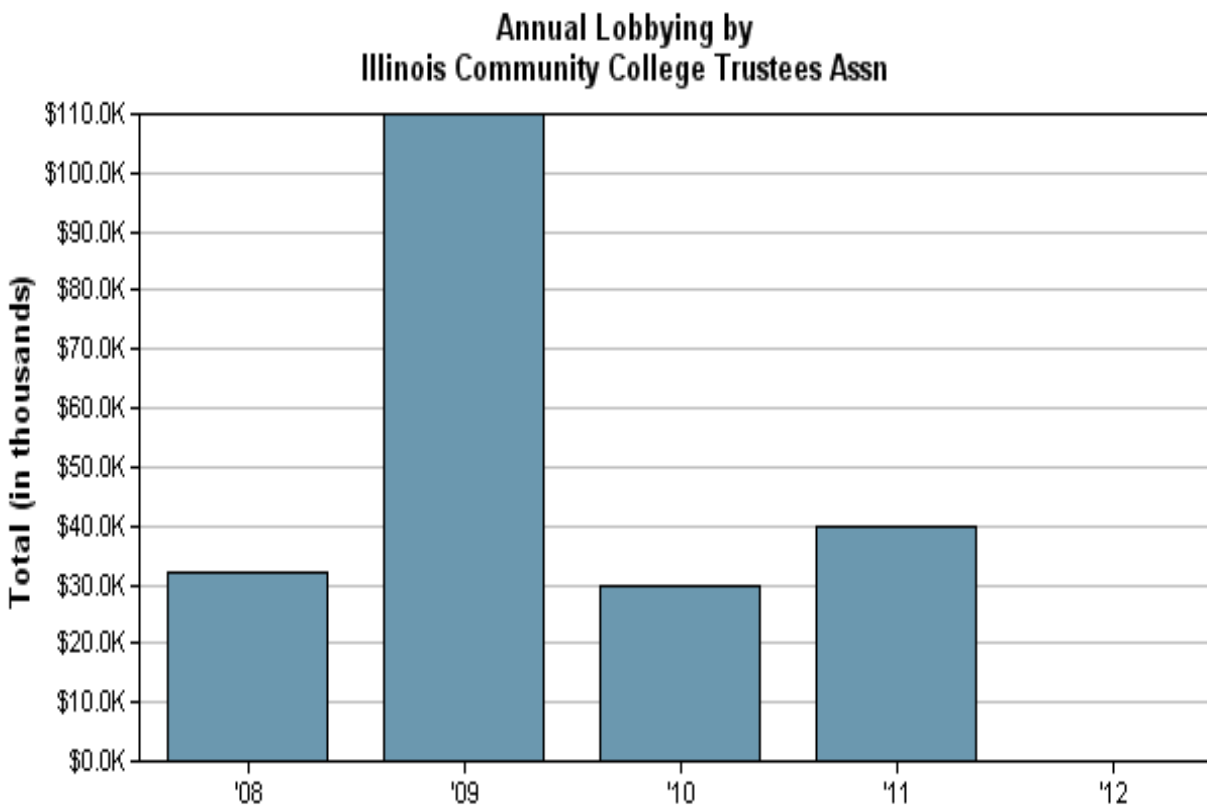
More community colleges in Illinois did not include a reference to remediation, than did. Of note are the City Colleges of Chicago (CCC). While the mission statement of the entire district references remediation, only one (Richard J. Daley) of the seven individual colleges in the district includes remediation in their mission statement. Of the total 615,137 remedial credit hours provided in Illinois during FY2013, CCC provided 132,728. This translates to 21.6% of all state remedial credit hours being provided by CCC. Additionally, as previously discussed, 90% of new CCC students regularly need at least one remedial course. Yet, six of the seven colleges in the CCC system, failed to identify remediation as a part of its mission.

Lobbying

The primary lobbying group for all Illinois community colleges is the ICCTA which represents community college interests "before legislators and public officials" and "monitors the Illinois Community College Board, the Illinois Board of Higher Education,

the Illinois Student Assistance Commission, the Illinois State Board of Education, the Joint Education Committee, the U.S. Department of Education, and other government agencies.” The ICCTA also “tracks state and federal legislation and legislative committees” (ICCTA). The Chicago Tribune has identified the ICCTA as “quasi-governmental” and “an advocacy group funded by state community colleges” (Grotto and Cohen, 2011). The ICCTA has been a registered lobbying entity with the state of Illinois since 2000, which is the earliest year the Illinois Secretary of State reports. According to Open Secrets (2014), the ICCTA has also contracted with outside lobbyists and firms to represent their interests. Figure 9 details the amount the ICCTA spent on contractual lobbyists from 2008-2012.

Figure 8: Annual Lobbying by Illinois Community College Trustees Association 2008-2012



Source: Open Secrets (2014). See Appendix G for permission to reprint statement.

To gauge the role that individual community colleges play in lobbying, in addition to and/or in coordination with the ICCTA, lobbying records maintained electronically by the Illinois Secretary of State were examined. As of October of 2014, 12 of 39 community college districts in Illinois have officially registered as a lobbying entity. Table 14 details those 12 community colleges and the years registered as such.

Table 14

Illinois Community Colleges Registered as Lobbying Entity

District #	District/College	Years Registered as Lobbying Entity
508	Chicago	2004-2014
502	DuPage	2004-2014
525	Joliet	2009-2014
520	Kankakee	2014
532	Lake County	2013-2014
536	Lewis & Clark	2013-2014
527	Morton	2010-2014
515	Prairie State	2009, 2010, 2014
521	Rend Lake	2007-2014
510	South Suburban	2010-2012
522	Southwestern	2003
504	Triton	2000-2014

Source: Compiled by author from data obtained from Illinois Secretary of State (2014)

Information retrieved from the Secretary of State about registered lobbying entities confirms that many Illinois community colleges are formally lobbying state government for something. However, there are shortcomings in the entirety of the Secretary of State data, as considerable lobbying activities are not officially reported and recorded. A 2009 report from the Illinois Campaign for Political Reform (ICPR)

“identified several serious failings in current lobbyist registration practices and weaknesses in the laws regulating lobbying.” According to the ICPR, “records filed with the Office of the Secretary of State, as required by the Lobbyist Registration Act, do not capture all that state law says the public has a right to know” (ICPR, 2009, p.16). One of these problems is that Secretary of State records do not capture the occasional (and often more than occasional) lobbying work done by in-house employees. For example, I spent a great deal of my time lobbying officials and legislators in Springfield from 2001 through 2005 and was released from teaching duties to do so. However, my official title was always that of Professor or Dean. Thus, I never registered as a lobbyist. The same is true for nearly every Illinois community college president who regularly interacts with state legislators and officials.

Contractual relationships present another problem with the Secretary of State data. If a community college contracts with an outside lobbyist or lobbying firm to represent their interests in Springfield, the college itself is not necessarily recorded as an official lobbying entity. Elgin Community College is a specific case in point. The ICPR reported that from July 1, 2007 through June 30, 2008, Elgin Community College spent \$60,000 on contractual lobbying services provided by Advanced Practical Solutions (ICPR, 2009, p.20). Yet, a search of the Secretary of State lobbying records failed to identify Elgin Community College as a registered lobbying entity in any year from 2000 through 2014.

In 2009, the ICPR reported in Illinois “there were 15 public colleges and universities with lobbying contracts. The largest users of lobbying services included: the City Colleges of Chicago (\$224,271); Harper College (\$126,000); Northern Illinois

University (\$85,000); Southern Illinois University (\$90,000); Northeastern Illinois University (\$75,000); and Joliet Junior College (\$56,000)” (ICPR, 2009, p.10). These expenditures for outside lobbying services were in addition to any salaries paid to employees who may have been engaged in various lobbying efforts. Of the six colleges identified as the top spenders on lobbying contracts by the ICPR, three were Illinois community colleges. For example, Harper College which according to the ICPR spent \$126,000 on lobbying services in Illinois, has been actively engaged in lobbying the Illinois General Assembly for the authority to award four-year baccalaureate degrees. Most four-year institutions in Illinois have opposed these efforts by community colleges. Summing up the Harper College lobbying activities, a 2009 Daily Herald article reported, “Harper [College] officials increased their spending on clout-heavy lobbyists...from \$84,000 in 2007 to \$126,000 in 2008... Harper spokesman Phil Burdick said the college needed to hire more lobbyists to compete against large universities that are spending even more to oppose the four-year degree program” (Ryan, 2009).

Besides the ICCTA and community colleges themselves, there are other community college organizations and agencies registered as official lobbying entities with the Illinois Secretary of State. They include the: Illinois Community College Board (ICCB); Illinois Community College Presidents Association; and Cook County College Teachers Union (CCCTU). With the exception of the CCCTU, which only represents Cook County faculty interests, each of these organizations and agencies represent statewide community college interests. Representatives from each of these groups are included in this dissertation’s elite interviews of community college stakeholders.

The preceding analysis of lobbying records and reports clearly indicates that community colleges in Illinois are engaged in lobbying activities and are actively serving as an advocacy group for various community college interests. One of the key questions of this dissertation is whether or not they are advocating for postsecondary remedial education. The remainder of this chapter attempts to answer that question.

Community College Advocacy

Responses obtained during elite interviews of Illinois state legislators and community college stakeholders provide the primary source of data for determining whether or not community colleges are acting as an advocacy group on behalf of the policy of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois. As detailed in Chapter V of this dissertation, twenty potential interview subjects were identified. Eleven of those twenty potential subjects completed interviews. Of the eleven, six are current or former state legislators and five are community college stakeholders. Interviews began in January of 2013 and continued through October of 2014. Each interview took approximately forty-five minutes. Of the eleven interviews completed, six were conducted in person and five were conducted by phone. The full set of semi-structured, open-ended interview questions for both state legislators and community college stakeholders are detailed in Appendix C of this dissertation.

The first question asked of each interview subject (legislators and stakeholders) was to articulate their understanding of the mission of community colleges in Illinois. Each of the six legislators interviewed in this study indicated that community colleges have very broad missions. Each legislator touched on the multiple programs that community colleges provide, and importantly, each identified postsecondary remedial

education as one of the primary missions of community colleges in Illinois. One legislator said, “with so many of our students in Illinois and especially in Chicago, not prepared for college work, they [the students] don’t know what to expect...many don’t know what they want to do and community colleges help them figure it out and help them get up to speed.” Another legislator pointed out that “community colleges are the bridge between high school and four-year institutions. They provide the remedial work students need before transferring and weed out those who are not ready for college.”

While every legislator interviewed in this study identified postsecondary remedial education as a key component of the community college mission, none of the five community college stakeholders who were interviewed mentioned it when asked about mission. Stakeholder responses to the question of mission typically began by stressing the importance of the institution to the local community and meeting community needs. One stakeholder said, “the community in community colleges is the most important thing.” That same stakeholder went on to elaborate that “we [community colleges] are the most responsive institutions in all of higher education to meet our local needs.” Another stakeholder said, “community colleges provide local higher education for usually non-traditional students that is close to home, affordable and accessible.” Each of the five community college stakeholders also identified baccalaureate transfer and workforce training when describing mission. One of the stakeholders, from a statewide organization, detailed specific workforce programs at specific community colleges: “our job training programs are first rate, we have one college training people to fix wind turbines, another teaching new techniques in coal mining, and another adapting to the technological advances of manufacturing.”

Another area where legislators and community college stakeholders are divided has to do with the challenges facing Illinois community colleges. When asked about these challenges (question 4 on both the legislator and stakeholder protocols), all six legislators (without prompting) immediately identified postsecondary remedial education as a challenge. In fact, it was the very first thing that each legislator mentioned. Yet, only one of the five community college stakeholders identified postsecondary remedial education as a challenge.

Two of the six legislators interviewed provided insightful descriptions of the remedial challenges faced by community colleges and placed the need for remediation within a larger socioeconomic context. One indicated, “we cannot separate where these kids come from and where they end up.” Another said, “these kids have been swimming against the tide their entire lives. This is not to excuse their own personal responsibility, but for many of the students at community colleges they have had a bad deal in all aspects of their lives.”

When stakeholders were asked about the challenges facing community colleges, all five identified a lack of funding as their primary challenge. Each stakeholder was quick to point out that community colleges educate the majority of undergraduates in Illinois, but receive the fewest state dollars. One stakeholder spent a significant amount of time during our interview explaining the intricacies of local property taxes and the role tax caps play in the equalization funding formula utilized by the ICCB to determine funding for community colleges. This stakeholder argued, “our hands are tied, we can’t continue to do more with less. Our local government can’t raise taxes even though property values have increased and this hurts community colleges.”

The one stakeholder who identified remediation as a challenge facing community colleges linked it to a lack of funding and increasing state demands for accountability. According to this stakeholder, “the state is demanding more accountability...we have to rethink and redesign developmental education. Sometimes there is only so much a community college can do and no matter how hard we try, we just can’t bring everyone up to college level. We certainly cannot do it without more money.”

The difference in responses between legislators and stakeholders to fundamental questions of mission and challenges is important. Legislators readily recognize the challenge of providing postsecondary remedial education and view the policy of providing it as fundamental to the mission of community colleges. On the other side of the same coin however, community college stakeholders did not report it to be a primary part of their mission and only one identified it as a challenge.

To get to the heart of whether or not community colleges are functioning as an advocacy group on behalf of the policy of postsecondary remedial education, community college stakeholders were specifically asked about their lobbying activities in the Illinois General Assembly (questions 2 and 3). Each stakeholder reported lobbying state legislators on a regular basis with more frequency during the months that the General Assembly is in session. One stakeholder reported, “during session, I am in contact with legislators on a daily basis about community college issues.” He went on to say that, “regardless of time of year, there is a constant dialogue between us and our state representatives and senators.”

When stakeholders were asked what they lobbied for and what they told members of the Illinois General Assembly they needed most, none identified

postsecondary remedial education as a focus of their lobbying efforts. One stakeholder's response was simply: "We really don't lobby for anything specific. We stress the importance of community colleges to the state and hope that will help improve overall funding." Another stakeholder also indicated that he lobbied for "overall funding, not specific programs," adding that he did "occasionally lobby for capital improvement resources." Two stakeholders were very specific in their responses and identified Monetary Award Program (MAP) grants as something they lobbied members of the General Assembly for. One of these two stakeholders said: "The early deadline for state MAP applications hurts community colleges. The state should have a later deadline for community college students. That is something I have asked for, in addition to more [MAP] funding."

Responses from legislators confirm the responses from stakeholders about the frequency of community college lobbying. One legislator said, "there is always someone from the ICCTA or ICCB or my local community college on my call list." Another mentioned that he often visits his local community college and attends events there. This legislator also stated, "my community college folks are in contact with me at least once a week." Three of the six legislators interviewed also stressed that every Illinois legislator has at least one community college in their district or one that serves their constituents. "Community colleges are important to us," remarked one legislator who added, "in general, everyone likes community colleges. I especially enjoy seeing the students when they visit Springfield." Another legislator said, "we know meeting with community colleges is important...although they are not as powerful as the state university system." On follow-up, this same legislator elaborated that community

colleges “spend too much time focusing just on their own representative, who always has their back.” According to this legislator, community colleges should spend more time cultivating relationships with legislators “from other parts of the state and from different parties.” Providing an example, this legislator said,

City Colleges of Chicago only focus on the representatives from Chicago. We are always going to support them... but they [City Colleges of Chicago] need to build bridges with other representatives and especially with Republicans...Republicans like community colleges, too...there are opportunities for bipartisan agreement on the issues, which is rare in politics today.

Although stakeholders and legislators all agreed that they were meeting about community college issues on a regular basis, neither the stakeholders nor the legislators identified postsecondary remedial education as an issue on the agenda. Question 8 of the stakeholder interview protocol asked: “When you meet with members of the Illinois General Assembly what do you tell them about remediation?” Each of the five stakeholders responded that they avoided telling members of the General Assembly anything about remediation. One stakeholder responded, “there is no sense in even bringing that up, that is not something I want to draw attention to.” Another said, “the subject does not come up very often. I certainly don’t bring it up. But if I am asked about it, the conversation centers around how to improve high schools and get students up to speed.” Question 8 of the legislator protocol asked a similar question: “When you meet with community college representatives what do they tell you about remediation?” Legislators confirmed that stakeholders avoided bringing up remediation. One legislator said, “they are not going to tell me anything about remediation, unless I ask them...and when I do ask, all they say is that they need more money.”

Whether or not providing postsecondary remedial education was “something community colleges have embraced and want to provide” was asked of both legislators and stakeholders (question 9). All eleven of the interview subjects responded negatively. Summing this negativity up, a community college stakeholder said, “Remediation is the redheaded stepchild of community colleges...even though it is a big part of our business, no one wants to admit they do it.”

Conclusion

Community colleges in Illinois are clearly engaged in lobbying activities and are effectively serving as an advocacy group for some issues, programs and policies. The findings presented in this chapter however, indicate that community colleges in Illinois have failed to act as an advocacy group on behalf of the policy of postsecondary remedial education. This has left postsecondary remedial education ignored, abandoned, and orphaned. In a political environment of multiple policy domains, competing interests and shrinking resources, governmental policies and programs should not be able to persist without advocates championing their cause. Ignored, abandoned, and orphaned policies should wither away and die. The orphaned condition of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois presents a paradox: policy continuity in the absence of advocacy. This paradox is addressed in Chapter VIII.

VIII. THE PARADOX

Policy Continuity In The Absence of Advocacy

The orphaned condition of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois presents a paradox: policy continuity in the absence of advocacy. The second hypothesis of this dissertation provides an explanation for this paradox: **The policy of providing postsecondary remedial education in Illinois persists because of institutional inertia and budgetary dependence coupled with political and societal pressure for equity in postsecondary education policy.** This, the concluding chapter of the dissertation, builds an empirical and theoretical argument in support of this explanatory hypothesis.

Within the literature of political science, public policy, and public administration, there is little disagreement that institutions matter. How and within what context institutions are defined, also matters. Historical institutionalists define institutions as:

the formal or informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity or political economy. They can range from the rules of a constitutional order or the standard operating procedures of a bureaucracy to the conventions governing trade union behavior or bank-firm relations. In general, historical institutionalists associate institutions with organizations and the rules or conventions promulgated by formal organization (Hall and Taylor, 1996, p.7)

Institutions are seldom neutral and are influential in policy processes, advocating for and impacting policies that serve their interests. Recognizing the importance of “institutional determinants of policy,” Peter Hall (1986) argues that policy is:

...more than the sum of countervailing pressure from organized groups. That pressure is mediated by an organizational dynamic that imprints its own image in the outcome. Because policymaking in the modern state is always a collective process, the configuration of the institutions that

aggregate the opinions of individual contributors into a set of policies can have its own impact on policy outputs” (Hall, 1986, p.19; also quoted in Peters, 2005, p.1280).

With an understanding that there are multiple ways of describing, defining, and interpreting what constitutes an “institution,” this chapter adopts the definition of Robert Salisbury (1984), as “complex organizations, highly differentiated and often with multiple functions” (p.68). Salisbury maintains that institutions “occupy a dominant position with respect to interest representation” (p.64), but engage in advocacy for their interests in different ways and for different reasons than those of typical interest groups. According to Salisbury (1984), “a corporation, a local government, and even universities are different, not totally but in crucial ways, from our conventional notion of interest groups” (p.67).

From the lobbying records and activities presented in Chapter VII of this dissertation, it is clear that the institutions of community colleges in Illinois “command substantial and diverse resources...allocated to policy-relevant tasks if and when these are perceived as useful to the maintenance and enhancement of the enterprise” (Salisbury, 1984, p.68). Community colleges are actively engaged in advocacy for their causes and readily acknowledge “that investment in political representation [is] beneficial to the interests of the organization” (Salisbury, 1984, p.69). These interests however, do not include postsecondary remedial education. From the perspective of community college stakeholders interviewed in this study, advocacy for remediation would not be beneficial and would only serve to further stigmatize community colleges.

Institutional Inertia

The persistence of postsecondary remedial education without institutional advocacy is perplexing. How does it persist? Part of the answer may be found in the path dependency literature and theories of bureaucratic politics and public administration. Eric Patashnik (2003) has argued that it is possible for a public policy to “become so deeply rooted in a political practice and culture over time that its dismantlement becomes all but unthinkable” (p.211). The provision of postsecondary remedial education is deeply rooted in the systems, policies, culture, and practices of community colleges throughout the United States. It has demonstrated a capacity “to maintain its stability, coherence, and integrity as time passes...” (Patashnik, 2003, p.207). The institutions of Illinois community colleges, and the state General Assembly, have continually made path dependent decisions about the policy of postsecondary remedial education. These decisions, starting with legislative action designating community colleges as the primary providers of remediation in Illinois, and continuing through the relatively recent enactment of policies that place blame for the problem of remediation with K-12 public schools (detailed in Chapter VI), have accumulated over time and have produced a policy that is “locked-in.”

Community colleges are large and complex public institutions, operating in the public sphere. They are bureaucracies. As such, they are subject to the same constraints and limitations that impact all bureaucracies. Vanessa Smith Morest (2013) in her book, *Community College Student Success: From Boardrooms to Classrooms* acknowledges the bureaucratic structure and systems of community colleges. She states that in community colleges, “control is maintained through the organization’s

internal structure...a hierarchy of authority guides committees, departments and responsibilities, and workload to ensure that people are working on the same page” (p.83).

Public administration literature frequently references the concepts of “bounded rationality” and “satisficing” for understanding bureaucratic decision-making processes. “Leaders of organizations will minimize decision-making costs rather than maximizing goal attainment when coping with policy choices.” As such, “the status quo has a very high probability of being pursued in such a decision-making scenario” (Peters, et.al, 2005, p.1285). These concepts of “bounded rationality” and “satisficing,” may be encapsulated under the heading of institutional inertia. Bureaucratic organizations, following established rules and procedures, become accustomed to doing things certain ways. As a result, they are resistant to change, enabling the status quo to persist. In the words of Laurence J. Peter, best known for development of the “Peter Principle” in organizational management theory, “bureaucracy defends the status quo long after the quo has lost its status” (Peter, 1977, p.83).

The status quo of how, where, and when students enroll in postsecondary remedial coursework has become ingrained through community college practices and norms. Enrollment is determined and rewarded through an arguably antiquated system, known as the credit hour. The credit hour “has become higher education’s de facto standard unit of measuring academic work” (Fain, 2012c). “The basic currency of higher education - the credit hour - represents the root of many problems plaguing America's higher education system: the practice of measuring time rather than learning” (Laitinen, 2012). Remediation in Illinois (like all categories of community college instruction) is

funded through the number of credit hours generated. Students also receive state and federal financial aid based on enrolled credit hours. More credit hours result in more money, all around. This has created a pervasive system that encourages colleges to generate more credit hours, or “seat time,” regardless of whether or not this is the most effective or efficient way of delivering and receiving remedial instruction.

Although the credit hour is useful for things like scheduling courses, and granting credits to students who transfer to and from different institutions of higher education, credit hours do not tell us much about what students actually learn (Laitinen, 2012). For example, some community colleges have found limited and small-scale success through changes in how remedial courses are delivered and how remedial outcomes are assessed. Most of these online, self-paced, and/or modular courses however, “challenge the credit hour structure and the belief that developmental [remedial] courses should parallel all other courses” (Morest, 2013, p.85). According to Hunter Boylan (2014), a Professor of Higher Education at Appalachian State University, who also serves as the Director of the National Center for Developmental Education:

Historically, reform efforts in remediation have been only moderately effective. Much of this is due to the fact that alternative models were thought to be too expensive and more labor-intensive than the traditional remedial model. Given the limited funding with which most community colleges operate, those thoughts were probably accurate. Furthermore, many community college leaders had no idea how poorly remediation was working and there were few incentives to find out...no innovation is going to be successful in a community college unless the institutional system into which it is being introduced also changes (Boylan, 2014).

Given the multiple missions of community colleges and their self proclaimed desire for increased legitimacy, resources, and new educational markets (see Chapter

III), it would seem that despite the constraints of path dependent policies and their own bureaucracies, they should adapt and respond to changes in their environment, simply to ensure survival. But, as predicted by ecological models of organizational theory, the ability and desire to adapt decreases with age. When community colleges first arrived on the educational scene and during their expansionist stages in the 1960s and 70s, they were perhaps more nimble and adaptive. But, today as American community colleges reach middle age, they have become more resistant to change. Recognizing this inertia in community colleges, Morest (2013) states that while the institutional stability of community colleges “creates an environment in which students, policy makers, and employees invest time in the pursuit of a common goal...the downside of stability...is that the very structures supporting it can also create barriers to change, even when change is utterly necessary” (p.83). This, according to Morest (2013), is “organizational inertia” and it is common at community colleges (p.83).

Guy Peters and his colleagues (2005) have recognized that, because “the ideas that motivate [policies] are well institutionalized they may be difficult to change, with individuals and organizations working with these programs defending the ideas behind them against claims of their having become outmoded” (Peters et al., 2005, p.1276). The policy of providing postsecondary remedial education at Illinois community colleges has become “routinized [through credit hours], increasing the constituency for its preservation and raising the costs and difficulty of its alterations or termination” (Howlett et al., 2009, p.215). The constituency for its preservation includes “multiple employee associations and unions that have a natural interest in maintaining the status quo” (Esch, 2009). Systemic institutional inertia has maintained the status quo while

restricting postsecondary remedial education policy options and limiting policy innovation. While it lacks advocacy, there is a strong bureaucratic, and as findings presented in this chapter illustrate, financial interest in the community college solution to the problem of postsecondary remedial education.

Budgetary Dependence

A high school teacher from Alexandria, VA, quoted in a bestselling book titled, *Beer and Circus: How Big-Time College Sports Has Crippled Undergraduate Education*, asks “colleges and their professors...If you are so upset about the number of students who need remedial courses, why did you accept these kids in the first place? Let's face it; there's only one reason: money. If these schools didn't take in kids from the bottom of the academic barrel, many schools would have to fire half their faculty and administrators; a few would have to shut down" (Sperber, 2000). Although this high school teacher makes a provocative and broad assertion, very little substantive research can be found in the higher education literature about the true cost of postsecondary remedial education in the United States (Martinez and Bain, 2013; Levin and Calcagno, 2007; Kirst, 2007; Saxon and Boylan, 2001, The Institute for Higher Education, 1998). In the research that does exist, there is very little consistency. “Some information reveals costs in terms of expenditures while other information is accounted for in terms of appropriations” (Martinez, 2013, p.4). This chapter goes beyond appropriations and beyond expenditures in an effort to estimate the budgetary dependence community colleges may or may not have on the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education in one state (Illinois).

The introductory chapter of this dissertation framed the cost of remediation in Illinois within the context of state appropriations, reporting that in 2013, the state of Illinois spent \$4,743,332.00 on remediation at community colleges. To the average person (and taxpayer), the State of Illinois spending nearly five million dollars on remediation at community colleges may sound astronomical. But if presented as a portion (2.49%) of community college appropriations totaling over 190 million dollars in 2013, it loses some of its sting. Yet, state appropriations for remediation at Illinois community colleges account for just one part of the revenue stream. Community colleges generate significant revenue from sources other than the state, most notably and applicable to this inquiry: student tuition and fees and local taxes. Adding student tuition and fees and local tax dollars to state appropriations provides a more comprehensive picture of community college revenue dedicated to different categories of instruction, including remediation.

While state appropriations, tuition and fees, and local tax dollars, help to complete the revenue picture, there is still more to the remedial cost story. The revenue generated by remediation at Illinois community colleges tells us very little without knowing how much community colleges actually spend on remediation. Deducting community college expenditures for remediation from the revenue (state appropriations + student tuition and fees + local tax) generated by remediation, produces a model for estimating profit or loss in each category of instruction at Illinois community colleges. Looking at both the revenue and expenditure sides of the community college budget, from a state (Illinois) perspective, enables an estimation of whether or not community colleges have a budgetary dependency of the policy of providing postsecondary

remedial education. This evaluation also leads to a richer and deeper understanding of the problem, politics and policy of remediation in Illinois. If relevant and applicable data is accessible, this model may be replicated for further research, analysis and comparison in and amongst the states. Development of this profit/loss model has required analysis of financial documents from the Illinois Community College Board (ICCB) and a cross-referencing of those documents with other ICCB reports and student enrollment documents. Data reported for fiscal year 2013 (FY2013) are used across all documents and reports. At the writing of this dissertation, FY2013 was the most recent year for which full information was available.

Appropriations (Revenue) for Remedial Instruction at Illinois Community Colleges

State appropriations for community colleges in Illinois are “distributed via grant programs administered by the Illinois Community College Board...ICCB grants to community colleges are the difference between total funds needed to offer educational programs and total funds available from local property taxes and tuition and fees” (IBHE, n.d.). ICCB Base Operating Grants “fund reimbursable credit hours in six funding categories (Baccalaureate, Business, Technical, Health, Remedial, and Adult Education)” (IBHE, n.d). The calculated credit hour rate is determined by the ICCB on an annual basis using each of the 39 community college districts’ reported expenditures from two years prior (see Figure 10), and their own estimates of inflation (ICCB, 2013b). Table 15 details the amount the ICCB estimated as credit hour cost (funds needed) and

the calculated credit hour rate (less tuition and fees and local tax revenue) in each of the six categories of instruction for the 2013 fiscal year.

Table 15

FY2013 ICCB Base Operating Grant Rates by Category of Instruction

Instructional Category	Estimated Credit Hour Cost	Less Average Tuition and Fees	Less Average Local Tax Revenue	Calculated Credit Hour Rate	Adjusted Credit Hour Rate
Baccalaureate	261.28	105.06	103.83	52.38	21.26
Business	295.03	105.06	103.83	86.14	34.96
Technical	285.18	105.06	103.83	76.26	30.96
Health	354.05	105.06	103.83	145.16	58.91
Remedial	226.21	105.06	103.83	17.32	7.03
ABE/ASE	248.5	0	103.83	144.67	58.71

Source: ICCB (2013b)

In FY2013, the ICCB estimated the per credit hour unit cost (funds needed) to deliver remedial education at Illinois community colleges to be \$226.21 (ICCB, 2013b). The ICCB also reported that in FY2013, the state average tuition and fee rate per credit hour was \$105.06 (ICCB, 2013b) and the state average local tax revenue per credit hour was \$103.83. (ICCB, 2013b). Subtracting average per credit hour tuition and fees (\$105.06) and per credit hour local tax revenue (\$103.83) from the estimated credit hour unit cost (\$226.21) results in a gap of \$17.32, which should then be, according to their formula, the ICCB credit hour rate for FY2013. However, in recent years including 2013, the Illinois General Assembly has failed to fully fund ICCB Base Operating Grants (IBHE, n.d.). Due to this shortfall in state funding, the ICCB has reduced credit hour

rates in all funding categories, including remediation. As a result, the effective ICCB FY2013 credit hour rate for remediation in FY2013 was adjusted from \$17.32 down to \$7.03 (ICCB, 2013b). A representation of adjusted credit hour rate calculations, across all six Base Operating Grant categories, is detailed in Table 15.

The Illinois Board of Higher Education (IBHE) explains, “to arrive at a college’s [annual base operating] grant amount, ICCB multiplies [projected] reimbursable unrestricted credit hours by the calculated credit hour rate in the six funding categories” (IBHE, n.d.). This means that every year, when preparing the Base Operating Grant appropriation for the next fiscal year, the ICCB makes a projection of the number of reimbursable unrestricted credit hours Illinois community colleges will generate in each category of instruction. This projection of credit hours is then multiplied by the credit hour rate (detailed in Table 15) to determine the amount appropriated through the Base Operating Grant to community colleges districts for each category of instruction.

ICCB reimbursable unrestricted credit hours are projected on an annual basis by the greater of either the number of credit hours generated in a category of instruction two years prior; or a three year average (ending two years prior) of credit hours generated in a category of instruction (IBHE, n.d.). When projecting reimbursable unrestricted credit hours for remediation in FY2013, the ICCB used the greater of: 1) the number of credit hours generated by remediation at community colleges in FY2011; or 2) the average number of credit hours generated by remediation at community colleges in FY2009, FY2010, and FY2011. An example of the how the ICCB calculated the Base Operating Grant in FY2011 is presented in Figure 10.

Figure 9: IBHE Base Operating Grant Calculation for FY2011.

<u>Base Operating Grant Calculation (Fiscal Year 2011)</u>	
	FY09 Unit Cost (cost to produce 1 credit hour, from unit cost study)
X	<u>Two-year inflation factor (estimated)</u>
=	FY11 Weighted Cost (estimated budget year cost per credit hour)
LESS:	
-	Tuition & Fees
-	Local Tax Contribution
=	FY11 CREDIT HOUR RATE
	FY 11 Credit Hour Rate
X	<u>FY11 credit hours (greater of FY09 audited credit hours or average of FY 09, FY08, FY 07)</u>
=	Credit Hour Allocation of Base Operating Grant*
*In addition to credit hour allocation, Base Operating Grants include a small allocation for operating and maintenance based upon gross square footage.	

Source: IBHE: “The Basics of State Funding for Higher Education in Illinois”

In FY2013, the ICCB projected and funded a total of 674,959.7 reimbursable unrestricted credit hours of remediation, resulting in a total state appropriation for remediation of \$4,743,332.00 (ICCB, 2013b). In FY2013, the ICCB (using the greater of credit hours from FY2011 or three year averages) over projected the number of remedial credit hours. As it turned out, only 614,906 credit hours were actually generated by Illinois community colleges in FY2013 (ICCB, 2015). Using enrollment data from previous years, to make future fiscal year projections for the ICCB Base Operating Grant, may result in categories of instruction being over or under funded by the State of Illinois in particular years. Should a category of instruction turn out to be under funded, the state does not provide additional funding to make up the difference.

Likewise, if a category of instruction is over funded, as was the case for remediation in FY2013, Base Operating Grant funds are “unrestricted” and may be used for other instructional purposes. As the findings presented in this chapter demonstrate, the revenue generated for remediation (which includes state appropriations) may be underwriting other, more expensive, categories of community college instruction.

Table 16 summarizes FY2013 ICCB reimbursable unrestricted credit hours and the Base Operating Grant appropriation for each of the ICCB designated six categories of instruction. Table 16 also presents both credit hours and appropriations as a percentage of the totals in each category of instruction.

Table 16

FY2013 ICCB Unrestricted Credit Hours and Base Operating Grant Appropriation to Community Colleges by Instructional Category

Instructional Category	Reimbursable Unrestricted Credit Hours (based on projections from previous years)	Percentage of Unrestricted Credit Hours	State Appropriation: Base Operating Grant	Percentage of Base Operating Grant
Baccalaureate	4,047,935.0	58.20%	\$86,060,207.00	45.23%
Business	470,829.8	6.77%	\$16,460,166.00	8.65%
Technical	740,091.8	10.65%	\$22,911,938.00	12.04%
Health	542,570.5	7.80%	\$31,964,428.00	16.80%
Remedial	674,959.7	9.70%	\$4,743,332.00	2.49%
ABE/ASE	479,138.0	6.88%	\$28,131,828.00	14.79%
TOTAL	6,955,524.8	100.00%	\$190,271,899.00	100.00%

Source: ICCB Fiscal Year 2013 Operating Budget Appropriation and Supporting Technical Data Report (ICCB, 2013b). Percentages reflect author’s own calculations.

Detailed in Table 16, remediation accounted for 9.70% of the projected and funded credit hours, but only 2.49% of ICCB Base Operating Grant appropriations to community colleges in FY2013. In FY2013, only the instructional categories of remedial and baccalaureate generated, as a percentage, more credit hours than state appropriations.

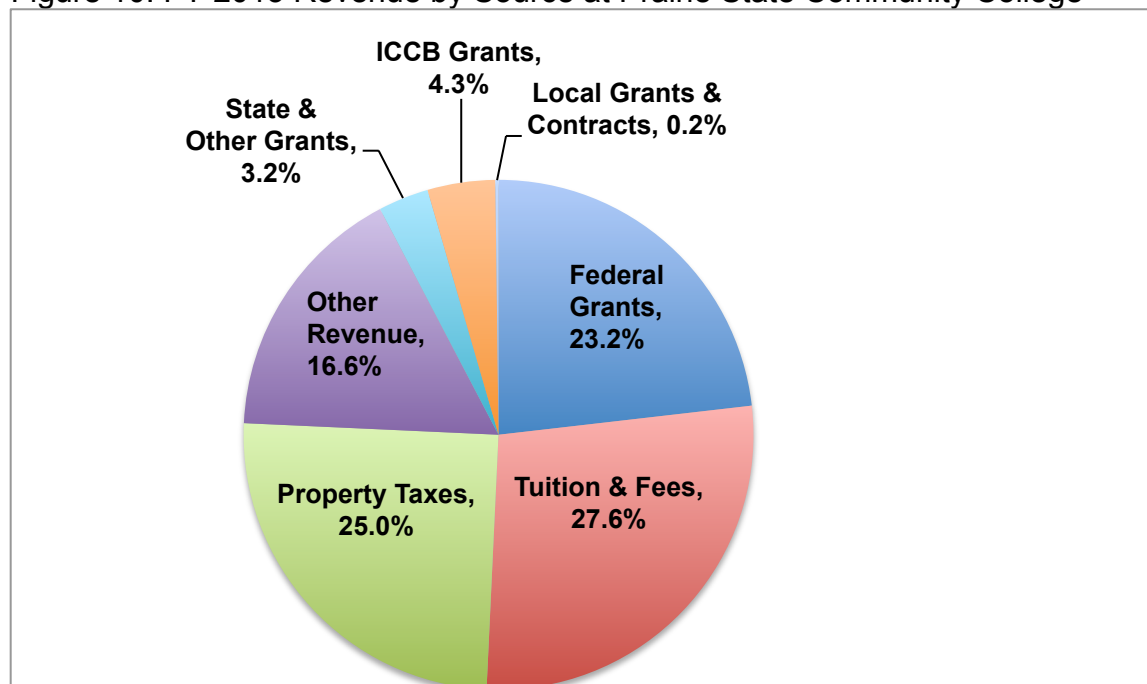
In addition to the ICCB Base Operating Grant, community colleges in Illinois receive other appropriations from the state. In FY2013, these other appropriations totaled \$185,505,991.00 and included: Performance Base Funding; Small College Grants; Equalization Grant; Veteran's Grants; High School Transition Grants; GED Testing Grants; Adult Education Grants; and Career and Technical Education Grants (ICCB, 2013). A copy of the ICCB FY2013 Summary Allocation Table, which details additional state appropriations, is included in Appendix E of this dissertation. While these additional sources of state funding play an important role in the budgets of all Illinois community colleges, this dissertation is concerned solely with the appropriations, revenue and expenditures for instructional credit hours at community colleges, specifically as they relate to remedial instruction. Thus, this dissertation only provides in-depth analysis of ICCB Base Operating Grant appropriations.

**Tuition and Fees and Local Tax (Revenue) Generated by Remedial
Instruction at Illinois Community Colleges**

As mentioned, state appropriations through the ICCB Base Operating Grant are only one small piece of the community college revenue pie. In addition to the appropriations revenue that community colleges receive through the Base Operating Grant, community colleges benefit from other sources of revenue, most notably and

applicable to this inquiry: student tuition and fees and local tax dollars. Figure 11 provides an example of the proportion of revenues received by source at one Illinois community college.

Figure 10: FY 2013 Revenue by Source at Prairie State Community College



Source: Figure created and adapted by author from data obtained from Prairie State Community College (2013)

“Community colleges are financed through a complex system involving multiple levels of government and private resources” (Dowd, 2004, p.253). Most community colleges, like Prairie State, which is used as an example in Figure 11, receive significant funding directly from the federal government in the form of grants. Federal grants are typically categorical in nature and tied to specific programs and/or activities. For example, in 2011 “three City Colleges of Chicago – Kennedy-King College, Malcolm X College, and Olive-Harvey College” received “approximately \$8.5 million for up to five

years from the U.S. Department of Education to enhance the colleges' capacity to better serve low and middle income African-American students" (News Wire, 2011).

Community colleges also generate other revenue from activities like auxiliary services, facility rental, and contractual workforce training, to name just a few. While these other sources of revenue help to keep the lights on and balance the books at community colleges, they are impossible to account for on a statewide basis, as this revenue will fluctuate from year to year, and from college to college, even within the same district. Thus, these other revenue sources are not included in this analysis.

The estimated average revenue, per credit hour, for each category of instruction at Illinois community colleges is calculated by adding together per credit hour state funding from the ICCB Base Operating Grant, per credit hour average tuition and fees, and per credit hour average local tax:

$$\text{ICCB Base Operating Grant} + \text{Average Tuition and Fees} + \text{Average Local Tax} = \text{Average Revenue}$$

Revenue calculations use ICCB reported averages for tuition and fees and local tax from the 39 community college districts in Illinois in FY2013. These are statewide averages. Some community college districts may receive more or less, depending on what they charge per credit hour for tuition and fees and what local property taxes are generated within a specific district. As the profit/loss model presented in this chapter is evaluating the entire state system of community colleges in Illinois, use of ICCB reported averages is appropriate. These reported averages enable an estimation of statewide revenue generated in each category of community college instruction. Should

the model be applied to individual districts within the state, use of actual revenue (tuition and fees + local tax) from specific districts would be appropriate.

Reported in Table 17, Illinois community colleges generated an estimated \$215.92 in revenue (appropriations + tuition and fees + local tax) for each credit hour of remediation that was provided in FY2013. Although the estimated revenue generated does not equal the amount the ICCB determined (\$226.21) was needed to provide each credit hour of remedial instruction in FY2013, there is more to the story. Detailed in the next section of this chapter, the revenue generated by remediation, exceeded expenditures on remediation in FY2013.

Table 17

FY2013 Per Credit Hour Revenue by Source for Categories of Instruction

Instructional Category	ICCB Base Operating Grant	Average Tuition and Fees	Average Local Tax	Estimated Revenue
Baccalaureate	\$21.26	\$105.06	\$103.83	\$230.15
Business	\$34.96	\$105.06	\$103.83	\$243.85
Technical	\$30.96	\$105.06	\$103.83	\$239.85
Health	\$58.91	\$105.06	\$103.83	\$267.80
Remedial	\$7.03	\$105.06	\$103.83	\$215.92
ABE/ASE	\$58.71	\$0.00	\$103.83	\$162.54

Source: ICCB (2013). Author calculations of estimated credit hour revenue.

Expenditures (Costs) for Remedial Instruction at Illinois Community

Colleges

Examination of the actual expenditures (direct and indirect) for remediation at Illinois community colleges is critical for assessment of community college budgetary

dependence on the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education. Initially discussed in Chapter VII of this dissertation, the ICCB “Instructional Cost Report,” released in February of 2014, “summarize[s] the expenditure information the Illinois Community College Board received from the community college districts” for FY2013 (p.i). This ICCB document reported and totaled the amount that each of the 39 community college districts in Illinois submitted to the state board as actual FY2013 direct and indirect instructional expenditures in each of the six categories of state funded instruction.

Actual reported expenditures (direct and indirect) for each ICCB category of instruction are summarized in the second column of Table 18. Dividing actual reported expenditures by actual (rather than projected) credit hours generated in each category of instruction (third column) for FY2013, determines average community college expenditures by credit hour (last column). On average, community colleges districts in Illinois spent \$187.38 for each credit hour of remediation that was provided in FY2013. Credit hour expenditures are reported as an average. Some colleges may have spent more or less.

Total expenditures (direct and indirect) for all categories of instruction at Illinois community colleges in FY2013, amounted to \$1,914,382,621. Of that total amount, \$115,224,681 (6.02%) was spent on remediation. Credit hours generated by Illinois community colleges in FY2013 across all categories of instruction, totaled 6,526,110. Of that total amount, 614,906 (9.42%) credit hours were generated by remediation. As was the case with appropriations, where the proportion of ICCB projected reimbursable

unrestricted remedial credit hours (9.70%), exceeded the proportion of appropriations (2.49%) allocated to remediation through the Base Operating Grant, the proportion

Table 18

FY2013 Total Reported Expenditures, Actual Credit Hours Generated, and Average Credit Hour Expenditures by Category of Instruction

Category of Instruction	Actual Reported Expenditures (total from all 39 Illinois community college districts)	Actual Credit Hours Generated (total from all 39 Illinois community college districts)	Average Illinois Community College Expenditures Per Credit Hour
Baccalaureate	\$1,024,458,655.00	3,838,543	\$266.88
Business	\$154,069,263.00	437,530	\$352.13
Technical	\$235,511,028.00	695,108	\$338.81
Health	\$257,654,213.00	503,720	\$511.50
Remedial	\$115,224,681.00	614,906	\$187.38
ABE/ASE	\$127,464,781.00	436,303	\$292.15
Total	\$1,914,382,621.00	6,526,110	

Source: Total expenditures obtained from ICCB (2014). Credit hours obtained from ICCB (2015). Credit hour expenditures calculated by author.

of actual remedial credit hours (9.42%) generated, exceeds the proportion of Illinois community college average expenditures (6.02%) on remediation in FY2013.

There are, of course, other costs associated with remediation, beyond what community colleges spend on it. The majority of these costs are borne by the student who, upon entering a community college, is told that he or she is not college ready and will have to enroll in remedial coursework. Most remedial classes don't count toward graduation. If a student must complete several sequences of remedial classes before they can begin college level coursework, remediation will add semesters of time,

delaying graduation and adding to tuition costs. “Students placed in remedial classes can spend thousands of dollars on their education and have no credits to show for their time, money, and hard work” (Rath, 2013, p.11). Students also defer potential earnings while enrolled in remediation. Potential earnings may be further delayed by the extra time needed to complete a degree, if the student completes at all. These costs, while important, are beyond the scope of this study. This chapter, addressing the second hypothesis of the dissertation, is concerned about the budgetary dependence Illinois community colleges may or may not have on the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education.

Profit From Remedial Instruction at Illinois Community Colleges

The profitability of postsecondary remedial education at Illinois community colleges occurs when revenue generated from the number of credit hours provided in a fiscal year exceeds the cost of producing those credit hours. Deducting actual annual remedial expenditures from estimated annual remedial revenue at Illinois community colleges has produced a comprehensive model for estimating the profit/loss of remediation, per credit hour, in one state (Illinois), in one fiscal year. Profits and losses are estimated, as ICCB reported averages are used for student tuition and fees and local tax.

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{State Appropriations + Community College Revenue (average student tuition and} \\ &\text{fees + average local tax) – Actual Community College Expenditures} \\ &= \text{Estimated Profit/Loss} \end{aligned}$$

Table 19 summarizes FY2013 estimated Illinois community college profit from the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education. ICCB system totals were determined by multiplying the average remedial credit hour revenue (\$215.92) by the actual number of remedial credit hours (614,906) provided in FY2013. This results in estimated total revenue of \$132,770,503.52 for providing postsecondary remedial education at Illinois community colleges in FY2013. Given that the total expenditures for providing that same remediation were \$115,224,681.00, community colleges in Illinois made a profit of \$17,545,822.52 while providing remediation in FY2013.

Table 19

FY2013 Remedial Revenue, Expenditures and Profit: Per Credit Hour and ICCB System Totals

	Average Remediation Revenue (State Appropriation + Average Student Tuition and Fees + Average Local Tax)	Actual Remediation Expenditures	Estimated Remediation Profit
Per Credit Hour	\$215.92	\$187.31	\$28.61
ICCB System Total	\$132,770,503.52	\$115,224,681.00	\$17,545,822.52

Source: ICCB (2014); ICCB (2013b); and author calculations

Applying the profit/loss model to all categories of instruction at Illinois community colleges, finds that remedial was the only category of instruction that produced an estimated profit in FY2013, as shown in Table 20.

Table 20

FY2013 Illinois Community College Credit Hour Profit and Loss by Instructional Category

Instructional Category	Average Credit Hour Revenue	Average Credit Hour Expenditures	Estimated Credit Hour Profit/Loss
Baccalaureate	\$230.15	\$266.88	-36.73
Business	\$243.85	\$352.13	-108.28
Technical	\$239.85	\$338.81	-98.96
Health	\$267.80	\$511.50	-243.7
Remedial	\$215.92	\$187.38	28.54
ABE/ASE	\$162.54	\$292.15	-129.61

Source: ICCB (2014); ICCB (2013b); and author calculations

The estimated profit from remediation and estimated losses in every other category of instruction become even more pronounced when multiplied by the number of credit hours actually generated by community colleges in each category of instruction during FY2013. Total estimated profit and losses in each category of community college instruction are detailed in Table 21.

Table 21

FY2013 Illinois Community College Total Profit and Loss by Instructional Category

Instructional Category	Average Credit Hour Revenue	Actual Credit Hours Provided	Total Estimated Revenue	Total Actual Reported Expenditures	Total Estimated Profit/Loss
Baccalaureate	\$230.15	3,838,543	\$883,440,671.45	\$1,024,458,655.00	-\$141,017,983.55
Business	\$243.85	437,530	\$106,691,690.50	\$154,069,263.00	-\$47,377,572.50
Technical	\$239.85	695,108	\$166,721,653.80	\$235,511,028.00	-\$68,789,374.20
Health	\$267.80	503,720	\$134,896,216.00	\$257,654,213.00	-\$122,757,997.00
Remedial	\$215.92	614,906	\$132,770,503.52	\$115,224,681.00	\$17,545,822.52
ABE/ASE	\$162.54	436,303	\$70,916,689.62	\$127,464,781.00	-\$56,548,091.38
Total		6,526,110	\$1,495,437,424.89	\$1,914,382,621.00	-\$418,945,196.11

Source: ICCB (2014); and ICCB (2013b); and author calculations.

Budgetary Dependence and Limitations of the Profit/Loss Model

The profit/loss model extrapolated from appropriations, revenue and expenditures in this chapter only estimates the profit generated by the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education at Illinois community colleges in one fiscal year (2013). While this demonstrates a budgetary dependence in one fiscal year (2013), it does not demonstrate long-term budgetary dependence on the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education at Illinois community colleges. Recognizing this limitation, an effort was made to apply the profit/loss model to multiple years. This effort was only possible however, for the 2012 fiscal year. Table 22 presents the estimated credit hour profit from the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education at Illinois community colleges in FY2012. As was the case in FY2013, remediation was the only category of instruction that produced an estimated profit in FY2012.

Table 22

FY2012 Illinois Community College Credit Hour Profit and Loss by Instructional Category

Instructional Category	Average Credit Hour Revenue	Average Credit Hour Expenditures	Estimated Credit Hour Profit/Loss
Baccalaureate	\$212.06	\$254.71	-\$42.65
Business	\$245.91	\$344.33	-\$98.42
Technical	\$248.38	\$335.48	-\$87.10
Health	\$300.87	\$472.81	-\$171.94
Remedial	\$208.44	\$177.03	\$31.41
ABE/ASE	\$186.70	\$283.95	-\$97.25

Source: ICCB (2013); ICCB (2012); and author calculations

The overall total estimated profit from remediation and estimated losses in every other category of instruction for FY2012, are detailed in Table 23.

Table 23

FY2012 Illinois Community College Profit and Loss by Instructional Category

Instructional Category	Average Credit Hour Revenue	Actual Credit Hours Provided	Total Estimated Revenue	Total Actual Reported Expenditures	Estimated Profit/Loss
Baccalaureate	\$212.06	3,930,962	\$833,599,801.72	\$1,001,254,032.00	-\$167,654,230.28
Business	\$245.91	448,008	\$110,169,647.28	\$154,261,369.00	-\$44,091,721.72
Technical	\$248.38	698,769	\$173,560,244.22	\$234,421,875.00	-\$60,861,630.78
Health	\$300.87	529,009	\$159,162,937.83	\$250,120,416.00	-\$90,957,478.17
Remedial	\$208.44	652,176	\$135,939,565.44	\$115,453,070.00	\$20,486,495.44
ABE/ASE	\$186.70	417,684	\$77,981,602.80	\$118,600,084.00	-\$40,618,481.20
Total		6,676,608	\$1,490,413,799.29	\$1,874,110,846.00	-\$383,697,046.71

Source: ICCB (2013); ICCB (2012); and author calculations

Tables 22 and 23, show that in FY2012, as was the case in FY2013, remediation generated a significant profit for Illinois community colleges. Whereas, other categories of community college instruction, operated at a loss in both FY2012 and FY2013.

When estimating the profitability (or unprofitability) of categories of instruction, it is important to note that estimates of profitability will change (often dramatically) depending on how expenditures for those categories are determined and reported. As Saxon and Boylan (2001) point out, “accounting techniques can lead [remedial] cost estimates in any direction for which there is a politicized agenda” (p.6). At the writing of this dissertation, ICCB financial reports, in varying formats, were available from

FY2003-FY2013. From FY2003-2011, the ICCB reported actual direct, but not indirect, instructional expenditures in each category of community college instruction. From FY2003-2011, the ICCB estimated indirect instructional expenditures “on the basis of the proportion of student semester credit hours generated in a given instructional area” (ICCB, 2003, p.1). The ICCB had made the assumption, from FY2003-2011, that indirect instructional expenditures simply followed credit hours. For example, if a category of instruction generated 20% of the credit hours in a given fiscal year (from FY2003-2011), the ICCB simply assigned 20% of the total indirect instructional expenditures to that same category. In FY2012, the ICCB recognizing that credit hours alone were not a true or fully accurate representation of all instructional costs, began reporting actual direct and indirect expenditures for every category of community college instruction in Illinois.

A closer look at both direct and indirect expenditures in each category of instruction for FY2013, indicates that the proportion of credit hours generated in a category of instruction, does not accurately reflect true direct or indirect expenditures. Table 24 presents the total and percentage of total credit hours provided by Illinois community colleges in each category of instruction for FY2013. Table 25 presents the total and percentage of total expenditures by Illinois community colleges in each category of instruction for FY2013.

In FY2013, remedial instruction at Illinois community colleges accounted for 9.42% of all credit hours provided. But, community colleges only spent 6.05% of direct instructional expenditures and only 5.99% of indirect instructional expenditures on remediation. On the other side of the same coin, the categories of business, technical,

Table 24

FY2013 Total and Percentage of Total Credit Hours Provided by Illinois Community Colleges by Instructional Category

Instructional Category	Actual Credit Hours Provided	Percentage of Total Credit Hours Provided
Baccalaureate	3,838,543	58.82%
Business	437,530	6.70%
Technical	695,108	10.65%
Health	503,720	7.72%
Remedial	614,906	9.42%
ABE/ASE	436,303	6.69%
Total	6,526,110	100.00%

Source: ICCB (2013b) and author calculations

Table 25

FY2013 Total and Percentage of Total Direct and Indirect Expenditures by Illinois Community Colleges by Instructional Category

Instructional Category	Total Direct Reported Expenditures	Percentage of Total Direct Reported Expenditures	Total Indirect Reported Expenditures	Percentage of Total Indirect Expenditures
Baccalaureate	\$416,333,670.00	53.50%	\$608,124,985.00	53.53%
Business	\$62,311,925.00	8.00%	\$91,757,338.00	8.08%
Technical	\$97,191,918.00	12.49%	\$138,319,110.00	12.17%
Health	\$103,357,874.00	13.29%	\$154,296,339.00	13.58%
Remedial	\$47,107,732.00	6.05%	\$68,116,949.00	5.99%
ABE/ASE	\$51,942,597.00	6.67%	\$75,522,184.00	6.65%
Total	\$778,245,716.00	100.00%	\$1,136,136,905.00	100.00%

Source: ICCB (2014) and author calculations

and health instruction generated far fewer credit hours than the proportion of direct and indirect instructional expenditures in those categories. Given the losses in every category of community college instruction except remediation, the question of how community colleges balance their budgets arises. Part of the answer is found in allocations from the state beyond the Base Operating Grant. For example, community colleges in Illinois are prohibited from charging tuition for Adult Basic Education or Adult Secondary Education (ABE/ASE). The state of Illinois allocates a special grant solely for Adult Education. In FY2013, the Adult Education Grant from the state totaled \$32,274,000. Career and Technical Education Grants from the state provided another \$17,569,400. The Federal Government also provides additional funding for both Adult Education and Career and Technical Education. These additional sources of funding help to explain some of the reasons why these categories of instruction regularly operate at significantly higher costs than the ICCB projects, and at significantly higher costs than the revenue they produce. Another part of the answer is likely found in the supplemental revenue generated by remediation at Illinois community colleges.

Using the proportion of credit hours generated in a given instructional category as the only method to account for expenditures in a given category, as the ICCB did from FY2003-2011, fails to accurately reflect the true costs of providing instruction. Actual expenditures in each category of community college instruction must be appropriately allocated and reported in order to successfully estimate profit and loss. Given that actual direct and indirect expenditures for categories of instruction are not available from the ICCB prior to FY2012, it is impossible correlate long-term budgetary dependence and the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education at

Illinois community colleges. FY2012 and FY2013 do however; provide a recent snapshot in time, demonstrating Illinois community college budgetary dependence on the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education.

Remediation Pays for Itself

Most studies of the cost of postsecondary remediation have not included, as this dissertation has, the revenue generated from remediation. The cost of remediation has typically been presented as simply the appropriations states have allocated to remediation, or community college expenditures on remediation. Adding revenue to the equation in this study has produced a profit/loss model, which indicates that postsecondary remedial education at Illinois community colleges pays for itself, and then some. This finding is reflective of a handful of previous studies that also used revenue to offset remedial appropriations and expenditures. According to Saxon and Boylan (2001), who examined these studies, “the revenues [generated by remediation] fully covered, if not exceeded, the costs of delivering the service. There were no reports of remedial programs that operated at a loss” (p.6). Saxon and Boylan (2001), further cite specific examples of profits generated by the provision of postsecondary remedial education:

- Onondaga Community College in New York reported that each \$1 million spent on remediation generated \$1.3 million in revenue for the college (Testone, 1997).
- The state of Kentucky reported that remediation at its universities was fully covered by tuition revenue (Breneman & Haarlow, 1998)
- A moderately sized Midwestern community college reported that tuition revenue generated significantly more than the salary costs of remedial instruction. When combined with state aid revenue, the program generated \$580,000 in revenue over and above remedial instruction salaries (McGinley, 1999)
- In a proposal on financing remediation at CUNY, the average revenue per FTE generated at community colleges was reported to be \$9,130 in 1997. Compared to an average cost of remediation per FTE of \$4,660, it was inferred that

remedial education was generating as much as \$4,500 in net revenues (Hauptman, 1999) (Saxon and Boylan, 2001, p.6).

According to Vaughan (2005), “remedial courses are relatively inexpensive to teach and thus help colleges not only meet their enrollment projection but also increase enrollment despite budget cuts and inadequate funds” (p.B12). One of the variables that may help to explain the profitability of remedial instruction at Illinois community colleges is a heavy reliance on part-time, adjunct instructors. The ICCB (2014) reports that nearly 60% of all community college faculty in the fall of 2013 were part-time, adjunct instructors. A 2014 report from the Center for Community College Student Engagement (CCCSE), found that “part-time faculty are significantly more likely to teach only developmental education classes” and that “76% of faculty who teach only developmental education are employed part time” (CCCSE, 2014, p.7). Community colleges are able to reduce remedial expenditures by employing part-time faculty to teach the bulk of the courses (Bettinger and Long, 2007). These part-time instructors “typically make \$1,000 to \$3,000 per course and don’t get benefits” they “often have little to no training in or experience teaching remedial classes” (Willen, 2010).

This reliance on part-time, adjunct faculty may be correlated with the relatively low direct instructional expenditures on remediation at Illinois community colleges. Direct instructional expenditures according to the ICCB account for “those activities dealing directly with the teaching of students” (ICCB, 2014, p.3). In FY2013, the average direct instructional expenditure for all categories of community college instruction was \$131.93 per credit hour. Direct instructional expenditures for remediation however, were only \$76.61 per credit hour. This disparity between average

and remedial direct instructional expenditures likely reflects a reliance on part-time, adjunct instructors for remedial courses at Illinois community colleges.

Another variable that may contribute to the profitability of remedial instruction is a lack of comprehensive academic support systems for students enrolled in remedial coursework at Illinois community colleges. Alicia C. Dowd and Laura M. Ventimiglia (2005), in their study of the “Transitional Pathways Program” at a Massachusetts community college, identified “pedagogical features recognized as critical elements of effective remedial education” (p.11). These features included:

...diagnostic use of assessment exams and individualized content delivery. Individualized instruction...low student-teacher ratios, inclusion of professional tutors in classrooms and learning centers and computer software...content area modules used in conjunction with subject matter textbooks and literature books, attention to developing students’ repertoire of learning strategies, and a combination of deductive, inductive and peer learning instructional methods. Student services included career and college counseling, exposure to the college environment, and incentives for future college enrollment (p.11).

Dowd and Ventimiglia (2005), found that when the critical elements they identified were provided, the cost of providing postsecondary remedial education was “over two-and-a-half times as expensive as non-remedial community college courses” (p.25).

Identification of what support elements are or are not embedded in Illinois community college remedial programs is beyond the scope of this study. Although, my own anecdotal observation, as both an Illinois community college professor and administrator, is that very few of those critical elements were provided within my community college district, where 90% of new students required at least one remedial course. Indirect instructional expenditures at Illinois community colleges, according to

the ICCB include: Academic Support (computer labs, tutoring, learning skills centers, and reading and writing centers); Student Services; Auxiliary Services; Operations and Maintenance of Plant; and Institutional Support (ICCB, 2014, p.3). The average indirect instructional expenditure for all categories of community college instruction was \$192.81 per credit hour in FY2013. However, indirect instructional expenditures for remediation were only \$110.78 per credit hour. This likely indicates fewer support services available for students in remedial coursework at Illinois community colleges.

Quoted in a 2007 article titled "Community Colleges: The (Often Rocky) Path to the American Dream," Michael W. Kirst, a Professor Emeritus of Education and Business Administration at Stanford University and President of the California State Board Of Education, argued that with regard to remediation "as long as the number of students coming in the front equals the number of students dropping out the back and side door, [community college] enrollment and full-time equivalence is the same, whether advancing or flunking out...there is really no incentive to spend a lot of money to serve these students with special counselors and trained teachers" (Kirst, quoted in Merrow, 2007). Detailed in Table 26, Illinois community colleges spend about 40% less on direct and about 40% less on indirect expenditures for remediation than the average cost per credit hour for all categories of instruction.

Table 26

FY2013 Direct and Indirect Expenditures Per Credit Hour at Illinois Community Colleges by Categories of Instruction

Instructional Category	Actual Credit Hours Provided	Total Direct Reported Expenditures	Direct Expenditures Per Credit Hour	Total Indirect Reported Expenditures	Indirect Expenditures Per Credit Hour
Baccalaureate	3,838,543	\$416,333,670.00	\$108.46	\$608,124,985.00	\$158.42
Business	437,530	\$62,311,925.00	\$142.42	\$91,757,338.00	\$209.72
Technical	695,108	\$97,191,918.00	\$139.82	\$138,319,110.00	\$198.89
Health	503,720	\$103,357,874.00	\$205.19	\$154,296,339.00	\$306.31
Remedial	614,906	\$47,107,732.00	\$76.61	\$68,116,949.00	\$110.78
ABE/ASE	436,303	\$51,942,597.00	\$119.05	\$75,522,184.00	\$173.10
Total/Average	6,526,110	\$778,245,716.00	\$131.93	\$1,136,136,905.00	\$192.87

Source: ICCB (2014) and author calculations

Political and Societal Pressure for Equity in Postsecondary Education Policy

In an address to a joint session of Congress, on February 24, 2009, President Barack Obama stressed the need for Americans to obtain further education beyond high school. He said:

In a global economy where the most valuable skill you can sell is your knowledge, a good education is no longer just a pathway to opportunity - it is a prerequisite...I ask every American to commit to at least one year or more of higher education or career training. This can be community college or a four-year school, vocational training or an apprenticeship. But whatever the training may be, every American will need to get more than a high school diploma (Obama, 2009).

Beginning with the Morrill Act of 1862, access to education beyond high school in the United States has continually expanded. "Formal governmental programs" that have

attempted to increase access to higher education include “Pell Grants, Title IV student-aid programs, state taxing provisions, and judicial decisions as well as other legislatively driven policies, many of which are a legacy of the post-World War II GI Bill and the 1965 Higher Education Act” (Bragg and Durham, 2012, p.108). Because of these governmental programs, and because of community colleges, by the 1960’s, more young people were attending college than ever before, and the demographics of higher education in the United States had dramatically changed (see Chapter III).

Education is one of the primary instruments through which policy makers in the United States have attempted to reduce socioeconomic inequalities. Our American culture, with varying degrees of support for equality of outcomes, generally favors and even demands policy mechanisms that help to ensure equality of opportunity. The Pew Research Center (2009) has reported that nearly ninety percent of Americans “agree that: ‘Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed’” (Pew, 2009, p. 56). According to Anne Phillips (2004), politicians tend to choose equality of opportunity policies over equality of outcome policies. They “mostly opt for what they see as the less controversial equality of opportunity: of course people should not expect to end up with the same bundle of commodities or same level of happiness, but it is fair enough that they should expect to have the same opportunities to thrive” (Phillips, 2004, p.2). For decades, community colleges have served as the means, or have at least provided the illusion of the means, by which equality of opportunity in postsecondary education policy might be achieved.

The solution to the perennial challenge of balancing demands for both equity and efficiency in U.S. higher education policy has been community colleges. According to

Brint and Karabel (1989), “wherever they developed, the [community] colleges faced two contradictory tasks: the democratic one of bringing new populations into higher education and the exclusionary one of channeling them away from the four-year institutions that they hoped to attend” (Brint and Karabel 1989, p.208). Community colleges, with open admission policies and low tuition, have undoubtedly increased access to higher education. “If not for community colleges, the overall higher education system would enroll fewer racial and ethnic minorities and fewer low-income, immigrant, and first-generation students” (Bragg and Durham, 2012, p.108). Community colleges, it has been assumed, also promote greater efficiency in higher education policy by enabling four-year institutions to focus on educating more traditional and prepared students. Because community colleges “educate large numbers of students inexpensively, the current community-college system is often seen as more efficient...” (Kahlenberg, 2014, p.47).

Although community colleges have opened the doors of higher education to underrepresented populations, this increased access has not necessarily resulted in equity. Bragg and Durham (2012), in their article about the impact the nation’s “completion agenda” is having on community colleges, define equity as suggesting “that each individual should get the same chance to participate” and confirm that this is “consistent with the community college’s open-door policy” (p.109). The authors further argue however, that this definition of equity, so focused on access, is not complete without some effort to promote success. They point to Dowd and Bensimon (2009) who contend, “that to give students access without the support to achieve their desired outcomes is a shallow promise” (Bragg and Durham, 2012, p.109). Kahlenberg (2014),

agrees, and states that community colleges “do a great job of providing access but a dismal job of helping students complete degrees” (p.37).

It is quite possible that the open doors of community colleges, rather than meeting demands for equity, have increased stratification among higher education institutions and amplified disparities. The Century Foundation Task Force on Preventing Community Colleges from Becoming Separate and Unequal points out:

Education has always been a key driver in our nation’s struggle to promote social mobility and widen the circle of people who can enjoy the American Dream. No set of educational institutions better embodies the promise of equal opportunity than community colleges. Two-year colleges have opened the doors of higher education for low-income and working-class students as never before, and yet, community colleges often lack the resources to provide the conditions for student success. Furthermore, there is a growing racial and economic stratification between two- and four-year colleges, producing harmful consequences (Century Foundation, 2013, p.v).

Dowd (2007) makes a similar observation, recognizing that while community colleges serve “as gateways to higher education,” they also serve as “gatekeepers.” She argues that this gatekeeping function:

...reduce[s] the pressure on four-year colleges and universities to expand by enrolling larger numbers of students...As community colleges have responded to the growing demand for higher education by enrolling greater numbers of students, the share of students enrolled in public and private research universities and private liberal arts colleges has declined. These institutions, instead of expanding, have become more focused on increasing their selectivity and other indicators as markers of quality...As a result of these trends, the collegiate student body has become more stratified by ability and socioeconomic status...with the most capable students increasingly concentrated at a smaller number of more elite colleges” (Dowd, 2007, p.2)

Community colleges, serving as the primary means by which equity in higher education policy is sought, results in these institutions enrolling the lion’s share of

unprepared students, in need of postsecondary remedial education. Like most educational policy debates, the debate over postsecondary remedial education pits the values of efficiency and equity against one another. Those who value efficiency and accountability in higher education see remediation as a problem. Those who value equity and access in higher education see remediation as a solution. Shifting primary responsibility for the provision of postsecondary remedial education to community colleges has provided a policy solution that attempts to balance the efficiency and equity sides of the debate about remediation. But this shift, according to Dowd and Ventimiglia (2005), “is part of the ideological shift among legislators that places greater emphasis on efficiency, effectiveness, quality, and high academic standards” and as a result, “the compensatory role of remedial education to remedy the lack of educational opportunity for ‘disadvantaged’ students has been diminished” (p.2).

The “compensatory role of remedial education” has been diminished and is frequently viewed as a “bridge to nowhere,” because “fewer than one in 10 community-college students who start in remedial courses completes an associate degree within three years” and “nearly four in 10 fail even to finish their remedial sequences” (Managan, 2014). This “bridge to nowhere” however, must be considered in context. According to Bragg and Durham (2012), “a substantial difference in completion reflects the differences in student populations that [community colleges] serve, which points to the importance of insuring that community colleges have adequate resources to serve learners who will need academic and social supports to be successful” (p.113).

Political and societal pressure for equity in postsecondary higher education policy is one of the primary factors that enables remediation at community colleges to persist,

without advocacy. It persists, as a means for underprepared students to access higher education. But, a failure “to recognize that equity necessitates linking access and outcomes...[has] the potential to lead to even less equality among diverse students in higher education” (Bragg and Durham, 2012, p.120). Although community colleges have provided a “home” for the orphaned policy of postsecondary remedial education, they have failed, at least in Illinois, to act as an advocacy group on its behalf. As a result, with a focus on efficiency, there have been too few institutional and political efforts aimed at improving its effectiveness at Illinois community colleges, which in the end, results in less equity.

Conclusion

This dissertation, through multiple lenses, has examined multiple aspects of the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education at Illinois community colleges. It has reviewed the policy discourse and found that public policy solutions to the problem of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois have primarily focused on placing blame with the widely accepted cause of the problem: public K-12 schools. Evidence from elite interviews, presented in Chapter VII, indicates that postsecondary remedial education in Illinois is an orphan policy. It lacks a supportive and stable advocacy group acting on its behalf. Yet, it persists. This, the concluding chapter, has explained the persistence of postsecondary remedial education as resulting from institutional inertia and budgetary dependence coupled with political and societal pressure for equity in postsecondary education policy.

The design of this multi-method case study dissertation has enabled me to illuminate the case of postsecondary remedial education in Illinois from various different

angles. The synthesis and integration of the information obtained from multiple sources of data add to the reliability of the findings. This dissertation has opened and suggested multiple paths for future inquiry, while contributing to an understanding of the complexities of public policy processes.

As with any research project, there are limitations. This dissertation was limited to a study of postsecondary remedial education in one state, Illinois. As such, it was limited in the number of state legislators and community college stakeholders who were interviewed. Consistent with elite interviewing techniques, purposeful sampling combined with limited snowball sampling, was utilized to identify potential interview subjects who are directly involved in community college and postsecondary remedial education policy in Illinois. Although small in number (11), the completed interviews provided thick, rich, in-depth, and unique insights of central importance to this inquiry. Furthermore, a point of saturation was reached, as interview subjects frequently repeated what others had already reported. Additionally, the last question of the interview protocol for both legislators and stakeholders asked: "Are there any other legislators or community college stakeholders who you think I should talk to about community colleges and remediation?" None of the legislators or stakeholders who were interviewed, recommended anyone that had not already been included as part of the elite sample.

Another limitation of this dissertation relates to the budgetary dependence that Illinois community colleges have on the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education. Only two years (FY2012 and FY2013) of ICCB financial reports were available for full analysis. While this dissertation's findings regarding budgetary

dependence provide a snapshot in time, ICCB reports of actual direct and indirect expenditures in future years should be monitored for consistency with the findings presented in this study. Ideally, myself and perhaps other researchers will replicate the profit/loss model developed and presented in this dissertation for further research, analysis and comparison in and amongst the states. For example, where the profit/loss model components are available (appropriations, revenue, expenditures) in states other than Illinois, future research may seek to estimate more widespread community college budgetary dependence on the policy of providing postsecondary remediation.

Applying this dissertation's profit/loss model to individual community college districts within the state of Illinois could also prove illuminating. An analysis and comparison of profit/loss across all categories of community college instruction at urban, suburban, and rural community colleges may reflect disparities similar to those typically found in K-12 education, as a significant portion of community college revenue is generated by local property taxes. This is of particular interest to me, as an Urban Political Scientist.

Although this dissertation has presented findings that are somewhat critical of community colleges and the policy of providing postsecondary remedial education in Illinois, I remain committed to the mission of these "people's colleges" and their efforts to provide an "open door" to our democracy. I further believe in the potential, yet to be completely realized, of postsecondary remedial education to fulfill the American promise of equality of opportunity, especially for disadvantaged populations. In Chapter III of this dissertation, I referred to community colleges as the "emergency rooms" of higher education. Blaming community colleges for not succeeding, when faced with educating

the most challenging and unprepared students in all of higher education, is like blaming emergency room doctors who are unable to save, despite their best efforts, the most critical patients.

Richard D. Kahlenberg (2014) has argued that “few elites give much thought to community colleges” despite the fact that “they educate 44 percent of our undergraduates” (p.36). He believes that community colleges “need help” and more attention. He contends that:

Community colleges fail to produce better results in part because they are caught in a double bind: Asked to educate students with the greatest needs, two-year colleges have the fewest resources. Moreover, our higher education system, like the larger society, is increasingly divided between rich and poor, an arrangement that rarely works out well for low-income people (p.38).

Although the rhetoric of efficiency dominates all aspects and all levels of education policy today, it is important not to lose sight of the essential role community colleges play in offering first, second, and even third chances for individuals to achieve and succeed. It is my sincere hope that the findings of this dissertation may serve to “help” and inform future policy decisions about postsecondary remedial education at Illinois community colleges.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A**Sample Email Message Requesting Elite Interview**

Dear _____,

I am a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at the University of Illinois at Chicago. I am in the process of writing my doctoral dissertation and am collecting data related to community colleges, higher education, and state lobbying practices for that purpose. It is my hope that you will agree to meet with me for an interview of approximately 30-45 minutes to discuss important higher education policy issues in Illinois.

Thank you for considering this request. Your insight, knowledge and experience is extremely valuable to my research.

Warm regards,

Constance A. Mixon
Ph.D. Candidate, Political Science
University of Illinois at Chicago
conmixn@uic.edu

APPENDIX B

Verbal Informed Consent to Participate in Research Statement

I am asking you to take part in my dissertation research study because I am trying to learn more about higher education issues and community colleges in Illinois. You have been selected to participate in this study because of your position as a

(Insert interview subject's position title: i.e., member of the Illinois General Assembly or Community College stakeholder).

You are being asked to participate in an interview, which will last 30-45 minutes. Your participation in this dissertation research study is voluntary. You can decline to participate, and you can stop your participation at any time, if you wish to do so, without any negative consequences to you.

There is no risk to you from participating in this study. The answers you provide during the interview will be confidential. No information will be used which will reveal your identity. All of your answers will be coded by a special identifying number rather than your name. All of my notes pertaining to this interview will be kept in a locked file cabinet. Only I will have access to these notes.

Although you may not directly benefit from participation in this research study, your participation will benefit social scientific research. The knowledge gained from your expertise will provide social scientists, educators, legislators, and the general public with important information about higher education issues and community colleges in Illinois.

Are you willing to participate in this dissertation research study?

Answering the interview questions that I ask means that you consent to participate in this dissertation research study.

Do you have any questions?

Should you have any questions or concerns about this dissertation research study, please feel free to contact me at conmixn@uic.edu or by phone at 773-779-1003. My faculty sponsor is Dr. Dennis Judd, Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Chicago. He may be contacted at djudd@uic.edu or by phone at 312-996-4421.

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, or if you have any concerns or complaints about this dissertation research study, you may contact the UIC Office for Protection of Research Subjects at uicirb@uic.edu or by phone at 312-996-1711.

APPENDIX C

Semi-Structured, Open-Ended Elite Interview Questions: Illinois State Legislators

1. In your opinion, what is the mission of Illinois community colleges?
 - a. Does the mission vary by college/geography? For example, does a community college in southern, rural Illinois have a different mission from the City Colleges of Chicago?

2. How often do you meet with representatives from Illinois community colleges?
 - a. Who are these representatives (are they from a specific community college, ICCTA, ICCB, etc...)?
 - b. One-on-one meetings?
 - c. Attend lobby day functions?
 - d. Visit community college campuses?

3. When you meet with Illinois community college representatives, what do they tell you they need most from the Illinois General Assembly? What do they lobby you for?
 - a. What community college programs do they highlight?
 - b. What community college programs need more state funding? Why?
 - b. Do community college needs vary by college/geography?

4. In your opinion, what do you think are the greatest challenges facing community colleges in Illinois?

If legislator identifies postsecondary remedial education, PI will skip to question #6.

If legislator does not identify postsecondary remedial education, PI will ask question #5.

5. In recent years, unprepared students in need of remedial education have received a great deal of local and national attention. Is this a significant problem for community colleges in Illinois?
 - a. Why/How so?
 - b. Examples?

6. In your opinion, why are so many students unprepared for college level coursework in Illinois?
 - a. What if anything, is the Illinois General Assembly doing about the need for college remediation?

Can/Should the Illinois General Assembly do more?
 - b. Is it possible to significantly reduce the need for college remediation?

How?

7. How well do you think community colleges are meeting the need for college remediation in Illinois?
 - a. Should community colleges have the primary responsibility for remediation?
Why or why not?
 - b. Are current community college remediation programs adequate?
 - c. Examples of noteworthy programs?
 - d. What can be improved?
 - e. What resources are needed?
 - f. Is state funding for remediation adequate?
8. When you meet with community college representatives what do they tell you (if anything) about remediation?
9. In your opinion, is providing college remediation something community colleges have embraced and want to provide? Why or Why Not?
10. Are there any other legislators or community college stakeholders who you think I should talk to about community colleges and remediation?

APPENDIX C (continued).

Semi-Structured, Open-Ended Elite Interview Questions: Illinois Community College Stakeholders

1. In your opinion, what is the mission of Illinois community colleges?
 - a. Does the mission vary by college/geography? For example, does a community college in southern, rural Illinois have a different mission from the City Colleges of Chicago?

2. How often do you meet with members of the Illinois General Assembly about community college issues?
 - a. Specifically, whom do you meet with (your Representative/Senator, members of higher education committees, leadership, etc...)?
 - b. One-on-one meetings?
 - c. Do they attend community college lobby day functions?
 - d. Do they visit community college campuses?

3. When you meet with members of the Illinois General Assembly what do you tell them community colleges need most from the Illinois General Assembly? What do you lobby them for?
 - a. What community college programs do you highlight?
 - b. What community college programs need more state funding? Why?
 - b. Do community college needs vary by college/geography?

4. In your opinion, what do you think are the greatest challenges facing community colleges in Illinois?

If stakeholder identifies postsecondary remedial education, PI will skip to question #6.

If stakeholder does not identify postsecondary remedial education, PI will ask question #5.

5. In recent years, unprepared students in need of remedial education have received a great deal of local and national attention. Is this a significant problem for community colleges in Illinois?
 - a. Why/How so?
 - b. Examples?

6. In your opinion, why are so many students unprepared for college level coursework in Illinois?
 - a. What if anything are Illinois community colleges doing about the need for college remediation?

Can/Should community colleges do more?
 - b. What if anything, is the Illinois General Assembly doing about the need for college remediation?

APPENDIX C (continued).

Can/Should the Illinois General Assembly do more?

c. Is it possible to significantly reduce the need for college remediation? How?

7. How well do you think community colleges are meeting the need for college remediation in Illinois?

a. Should community colleges have the primary responsibility for remediation?

Why or why not?

b. Are current community college remediation programs adequate?

c. Examples of noteworthy programs?

d. What can be improved?

e. What resources are needed?

f. Is state funding for remediation adequate?

8. When you meet with members of the Illinois General Assembly what do you tell them (if anything) about remediation?

9. In your opinion, is providing college remediation something community colleges have embraced and want to provide? Why or Why Not?

10. Are there any other community college stakeholders or legislators who you think I should talk to about community colleges and remediation?

APPENDIX D

Illinois Community College Mission Statements: October 2014

District #	District/College	College has a mission statement?	Mission statement addresses remediation?
503	Black Hawk	Yes	No
508	Chicago	Yes	Yes
	Daley	Yes	Yes
	Kennedy-King	Yes	No
	Malcolm X	Yes	No
	Olive-Harvey	Yes	No
	Truman	Yes	No
	Washington	Yes	No
	Wilbur Wright	Yes	No
507	Danville	Yes	No
502	DuPage	Yes	No
509	Elgin	Yes	No
512	Harper	Yes	Yes
540	Heartland	Yes	Yes
519	Highland	Yes	Yes
514	Illinois Central	Yes	Yes
529	Illinois Eastern	Yes	Yes
	Frontier	Yes	Yes
	Lincoln Trail	Yes	Yes
	Olney Central	Yes	Yes
	Wabash Valley	Yes	Yes
513	Illinois Valley	Yes	Yes
525	Joliet	Yes	No
520	Kankakee	Yes	Yes
501	Kaskaskia	Yes	No
523	Kishwaukee	Yes	No
532	Lake County	Yes	Yes
517	Lake Land	Yes	No
536	Lewis & Clark	Yes	Yes
526	Lincoln Land	Yes	No
530	Logan	Yes	No
528	McHenry	Yes	No
524	Moraine Valley	Yes	No
527	Morton	Yes	No
535	Oakton	Yes	No
505	Parkland	Yes	Yes
515	Prairie State	Yes	Yes
521	Rend Lake	Yes	No
537	Richland	Yes	Yes
511	Rock Valley	Yes	No
518	Carl Sandburg	Yes	No
506	Sauk Valley	Yes	No
531	Shawnee	Yes	Yes

APPENDIX D (continued).**Illinois Community College Mission Statements: October 2014**

District #	District/College	College has a mission statement?	Mission statement addresses remediation?
533	Southeastern	Yes	Yes
522	Southwestern	Yes	No
534	Spoon River	Yes	Yes
504	Triton	Yes	No
516	Waubonsee	Yes	Yes
539	John Wood	Yes	No

APPENDIX E

Illinois Community College Board Summary Allocation Table

(General Revenue Funds only)

<u>Grants</u>	FY2013 Final <u>Appropriation</u>
<u>Unrestricted Grants</u>	
Base Operating Grant	\$ 191,271,900
Performance Based Funding	\$ 360,000
Small College Grant	\$ 550,000
Equalization Grant	\$ 75,570,800
subtotal	\$ 267,752,700
<u>Statewide Initiative & Other Grants</u>	
City Colleges of Chicago Grant	\$ 14,079,000
East St. Louis Higher Education Center	\$ 1,491,500
Lincoln's Challenge Program	\$ 61,600
Adult Education Grants	\$ 32,274,000
GED Testing	\$ 980,000
Career and Technical Education Grants	\$ 17,569,400
subtotal	\$ 66,455,500
<u>Legislative Add-On's</u>	
Lincoln Land Veteran's Grants	\$ 117,000
Rend Lake Veterans' Grants	\$ 46,800
Richland Veterans' Grants	\$ 45,900
IL Central Veterans' Grants	\$ 157,300
IL Valley Veterans' Grants	\$ 46,500
South Western IL College Veterans' Grants	\$ 157,200
Lake Land Veterans' Grants	\$ 62,300
Parkland Veterans' Grants	\$ 117,000
Rock Valley College High School Transitions	\$ 200,000
CTE LPN Transfer from ISBE for designated programs	\$ 500,000
Alternative Schools Network Grant/South Suburban	\$ 3,065,800
subtotal	\$ 4,515,800
TOTAL	\$ 338,724,000
<u>Adult Education & Family Literacy Federal Allocation</u>	\$ 21,674,473
<u>Career & Technical Education Federal Allocation</u>	\$ 16,379,418

APPENDIX F

Exemption Granted

July 20, 2012

Constance Mixon, BA, MPA Political Science
10027 S. Fairfield
Chicago, IL 60655
Phone: (773) 779-1003

RE: Research Protocol # 2012-0608
"Illinois Community Colleges and Policy Advocacy Coalitions"
Sponsor(s): None Dear Ms. Mixon:

Analysis of the existing materials (mission/vision statements, lobbying records, etc.) does not represent human subjects research as defined under 45 CFR 46.102(f).

Your Claim of Exemption was reviewed on July 20, 2012 and it was determined that your research protocol meets the criteria for exemption as defined in the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services Regulations for the Protection of Human Subjects [(45 CFR 46.101(b)]. You may now begin your research.

Exemption Period: July 20, 2012 – July 20, 2015 Performance Site(s): UIC
Subject Population: Adult (18+ years) subjects only
Number of Subjects: 30

The specific exemption category under 45 CFR 46.101(b) is:

- (2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You are reminded that investigators whose research involving human subjects is determined to be exempt from the federal regulations for the protection of human subjects still have responsibilities for the ethical conduct of the research under state law and UIC policy. Please be aware of the following UIC policies and responsibilities for investigators:

1. **Amendments** You are responsible for reporting any amendments to your research protocol that may affect the determination of the exemption and may result in your research no longer being eligible for the exemption that has been granted.

APPENDIX F (continued).

2. Record Keeping You are responsible for maintaining a copy all research related records in a secure location in the event future verification is necessary, at a minimum these documents include: the research protocol, the claim of exemption application, all questionnaires, survey instruments, interview questions and/or data collection instruments associated with this research protocol, recruiting or advertising materials, any consent forms or information sheets given to subjects, or any other pertinent documents.
3. Final Report When you have completed work on your research protocol, you should submit a final report to the Office for Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS).
4. Information for Human Subjects UIC Policy requires investigators to provide information about the research protocol to subjects and to obtain their permission prior to their participating in the research. The information about the research protocol should be presented to subjects in writing or orally from a written script. When appropriate, the following information must be provided to all research subjects participating in exempt studies:
 - a. The researchers affiliation; UIC, JBVMAC or other institutions,
 - b. The purpose of the research,
 - c. The extent of the subject's involvement and an explanation of the procedures to be followed,
 - d. Whether the information being collected will be used for any purposes other than the proposed research,
 - e. A description of the procedures to protect the privacy of subjects and the confidentiality of the research information and data,
 - f. Description of any reasonable foreseeable risks,
 - g. Description of anticipated benefit,
 - h. A statement that participation is voluntary and subjects can refuse to participate or can stop at any time,
 - i. A statement that the researcher is available to answer any questions that the subject may have and which includes the name and phone number of the investigator(s).
 - j. A statement that the UIC IRB/OPRS or JBVMAC Patient Advocate Office is available if there are questions about subject's rights, which includes the appropriate phone numbers.

Please be sure to:

→ Use your research protocol number (listed above) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact me at (312) 355-2908 or the OPRS office at

APPENDIX F (continued).

(312) 996-1711. Please send any correspondence about this protocol to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

Sincerely,

Charles W. Hoehne, B.S., C.I.P. Assistant Director, IRB # 2
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

cc: Dick W. Simpson, Political Science, M/C 276
Dennis Judd, Political Science, M/C 276

APPENDIX G**Permission to Reprint/Replicate Statements**

17 April 2015

Constance Mixon
Elmhurst College
Elmhurst, Illinois

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VITA

NAME: Constance Anne Mixon

EDUCATION: B.A., Politics, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, 1988

M.P.A., Public Administration, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 1995

Ph.D., Political Science, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 2015

TEACHING: Urban Studies Program, Elmhurst College, Director & Associate Professor, 2010-Present

Political Science Department, Elmhurst College, Associate Professor, 2010-Present

Social Sciences Department (Political Science), City Colleges of Chicago, Associate Professor, 1999-2010

HONORS: Who's Who Among America's Teachers, 2006
Pi Sigma Alpha Excellence in Teaching Award, American Political Science Association, 2002
Illinois Professor of the Year, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2001
Woman of the Year, American Association of Women in Community Colleges: CCC Chapter, 2001
Pi Alpha Alpha, National Honorary Society for Public Affairs and Administration, 1994

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS: Society of Midland Authors, 2012-Present
Urban Affairs Association, 2009-Present
One Million Degrees: Board of Directors, 2006-Present
WYCC/Channel 20 (PBS-Chicago): Advisory Board, 2006-2010
City Club of Chicago, 2005-Present
American Political Science Association, 1995-Present
Midwest Political Science Association, 1995-Present

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS: Mixon, C.A. (2012). A persistent problem: Postsecondary remedial education. *Illinois Political Science Review*, Vol.14: 72-115

Simpson, D., C.A. Mixon, & M. Mourtisen. (Eds.). (2015) *Twenty-first century Chicago* (3rd ed.). University Readers: Cognella Publishing.