



UC-AFT PERSPECTIVE

UNIVERSITY COUNCIL-AFT/CALIFORNIA FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFT/AFL-CIO • VOLUME 24, NUMBER 2 • SPRING 2012



The state of higher education in California

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BOB SAMUELS, UC-AFT PRESIDENT

Documenting the failure of the Master Plan

Two reports have recently come out showing how the California Master Plan for Higher Education has failed. While this plan worked for a few decades, it has now been undermined.

In fact, the most telling statistic in the report, entitled *Beyond the Master Plan: The Case for Restructuring Baccalaureate Education in California* <www.ittybittyurl.com/civilrightscolleges>, is that “California now ranks last among the states in the proportion of its college students that attend a four-year institution.” In other words, there are simply not enough spots open at universities for California students, and while many students do go to community colleges, very few of these students end up graduating or transferring to universities.

The new Master Reality is one that is dominated by racial disparities. “Relative to their share of the state’s college-age population, Latino, African American, and American Indian students are more poorly represented in California’s four-year universities than in any other state except Arizona. Inevitably, the state’s low rate of minority enrollment in four-year institutions translates into low rates of baccalaureate attainment: California ranks 45th in the proportion of its underrepresented minority population that attains a B.A.” While these underrepresented minority groups now represent the majority in California, their level of college degree attainment is one of the lowest in the country.

A conspiracy theorist would say that the state started to defund higher education when it saw that most of the students were going to be non-whites,

but we do not need a conspiracy to explain this situation. The major factor for this problem is that the state has simply not spent enough money building new four-year institutions. Due to this lack of enrollment space, community college students have no way to transfer to universities.

Education system reflects institutionalized racism

Moreover, as the press release “Civil Rights Project Reports Call for Fundamental Changes in California’s Community Colleges” argues, “Almost 75% of all Latino and two-thirds of all Black students who go on to higher education in California go to a community college, yet in 2010 only 20% of all transfers to four-year institutions were Latino or African American. Pathways to the baccalaureate are segregated; students attending low-performing high schools usually go directly into community colleges that transfer few students to four-year colleges. Conversely, a handful of community colleges serving high percentages of white, Asian and middle class students

are responsible for the majority of all transfers in the state.” In other words, if you are not white and you do not go to the right community college in California, you have virtually no chance of ever getting a four-year degree. In fact, I recently discovered that a large group of community college students who do end

up transferring to the UCs are in reality out-of-state and international students who come to California in order to eventually transfer to the UC system.

The second report, *Unrealized Promises: Unequal Access, Affordability, and Excellence at Community Colleges in Southern*

California <www.ittybittyurl.com/unrealizedpromises>, reveals how “segregated high schools with weak records feed students into heavily minority community colleges where few students successfully transfer.” The de facto system in the new Master Reality is that a conveyor belt has been produced that moves students from segregated high schools serving low-income Black and Hispanic students to segregated, low-performing community colleges, which produce very few transfer students. The end result is that everyone

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The new Master Reality is one that is dominated by racial disparities.

On the cover: A student demonstrates at the Capitol during the National Day of Action for Public Education, March 5. (Photo: David Bacon)



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The University Council-AFT represents faculty and librarians at the University of California.

President	Bob Samuels, UCLA
VP for Legislation	Alex Borg, UCD
VP for Organizing	Mike Rotkin, UCSC
VP for Grievances	Alan Karras, UCB
Secretary-Treasurer	Miki Goral, UCLA

For contract administration issues contact:

UCB	Michelle Squitieri	510/384-6727
UCD	Jeff Narten	530/361-6130
UCSF	Michelle Squitieri	510/384-6727
UCI	Holly Craig-Wehrle	949/375-4948
UCLA	John Bruning	310/330-6906
UCM	Jeff Narten	209/382-6295
UCR	Sandra Baringer	951/827-1966
UCSD	Maria Tillmanns	858/449-8429
UCSB	Bill Quirk	805/689-0645
UCSC	Allison Guevara	831/239-2898
Exec. Director	Maria Elena Cortez	310/330-6906

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Editor Vanessa Tait

UC-AFT/California Federation of Teachers

1201 Marina Village Parkway, Suite 115
Alameda, CA 94501

- phone: 510/523-5238
- email: mecortez@ucaft.org
- website: www.ucaft.org

UC-AFT teaches the budget

By Bill Quirk

The movement to defend higher education funding has been active since big budget cuts and tuition increases began in 2009. This movement has had various successes over the last few years. We convinced Governor Schwarzenegger to commit to refunding education, we stopped library closures, saved programs and delayed cuts, and pushed campus administrators to refuse further cuts to instructional budgets.

In the fall of 2011, the Occupy movement brought new energy to education activists, and we held historic protests at Berkeley, Davis and Riverside. Fueled by the mantra of the 99%, these protests focused on the illegitimacy of the UC regents as stewards of the public trust and the inability of the state legislature to secure adequate revenue to fund education.

National media coverage of the protests led to public outrage and broader public support. By the end of the fall quarter, a coalition of campus and community groups had chosen March 1 as the beginning of a statewide week of action.

Teach the Budget brings issues to classrooms

UC-AFT launched the “Teach the Budget” campaign to contextualize these highly visible protests within the state and UC budgets and to propose alternatives to ongoing cuts. We immediately began working with our members to plan classroom discussions using the Teach the Budget curriculum developed by graduate students at UCSC. Our goal was to bring these discussions to as many classrooms as possible before March 1. By the end of February, several

hundred lecturers, librarians, Senate faculty, graduate students and undergrads had led discussions with several thousand UC students.

Teach the Budget was a highly successful organizing effort for UC-AFT. Our members embraced the campaign and found many creative ways to use the curriculum.

Lecturers wrote grammar and translation exercises for writing and language classes, designed word problems for math classes, and used the curriculum to inform comparisons of higher education funding models in other countries.

A highlight of the campaign came from a librarian at UC Davis who created a suite of materials to facilitate research on the state and UC budgets.

Teach the Budget was also successful because it was a coalition effort. UAW members, who began teaching the budget a few years ago, and who developed most of the Teach the Budget curriculum, were key organizers on many campuses. Undergraduates led dozens of discussions, and the UCSC Faculty Association endorsed the campaign. While our short-term campaign was a success, the big issues of state funding shortfalls and UC’s failure to prioritize students remain.

Public awareness growing

Since 2008, California has reduced spending on K-12 by 23%. Spending on higher education has declined by close to a billion dollars. Tuition at UC has nearly tripled since 2000, and total student loan debt nationwide has grown



David Bacon, photo

We convinced Gov. Schwarzenegger to commit to refunding education, we stopped library closures, saved programs and delayed cuts.

511% since 1999. UC’s operating budget has grown every year since the beginning of the economic collapse, yet they choose to cut funding for instruction and student services.

In the wake of the recent protests, we’ve begun to see a positive shift in public perception about the need to increase education funding. Polls also indicate an increased willingness to raise taxes to pay for it. Governor Brown’s tax initiative will help in the short term, but it falls far short of a long-term commitment to funding for high quality education in California.

UC-AFT will continue to update the Teach the Budget curriculum and to promote its use in our member’s classes. Until we have a real commitment from the state and UC to fund instruction and student support services at adequate levels, UC-AFT members should continue to find ways to bring Teach the Budget to their classes.

Bill Quirk serves as UC-AFT’s director of education, as well as an organizer at UCSB.

November ballot initiative targets working people's voices

The Supreme Court decision *Citizens United* unleashed a flood of unprecedented corporate spending in elections, but corporations and the rich are not content to stop there in silencing working people and clearing the field of any opposition to their agenda.

This November's ballot will host yet another initiative designed to strip middle class voters from having any organized voice in politics. The deceptively-named "Stop Special Interest Money Now Act" is being peddled by its backers as a straightforward and fair campaign finance reform. In reality, the measure targets union members while leaving huge loopholes for corporations.

The initiative is so brazenly deceptive that the *Long Beach Press Telegram* called it "a phony veneer of fairness . . . one-sided and biased."

The initiative would prohibit member-approved use of union funds for political campaigns, ballot measures, or independent expenditures, as well as direct contributions by unions to political party committees and state or local candidates.

Widening corporate loopholes

It would also prohibit any voluntary deductions from union members collected via payroll deductions. It prohibits this of corporations, too – except that corporations use their company profits to fund political contributions and rarely collect them through payroll deductions from their employees. It is fair in the same way the law prevents both rich and poor from sleeping under bridges. Loopholes like this would allow corporations to make unlimited contributions to political campaigns.

All political contributions from union members are already voluntary, but the initiative would add a new requirement that even voluntary contributions would require written permission each year from union members to use the funds.

Media reports about campaign

finances routinely cite union and corporate contributions as if they were generally equal. *In fact, corporations outspend unions in elections by 15 to 1.* This "Corporate Deception Initiative" would strip working people of any voice in elections. Corporations would be free to fund anti-worker candidates or skew political debate even further against workers, and of course the wealthy can always just write checks – for amounts sometimes greater than any of us earn in an entire year. The voices of teachers, nurses, librarians, plumbers, state workers, and more would be effectively silenced. If it passes, it would result in big corporations and their lobbyists having even more influence over the political process in California than they already do.

The measure is the brainchild of Orange County conservatives and is receiving much of its funding from millionaires associated with the right wing Lincoln Club of Orange County. The anti-tax extremist Grover Norquist and

allies have sponsored similar measures in other states, with the avowed goal of weakening labor rights and abolishing organized labor. They tried passing similar measures in California in 1998 and 2005. California voters rejected them both times.

Despite the proponents' claims that this initiative is intended to "get special interest money out of politics," the truth is that it's a deceptive trick to defund any organized political activity that stands in the way of the right-wing big money agenda. The initiative is misleading and full of consequences that would hurt all working families. It does absolutely nothing to limit corporate influence on politics while severely curtailing working people's ability to have a voice. The result would be a devastating tilt in power to the corporate elite that would further undermine our state's middle class.

For more information, see the California Labor Federation's site, <www.calaborfed.org>.

UC-AFT members pass a dues increase

UC-AFT members voted overwhelmingly in favor of the executive board's proposal for a modest dues increase. The final results of the dues vote are in and all nine locals voted in favor of the increase, with very good voter turnout. The fact that the increase passed by fairly wide margins on almost all campuses is reassuring and energizing for the UC-AFT executive board.

I want to thank all of you who took the time to cast your ballot in this important vote. Sound finances are essential to for effective representation of UC-AFT members and for our efforts to carry forward the issues that matter most to our union.

We recognize that union dues are a significant deduction from our member's paychecks and that this increase comes at a difficult time for many. UC-AFT officers and staff remain committed to the ideals of fairness and equity, and to the work required to bring about improvements in our work lives. Thank you for supporting UC-AFT! – *President Bob Samuels*

Librarians bargain a new contract

By Mike Rotkin, Chief Negotiator for Unit 17, UC-AFT

On April 2, 2012, the UC-AFT librarians' negotiating team and the university administration's negotiating team will exchange formal lists of the articles we are opening. We have scheduled two days of face-to-face bargaining on April 19 and 20 at the UC Office of the President in Oakland. This spring, the *entire* Unit 17 librarian memorandum of understanding (MOU), also known as the Unit 17 contract, will be subject to re-negotiation.

Scope of bargaining clarified

The two negotiating teams met in Oakland on February 3, 2012, for an informal discussion of major concerns. It was clear that neither team intends to seek modifications to *every* article in the existing contract. The administration is seeking some modifications to the grievance process that will mirror changes that have already been accepted by the lecturers' unit (Unit 18).

These will apparently involve simplifying timelines and notification procedures. They are also seeking to reduce some notification periods for things such as furlough programs when they are driven by financial emergencies. None of these appear to result in major hardships for our members, but we will know more when we get into the thick of actual bargaining.

On the union side, we have a number of major concerns and a few others as well. Our opening proposal is based on a survey that we conducted with our members on every campus to determine the issues of greatest importance to the librarians in Unit 17.

Topping the list is the question of employee compensation. Although Unit 17 did make some headway in our bargaining over salary last year, compensation for UC librarians still remains about 19% behind librarians at the California state universities and behind librarians with comparable education and experience at community colleges throughout the state.

Without necessarily accepting our fig-

ures on pay disparity, the administration has agreed to work with UC-AFT in assessing the relationship between librarian compensation at UC and how the labor market affects recruitment and retention of librarians at UC.

While we do not expect to regain comparability in a single year of bargaining, we have made it clear to the UC administration that our goal is to develop a new pay scale that will address comparability with other academic librarians in California, so that UC can begin to address its serious problems with recruitment and retention of professional librarians.

It is very likely that any agreement will include a multi-year approach to reducing UC's compensation gap for its professional librarians.

Non-compensation issues also important

Other issues we will be attempting to address through our bargaining this year include:

Professional development. Increasingly UC librarians are not provided with sufficient support for research in their areas of responsibility, and a disproportionate share of professional development support appears to be directed to management employees.

Workload. Because of the problems with retention and recruitment and the increasing inability to fill vacant positions, librarians still working at UC are facing unrealistic expectations that they can do two or three people's jobs without additional support.

Review process. The workload problems at most UC libraries have made the review process for librarian promotions more problematic. Expectations based on workloads that used to be more reasonable are raising concerns about the current criteria for promotions, while diverging practices on several campuses are raising concerns about transparency, consistency, and fairness of the review process.

Other issues that we want to address in the bargaining process include remote work policies (telecommuting), faculty



Libraries are more than books.

status of librarians, and tuition reimbursements for classes related to librarian work.

As always, our ability to win significant concessions through the bargaining process will depend as much on our ability to mobilize our members in support of our bargaining goals as it does upon the cleverness of our negotiating team at the bargaining table. We intend to offer proposals that will address not just the needs of our members for decent compensation, but will help resolve the university's current serious problems with retention and recruitment of librarians.

By now, most of our members are all too aware that bargaining a new contract that meets the needs of UC as an institution of higher learning depends as much on the mobilization of our members in support of our bargaining goals as it does on the rational arguments we put forth at the bargaining table.

Mike Rotkin serves as UC-AFT's VP for Organizing and was a long-time lecturer at UCSC.

UC-AFT joins demonstration carrying message to state

By Axel Borg

In mid-December 2011, planning began for a series of events that culminated in the occupation of the Capitol building on March 5th.

Early leadership by the University of California Student Association (UCSA), working with the student associations of the California State University system and the California community colleges, resulted in the three student organizations combining their lobbying efforts into a single day, March 5, 2012.

The Occupy Education organization, working with a wide coalition of education interests that ranged from kindergarten through post-graduate studies, as well as a wide range of community groups, mobilized thousands of students to send a message to the state government, the Legislature and the people of California, that public education was still alive and kicking.

UC students, staff and faculty make their voices heard

Beginning on March 1, a series of local actions took place across the state (the account of one of these follows on page 7). At the same time a group of marchers, marching for the 99%, began a 99-mile march to the Capitol. They arrived in Sacramento along with thousands of students lobbying for an end to cuts in education, particularly higher education.

Activists from the Occupy Education coalition, which included UC, CSU and CC students, occupied the rotunda and began a general assembly. The California Highway Patrol was out in force, quickly cordoning off the rotunda and limiting the number of occupiers. As the general assembly continued, occupiers found themselves cut off from access to the restrooms.

At this point, Lieutenant Governor Gavin Newsom intervened and was able to secure access to restrooms for the occupiers, thus disproving that our Lieu-

tenant Governor is powerless.

UC-AFT's president, Bob Samuels, was present from the beginning of the demonstrations and was joined in the afternoon by myself, Axel Borg. Late in the afternoon a rally was held on the north steps of the Capitol in support of the occupiers of the rotunda.

Along with a number of labor and education leaders, Samuels spoke to the crowd, which at this point numbered several hundred. With the Capitol scheduled to close at 6 PM, and the CHP preparing to arrest the occupiers inside the Capitol building, the organizers of the rally secured 20 pizzas to be delivered to our brothers and sisters inside the Capitol.

With Bob Samuels carrying 4 of the pizzas and leading the way, I and three students from Fresno State led several hundred demonstrators from the north steps to the main entrance of the Capitol on the west steps. There we were blocked by a double cordon of CHP officers augmented with local Sacramento police, all in riot gear.

While we were ultimately unsuccessful in delivering the pizzas to our brothers and sisters inside the Capitol, the scene outside was loud, boisterous and exciting.

On a serious note, the numbers of students and other demonstrators in Sacramento sent a clear message to the governor, to the Legislature and to the citizens of California: the budget will not be balanced on the backs of the 99%.

Axel Borg is UC-AFT's vice president for legislation, and a Wine and Food Science bibliographer at the Robert Mondavi Institute at UC Davis.

Rallying in Sacramento for higher education funding; a sit-down inside the Capitol rotunda; a demonstration at UCSD. (Top to bottom, photos by David Bacon, Brian Edwards-Tiekert and Fred Lonidier).



FROM SACRAMENTO FIGHTING FOR



Make education a true priority

Thousands of students, faculty and staff around the UC system participated in a Day of Action for Education on March 1, demanding adequate funding for higher education and California's future. Maria daVenza Tillmanns, Ph.D, is UC-AFT's field representative at UCSD, and a former lecturer there. Below, we reprint her remarks at the UCSD rally.

Good afternoon! I was a lecturer here at UCSD for 10 years. I now work as the UCSD field representative for about 200 lecturers and 40 librarians.

What kind of professors are lecturers, anyway? Lecturers are non-Senate faculty – faculty who are not tenure-track and are specifically hired to teach undergraduate courses. Lecturers – approximately 200 of us at UCSD – teach around 50% of the courses, so Senate faculty can focus on research.

Lecturers and librarians are the backbone of undergraduate education – the backbone of UC's core mission of teaching undergraduates. If UC were serious about its teaching mission, as it says it is, it would not lay off, furlough or fire its core teaching faculty and continue to underfund or close libraries.

Instead of hiring lecturers as full-time instructors, UC considers us “temporary” faculty. “Temporary” can mean anything you want it to mean: high turnover – one-year contracts for the first 6 years of teaching (if you even get that far); or cheap labor – half the salary of full-time Senate faculty, no need to provide benefits, if you make sure the lecturers in your department teach less than 50% per quarter.

And go figure: some of us “temporary” lecturers have been teaching at UCSD for more than 20 years.

When the university finds itself in a budget crisis – mostly of its own making – guess who are the first to go? Right, the “temporary” lecturers and the libraries, which don't turn a profit. But it's not just we who are leaving. With us, courses go, programs go. Class sizes go up, quality education goes down and libraries are closed. Ask any student who

now has to pay *more* for *less*.

So how can a hedge fund masquerading as a university keep up the image of providing excellent education when the lecturers and librarians who are the backbone of quality education are among the first to go?

Who is kidding whom? The free market model for public education turns even the most intelligent among us into masters of self-deception. By squandering intellectual resources, UC is wasting a California goldmine. But for the UC president and regents, money trumps gold.

Students, however, go for gold and if not in California they will attend other world-class universities around the globe. Smart people think again before they do something. Maybe UC should re-think what it is doing to itself.

UC is limping to the state with the message to not cut funding in the future. But it gets even better. In the end, UC doesn't really care because it wants to go private anyway. To pretend it cares is all part of its masquerading. UC should re-think its priorities and stop masquerading.

If education is a priority, *make* it a priority. Thank you!

Maria Tillmanns at the mike.



Fred Lonidier, photo



TO TO SAN DIEGO:
R EDUCATION



Obama, Yudof, and the future of higher education

At the University of Michigan, President Obama made an important speech in January about his new push to control tuition increases and student debt at American universities. In Ann Arbor, he told college and university leaders, “You can’t assume that you’ll just jack up tuition every single year. If you can’t stop tuition from going up, then the funding you get from taxpayers each year will go down. We should push colleges to do better. We should hold them accountable if they don’t.”

The policy behind this statement can be found in his new “Race to the Top” initiative for higher education. Basically, the president wants to use federal grants and loans as a way of pressuring public universities and colleges to contain tuition increases, and while he does realize that state budget cuts have played a role in tuition increases, it is clear that he thinks that there are other reasons for the escalating costs. Moreover, the president wants to use a billion-dollar grant system to provide funding to states that help to control tuition increases.

In order to discuss this new initiative, PBS had President Yudof on the *News Hour*. The first question asked was the following: “At basic level, do you agree with the president’s observation that the fast-rising cost of getting a college education is harming access?” Yudof’s response was, “You have to remember the president didn’t mention that there’s been systematic disinvestment in higher education. Our budget was cut \$750 million in a year, about 25 percent . . . A third of our tuition goes back into financial aid and is distributed to low-income students -- 55 percent of our students pay no tuition -- 39 percent of the students are Pell-eligible, relatively low-income families. That’s the reality.” In other words, Yudof blamed the move to a high-fee, high-aid model solely on state budget cuts.

While it is obvious that the state budget cuts have a direct effect on tuition increases, we have also seen tuition increases when the state contribution to the UC system has gone up. Furthermore, the other guest on the show, Richard Vedder,

pointed out that there has been a massive increase in federal money going to universities and colleges, and that the increase in federally-funded grants and loans has allowed universities to continue to spend more as they reduce their reliance on state support.

Where the money is going

When President Yudof was asked about the rising costs of higher ed, he responded in the following manner. “Our costs are actually down 15 percent per credit hour over the last 10 years. That’s the reality. The states don’t want to pay. So it’s like you go to your drugstore, the insurance company doesn’t want to pay, your co-pay goes from \$10 to \$20. That doesn’t mean the cost of the drug has doubled. It just means your costs have doubled.” This response is very revealing because Yudof is openly admitting that as tuition increases, the university is actually spending less money on educating students.

So not only are students paying more and getting less, but, as Richard Vedder argued, universities are increasing their spending on non-educational expenses like administration. “But it is also clear that universities in the United States over the last generation or so have enormously increased their staffs, for example, administrative personnel, student service personnel . . . the cumulative effects of a lot of spending on things outside of the core missions has contributed somewhat to the inflation in college costs.”

In support of Vedder’s claims, my own research shows that universities now spend on average about 10% of their total budgets on undergraduate education, but undergraduates and states support 35% of the total university budgets. Meanwhile, the costs for professional education, ad-

ministration, and research continues to increase, and so as undergraduates pay more, they end up subsidizing other parts of their universities to a greater extent.

When asked what would happen if the federal government decreased its support for the University of California, Yudof replied that, “classes will get bigger, class access may suffer, time to degree may grow. I agree with Professor Vedder. We have to do a better job of cutting our budgets. If we have too many administra-



UCLA students who are the first – and possibly last – generation to go to college, unless we can solve UC’s affordability crisis.

tors, let’s reduce the number.” While we have seen some reduction of administrators at the Office of the President, we are still waiting to see what the campuses will do about administrative bloat. Furthermore, class sizes have already gotten bigger and the access to require classes has already decreased, so it is hard to see how the university is going to maintain educational quality as it increases tuition and aid.

What we should push for is clearer budget transparency so we can see how universities are actually spending the money they do have. We also have to insist on a renewed commitment to undergraduate education, and a major emphasis on making sure that federal research grants receive enough overhead funding (indirect costs) to make them at least break even. – *Bob Samuels*

How budget cuts affect teaching and learning in the UC and CSU systems

By Bob Samuels

Scott Martindale's article, "UCI faculty: Quality eroding as class sizes swell," in the January 27, 2012, *Orange County Register* does a good job at showing how recent budget cuts are hurting the instructional quality in the UC and CSU systems. His central point is that as students pay more, they end up getting less: "Tuition has soared at the University of California and Cal State systems in recent years, but not by enough to offset deep state cuts. The universities have responded with some creative ideas, but the solutions haven't staved off fundamental changes in how students are educated and in the quality they can expect from their ever-pricier education."

In order to explore how educational quality is being affected by budget cuts, Martindale focuses on specific classes and professors. For example, he points out that, "Instead of two teaching assistants for a class of about 50 students, UC Irvine professor Mark LeVine now gets one."

Sacrificing quality

The article continues by pointing out that not only are there now more students per graduate student assistant, but many small, interactive classes have disappeared: "Instead of being able to lead intimate seminar classes of just a dozen or so, LeVine is under pressure to teach more large, lecture-style classes." In the push to get professors to teach more students for less money, students are paying more to get a reduced educational experience.

In fact, the move to larger classes staffed with fewer graduate assistants means that, "Instead of assigning multiple, full-length research papers throughout the quarter, the history professor has modified class assignments for his students so they're easier and quicker to grade."

These changes have a profound effect on how and what students are taught, and they also work to diminish important critical thinking and communication skills. According to LeVine, "We're

forced to really lower our demands so that we can actually get through all the work in terms of grading." This statement is a profound indictment of how educational quality is being downgraded as undergraduate students pay more and go into greater debt to fund their education.

For LeVine, this sacrifice of educational quality defines the fundamental crisis at our nation's universities: "The whole idea in the humanities is to take seminars of 12 or 14 students, where we teach them

to think critically, where we really create the scholars and doctors and lawyers. We can't do nearly as many seminars because even 20 students isn't cutting it anymore. ... We're talking about a university that is undergoing a profound crisis." As I have previously pointed out, the only reason why universities are able to charge more as they deliver an inferior educational experience is that no one seems to monitor the quality of undergraduate instruction

(continued on page 10)

Meeting at the White House, the state tax initiative, and the UC regents

by Bob Samuels

On March 27th, I made a presentation at the White House on how to control tuition increases at American research universities. My first major point was that any attempt to contain tuition at public universities has to deal with state budget cuts for higher ed. I was told that the administration is aware of this issue, and they have been meeting with the presidents of several public universities to come up with a way to motivate states to stabilize higher ed funding.

My second major point was that while President Obama has been stressing affordability and access, he also has to focus on the quality of instruction. To make this point, I discussed how universities have been increasing the sizes of their classes and their dependence on under-supported non-tenure-track faculty to drive down the costs of instruction; meanwhile, the cost of administration, athletics, and construction has continued to increase. As I argue in my forthcoming book, the only way to control costs in higher education is to focus on providing quality instruction and research, but there are no incentives to make universities concentrate on their core missions.

One possible way of changing how universities spend their funds is to rank and rate universities based, in part, on the percentage of their budget that they spend on direct instructional costs (faculty salaries and benefits). I suggested to the administration that they add to their new College Scorecard statistics on how much of a university's budget is spent on direct instructional costs and what percentage of their student credit hours are taught by full-time faculty. If universities had to report on these factors, they would need to commit more attention and funding to their core mission.

We also discussed President Obama's fight to stop student interest loan rates from doubling this summer. I mentioned that in California, we are trying to freeze tuition by increasing the taxes on the wealthy, but we still need the federal government to combine the current emphasis on access and affordability with a focus on educational quality.

Moreover, in the case of the UC system, it is clear that we have to force the governor and the legislature to dedicate new tax revenue to higher education. In fact, at their recent meeting, several of the UC regents said that they do not think they can support the governor's tax initiative if it does not dedicate funds directly to the UC in order to prevent another tuition increase. I have been meeting with people from the governor's office and key legislators to push for a major increase in UC funding, but so far, no one in the state wants to guarantee UC funding and tie the higher education budget to the new tax initiative. We all need to work together now to push the governor and the legislature to provide enough funding to roll back recent tuition increases.

Budget cuts, teaching

(continued from page 9)

at American research universities.

While most students and parents rely on *U.S. News & World Report* to determine the quality of our universities, this ranking system does not even attempt to judge the level of student learning or the quality of teaching at these institutions. The result is that universities, like UCI, can continue to claim that they are excellent institutions, while they essentially rob their undergraduate instructional budgets to subsidize professional schools, administration, and non-departmental research. Moreover, accreditors turn a blind eye to questions of educational quality as many administrators refuse to hold university budgets accountable to the undergraduate instructional mission.

Slow destruction of education

My research has shown that while universities know that small classes are often the key to effective education, they have moved to large classes in order to save money. However, large classes can end up being more expensive than small classes once one factors in the full cost of having graduate students teach the small sections attached to the large lecture classes.

Of course, universities never realize or admit this point, and instead, the *Register* tells us that professors are agreeing to teach large classes now so that they can fund their graduate students: "And tenured professors are increasingly agreeing to teach the classes. It's the only way to financially justify the continued existence of some of the university's smaller but respected academic programs and departments, professors say, and the only way to get desperately needed TAs."

Paying more, getting less

According to this logic, professors accept the expansion of class sizes and the downgrading of educational quality because they want to provide jobs for their graduate students. In turn, the use of graduate students increases the cost of the large classes, and so we must ask: Why do professors accept this crazy situation?

Of course, professors need to attract graduate students and give them jobs as section leaders in order to insure that their graduate programs stay alive and there are students for the small graduate seminars that professors prefer to teach. However, these same programs must realize that half of their doctoral students will never earn their degrees, and half of the graduate students who do get doctorates in the humanities and social sciences will never get tenure-track jobs, and half of those who get tenure-track positions will not end up at a research university.

In other words, the vast majority of graduate student instructors are actually low-paid, part-time faculty who help to drive up the cost of undergraduate education as they unknowingly participate in their own future unemployment.

As the *Register* article documents, many of these graduate instructors are now forced to teach more students, and this increase in class size results in cutting corners and delivering an inferior education. "Tetsuro Namba, an UC Irvine undergraduate writing TA for the past three years, has watched student-to-TA ratios go up in many academic departments.

In his writing classes, capped at 21 the first quarter and 23 afterward, he's fearful of the same trend. His classes are already too large for him to be as effective as he could be, he says. 'I definitely know I have shortchanged giving my students feedback just because I didn't have time,' said Namba, 28, a fourth-year Ph.D. student in comparative literature. 'I really wish the classes were smaller. As class sizes get bigger, the quality of education goes down because the instructor can't help them as much.'" Once again, students are paying more and getting less, as graduate students have to work

more to provide decreased instructional quality.

Meanwhile, services related to helping students succeed in their classes have been reduced. "Students also lament that library hours were temporarily shortened in 2009 because of budget cuts, and that a campus peer tutoring program – the Learning and Academic Resource Center, which provides help to students in small group settings – was pared down dramatically, offering help in fewer courses." This reduction in library hours and peer support has been going on for years, but recently, the speed of service reduction has increased.

It should be clear from the picture of education drawn here that something is radically wrong with the priorities of our research universities.

Bob Samuels lectures in Writing Programs at UCLA and is president of UC-AFT.

Students in Sacramento on March 5 sending a message to legislators.



David Bacon, photo



California Federation of Teachers
1201 Marina Village Parkway, Suite 115
Alameda, CA 94501
<http://www.ucaft.org>

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Documenting the failure of California's Master Plan

(continued from page 2)

ends up paying more, while the state has fewer students earning four-year degrees.

We clearly have a system of institutionalized racism in the state, but no single group is responsible for this sad state of affairs. Instead, we have a conspiracy of unintended consequences. Just as the number of under-represented minority high school students in the state was increasing, Proposition 13 was passed, which resulted in the reduction of taxes and the decrease of state support for higher education.

A confluence of forces

In order to make up for this loss of state funds, universities decided to increase the number of non-resident students and slow the growth of enrollment for students from California. In turn, due to white flight, public high schools became self-segregated as the local tax support for these schools was decreased. Since many white parents were no longer sending their kids to public high schools, they saw no reason to pay more taxes to support these schools. Further-

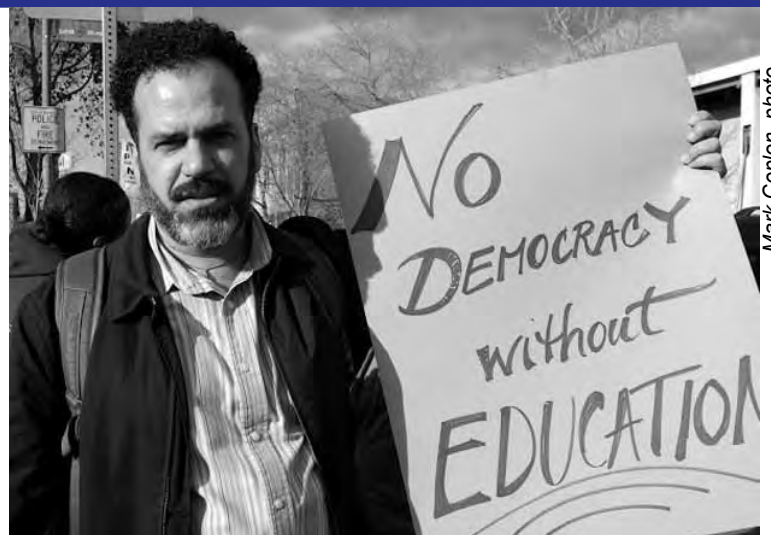
more, due to the real estate bubble, non-white families were priced out of the few neighborhoods that still had high-quality public high schools.

One of the main solutions proposed is that in order to create more enrollment spaces for transfer students, we need to create hybrid four-year universities: "Examples include university centers and two-year university branch campuses. Under the university center model, four-year universities offer upper-division coursework at community college campuses, enabling 'place bound' students to complete their baccalaureate degree program there."

Under the two-year university branch model, some community colleges are converted, in effect, into lower-division satellites of state universities,

thereby expanding capacity at the four-year level and eliminating the need for the traditional transfer process.

What these and other hybrid models have in common is that they "help bridge the divide between two-year and four-year institutions, enabling more students to enter baccalaureate programs directly from high school and progress seamlessly to their degrees." While these hybrid institutions may be a good temporary solution, the question still remains of how we confront the institutional racism of our entire education system in California.



Mark Coplon, photo

Teachers joined students in Sacramento on March 5 for a national day of action in support of education.