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Moving beyond the apple orchard: The institutional analysis of the construction of Washtenaw Community College

Julie M. Kissel

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Running head: MOVING BEYOND THE APPLE ORCHARD

Moving Beyond the Apple Orchard:
The Institutional Analysis of the Construction of Washtenaw Community College

by
Julie M. Kissel

Dissertation

Eastern Michigan University
Submitted to the Department of Leadership and Counseling
Eastern Michigan University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Educational Leadership

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Ypsilanti, Michigan

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Dedication

My strength—Tim, Justin, Garrett, and Jillian.

Acknowledgments

What a journey this has been. I am ever so grateful to the members of my seminar group for your guidance and humor as we all trudged through our work. It was always good to know that I was not alone in this endeavor.

I must also thank the members of my committee for their guidance so that I could do my very best work. Dr. Flowers, in particular, has had to deal with my frustrations, humor, talkativeness, and anxiety—I'm sorry that I have caused such consternation at times. In the end, we can both be proud of my work and know that we have connected the dots in new and exciting ways.

Recently, my husband and son were in Washington DC, and I got a picture of a quote by Eleanor Roosevelt regarding the impact of FDR's health on his work. She said, "Franklin's illness...gave him strength and courage he had not had before. He had to think out the fundamentals of living and learn the greatest of all lessons—infinite patience and never ending persistence." In this quote, my husband saw me, and for that I am forever grateful. He has allowed me to complete a goal that I had set for myself long ago. I will carry that strength with me as we embark on new and exciting adventures.

Throughout this journey, I have had a chance to reflect deeply on what I do, not just in my career, but in how I live each day. I know with acute clarity that I long for personal growth and that I want to share the joy of learning and being one's true self with others. What a life I have already lived...I can't wait for what comes next.

Abstract

The purpose of the study was to understand the institutional forces that constructed and shaped the function, nature of funding, and governance of Washtenaw Community College (WCC). To do this, I studied the founding and development of WCC using organizational theory. This qualitative, historical case study used archival research to identify themes and the institutional building blocks for the junior college movement at large and the transition of the junior college to the comprehensive community college in the 1950s and 1960s as it served to buffer and bridge the post-secondary world. This study discovered that WCC was not a grassroots endeavor by the community with an interest to create opportunities for the county residents. Instead, WCC was created and developed by agent-based construction or through intentionality and purpose by county leaders who used regulative and normative means to create a narrative that a “community” college would best serve the interests of the public. As WCC was created with both vocational training and transfer programming, balancing those functions, funding, and governance further defined the institution and its role in the community. These findings can help educational leaders understand the historical underpinnings of the community college and its relationship to other educational institutions and the community it is designed to serve.

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**Moving Beyond the Apple Orchard:
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Chapter 1: Introduction

“The voters of Washtenaw County have endorsed the occupational thrust of Washtenaw Community College. Their vote of confidence in the stewardship of the board of trustees is deeply appreciated. The vote was a well-deserved tribute to the sound and visionary leadership of President David Ponitz, and to his dedicated and creative staff who have worked together to perform the ‘miracle in the apple orchard,’ which we call Washtenaw” (WCC Board Chairman, Evert Ardis in response to the 1970 1 mill increase vote, November 4, 1970, Ann Arbor News).

Background of the Study

Research focusing on the community college is emerging and a new generation of educational leaders is being trained. Because of this, the need for more research in all areas of the community college is imperative as the community college is highlighted nationally. Historically, community college leaders have struggled to define its place and function in the post-secondary world, resulting in conflicts among the many stakeholders (Kahlenberg, 2011). For example, on January 9, 2015, President Obama addressed the need for “free” community college in a desire to improve economic mobility (Karte, 2015). This call on the community college adds to the confusion of purpose, form, and function that has continued to follow this institution. With this call, community college leaders must fully understand the context in which the community college was built and then begin to understand the institutional pressures and more thoughtfully consider the many competing value streams facing community colleges.

Within the context of higher education, community colleges are often ill-defined and misunderstood. The function of the community college since the inception of the junior college has varied, depending on the perspective of those asked. So what is the role of the community college in the 21st century? One of access? Training? Control? Beach (2011) sums up the importance of studying the community college as the need “to explain the history of an important institution so its missions and future possibilities can be more fully debated by the American

public” (p. 129). Therefore, this cannot be done fully without robust research about the community college that can be shared and discussed.

Furthermore, since the call by President Obama to make community college free and responsible for training and retraining of individuals needing to retool for a changing world, the community college has once again become a popular point in conversations about post-secondary education. Beach (2011) adds that “the uncertainty clouding the American economy has again revealed the contradictions at the heart of the community college and its place in American society” (p. 68). Therefore, it cannot be understated that the community college continues to be “a muddle of mixed motives and competing actors” (Beach, 2011, p. xxxi) as the institution serves a variety of stakeholders from the K-12 system, the community, post-secondary institutions, and business and industry. With this, further research into the multi-faceted community college is essential.

Historically, the role of the community college have been considered and debated by many of those involved within the junior college/community college movement. Burton Clark (1960) famously noted in 1960 “that while community colleges encouraged the aspirations of the multitude, this institution really served the function of what he called cooling out or sidetracking those ‘unpromising students’ who lacked the social and economic capital to succeed” (as cited in Beach, 2011, p. 19). Although Clark’s “cooling out” idea was highlighted as the junior/community college model was being scrutinized in the 1950s and 1960s, the research also indicated “the complex social, political, and economic relationships that existed between college and community” (Ratcliff, 1987, p. 155). Again, the multiple forces impacting the community college needs sustained and robust conversation to set the stage for its future roles in the American educational system.

Hence, the junior/community college's role has been called into question. As Levine (1986) suggests, "The public junior college did provide access to training that was a preliminary step toward economic and social mobility for its students; yet, by leaving higher learning to four-year institution, it also limited the opportunities available to those students" (p. 412). Thus, historians have argued that the competing purposes resulted in stratification within and by the community college and its constituencies since the very structure of the institution does not allow for a seamless transition to other post-secondary programming, relying on terminal programming instead (Levine, 1986; Beach, 2011).

Adding to the issues related to transfer versus terminal programming, community college researchers in recent years have identified conflicts that have arisen as greater emphasis on efficiency and accountability are encouraged and expected by the many constituencies: governmental members, community members, students, staff, and faculty. From the broadest point of reference, one group of stakeholders consists of legislators and other people elected to high office. This group of stakeholders feels pressure from communities to keep community colleges accessible but also to keep taxes low and provide taxpayers with some assurance that their money is producing results. Altstadt, Fingerhut, and Kazis (2012) report that due to the pressures, some states have tested "the power of several policy levers" to institute performance-based funding, which allocates "some percentage of state support on the basis of institutional progress in improving student retention, progression, or completion of credentials, not just on enrollment levels" (p. 1). Consequently, community college leaders find that their colleges' "successes" are whittled down to a number of metrics that are used to quickly define and categorize the work of the institutions.

Additionally, the complexity of community college funding is exacerbated by a little-

discussed phenomenon that Kahlenberg (2011) notes: “State legislators—who provide the bulk of funding to community colleges—appear to have little personal experience with attending two-year institutions” and that “when it comes time to divvy up money, the fact that so few legislators appear to have gone to community college may reduce the sector’s political capital.” Lewin (2010) has further suggested that all of this appears to be in opposition to the “American Graduation Initiative” created under the Obama administration that called for an additional five million community college graduates by the year 2020 (AACC, 2015). Policymaking stakeholders at federal, state, and local levels, can, therefore, experience intense conflicts over funding and accountability issues for the community college making it necessary for educational leaders to work with political leaders to assure the needs of the college and the community are being met.

Community members also serve as primary stakeholders as the local tax base funds much of the budget for community colleges. As noted by the mission statements of many community colleges, this places a significant pressure on the institution to serve the community needs and those in the community before those outside of the county, a true balancing act for administrators and college executives. Townsend and Dougherty (2006) posit about the pressures facing the community college:

Changing demographic, economic, and social pressures repeatedly splinter and reform individual community colleges’ emphases on different institutional missions and their expression in college functions. And different college constituencies support different missions, depending on their idea of what higher education should be and what role community colleges should play in the educational system. (p. 1)

Hence, in the light of Townsend and Dougherty’s findings, community college leaders and

advocates have been asked to consider how to manage and mediate the many issues facing the community college.

In essence, leaders of the junior college then and the community college now continue the debate over purpose, funding, and governance. What seems to be agreed upon, though, regarding the community college is that there are many forces that push and pull the institution. Primarily, the college continues to struggle with contradictory pressures, which Brint and Karabel (1989) describe best as they consider the institution's beginnings: "Poised between a burgeoning system of secondary education and a highly stratified structure of economic opportunity, the junior college was located at the very point where the aspirations generated by American democracy clashed head on with the realities of its class structure." Although this quote refers to the creation of the junior college, it still reflects the conflicts the community college finds today as the college is called to offer vocational or terminal programming as well as access to affordable post-secondary transfer programs while four-year schools are able to maintain selectivity during the admissions process.

Washtenaw Community College. Founded in 1965, Washtenaw Community College (WCC) was one of 579 community colleges established in America in the mid-twentieth century, and it offers a glimpse of the educational landscape of the greater Ann Arbor area and the institutional pressures on WCC in a county that already had four colleges competing for resources (AACC, 2017). Moreover, the study of WCC highlights the forces and demands similar to other community colleges across the nation. In the epilogue to Reynolds' (2004) book, *A Fierce Commitment: The First 10 years of Washtenaw Community College*, former WCC President Larry Whitworth makes a call for WCC to continue its efforts to offer high-quality, low-cost education to the greater Washtenaw County area. He further states that the lessons

learned from the first forty years “will enable us to succeed in helping individuals and the nation in the achievement of our economic and societal goals as long as we maintain the energy, commitment and passion for our mission” (Reynolds, p. 249). Fast forward ten years to the kickoff for the 50th anniversary celebration of Washtenaw Community College with the theme of “Opening Doors.” In President Rose Bellanca’s Fall 2015 welcome back speech to staff and faculty, she cited WCC’s “humble beginnings in the roots of an apple orchard and its transformation over 50 years into a state-of-the-art college that has educated hundreds of thousands of students” (Washtenaw Community College, 2015). She commended the faculty and staff saying that “it’s because of your efforts, the spirit and mission of this college will carry on for future generations, as our students go on to open doors for those who will follow in their footsteps” (Washtenaw Community College, 2015).

Although her comments will certainly find most in agreement, the message should make any researcher pause. Becker (1998) advocates that researchers must work to “expose the facets of the phenomenon we’re studying other than those we’ve already thought of” (p. 5). This means that the life of WCC, through its founding and early development must be analyzed from a new lens rather than from that of the mythical school in the apple orchard. For WCC in 1965, fielding the many questions from voters and business leaders were the six newly-elected board of trustees members: Ralph Wenrich, Kenneth Yourd, Edward Adams, Jr., Richard Creal, Evert Ardis, and Samuel Harmon (Reynolds, 2004). However, before any of these men could begin to create what would become Washtenaw Community College, years of conversation and action had made that first board meeting in the basement of the YMCA in downtown Ann Arbor a possibility, and like many other institutions, the story of Washtenaw Community College began long before 1965.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study was to understand the institutional forces that constructed and shaped the function, nature of funding, and governance of Washtenaw Community College (WCC). To do this, I studied the founding and development of WCC.

For this study, it was important to understand the historical context in which both the junior/community college was founded and developed as well as the context in which WCC was founded and developed. Washtenaw Community College was founded in 1965 in a county that boasted a premier university, a teaching college, and a business college, causing the community at large to question this institution's purpose and goals. Therefore, with so much at stake, educational leaders representing the community college must research, report, and consider a variety of perspectives, historical and contemporary, so that community college leaders can do its best to answer to all of their constituencies.

Significance of Study

For those individuals in or seeking leadership positions in a community college, as I am, understanding the forces and tensions between the many stakeholders over purpose, funding, and governance can help leaders make thoughtful decisions based on a fuller understanding of the many issues impacting the institution. Secondly, this study can help community college leaders who are looking to understand the field more thoroughly, considering the findings of this study and how they relate to other community colleges. For policy makers, this study offers an opportunity to recognize how their choices in federal, state, and local environments impact the college directly or indirectly. Finally, this study is a contribution to the research already completed and can inspire future research regarding the community college.

Research Questions

To guide the study, the following research questions were developed in order to understand the institutional forces that constructed and shaped the function, nature of funding, and governance of Washtenaw Community College as it was founded and developed:

1. How did the junior/community college movement develop in the United States educational system?
2. What were the forces surrounding the founding and development of the junior/community college movement?
3. How was Washtenaw Community College founded and developed?
4. What were the forces surrounding the founding and development of Washtenaw Community College?

Chapter Organization

This dissertation contains five chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the research topic and presents the research questions. Chapter 2 reviews the conceptual framework for the field of organizational theory, specifically institutional theory. Chapter 3 outlines the research methods, including the author as researcher, research tradition, and research design. Chapter 4 has two parts. Part 1 focuses on the history of education in the United States, with a focus on higher education. Part 2 focuses on the history of Washtenaw Community College from its founding to its early development. Chapter 5 highlights the findings as related to each of the research questions and considers future research.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

"The great enemy of truth is very often not the lie—deliberate, contrived and dishonest—but the myth—persistent, persuasive and unrealistic. Too often we hold fast to the clichés of our forebears. We subject all facts to a prefabricated set of interpretations. We enjoy the comfort of opinion without the discomfort of thought" (Kennedy, 1962).

Brief History of Organizational Theory

The purpose of the study was to understand the institutional forces that constructed and shaped the function, nature of funding, and governance of Washtenaw Community College (WCC). To do this, I studied the founding and development of WCC. Using organizational theory as a way to view the phenomena, I also looked to institutional theory, a component of organizational theory, grounded by Scott's (1965) regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive pillars, to complete an historical analysis of Washtenaw Community College. To guide my work in the field of educational leadership, organizational theory served as a lens to define WCC as it was established in the county, keeping in mind that the "subjects in organizations are bound together in a common network of relations," and "this network constitutes the very core of the organization" (Scott, 1965, p. 262). Further, DiMaggio and Powell (1991) believe that institutional theory, "represents a distinctive approach to the study of social, economic, and political phenomena" (p. 1). Employing both organizational and institutional theory in the development of my conceptual framework allows for a deeper understanding of the pressures and processes impacting the institution as it was founded and developed.

Born of philosophies related to economics, politics, anthropology, and sociology, social scientists focusing on organizational theory have worked to define the processes that shape and define organizational structure and action (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Rowan & Miskel, 1999; Scott, 2014). With European influences from Marx, Durkheim, Schmoller, and Weber, organizational analysis in all areas of the social sciences was expanded by Americans at the turn

of the twentieth century (Thompson, 2007; Scott, 2014). Economists like Veblen, Commons, and Mitchell questioned the “old” approaches to economics with all three emphasizing the “importance of change” and rational choice (as cited in Scott, 2014, p. 4). Around the same time, American political scientists looked for a more pragmatic and straightforward approach that would have a foundation in constitutional law and moral philosophy (Scott, 2014). Further, Scott claims that this work of political scientists focused too much on normative principles rather than principles that could be tested. No matter the approach, Parsons (1982) recognized that “we never investigate ‘all the facts’ which could be known about the phenomena in question, but only those which we think are ‘important’” (p. 67). The stress, then, for researchers to to ask a variety of questions about what is “important” so that the totality of research can inform decisions and ideas.

As the study of organizations took off in earnest in the 1940s and 1950s with the focus on defining both the rational and natural systems approaches, followed by new institutionalism or institutional theory from the 1970s on, contributions from Thompson, Simon, March, Olson, Weick, Meyer, Rowan, DiMaggio, Powell, Katz, Kahn, Selznick, and Scott have “stimulated much fruitful development of institutional theory and research” (Scott, 2014, p. 19). It is the use of organizational/institutional theory that best serves the study of WCC’s founding and development because it offers the researcher the chance to consider the seemingly static functions while these are juxtaposed against the fluidity of the organization over time as the institutional forces shape that organization.

Rational, natural, and open systems. Before one is able to understand institutional theory as defined by the likes of Meyer, Rowan, Jepperson, or Scott, understanding the evolution of organizational theory is of great importance. In 1937, Talcott Parsons, a Harvard professor

and economist, published *The Structure of Social Action* in an attempt to define the social system based on generalized symbols and their meanings, and through these definitions construct the subsystems that represent the varying organizational structures (International Encyclopedia, 2008). Parsons' work to bring together ideas from economics, political science, and the behavioral sciences led the way for further study of organizations through a variety of lenses considering "subsystems and their specific functions" (Katz & Kahn, 1966, p. 6). Another early definition of organizations from sociologist Philip Selznick (1948) says that organizations are "formal structures in the sense that they represent rationally ordered instruments for the achievement of stated goals" (p. 25). These goals, then, are a reflection of what is valued or what should be valued by others. Selznick continues that a "formal organization is the structural expression of rational action. The mobilization of technical and managerial skills requires a pattern of coordination, a systematic ordering of positions and duties which defines a chain of command and makes possible the administrative integration of specialized functions" (p. 25). This focus on the formal structures and the specialized functions that could be codified and studied gave rise years later to the need to consider how these formal structures develop in the first place.

Those theorists aligning themselves with the rational systems approach to studying organizations note that "organizations are collectivities oriented to the pursuit of relatively specific goals and exhibiting relatively highly formalized social structures" (Scott & Davis, 2007, p. 29). Using a rational system approach, goals are highly specific, and there is a focus on normative structures within the organization. This differs from the natural and open system approaches that developed more fully, in part, as a response to the rational model. A natural system approach to studying organizations considers that "organizations are collectivities whose

participants are pursuing multiple interests, both disparate, and common, but who recognize the value of perpetuating the organization as an important resource” (Scott & Davis, 2007, p. 30).

The natural systems approach, therefore, looks beyond the formal structures and goals of an institution to consider the varying interest and forces acting upon and within the institution.

Influenced by Durkheim and Parsons, organizational theorists began to emphasize the use of a natural system, with contrasting versions of social order and social assumptions. Parsons saw that technical, managerial, and institutional levels function with two-way interaction whereby each side has the ability to aid or interfere with the function of another and the organization at large (Thompson, 2007). The open system, then, as defined by Scott and Davis (2007) says that “organizations are congeries of interdependent flows and activities linking shifting coalitions of participants embedded in wider material-resource and institutional environments” (p. 32).

Building on the ideas of how these participants or actors manage the fluid environments in the natural and open systems, Thompson’s work in the 1960s explored these relationships.

Although Thompson’s work, originally published in 1967, has inspired many to consider how complex organizations function, many organizations have yet to be carefully analyzed beyond a consideration of the individuals “running” the organization or how it is structured, which is why the work of those in the area of organizational theory is of such value. In a closed-system versus a natural or open-system, Thompson sees a strong tendency to control structures as to eliminate uncertainty to achieve the greatest efficiency. As Thompson continues, though, “a system contains more variables than we can comprehend at one time, or that some of the variables are subject to influences we cannot control or predict” (p. 6).

As a natural system, organizations are made up of many interconnected parts that contribute to the whole. In essence, Thompson recognizes that complex organizations, like

WCC, are open-systems, “hence indeterminate and faced with uncertainty, but at the same time subject to criteria of rationality and hence needing determinateness and certainty” (p. 10). In other words, despite the rational or normative standards applied to an institution, it is unable to avoid or control for some uncertainty. With this description, Thompson worked with Parsons’ ideas that organizations have three levels of responsibility and control: technical, managerial, and institutional (p. 10). The conceptual model in Figure 3.1, adapted from Muwonge (2012), includes the Parsons’ and Thompson’s multiple levels including the technical (core) level, managerial level, task environment, institutional environment, and cultural environment that serve as the foundation of organizational theory.

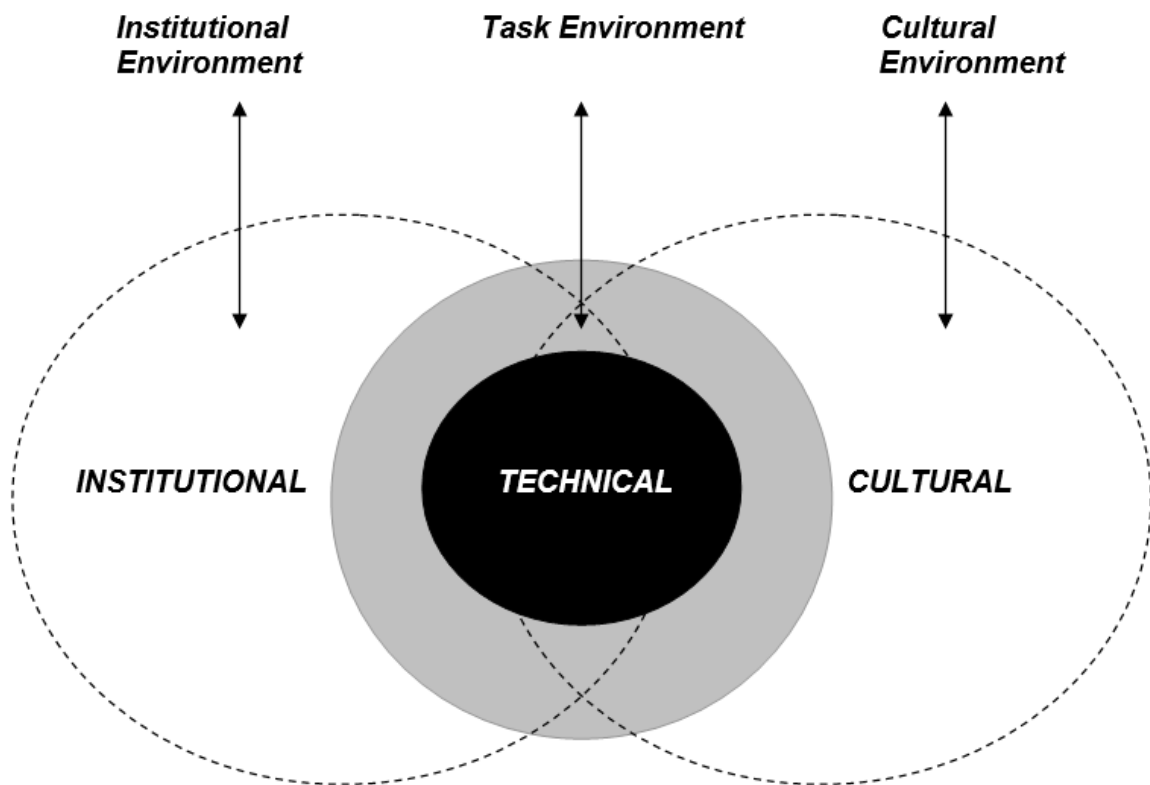


Figure 2.1. Levels of organization (adapted from Muwonge, 2012).

According to Thompson (2007), the technical level is focused on the steps and tasks

needed to complete a job. The next level, the managerial level, serves the technical area as the mediator or procurer of resources. This level functions also as a mediator with the environment, buffering or bridging the environment to or from the technical level. Therefore, the environment in which these areas operate is the task environment as originally noted by Dill in 1958 and used by Thompson in his work. The task environment represents the parts of the environment needed to reach the goal or complete the technical activities. The institutional level and the cultural environments, then, represent the wider social system by which the organization exists, or it is “the overall articulation of the organization and the institutional structure and agencies of the community” (p. 11). To put a finer point on it, Thompson summarizes these relationships noting that “no two task environments are identical. Which individual, which other organization, which aggregates constitute the task environment for a particular organization is determined by the requirements of the technology, the boundaries, of the domain, and the composition of the larger environment” (p. 28). This implies that one “way” or process or course of action can benefit an institution, no matter how alike they may appear.

Organizational behaviors. Cohen, March, and Olsen (1972) go further and define an organization, like a university, “as a loose collection of ideas than as a coherent structure; it discovers preferences through action more than it acts on the basis of preferences” (p. 1). Scott and Davis (2007) note that organizations can be considered loosely coupled in that varying elements are weakly linked and can function autonomously. Related to these loosely coupled systems, Cohen et al. (1972) see that decisions made by those within and around the institution can be analyzed by the “garbage can model” where “a decision is an outcome or interpretation of several relatively independent streams within an organization” (p. 3). This means that in times of change, when choices are problematic, or actors and action are fluid (Cohen et al., 1972), the

need to uncouple problems and solutions becomes needed. This uncoupling often means that the rational approach to solving problems is not necessarily employed. Instead, as problems or solutions take precedent, they are met with a reaction, intended or not, that seemingly resolves an issue or part of an issue at the time, especially in cases where “more rational modes are not met” (Cohen et al., 1972, p. 16).

In considering how institutions function, the idea of “loose coupling,” fashioned by Glassman, March, and Oslen (as cited in Weick, 1976) and further defined by Karl Weick (1976), means that “the coupled events are responsive, but that each event also preserves its own identity and some evidence of its physical or logical separateness” (p. 3), allowing events to couple with other events as needed or as the situation changes. Weick (1976) also points out that with the idea of loose coupling can mean a variety of things depending on the unit being discussed, but for his case, he considers loosely coupled systems, like educational organizations, as they persevere over time. With this, he provides some guidelines in evaluating organizations noting that in “loosely coupled structures, ... there may be increased pressure on members to construct or negotiate some kind of social reality they can live with” (p. 13) as actors will have to manage a variety of pressures both in and outside of the institution. He further indicates that considering how institutions may be loosely coupled systems need not be used in a normative manner, suggesting that neither a loosely coupled system or a tightly coupled system is any better than the other. In essence, the garbage can model and the concept behind loose coupling proposes that problems, solutions, and institutional functions exist in separate streams held by a variety of individuals in the organization. Due to the fluidity of the membership of the any group in the institution, the problems, solutions, and functions will be matched up not with regard for the best fit but for the best option at the time.

Consequently, in order to control for varying levels of uncertainty, parts of the system close as much as possible, forcing a rational model. Applying Thompson's and Parsons' work, this means that the technical core, or core function of the institution, can be controlled by limiting the number of variables exerting pressure on it as it transforms inputs to outputs. As Thompson's (2007) proposes, "under norms of rationality, organizations seek to seal off their core technologies from environmental influences" (p. 19) to protect those technologies from undue pressures. Mediating the certainty and uncertainty facing the technical core to accomplish what is desired, the managerial level bridges and buffers between this closed technical core and the institutional level, "and coping with uncertainty, as the essence of the administrative process" (Thompson, p. 159). Both of the technical core and managerial level are embedded, then, in the task environment.

The task environment encompasses "the features of the environment relevant to its supply of inputs and its disposition of outputs but also includes the power-dependence relations with which the organization conducts its exchanges" (Scott, 2007, p. 125). As Thompson (2007) notes, domains are often established, defining more clearly issues of dependency and interplay with the task environment. Further, there is the institutional level where laws and industry standards play upon the organization with little regard as to whether or not it helps the organization function at its peak. This means that the institutional environment applies pressure to the organization so that it must manage these pressures and deal with the exchanges needed to take place between those of the task environment and the technical core. In the case of WCC, the institutional environment was analyzed to determine the pressures exerted on the task environment and technical core through its founding and development.

Institutional theory. The study of the institutional environments became the start of

what would be defined as new institutionalism or institutional theory, a component of organizational theory. From the late 1970s, institutional theory has been applied in a variety of ways in that researchers vary in their emphasis on the micro or macro aspects on the cognitive or normative aspects, or in how relational networks are considered regarding organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). For the sake of my study, the idea of “new institutionalism” that I review is the sociological perspective that has impacted organizational theory the most: “This perspective emphasizes the ways in which action is structured and order made possible by shared systems of rules that both constrain the inclination and capacity of actors to optimize as well as privilege some groups whose interests are secured by prevailing rewards and sanctions” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 11), stressing the forces in and surrounding any institution. Bidwell (2006) makes clear that despite the many definitions of institutional theory, the underlying goal of research is to consider the symbols and structures of social relationships as related to the founding and development of an institution.

In 1977, sociologists Meyer and Rowan wrote as part of institutional theory that “formal organizations are generally understood to be systems of coordinated and controlled activities that arise when work is embedded in complex networks of technical relations and boundary-spanning exchanges.” This approach captured the complex relationships that make up and influence institutions. Further, Meyer and Rowan (1991) note that “organizations are driven to incorporate the practices and procedures defined by prevailing rationalized concepts of organizational work and institutionalized in society. Organizations that do so increase their legitimacy and their survival prospects, independent of the immediate efficacy of the acquired practices and procedures” (p. 41). Ultimately, Meyer and Rowan’s (1977) work looks at how institutionalized “myths,” the rationalized institutional rules, both help and hinder an institution’s growth and

activity. They propose a number of theses for those conducting research on institutions. First, they propose that environments that have institutionalized a greater number of rational myths have a more formal institution. Second, they contend that the organizations that incorporate more of these myths are considered more legitimate and successful and, therefore, are more likely to survive. Finally, they see control efforts in organizations seeking ritual conformity, both internally and externally (Meyer & Rowan, 1991; Rowan & Miskel, 1999). Essentially, Meyer, Rowan, and Miskel sought to understand how institutions adapt to changing environments, especially as institutions become more complex.

These researchers posit that the deeply ingrained rationalized formal structure is actually a reflection of the created social reality. They contend that these myths or rationalized institutional elements appear as “professions, programs, and technologies” (Meyer & Rowan, 1991, p. 44). Therefore, these myths appear as occupations themselves and how they are controlled through licensing or schooling, accounting for the socially-expected behaviors or actions associated with a particular occupation. In the case of higher education, instruction, research, and student life have specific functions that are mimicked from organization to organization with little connection to efficiency. In terms of technologies like production or human resources, the institutionalized myths bind the organizations and serve as a display of responsibility or legitimacy whether or not an institution is performing these functions (Meyer & Rowan, 1991).

Further, DiMaggio and Powell (1991) define this process by which institutions become more homogenous to deal with uncertainty and constraint as isomorphism, naming two types: competitive and institutional. Competitive isomorphism emphasizes market competition, but they also note that this definition is more useful to those organizations where there is open and

free competition, which is not the case for many modern organizations. Therefore, they consider institutional isomorphism whereby organizations must not only take into account other organizations but also compete for institutional legitimacy, political power, and economic stability. With this definition in mind, DiMaggio and Powell identify three mechanisms for institutional change: coercive isomorphism, mimetic isomorphism, and normative isomorphism. Though all three types may exist in a single setting, “they tend to derive from different conditions and may lead to different outcomes” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 67).

Institutional Model for Study

Organizational-institutional theory offers a structure that not only takes the technical core and task environment into consideration, but it also allows for organizations to be defined in their “deeply embedded” social and political environments (Powell, 2007). My goal as researcher was to discover the elements that buttress an institution and determine to what extent they influence. More to the point, Scott’s regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive pillars, when used to evaluate how each stakeholder group or actors relate to the institution, would illuminate the varying rationales for legitimacy, whether connected to legal sanctions, moral authority, or cultural mores. The network that founded and developed WCC had a variety of players, all acting for different reasons with varying pressures. The records connected to WCC captured the underlying processes and pressures present during its founding and noted the change as the institution developed and the roles of the institutional actors.

Following on the work of the twentieth century organizational theorists, W. Richard Scott has worked to synthesize many aspects of organizational theory through his work as part of institutional theory. Scott (2014) in *Institutions and Organizations*, questions how “institutions arise and achieve stability, legitimacy, and adherents. Where do institutions come from? How are

they constructed? Who are the actors who create them, and what are the forces by which new types of institutions emerge?” (p. 113). This focus, then, considers the vital information of what has happened in the past in an effort to define why certain regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements exist and exert pressure on the organization as part of the institutional domain. Concretely, the regulative pillar shows up as rules or laws, the normative pillar as values and norms, and the cultural-cognitive pillar as shared perception of social reality. This approach to the study of organizations is one of “why” an institution behaves as it does, which leads to “how” it develops and evolves (Scott, 2007). This also gives way to study organizational fields. DiMaggio and Powell (1991) define an organizational field as “those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resources, and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products...to the totality of relevant actors” (p. 64-65). The study of organizational fields, then, creates a fuller picture of the forces and pressures impacting any institution.

Specifically related to schools, Meyer, Scott, and Deal’s (1980) early claim about schools is that “educational organizations arise to bring the process of education under a socially standardized set of institutional categories, not necessarily to rationalize the ‘production process’ involved in carrying on this work” (p. 7). This means that for schools, particularly, there is a need to buffer the technical core, as defined by Thompson (2007), from the variability of the environment. Further, for schools, it is essential for them to conform to the institutional rules like categorizing and credentialing teachers, choosing curriculum, and maintaining facilities rather than ensuring that teaching and learning are coordinated efficiently (Meyer, 1975; Meyer et al., 1980), much of which can be defined using institutional theory as the lens with which to view the choices.

Considering this approach to examining an organization like a school, Meyer et al. (1980) present two main ideas: “First, school organizational structures reflect environmentally created institutional rules concerning education. Second, these organizational structures are decoupled from the technical work of education and many of its vagaries and problems” (p. 11). This means that the actual process of education (i.e., what happens in the classroom) is not influenced by changes in the organizational structure. Therefore, schooling and schools, act and react in similar ways, positive or negative, not because of outside forces but because of the high level of routine and a system of rules that has become embedded or taken-for-granted. Connecting to Meyer and Rowan’s 1977 work, “institutional rules,” like those stated above, “function as myths which organizations incorporate, gaining legitimacy, resources, stability, and enhanced survival prospects” (p. 340). There is an assumption that a formal organization is based on highly routine and structured control. Yet some research questions this since there is such an elaborate system of rules, understandings, and meanings that go unaccounted for but are certainly part of the structure; therefore, “many elements of formal structure are highly institutionalized and function as myths” (p. 344).

Jepperson (1991) maintains that an institution “represents a social order or pattern that has attained a certain state or property” and institutional theory “denotes the process of such attainment” (p. 145). This means, according to Jepperson in his definition of institutional theory as a component of organizational theory, that “institutions are socially constructed, routine-reproduced, program or rule systems. They operate as relative fixtures of constraining environments and are accompanied by taken-for-granted accounts” (p. 149), functioning in rational ways as much as possible. In relation to the community college model that originated in the early 1900s, I looked to discover how the community college became institutionalized over

many decades as its particular “state” was codified socially and legally. Using organizational theory and institutional theory, the greatest difference is the “reconceptualization of the environments of organizations” from the examination of the technical facets to the examination of the social reality in which the organization is situated (Scott, 1991, p. 165). With this line of thinking, Powell (1991) posits as to why researchers have not spent more time considering how institutions persist even with “less than optimal” organizational arrangements (p. 183). Powell also argues that there is a need to understand the processes that generate institutional change, contending that “the critical agenda for institutional analysis should be to show how choices made at one point in time create institutions that generate recognizable patterns of constraints and opportunities at a later point” (p. 188). In other words, this is the idea of looking to understand the consequences of the consequences, not just the attainment of a single goal at a single moment in time.

As a component of organizational theory, institutional theory offers additional ways to consider the phenomena. Scott (2014) focuses specifically on the study of the construction of institution, contrasting the “cressive or naturalistic” institutions that evolve over time to those that are “enacted or agent-based” or purposely created by purposeful actors. Those who use the agent-based view “stress the importance of identifying particular actors as causal agents, emphasizing the extent to which intentionality and self-interest are at work” (p. 115). It is with this in mind that Scott also defines organizational entrepreneurs or those who “pursue their objectives by founding a new enterprise—a new organization, but within an existing institutional mold” (p. 117). These organizational or institutional entrepreneurs can be further delineated as technical and organizational population-level or field-level entrepreneurs. The former combines human and technical resources to create new products, working to gain acceptance from a wide

audience, and the latter creates or significantly transforms rules, norms, or beliefs within an existing organizational field: “After all, the building blocks for organizations come to be littered around the societal landscape; it takes only a little entrepreneurial energy to assemble them into a structure” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 345).

Institutional theory also elaborates on institutional myths, isomorphic pressures, and issues of legitimacy. Rational institutional myths come from the elaboration of complex relational networks, the degree of collective organization of the environment. Isomorphism, either coercive or non-coercive, can affect different aspects of the institution. For base legitimacy, the need to conform to standards already in place may then allow the institution to “bend” or claim to bend the rules to be unique and thereby serve a specific need. Thus, the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive pillars function on a continuum in terms of what is documented publicly to those themes that create the deeper taken-for-granted actions surrounding the institution. My job was to identify these themes and actions of each stakeholder group to determine the influence on the founding and development of WCC.

Therefore, in looking at the Washtenaw Community College through an organizational-institutional lens, Scott’s (2014) definition of the institution more fully notes that “although symbolic systems—rules, norms, and cultural-cognitive beliefs—are central ingredients of institutions, the concept must also encompass associated behaviors and material resources” (p. 57). To fully understand the relationship between these the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive pillars as they define an institution in an open system, Scott highlights the basic dimensions of each pillar in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Definitions of Regulative, Normative, and Cultural-Cognitive Pillars.

	Pillars		
	Regulative	Normative	Cultural-Cognitive
Basis of compliance	Expedience	Social obligation	Taken-for-grantedness Shared understanding
Basis of order	Regulative rules	Binding expectations	Constitutive schema
Mechanisms	Coercive	Normative	Mimetic
Logic	Instrumentality	Appropriateness	Orthodoxy
Indicators	Rules Laws Sanctions	Certification or accreditation	Common beliefs Shared logics of action Isomorphism
Affect	Fear Guilt/ innocence	Shame/Honor	Certainty/Confusion
Basis of legitimacy	Legally sanctioned	Morally governed	Comprehensible Recognizable Culturally supported

Note: This table was adapted from Scott (2014, p. 60).

Scott (2014) defines regulation as the idea of formal rules and laws that have rewards and punishments, influencing behavior. This area, as often seen by economists, seems more formalized and rational. Further, Scott (2014) says, “Force, sanctions, and expedient responses are central ingredients of the regulatory pillar, but they are often tempered by the existence of rules that justify the use of force” (p. 61). Since regulations are created by individuals, there is a logic and/or pragmatism to the regulatory functions: “Individuals craft laws and rules that they believe will advance their interests, and individuals conform to laws and rules because they seek the attendant rewards or wish to avoid sanctions” (Scott, 2014, p. 62). Moreover, as these rules are created by individuals, they must also be interpreted and reframed when/if disputes arise. Therefore, the rules do not function in a vacuum, and although they play a powerful role in defining an institution, they are but one of three systems that work in conjunction to varying

degrees to define the why and how of an organization. Supporting issues connected with the regulative pillar, Kingdon's (2003) work on identifying agendas and how the policies are being developed and enacted are useful in that he argues that the national mood or the local mood does not reside just in the opinion of the masses but in those making the decisions, so it must be sold to those who will fund it. This all boils down to the merging of the streams during a time when the policy window is open: "The policy window is an opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their pet solution, or to push attention to their special problems" (Kingdon, 2003, p. 165). Therefore, regulative issues, or policy issues as defined by Kingdon (2003), will bleed into the normative values as defined by Scott.

Scott (2014) notes the impetus of many theorists to view organizations with the normative pillar. Values and norms are included in the definition of this pillar, with some values and norms applying to all members and others applying to only selected individuals in prescribed roles. "These beliefs are not simply anticipation or predictions, but prescription—normative expectations regarding how specified actors are supposed to behave" (p. 64). More to the point, Scott adds that "normative systems are typically viewed as imposing constraints on social behavior, and so they do" (p. 64). Early sociologists looked to this area in defining the social groups and common beliefs and values. Like the regulative systems, normative systems can create strong feelings from shame to honor as norms are embraced or disregarded. Parsons supported the idea that these normative structures are "the basis of a stable social order" (as cited in Scott, 2014, p. 66). This could imply that although the regulative pillar states what should be done, the conscience of the people connected to the institution will determine how and why it should or should not be done through institutionalized behavior and communication.

Working with both the regulative and normative pillars, and not in isolation, the cultural-

cognitive pillar focuses on human existence: “Mediating between the external world of stimuli and the response of the individual organism is a collection of internalized symbolic representations of the world” (Scott, 2014, p. 67). This schema considers the cognitive frameworks that identify what will get attention, how it will be received, and how it might be interpreted. These systems operate on varying levels and influence the organizational culture. This often shows up in routines that are followed, which during times of “social disorganization and change” can be contested (Scott, 2014, p. 68). As David Adamany explains in the introduction of *The Semisovereign People: A Realist’s View of Democracy in America*, “the nature of political organization depends on the conflicts exploited in the political system, which ultimately is what politics is about” (Schattschneider, 1960, v.).

Adamany, like Schattschneider, looks at what makes things happen, what is the process of change, and what does change look like? In this process, there are four dimensions of conflict that Schattschneider defines: scope, visibility, intensity, and direction. This means that high priority issues win as the coalitions for issues without as much perceived gain are not as strong. Furthermore, Adamany’s view that

Participation of all in government serves the self-interest of each by warding off absolute power over his fate by others and preserving for himself some voice, albeit small, in these decisions. Similarly ‘practical’ is the view that the participation of all contributes to a stable society, each feeling bound to governmental decision by his own participation and each free from the uncertainties implicit in the overthrow of governments. (as cited in Schattschneider, 1960, xii).

Keeping this mind throughout research can help to define the conflicts underpinning the founding and development of WCC will create a more complete story.

As much research using institutional theory focuses primarily on a single pillar, this study considers the intersectionality of all three pillars in examining an organization. Highlighting the cultural-cognitive pillar, the analysis of language surrounding the institution and its endeavors adds richness to the story. Edelman (1985) considers the following:

The network of social alliances cemented by these meanings [language] constitutes a framework upon which evanescent political alliances and interests are built and a rhetoric in which they are expressed and related to more enduring interests and myths. In our culture these language styles strongly promote social cohesion. (p. 151)

Adding to the use of language, Edelman also defines referential and condensation symbols: how we identify some symbols the same or how symbols evoke emotions that are associated with a situation. WCC, itself, is a condensation symbol in that the “miracle in the apple orchard” condensed the institution to glorify it in the past, present, and future. Edelman’s work looks not just to the physical actions but the language about the actions that shape public experiences; considering Edelman’s work in conjunction with Scott’s pillars helps to define the many relationships and connects more clearly.

Recapitulation

Brint and Karabel (1991) indicate that “before embarking on any other projects, the two-year institution thus had to accomplish the formidable task of establishing itself as a ‘genuine’ college. The import of this task was well appreciated by the earliest leaders of the junior college movement, who chose to pursue academic ‘respectability’ through the only available path - emphasis on the liberal arts transfer function” (p. 338-339). “Genuine” in this case could be framed as legitimacy, and this was part of the goal in analyzing WCC, understanding how WCC gained it legitimacy through its founding and development.

Fligstein (2001) connects the many varying theories related to organizational theory and institutional theory. He says that organizational theory studies the complex or formal organizations for their goals, hierarchy, rules, definition of membership, and career paths for members. It looks at how the internal organizational structure motivates people and creates outcomes. Organizational theory further looks at how the external environment impacts what goes on internally and how the external and internal structures contribute to or detract from the organization's survival and choices. Building on this, institutional theory as defined by Scott (1991) considers that organizations are involved in a myriad of exchanges using a variety of social actors with varying social realities, and these same organizations can be identified by these actions that create, shape, and constrain varying degrees of activity:

Particular institutions are made up of different combinations of these institutional elements, varying among one another and over time in the elements given priority. An important task of the institutional scholar is to ascertain what elements are at play in a given context and the extent to which they work to reinforce or undercut one another. (Scott, 2008, p. 429)

Organizational theory subsumes a predetermined order and structure and looks to define how "rationality" of an institution can be explained by the structure of the organization from its technical core to task environment. Institutional theory takes these issues further and considers this structure but also looks to question or determine the organization's underpinnings as part of a complex environment.

In summary, schools in America have been defined by political, economic, and cultural forces. These forces can be examined through organizational-institutional theory, which can dissect, not for good or bad, right or wrong, but for an understanding of how competing interests

impacted the founding and development of an institution. This framework served as a valuable lens for which to view the institution and its complexities.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

It [qualitative research] consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 3).

The purpose of the study was to understand the institutional forces that constructed and shaped the function, nature of funding, and governance of Washtenaw Community College (WCC). To do this, I studied the founding and development of WCC. To this end, I had to first recognize that as the research instrument, I had to define myself as the researcher, explicating my history and biases that influenced my study. Second, I defined the research traditions on which my study was based. Last, I described the study’s research design in order to ensure that the study was ethical, valid, and reliable. As the gathering of data and analysis were conducted over two years’ time through unobtrusive methods like archival research, I had to make sure that I documented my process and clearly identified my sources. The data were then analyzed using a conceptual framework derived from organization theory to understand more fully the forces that constructed and shaped Washtenaw Community College.

Self as Researcher

In pursuing this topic, it went back to my desire to serve and protect. From a young age, my happiness came in making others comfortable and making certain they had what they needed. I relied on my efficient and take-charge nature to help me guide others to make the surroundings as pleasing as possible. I also had the desire to get others to “see” and respect my capabilities through my actions. It is not surprising, then, that I chose a career in education, earning two degrees in special education because of my desire to help when and where I can. This motivation to lead people to what I believe to be “best” has been part of my teaching philosophy as well. I have been successful through hard work and self-sacrifice, so I model to others that they too can find success and happiness through similar efforts at whatever level suits their abilities. Although

this prescriptive process is normative in nature, I have learned over the years to see the multiple realities held by different people and take pleasure in watching and learning how others navigate the world, professionally and personally.

My post-secondary education began at a community college. I chose to attend Delta College in the Saginaw area due to its location close to home and the low cost. As my older brother had attended Delta before transferring to a university, attending Delta fed my practical nature. Once I transferred to Eastern Michigan University to complete my teaching degree in special education, I had to play “catch-up” with the class selection as my community college courses did not quite fit the requirements of Eastern, which was frustrating to say the least. Nonetheless, I completed my degree and looked to joining the teaching workforce, knowing that as a teacher, I would have to return to school to maintain my credentials. I would go on to complete my master’s degree in learning disabilities and my graduate certificate in community college leadership before beginning my Ph.D. work in educational leadership from Eastern Michigan University over the two decades of living in the southeastern area of Michigan. From my first teaching position at Maxey Boys’ Training School just north of Ann Arbor, to my brief time teaching middle school and heading the special education department in Westland, Michigan, I have been in leadership roles.

During my four-year tenure with the State of Michigan, I worked at Maxey Boys’ Training School, which was the primary long-term prison for boys ages 13–21 in Michigan. The facility was split between medium and maximum security buildings, and I was a basic education teacher for what was called a “drug hall” that focused on those young men who had committed crimes that were drug-related. Thus, I had 20 to 24 students at any given time who had been involved in drug trafficking to murder, and it was my responsibility to provide any educational

services from basic reading to college preparation. It was through my work at Maxey where I participated on a grant project for reintegration of the youth that I first had contact with Washtenaw Community College (WCC). I had students attending WCC as part of their court orders, and this experience offered me a glimpse of my future. Working in such a facility provided me with a much broader picture of a world I had never known up to that point in my life, but it also showed that I had a sense of fearlessness, even if naively placed in my early years teaching. At Maxey, I was given opportunities to develop programming for my students and work with my colleagues to build a variety of learning experiences to integrate into a variable schedule as young men came and went without notice, and behavioral/safety issues were always at the forefront. I felt my work was valued and respected, so I was quite disappointed when I was laid off due to budget cuts after four years.

After my layoff from Maxey and a few months off after my first child was born, I returned to full-time teaching as a teacher consultant at Adams Middle School in Wayne-Westland, Michigan. During that first year, I was quickly sought out by the principal and my special education director at the central office to move into the position of department chair although I did not have the seniority within the building. However, I did have the leadership skills and interpersonal skills to lead the department through a series of changes that were set to begin the following year. My ability to move with relative ease between faculty and administration was often noted. At the time of my arrival in the district, the faculty union was negotiating a contract and many faculty were unhappy with much of what the administration was trying to implement. As the “new kid on the block,” I did not have a history with either side and could work to make the changes a reality, even challenging the changes by the administration without becoming hostile. Again, my first goal was to protect the faculty, in some cases from

themselves, and my second was to make sure the individualized education plans (IEPs) and all paperwork were completed correctly and efficiently. Despite my success at Adams, I did not hesitate to apply to the Developmental English position at Washtenaw Community College, where I had briefly taught part-time a few years prior, and like my previous leadership roles, I quickly found my niche at WCC.

After I joined the English department at WCC, I was welcomed and given space to evaluate and modify the developmental writing program as part of my probationary project. With the help of the English department chair and Writing Center director, I took on my tasks with fervor. Consequently, it was within my first two years that I established my role in the department. My colleagues sensed that I wanted the department to be the best it could be and saw that with my drive, I had a great deal of power to influence how that happened. I also recognized that my colleagues were not only willing to let me lead but were willing to follow my lead. For my department specifically, there are about half out of 16 who make most of the decisions that impact the department as a whole. We decide on textbooks, write Writing Center manuals, work with administrators, and manage the department that serves over 2,000 students a semester. In addition to my work in the department, I have served on numerous committees and managed the faculty in-service schedule for 6 years. As I did in my previous positions, I found being in a leadership role very natural.

With this in mind, aside from the purely academic reason to choose WCC for this study, I carry a personal reason. Having been at WCC for over a decade, I have come to love the people of the institution and the community we serve. In recent years, I have taken a very active and vocal union role and have publicly voiced concerns over the actions of the current administration and my diminished role as a faculty leader. I have come to realize that being vocal requires a

commitment to and full knowledge of issues, which requires time and preparation for the criticism or attacks by those who do not agree. Consequently, I have had to frame my positions clearly and continue to understand the varying points of view as I try to serve the institution and its people.

I would be remiss not to consider another reason for my study of Washtenaw Community College. As an educator, as someone who chose education as a career, I still see education and being a teacher as an agent of change despite what seems to be national rants against teachers at all levels. In my house growing up, there was an assumption that an education, especially a college education, should be completed so that I and my brothers would have choices of how to live our lives. Whether we chose a community college or four-year institution, post-secondary education was expected to be the way to reach the “American Dream” of home ownership and stability. Attending a community college for my first two years was purely pragmatic. I would pay less and get the tools needed to pursue my teaching career elsewhere. It is that pragmatic attitude that brought me back to the community college as an instructor, specifically for developmental education.

The community college offers, in my mind, a last-chance option to train individuals to participate more fully in the public domains and with those in power. The community college model should continue to be a place of hope for those looking to improve their lives by some measure. For me, I have struggled in recent years as the accountability standards have tightened, and the students are reduced even further to numbers on a spreadsheet. Enrollment goals, persistence, and degrees earned have become the mantra of administration. However, somewhere in the process, the student has gotten lost. For over a decade, access to the community college has diminished. In some regard, the changes have been sound in that the college has limited the

number of students “in it for the financial aid” or just to kill time because of the inability to find a job. I understand the need to be fiscally responsible. All the same, I believe in access, in equity, and in opportunity. I understand that few of the students that I work with will ever make it to a four-year institution or even walk the stage with an associate’s degree. This does not mean that success or goals have not been met. Many students at the community college find “success” in barely passing a class or understanding how to speak more concisely to others in the community. Educational success does not solely mean degrees or certificates.

This is the beauty of the community college. It is not just a degree-granting institution, but a sample of what a community has to offer—a common space where the ideals of a democratic world can function and be witnessed. I am often frustrated by the literature, by the public, or by my own institution that there seems to be a need to apologize for community college—to apologize for not being more like a university or not serving the community enough. This, in turn, has made the numbers game of touting enrollment and completion necessary in order to sustain and legitimize the work of the school in the public.

The community college is a complex institution that cannot be reduced to a simple formula. It is many things to many people, and I know that I am moved by its ability to offer choice to the people of this nation, knowing full well that few of the powerful who make decisions concerning the college have any connection with these institutions. If I can help ground this institution and find ways to manage its legitimacy for the community, I will feel as if I have succeeded. Education, for me, has not been about prestige, but it has been about learning how to be the best “me” I can be, and I want to continue to offer this to other members of the community.

Moreover, my attention to the many facets of WCC has inspired me as I continue to

work toward the credentials that will allow me to move into a leadership position. Based on my experiences, especially those of the last few years, I believe that as I become a community college leader, I bring with me the passion and knowledge about the many aspects of a college. Primarily, I am acutely aware that I must be able to clearly articulate my position, listen to others, and balance the needs of the entire college: faculty, staff, students, and community members. Throughout my tenure, the opportunities to be a leader among the faculty and for the institution have most certainly provided added impetus to study how organizations, specifically Washtenaw Community College, function in a complex environment.

This is not to say that I do not have moments that give me pause. One area that I continue to mull over is how to be critical of an institution that I also regard so highly. Historically, I believe that mass education has been used and/or manipulated to serve the best interests of those in power or the elite through the creation of institutions and curriculum that would effectively “tame” the masses and maintain the power dynamic, despite marketing that says otherwise. Just considering Thomas Jefferson’s strong stance on education, although committed to educating all, he clearly articulated that the schools be stratified, believing that there was a “level” of education appropriate for all. Therefore, I can see that the community college is doing what it intended to do: sort and select students. Understanding these historical and social underpinnings, I also have felt the transformative power of education and learning, but I see how many students are not successful in the normative terms that have been laid out by educators: the community college by its very nature is designed to be subordinate to four-year institutions, the community, and industry. Consequently, as a community college administrator, I must be able to understand how to balance the many value streams the institution faces.

My goal, as I stated previously, is driven by the desire to help and to guide, whether as a

teacher or administrator. I want to be able to do this while not unwittingly “helping” people into a particular place in our society or marketing the community college as something that it is not. I also believe that to create lasting change in any system, in any community, I must be able to be part of the system working toward effective and substantive change. It was my hope that through this study that I would be able to more fully recognize and work through these areas of concern to use my findings to make thoughtful and responsible decisions.

Research Tradition

Qualitative research. In considering the study of Washtenaw Community College’s founding and development, there are a number of research approaches that would provide differing views of the institution and its place in the hierarchy of post-secondary education. As Scott (1965) writes, “it is the nature of the phenomena under investigation and the objectives of the study which must determine what approaches are taken and what materials are gathered by what methods” (p. 265), understanding that no approach is inherently superior, just different.

Historically, Bogdan and Bilken (1992) report that the term “qualitative research” was not used until the late 1960s. Originating from sociology and anthropology, qualitative research is often used as an “umbrella term to refer to several research strategies that share certain characteristics” (Bogdan & Bilken, 1992, p. 2). This style of research, influenced by the Chicago School of the 1920s and 1930s, utilizes rich descriptions of people, places, events, or times that are not as easily described using statistical data in an effort to understand the human meaning behind common institutions. Most commonly, participant observation and interviews are used when employing this paradigm, but qualitative research is not restricted to these.

Over the past fifty years, qualitative research has gained popularity and legitimacy as more approaches to data collection and analysis have been explored. Along with participant

observation and interviews, document analysis, interpretive analysis, participatory inquiry, and life history research have become more common (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Bogdan & Bilken, 1992). Additionally, Bogdan and Bilken (1992) categorize qualitative research using five categories: natural setting, descriptive, process oriented, inductive, and meaningful. Further, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) define qualitative research in that it “involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials—case study; personal experience; introspection; life story; interview; artifacts; cultural texts and production; observational, historical interactional, and visual text—that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals’ lives” (p. 3). Employing many of these techniques helped me create the rich descriptions needed for this study of Washtenaw Community College.

Underpinning this history of qualitative research are the research paradigms that, too, have evolved. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) identify seven historical moments: traditional (1900 – 1950), modernist (1950 – 1970), blurred genres (1970 – 1986), crisis of representation (1986 – 1990), the post-modern (1990 – 1995), post-experimental inquiry (1995 – 2000), and the future (2000 – present). Although there are dates associated with these historical moments, there is still an overlapping and blurring of the lines as researchers work through tensions or contradictions in the search for clarity in their research. Further, I considered the five paradigms outlined by Lincoln and Guba (2000): Positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, constructivism, and participatory. I align most closely to constructivism because I believe people construct their own realities, and it was my task to uncover those multiple realities to find common themes and actions to illuminate my topic. Therefore, qualitative research offers a chance to create a deep understanding of a specific case or relationships of many cases. Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014), as pragmatic realists, believe that

social phenomena exist not only in the mind but also in the world—and that some reasonably stable relationships can be found among the idiosyncratic messiness of life. There are regularities and sequences that link together phenomena. From these patterns, we can derive the constructs that underline individual and social life. The fact that most of these constructs are invisible to the human eye does not make them invalid. After all, we are all surrounded by lawful physical mechanisms of which we're, at most, remotely aware. (p. 7)

This underscores the importance of considering the invisible constructs of a phenomena and defining connections and regularities when they exist.

More specifically, Blumer's (1969) symbolic interactionism defines the ability to derive meaning:

Symbolic interactionism sees a human society as people engaged in living. Such living is a process of ongoing activity in which participants are developing lines of action in the multitudinous situations they encounter. They are caught up in a vast process of interaction in which they have to fit their developing actions to one another. This process of interaction consists in making indications to others of what to do and in interpreting the indications as made by others. (p. 21)

In other words, meaning is socially constructed in that social reality is a shared meaning between many individuals, groups, or organizations through the use of symbols. Berg (2004) summarizes Blumer's view that "meanings allow people to produce various realities that constitute the sensory world (the so-called real world), but because these realities are related to how people create meanings, reality becomes an interpretation of various definitional options" (p. 9).

Therefore, it is equally important to not only uncover the meanings but the many interpretations

that people can take from the meanings.

With this in mind, a qualitative study allowed me to look at emerging themes as they developed through the research about the phenomena, in my case Washtenaw Community College. The iterative nature of the process allowed for change and a more accurate description of the phenomena as I delved into and understood the meaning created around the artifacts associated with the founding and development of Washtenaw Community College. With approaches rooted in sociology, political science, and anthropology, qualitative research allowed for the development of well-grounded and rich descriptions of the human experience so that chronological events and consequences allowed for useful explanations (Miles et al., 2014).

Ontology and epistemology. In choosing to complete a qualitative study, my constructivist-dominant inquiry paradigm guided my ontological and epistemological beliefs. Ontology refers to my belief about the nature of reality, whereas epistemology focuses on the nature of knowledge and the relationship between the knower and the would-be known (Flowers, 2014). Considering this research from a constructivist point of view, my research attempted to define Washtenaw Community College from a relativist ontology and a transactional/subjectivist epistemology, whereby I defined the multiple realities and co-created an understanding of the findings using other's research (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Swoyer (2014) defines relativism as not a single doctrine but a family of views whose common theme is that some central aspect of experience, thought, evaluation, or even reality is somehow relative to something else. For example standards of justification, moral principles or truth are sometimes said to be relative to language, culture, or biological makeup.

Further, adding to the common theme of how experiences and such are connected in multiple ways, the transactional/subjective epistemology implies that we cannot separate ourselves from

what we know so that who we are is inextricably linked to what we are researching. Lincoln and Guba (2000) see that researchers “take their primary field of interest to be precisely that subjective and intersubjective social knowledge and the active construction and cocreation of such knowledge by human agents that is produced by human consciousness” (pp. 176-177). Ultimately, my qualitative research paradigm guided my choice of methodologies to allow me to collect data and formulate conclusions that I could then consider through the lens of organizational theory.

This constructivist paradigm guided my work as I developed an understanding of WCC as it began, and based on my constructivist perspective, I interpreted the meaning from the findings. As a novice researcher, the use of a highly-inductive or loosely-designed study as defined by Miles et al. (2014) was not the best choice. If the study was too loosely constructed, I may have wasted time on topics that did not relate to the study and have had far too many details to analyze effectively. Instead, a tighter, more exact study was a better option as someone new to research. Using organizational theory as the lens from which I viewed the case, I was able to describe and analyze relationships that fall under this narrower purview. Also, in order to understand the formation and development of WCC, it was necessary to employ historic lens. As a descriptive study, I provided one view of Washtenaw Community College by using a conceptual framework that can be applied to future studies of organizations. Therefore, for my study of Washtenaw Community College, a combination of a historical approach and a single case study approach, defined below, best fit my goals for the study as I worked to answer my research questions and fulfill the purpose of the study:

The purpose of the study was to understand founding and development of Washtenaw Community College (WCC). Specifically, this study sought to understand the institutional forces

that constructed and shaped the function, nature of funding, and governance of WCC in order to become a more thoughtful leader. I developed the following research questions:

1. How did the junior/community college movement develop in the United States educational system?
2. What were the forces surrounding the founding and development of the junior/community college movement?
3. How was Washtenaw Community College founded and developed?
4. What were the forces surrounding the founding and development of Washtenaw Community College?

Historical research. The study of Washtenaw Community College was completed as a historical analysis that outlines the founding and development of the institution because as a faculty member and future leader, my goal was to understand the institutional forces that constructed and shaped the function, nature of funding, and governance of WCC. Also, as a faculty member at Washtenaw Community College, I had access to archival information of the college and a general understanding of its history. As noted by Husband and Foster (1987), “within this method, the unique characteristics of the contextualized strategy is that the personal elapsed time is the ‘context’” (p. 60). Moreover, with time, the context can shift as new events connect or build on events. Additionally, Johnson and Christensen (2014) indicate that not only does a historical researcher rely on facts, dates, or incidents, but the researcher must communicate an understanding of the events from many points of view. Adding to this, it is critical that the historian provide an interpretation of the events, and this interpretation becomes just as much part of the story as the story itself. Essentially, the goal of historical research is to uncover what is unknown, to answer questions, to identify relationships between past and

present, to record and evaluate accomplishments, and to add to the understanding of the culture (Johnson & Christensen, 2008).

Tuchman (1998) adds that “any social phenomenon must be understood in its historical context. To grasp historical information, one must have a point of view, including an interpretive framework that includes some notion of the ‘meaning’ of history” (p. 226). This idea is about framing my choice and realizing that my choices to include or exclude items will influence the end result. Tuchman follows what Marx and Weber realized in that “one must come to grips with historical realities to explore the meaning of contemporary practices and processes” (p. 233). This also implies that I had to be cognizant of the emotionality embedded in my study. Simmons (1985) identifies that an emotional framework that uses empathy must be part of the framework for a historical researcher: “Such a framework must order empathic insights correctly in time, so that the development of emotional attachments and the progression of events feed into one another as the history actually unfolded” (p. 289). Thus, as a researcher, I had to carefully consider how I “gave” meaning to the findings recognizing “(a) that history is more than the passage of events whose sequence may be memorized and (b) that the past has continuing relevance for the present” (Tuchman, 1998, p. 240). Wagstaff and Gant (2009) stress that documents and information, in whatever form, exist with a particular space and time, and more importantly, they are products of their place and time. As a researcher, then, I considered the nature of the documents or reports I found and determined each one’s value given how it defines the unit of analysis.

Case study. In addition to historical research, an obvious method of qualitative inquiry for the study of Washtenaw Community College was the case study, allowing for an in-depth study of complex phenomena. A case often functions in a variety of contexts or environments

(Stake, 2000), and by definition a case represents a bounded system. Since Washtenaw Community College represented this bounded system or “case” (Johnson & Christiansen, 2014, p. 434), information gathered about the organization was specific to Washtenaw Community College and its community. Stake (2000) also defines cases as intrinsic, instrumental, and collective. Intrinsic case studies focus on the desire of the researcher to understand a particular case better, not because the case in point represents other cases. An instrumental case study is used to draw attention to a generalization, and the case is the conduit for this understanding. Finally, the collective case study uses a number of cases to work toward generalizations (Stake, 2000).

For my study of Washtenaw Community College, this case was best be classified as intrinsic since the information gathered is descriptive in nature. For this case, then, I needed to look at the nature of the case, the historical background, the physical setting, contextual settings, and informants to seek out what was both common and particular about the case (Stake, 2000). Also important was that I understood the limits to my study as Stake (2000) argues: “The case study researcher faces a strategic decision in deciding how much and how long the complexities of the case should be studied. Not everything about the case can be understood—how much needs to be?” (p. 439). With this, I recognized that my case study of Washtenaw Community College was not designed to represent all community colleges but needed to be an accurate reflection of WCC and its players. However, the work in this study could be the basis for future studies about WCC or other community colleges through organizational theory. Since case studies must draw on what is both common and what is particular about a case, I noted the nature of the case, the history of the case, the physical setting, other contexts or environments, other cases that are related, and informants through which the case could be known (Stake, 2000).

The benefit to using a historical case study approach in researching Washtenaw Community College was that it allowed me to use a variety of data collection methods like archival study and oral histories to truly understand the contextual history. Again, although this approach limited the ability to generalize because it focused on a single case, like Spierer (1980) suggests, the information gleaned from this case study could be used by researchers “to define concepts, generate hypothesis, and ground new theory for further testing” (p. 15). With this, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) sum up the nature and value of qualitative research in that it “is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world” (p. 3). Considering all of this made the study of Washtenaw Community College worthwhile.

Research Design

Selection of case. Using qualitative research methods, the historical case study sought to understand the institutional forces that constructed and shaped the function, nature of funding, and governance of WCC through the founding and development of WCC; this includes the community in which WCC is embedded. Kvale (1994) notes that with the increased use of qualitative research, there has been increased criticism regarding this type of research. However, as Lincoln and Guba (2000) write, “no one would argue that a single method—a collection of methods—is the royal road to ultimate knowledge” (p. 178). Therefore, to ensure the strongest study, I selected a case that I could clearly define and apply a strong research design to.

Unit of analysis. A case is defined by Miles et al. (2014) as “a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context” (p. 28). For my study, Washtenaw Community College and the community—its organizational field—in which it is embedded was the heart of the case. The choice of Washtenaw Community College for this study was based on familiarity and intellectual

curiosity. As a full-time faculty member of Washtenaw Community College for over a decade, I have had access to and knowledge of the institution. Lofland et al. (2006) contend that sociologists research areas that are problematic in their lives and further note that “much of the best work in sociology and other social sciences—within the fieldwork tradition as well as within other research traditions—is probably grounded in the past and/or current biographies of its creators” (pp. 11-12). This did not mean that this study of Washtenaw Community College was focused on me, the researcher. Instead, I used my intimate knowledge of WCC as a point of departure for exploring the institution more deeply.

Data sources and instrumentation. Since this study was conducted as a qualitative historical case study, the primary data sources were archival documents and the secondary data requirement were oral histories from some of the founders of Washtenaw Community College collected by other researchers. Instrumentation, the method for collecting data, also needed to be clearly defined as the study began. There was a need for “rich context description” that would allow me to discover or explore topics so that constructs were not “overlooked or misrepresented” (Miles et al., 2014, p. 38). As with my data, the primary sources were original documents or testimony from those involved directly with the situation being defined, and these sources offered a glimpse at the particular event. Secondary sources, then, interpreted or analyzed a primary source as they were created outside of an event (Princeton.edu, n.d.). For the study of Washtenaw Community College, the primary sources included archival documents like news articles, meeting transcripts/minutes, photographs, business records, government or social agency records, and legislative reports. The secondary sources like oral histories collected by other researchers, books, magazine articles, or journal articles were also be employed. These documents were found stored by the institution, at local historical societies, archival libraries,

and local libraries. No matter the sources, I had to understand who said or wrote it and verify those findings through multiple sources for reliable and valid conclusions.

In terms of data collection, I used unobtrusive measures, as defined by Berg (1995), who says that all “the unobtrusive strategies amount to examining and assessing human traces” (p. 141). These human traces can range from records of meetings to phone calls or items on an agenda. Berg further identifies these measures as archival strategies and physical erosion and accretion. For the archival strategies, it includes public and private records. In addition to the traditional public archives found in libraries, commercial media accounts, actuarial records, and official documentary records might prove useful, assuming that I keep in mind that items worth noting may be just as relevant as items not noted (Berg, 1995). In using private records, the subject at hand will make sense of his or her life and perceptions. Berg (1995) also highlights the use of physical erosion and accretion, or the examination of physical traces in wearing down or building up of a source. In using all of these sources or identifying what sources are no longer available, it was important for me to not depend on just one source for all conclusions. It was my job to be open to many methods, especially as the need for multiple sources improves validity and reliability.

Moral, ethical, and legal issues. In this qualitative study, I recognized that as the researcher, I was also the research instrument. Throughout my research, I had to ask continually what it meant to be ethical and moral and look to ensure the rights, privacy, and welfare of those touched by my research (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Berg, 2004). Therefore, the ability to remain ethical was not just in the methods I chose, but it was how I pursued a topic no matter where my data led (Vidich & Lyman, 2000). This meant that I had to have a careful research design from the start of my study and recognize that how I interpreted the data and went about the process of

its collection did not always fit into my personal schema of understanding. It was a process of learning, one that required my vigilance to the moral, ethical, or legal issues that could have arisen.

Also, I brought my biases to this study, which included a familiarity and emotionality with and about the institution I was researching, and this could have impacted my data interpretation. To protect individuals and the institution, I followed the American Educational Research Association and Eastern Michigan University's research protocol. As the mission statement for the American Educational Research Association (American Educational Research Association, 2015) notes, it is "a national research society, [which] strives to advance knowledge about education, to encourage scholarly inquiry related to education, and to promote the use of research to improve education and serve the public good." These codes guided any situations or considerations I made as a professional and as researcher.

My goal was not to document material that would purposely be in support of or disparaging to any person or group I dealt with over the course of my research. As I was looking only to information in the public domain and those who held public roles, it helped limit the chance for harm. Also, as defined in my request to research filed with the Eastern Michigan University's Human Subjects Review Board, I set forth a plan to collect and analyze data appropriately. In conjunction with my committee, I was able to remain true to my commitment to represent WCC and those involved with its founding and development in accurate ways by sharing my work and process throughout the course of the study. Since I used historical records and accounts to study the events connected to Washtenaw Community College, it was my task to examine the meaning of the symbols to understand the past behaviors and thought as related to the institution (Horn et al., 2009). This meant that I had to find confirming or disconfirming

evidence to properly support my conclusions as to avoid misleading or incorrect relationships or connections. In essence, it meant looking for the holes in my process, and thereby my conclusions, and not ignoring information that may or may not show Washtenaw Community College in a negative or positive light or to promote my belief in how the college should be.

Drawing and verifying conclusions. The danger for any researcher, whether using qualitative or quantitative research methods, is to complete his or her work poorly. Poorly defined phenomena, ill-suited conceptual frameworks, or an over-researched topic can lead to critique, likely well-deserved. Consequently, issues of validity and reliability are of issue. The *Oxford Dictionary Online* (2015) defines validity as “the quality of being logically or factually sound; soundness or cogency,” and reliability as “consistently good in quality or performance; able to be trusted.” To ensure that my study was both valid and reliable, I had to consider a number of variables regarding my conclusions (Miles et al., 2014). These qualitative variables are based originally on a quantitative design that uses objectivity, reliability, validity, and utilization in the drawing and verifying of data. For this qualitative study, those variables were replaced with confirmability, dependability, credibility, transferability, and application:

1. Objectivity or confirmability
2. Reliability/dependability/auditability
3. Internal validity/credibility/authenticity
4. External validity/transferability/fittingness
5. Utilization/application/action orientation

Confirmability. Confirmability is the considered the “sturdiness” of my meanings that conclude from my data (Mile & Huberman, 1994). To this end, I worked to be as objective as possible. As I was unable to be completely objective as I collected and analyzed my data, I had

to clearly define my biases from the start of the study and continue to question those biases throughout the analysis and use them intentionally if needed. To do this, I needed to make clear my own story, use my research questions to remain focused, have a strong conceptual framework to ground my work, and have a clear audit trail through documentation or journaling of the process. Also, an explicit framework that defined my focus of the study and connected my reasons for the research allowed others to check my process and have the ability to replicate the work. As Kvale (1994) distinguishes, “a biased subjectivity simply means unprofessional work, readers only noticing evidence supporting their own opinion, selectively interpreting and reporting statements justifying their own conclusions, overlooking any counterevidence” (p. 11).

Therefore, my job as a researcher required a vigilance to pose questions that supported my evidence or counterevidence. To deal with my subjectivity, I used my conceptual framework and my personal story to illuminate how my subjectivity might influence my research. Considering that I might likely protect the institution I have become deeply connected to and have a desire to bring respect to the oft-ignored community college, I had to be wary of how these biases color my view of the institution. Above all else, I aimed to be truthful to myself and, therefore, truthful to the readers, working to develop meaning from the data that can be confirmed.

Dependability. Connected to confirmability was that my study be dependable in that there was a clear and controlled process so that the results could be duplicated or confirmed. One way to assure the reader that the findings are, indeed, accurate is through the use of multiple sources that will provide confirming or disconfirming evidence (Miles et al., 2014). For the study of Washtenaw Community College, data sources included archival documents, news articles, photographs, records of meetings, governmental mandates, and interviews. Methods for this

study included unobtrusive measures like news searches, document reviews, and interviews. Explained in another way by Eisenhart and Howe (1992), the use of multiple sources is the “application of various explanations to the data at hand and the selection of the most plausible one to ‘explain’ the research results” (p. 662). As the use of multiple sources implies, the goal is to “enhance the trustworthiness of the analysis” (Miles et al., 2014, p. 299) and make sure that I looked at what I intended to examine.

As my study focused on the history of Washtenaw Community College, much of what I uncovered during research was not be able to be verified by those who lived it. For this reason, I needed to make sure that I did not take findings out of context or change them in such a way that did not meet the original intent of the author(s). My goal was to understand the original intent through the analysis of multiple sources. As I began the process of collecting data, I needed to work to develop the narrative, or chronological order of happenings, and discover the connections or patterns that supported a reasonable explanation about the phenomena. I created timelines to confirm and accurately place people or situations in time. I also went backward and forward in time around particular events to discover possible links, causes, or consequences associated with events or people. This allowed me to understand how some of the practices that were present at the founding of the institution created a product recognizable today and that many of the current practices are “historically embedded” (Tuchman, 1998, p. 233).

One way to uncover such embedded patterns was through the use of oral histories. Oral histories may provide some clarity as to certain functions of WCC’s founding and development, but Tuchman (1998) stresses that although this “reliable informant” about WCC may be able to offer information specific to WCC, he or she may not be able to offer clues to general patterns that stretch beyond WCC as “people cannot see patterns, precisely because those patterns are so

center to their lives that they take the patterns for granted” (p. 236). Therefore, as I reviewed oral histories that had been collected about WCC, I worked to find the confirming or disconfirming evidence in order to put each informant's experience in context with other experiences. The use of multiple sources creates the rich description needed in a qualitative study.

Creditability. Credibility and transferability are similar to quantitative measures of internal and external validity. Internal validity refers to the accuracy of the study in that the findings will need to make sense, be credible, and be an authentic representation; this is in contrast to external validity or transferability that considers if the conclusions of the study are generalizable (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Truth and reliability, then, refer to the “accuracy of the findings for those being studied” (Eisenhart & Howe, 1992, p. 651). Likewise, credibility and transferability in qualitative research looks to the believability of the research findings and how those findings can be applied to other situations. As a researcher, I wanted to represent the institution in the most objective way possible, allowing the rich description to provide the information that would clearly guide me to plausible conclusions through the use of deductive and inductive reasoning. In terms of credibility, my goal was to make sure that I was accurately evaluating what I intended on evaluating: how WCC was founded and developed.

With this goal in mind, I worked to reduce the possible “threats” or biases that might impact the interpretation of the data collected (Eisenhart & Howe, 1992, p. 645). To further this point, Eisenhart and Howe note that control over these threats improves authenticity of the description provided. For this study, there were a number of threats that would have to be considered. One threat to the study could have been my status as a full-time faculty member at the institution I was studying. I could have inadvertently ignored or played up data that presented an overly positive view of the institution. Again, to deal with my biases, I kept notes and

discussed my work with my dissertation chair and committee that allowed me to consider my opinions and check those against the accuracy of the story. I did not have to agree with the story in order to accept its truth. My goal was to be accurate and explain the logic of the phenomena.

Considering ascriptive categories as defined by Lofland et al. (2006), issues of gender, race or ethnicity, and age played a role in that as I described the historical context which the school was situated, issues related to these areas became relevant. For example, WCC opened in the midst of civil rights movement and civil unrest across the nation. Although I was not classifying data or looking for a data in these ascriptive categories, they are part of the final study. Including any information I found during my research that was credible and spoke to the truthfulness of the study was necessary to ensure both internal and external validity.

Additionally, as a long-time faculty member at Washtenaw Community College active as both a union member and faculty leader, I have the personal knowledge of how and why the school functions as it does, or as I see it. I have access to data and individuals with first-hand knowledge of the college's beginnings. Also tied to potential bias was the fact that I was moving from the role of teacher to the role of researcher. As Labaree (2003) indicates, practitioners can encounter tensions as they move into the role of researcher, changing the way one considers the educational phenomena and the move from a normative model to a more analytical model. This meant that I needed to be ready to shift my mindset from the very personal nature of teaching to a more intellectual world where the ideas are the offspring of my hard work. Moreover, I found at times that I was grieving process of leaving twenty years of teaching to focus on administration. I found that I needed to be sure that my work did not attempt to define what should be happening but what could be happening. The difference between the "should" and the "could" was the difference between my role as a teacher and a researcher. Therefore, instead of

being a teacher who naturally assumes that I know how to get the task completed, I had to push myself to allow my research to dictate the path toward conclusions.

Transferability and application Although qualitative studies are sometimes considered to lack transferability, with thick description and a sound conceptual framework, analytic generalizations become possible. Eisenhart and Howe (1992) stress, “The data collection techniques employed should fit, or be suitable for answering, the research question entertained” (p. 657). As I completed my research, I was aware of the chance to be a victim of “confirmation bias” or the idea that I highlight information that confirms any of my preconceptions. This would have only caused me to improperly use evidence or ignore it, limiting what I could actually learn from the past (Wagstaff & Gant, 2009). With this case study and cumulative case studies possible, generalizations become possible as new information is added to the knowledge base. Additionally, using the conceptual framework based on Thompson’s (2007) organizational levels and Scott’s (2014) pillars can further the understanding of the forces acting on and within an institution, specifically the community college.

With sound internal and external validity, the process and conceptual framework can be utilized in further studies with other educational institutions. Miles and Huberman (1994) explore practical standards for judging the quality of conclusions and justifying the validity and reliability of the results. They believe that since qualitative studies “take place in the real social world and can have real consequences in people’s lives; that there is a reasonable view of ‘what happened’ in any particular situation; and that we who render accounts of it can do so well or poorly, and should not consider our work unjudgable” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 277), having standards and continuously checking one’s work to those standards is of utmost importance.

Data Analysis

For some novice researchers and laypeople, the process of research may be seen as a linear model: a research idea is decided upon, design and theory are added, one collects data, one analyzes the data, and then the findings are constructed. For the qualitative historical case study of Washtenaw Community College, the process was iterative and recursive in nature. Berg (2004) sees the research process as one of fluidity in that ideas from each stage flow into the next and may influence change in one aspect or another of the research process.

The ability to move between deductive and inductive methods was key as I substantiated and supported my findings. The use of deductive reasoning was the way by which I could draw conclusions based on the validity of the premise, so that if a premise was true, it was likely the conclusion drawn was true (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). With inductive reasoning, the conclusions are drawn from the premise, but the researcher states what is likely to be true, not what is necessarily true (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). Whereas deductive reasoning will help in defining those conclusions that were true, inductive reasoning allowed me to make predictions or generalizations about possible relationships or reasons for action.

As a selected case, the data and findings may not be generalizable to all community colleges, but the study's conceptual framework is analytically generalizable. This means that the study can be used as a resource or tool to understand institutional behaviors of other community colleges. The examination of Washtenaw Community College's founding and development may make it easier to understand the historical context by which other institutions were constructed and serve to inform leaders in their understanding of how historical development affects institutions over time. As I applied my questions to my research, I analyzed data using the normative, regulative, and cultural-cognitive pillars of institutional theory, a subset of

organizational theory, as defined by Scott (2014).

To further this understanding, Scott provides a list of “carriers” or vehicles by which institutional information is conveyed. Table 3.1 shows these institutional pillars and carriers.

Table 3.1

Institutional Pillars and Carriers

	Pillars		
	Regulative	Normative	Cultural-Cognitive
Symbolic system	Rules Laws	Values Expectations Standards	Categories Typifications Schemas Frames
Relational systems	Governance systems Power systems	Regimes Authority systems	Structural isomorphism Identities
Activities	Monitoring Sanctioning Disrupting	Roles, jobs Routines Habits Repertoires of collective action	Predispositions Scripts
Artifacts	Objects complying with mandated specifications	Objects meeting conventions, standards	Objects possessing symbolic value

Note: The data in this table were taken from Scott (2014, p. 96)

This conveyance is not, though, the simplistic movement of one idea or something similar from place to place. In institutionalism, the focus is on what gains permanency so that Scott’s (2014) typology “emphasizes not only that materials and practices flow across boundaries of time and space, but so also do rules, norms, and beliefs. In short, the carriers we emphasize are those bearing institutional elements, not simply objects or activities” (p. 97). Scott is stressing, then, the totality of the institution.

Using each of the three pillars in conjunction with of the actors involved in the founding and development of WCC, I was able to analyze each group through time. Table 3.2 illustrates the schema to be used during the collection of data.

Table 3.2

Actors and Institutional Pillars

Actors	Regulative	Normative	Cultural-Cognitive
Federal/State Bodies			
Washtenaw County Leaders			
University of Michigan			
Other Educational Units			
Business and Industry			
Community Members			
Staff and Faculty			

From this, I was able to report on what was happening, limiting a chance for me to judge and pit groups against each other. I also used this same structure and moved it through time, focusing then on the founding of WCC, 1959–1965, and the development of WCC, 1966–1972. After documenting the regulatory, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements in each timeframe, I then compared and contrasted the forces acting with and upon the institution through time. Using organizational-institutional theory as the lens with which to view WCC allowed me to expose the layers of complexity and networks that conflict and support the institution (Powell, 2007).

Recapitulation

Part of the battle with any research is to make readers understand why the research is worth knowing, and my research design will be key to supporting my conclusions, or as Miles and Huberman (1994) stress, “the ‘goodness’ of qualitative work needs careful assessment” (p. 286). In order to find the relationships and determine their meaning, managing the data was an

important step in the process. As the case was bounded and could be completed by a lone researcher, a clear management protocol allowed me to make the most of the time spent studying this topic and analyze findings that were valuable for other students of organizational theory and community colleges. In Iannaccone's (1975) words, "the scientist's goal is to understand how certain features of the world are related to other features so that he can explain how they operate and thus, make better predictions and enhance our control of them" (p. 13). As I completed my research about Washtenaw Community College, I saw that through a historical analysis using organizational theory I was able to understand the function, nature of funding, and governance that have come to shape the community college. It is through this analysis and rich description that has allowed me to become more knowledgeable and thoughtful leader.

Chapter 4: Uncovering the Story

Part I: History of Education in the United States

“A basic assumption of institutional thinking (old or new) is that large institutional complexes such as education, and the practices they give rise to, are contingent and contested. That is, social institutions can assume a large number of different shapes and forms, some of which appeal more to a particular group of collective actors than others” (Meyer & Rowan, 2006, pp. 3-4).

Growth of Higher Education

Researchers using the lens of institutional theory to understand educational institutions note the necessity to pay attention to the “concrete historical actors,” acknowledging that “these actors are motivated by self-interest, but also by their values and cultural beliefs, which arise in a context of existing institutions” (Meyer & Rowan, 2006, p. 9). Thus, it was necessary to uncover the historical actors and their motivations in the founding and development of Washtenaw Community College. However, this study looked first to identify the role and place of the junior college in the United States. As Herbst (1989) considered in looking back at the history of teaching in the public education, “It must include a sense for the complexities of the social, political, and economic climate in which the schools developed, struggled, flourished, or suffered” (p. 12). Particularly for the junior college, its growth highlighted national changes as individual state’s control. To better identify and analyze these complexities associated with this institution, focusing on a single school as it was situated in its task environment was useful. Therefore, this study considered the institutional forces that constructed and shaped the founding and development of the junior or community college, and then, more specifically, Washtenaw Community College in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Important to keep in mind, though, as Kaestle and Vinovskis (1980) noted, “Systematic state schooling did not develop in a vacuum. It was not just the gradual evolution of some universally desirable idea (p. 1).

In many contexts, the United States is often considered to be a nation that favors education as the engine of mobility and good citizenship, yet the development of the American educational system is much more nuanced. Since the start of the nation, the American educational system has evolved based on social, political, and economic changes in the country, beginning with Jamestown in 1607. After the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown was established, it took 28 years for the first Latin grammar school for boys to open in Boston (BLS History, 2015). This school would train the sons of the elite colonists to serve the church and community. The early grammar schools, though, were more concerned with “equipping their pupils with the secular tools for acquiring religious knowledge rather than the knowledge itself” (Axtell, 1974, p. 34), a process endorsed at the college level as well.

A year after the opening of the grammar school, Harvard College opened in 1636 as the land’s first institute of higher education, serving the sons of those in power. As Harvard students, they were to learn to “systematize coherently and to contend expertly, abilities highly prized in an oral culture that placed ultimate value on the discovery of philosophical and theological truth” (Cremin, 1970, p. 215). Massachusetts, in keeping with the desire to educate community members, also passed the Massachusetts Bay School Law in 1642 that required parents to teach religious and commonwealth laws to their children in hopes of ensuring compliance to normative standards of the time (U.S. Office of Education, 1941). However, this was not enough to satisfy the growing population of people with varying religious beliefs or to meet the need to indoctrinate the people of the commonwealth to those ideals considered of value by those in power.

In 1647, the Massachusetts Law, often referred to as the Old Deluder Satan Act, was passed decreeing that every town with at least 50 families must have a schoolmaster to teach

reading and writing. Moreover, towns with 100 families would have to support a Latin grammar schoolmaster with the goal to ready sons for Harvard College (Sass, 2015). Of course, education was reserved primarily for the sons of those in power. However, there continued to be a steady growth of educational opportunities within the communities for a wider range of the new colonies' inhabitants as the education of the time reflected the need to prepare children to manage the burgeoning colonies and maintain political and social control. There remained a conflict, though, in that those new to what would become the United States encouraged individualism and capitalism, so people resisted funding the education of other people's children as there was little direct gain to the taxpayer.

As the 1600s came to a close and the colonies inched toward the founding of a new country, the College of William and Mary opened in Virginia in 1693, and the first publicly-supported library opened in South Carolina in 1698 (Cremin, 1970; Sass, 2015). While communities were supporting varying levels of education for their children, the facilities and supplies were just as varied. Often the schoolhouses were small and lacked much in the way of what we now consider a proper classroom setting. The teachers' duties ranged from cleaning the building and fixing the fire to mending pens. Due to the limited number of books available to teachers and families, memorization and recitation were common methods of instruction as teachers taught primarily using what students could provide from the home (Cremin, 1970). Aside from basic literacy training in the early schools, religious instruction was another common thread.

However, in the 1700s, building on work by John Locke and supported by Benjamin Franklin, writers and philosophers with European training influenced colonial America, clashing with the original Puritanical views. This meant that young gentlemen should be trained in the

right habits through parental modeling, use of imagination, and the ability to develop one's own talents (Axtell, 1968). Locke's desires, like many of those he influenced, saw that the educator "must prepare the child's mental, moral, and physical capabilities to meet any situation" (Axtell, 1968, p. 68), which departed from the very controlled, rule-oriented process of the early schools. Cremin (1970) described Locke's views as that they "both symbolized and strengthened a developing utilitarianism about learning that was coming to prevail in the Anglo-American world" (p. 365). Further, Axtell (1974) summed up the many changes in education prior to the Revolutionary War:

The school, too, changed in response to the New World conditions. On one level, the trend of formal education was toward greater popularization. The elite Latin curriculum for well-to-do boys was gradually replaced in most local schools by a comprehensive English curriculum for children of both sexes drawn from families of a great range of socioeconomic standings. (p. 186)

These changes were a result of the practical needs of the land and the need for social control as the population became more heterogeneous. The changes also recreated the class system within the schools that mimicked that of the community; while education was more broadly available and expected by the public, opportunities were limited depending on class, gender, or nationality, matching the community norms.

While the religiously charged Great Awakening was pulsing through the United States in the mid-1700s, some leaders founded schools like Princeton to offer sanctuary for followers, while other leaders balked at the fervor and emotionality connected to the evangelicals (Heyrman, 2008). Benjamin Franklin was one of the political leaders to reject the excesses connected to the religious revivals, and in 1743, Franklin formed the American Philosophical

Society that emphasized science and human reason. A secular push that would become part of the new country, a new country with seemingly boundless opportunity, primarily for White males, that could only be accessed through education as determined by the likes of Franklin and others in power (Cremin, 1970). Franklin also developed the public “academy” format that would teach practical skills to teenage students, and this format would eventually follow what would become an elementary education through the expansion of the common school model in the 1800s (Kaestle, 1983). In some cases, these academies served as substitutes for college and became the start of the secondary educational system, admitting both genders and those less fortunate (U.S. Office of Education, 1941). Despite the move to secularization, this did not mean that religion was missing in these new institutions. Even with the separation of the church from public education, the strong Protestant values and growth of capitalism became the foundation of the schools designed to protect the new republic as it faced urbanization of cities and changes to agriculture as industrialization began and the seeds for the Revolutionary War were sown.

After the 1775 start to the Revolutionary War and the adoption of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, separating the United States from the British Empire, the topic of education became part of the new leaders’ conversations although the reliance was primarily on state leaders to implement programs. Thomas Jefferson was one such leader in his home state of Virginia, and in 1779, he proposed a framework for a two-track educational system (Sass, 2015). One track emphasized labor or apprentice work and the other track emphasized the classic liberal arts education common for the elites (Conant, 1962; Wagoner, 2004). This dual function, though, would give way to only traditional programming as it was only the elites who had both time and money to dedicate to education – the education that was promoted at University of Virginia that opened in 1825.

Also, in Jefferson's work, there was an emphasis on the state's role in education that was predicated on the belief that state leaders knew better the needs of their people, and a smaller federal government was preferred. This preference was to avoid too much control from a distance, so a state system that was decentralized from federal mandates was promoted. Although this idea of a decentralized system was promoted, Jefferson went further in defining the role of public education in the end. As part of Jefferson's state model, he saw that a publicly-sponsored university education would help only a few who might benefit from the education and in turn be at the service of the state (Conant, 1962). Jefferson laid out the need for public elementary programs and ways to cultivate poor but bright children, even proposing under his plan that "twenty of the best geniuses will be raked from the rubbish annually, and be instructed, at the public expense, so far as the grammar schools go" (Conant, 1962, p. 4). In the 1779 "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," Jefferson articulated his reasoning behind the idea of education for all:

and it is believed that the most effectual means of preventing this [perversion of power] would be, to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large, and more especially to give them knowledge of those facts, which history exhibiteth, that, possessed thereby of the experience of other ages and countries, they may be enabled to know ambition under all its shapes, and prompt to exert their natural powers to defeat its purposes; And whereas it is generally true that that people will be happiest whose laws are best, and are best administered, and that laws will be wisely formed, and honestly administered, in proportion as those who form and administer them are wise and honest; whence it becomes expedient for promoting the publick happiness that those person, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue, should be rendered by liberal

education worthy to receive, and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and that they should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth or other accidental condition or circumstance; but the indigence of the greater number disabling them from so educating, at their own expence, those of their children whom nature hath fitly formed and disposed to become useful instruments for the public, it is better that such should be sought for and educated at the common expence of all, than that the happiness of all should be confided to the weak or wicked. (Jefferson, 1778; Wagoner, 2004)

Jefferson's focus on both institutional purpose and governance would be the foundation for much of his work and a model for other states.

Although Jefferson's publicly-funded education did not develop at the pace he desired, there was some movement on the national front as the country expanded west. In the Land Ordinance of 1785, new western territories would be required to set aside parcels of land, specifically lot number 16, for public school maintenance (Rudolph, 1990; National Archives Catalog, 2016). With this somewhat vague federal support of education, education, especially a college education, was still reserved primarily for elite White males, and for the masses, the goal of education was to ensure basic skills to support the new country and learn Protestant values (Dunbar, 1935; Herbst, 1989). Herbst (1989) argued that

there was unanimity that the schools had to try to unify the people through a common education of all youngsters. They had to instill in and convert Americans to a shared endorsement of what were essentially Whig values—a middle-class morality centering on a sense of human decency and on what has become known as the Protestant work ethic, a bourgeois conception of economic security based on a commitment to hard work and the

ownership of private property.(p. 18)

Therefore, many European-schooled leaders in the late 1700s embraced education at levels appropriate for each class as a means to maintain control through proper discourse, but overall there still remained little national support, financially and legislatively, for elementary and secondary education, despite the growing number of colleges (Thelin, 2014). In part, this was due to the state leaders who were highly suspicious of centralized government (Conant, 1962). Slowly, though, colleges like the University of North Carolina opened in 1795 and the University of Georgia opened in 1801, both receiving some state support and setting the stage for state-sponsored university Jefferson desired (Conant, 1962; Wagoner, 2004). This meant that the state leaders would have additional pressure from the university leaders to consider how to ready parts of the population to fill the universities.

With the signing of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, there was further evidence that education would be a state-supported endeavor, favoring decentralized control that allowed state and local leaders to decide what was best for their community members. In article three of the ordinance, issues related to education as well as fundamental human rights were beginning to be addressed although practices did not always support these lofty goals as expanded access served to create further stratification and continued marginalization of minority groups:

Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged... but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them. (Bill of Rights Institute, 2015)

The Bill of Rights, ratified in 1791, added to the role of the state in education through

Amendment X since the federal government did not name education as one of its primary functions. No matter the level of control, whether state, federal, or private, education was still a right of the elite White males, and the curriculum for those not in this category was of religious or pragmatic function, not necessarily one of improving social standing. With this, though, it must be noted that education in the United States, although used as an example of democracy in action, had not yet been fully-funded or supported through the federal government—it had been most often been considered a private matter or an individual’s responsibility and not a public good. Hence the lack of direct purpose, form, or function at the federal level meant that the local level would be left with the responsibility to educate community members and define the institutions it supported (Bill of Rights Institute, 2015).

Despite the lack of concrete language and support from the federal government, Herbst (1989) concluded that for all students, from all classes, “Public education was to be promoted not only as opportunity and right but as obligation and duty as well” (p. 20). However, it is worthy to note that despite some support for educational access, there was a reluctance on the part of the public to support such institutions. In one instance, for example, taxpayers in Kalamazoo, Michigan, brought forth a suit against funding a local high school in 1874 (Conant, 1962). With the ruling that supported the right for a village to collect taxes for secondary schooling, residents were forced to accept the legal stance that Michigan’s constitution, in this case, did not define support of primary schools only; instead, taxes could be collected for all grades of instruction. Nearly 100 years after Jefferson’s call for free elementary school, state and educational leaders were creating a system to feed the universities through the use of local tax dollars (Wagoner, 2004).

Looking back on the expansion of the early educational system in Colonial America into

the 1800s, the founders and teachers described their reasons for such growth as being driven by choice, opportunity, and freedom. However, a secondary desire of those in power—a need to educate the masses—may have been driven by the fear of losing control of the country to immigrants who did not share Anglo-Saxon values of those in power. This was true especially in urban areas as cities grew along with local industries and factories (Kaestle, 1983), fueling the creation and support of the common school, “since they were common to all, rich and poor alike” (Conant, 1962, p. 39). A common school education, then, became the tool used by those in power to create a legitimate process of “forcing” people toward the opinions and mores of the elite and powerful of the time. This was not the way that schooling was or could be marketed. Instead, for supporters of the common school, the schools were promoted as the “way” to provide solutions to the issues of diversity, instability and equal opportunity, providing for the general good (Conant, 1962; Kaestle, 1983).

Moreover, American education, in general, has often been touted as a great democratizing agent, offering all students a chance to climb the social ladder through hard work and education, and it is this faith in education that is revived as the nation shifts, and additional layers of education (i.e. secondary or junior college) are added to the model. However, this is but one point of view, a point of view, some would suggest, offered by those in control of the schools, or, at least, how it was sold. To this end, “educational policies have served the interest of those wanting to take advantage of others” (Spring, 2007, p. 1). Even if this was or is the case, government officials, at all levels were able to justify the choices of the elite to manage the expectations of the public, and in this myth-creating dance, the language and structures around public education became the “promise” of a better life, being sold to the public over and over (Edelman, 1974).

Unlike Spring's perspective on the role of education in the United States, Horace Mann (1842), from a report on educated labor and industrialization, noted that

...education has a power of ministering to our personal and material wants beyond all other agencies, whether excellence of climate, spontaneity of production, mineral resources, or mines of silver and gold. Every wise parent and community desiring the prosperity of their children even in the most worldly sense, will spare no pains in giving them a generous education. (as cited in Katz, 1971, p. 140-141)

In contrast to Mann's idea of excellence through education, Spring (2007) considered that those schools in the nineteenth century endeavored to protest the Anglo-American Protestant culture of those in power and worked to create social stability through standardized educational experiences. In fact, the early colleges in America, like Harvard, Yale, or William and Mary, were not just created to serve the churches for which they were affiliated but had a greater purpose to serve the state as Rudolph (1990) notes:

A college advances learning; it combats ignorance and barbarism. A college is a support of the state; it is an instructor in loyalty, in citizenship, in the dictates of conscience and faith. A college is useful: it helped men to learn the things they must know in order to manage the temporal affairs of the world; it trains a legion of teachers. All these things a college was. All these purposes a college served. (p. 13)

As a function of the state in most respects, both early public and private schools, at all levels, sought to protect and advance their states' ideals through the development of colleges, thus creating a class of professional educators who would use their status to set standards for other schools.

For post-secondary education in the early 1800s, the chance to advance scholarship and

create scientific studies fueled much of the growth of schools like University of Michigan, Illinois College, New York University, and University of Missouri. The University of Michigan president Henry Tappan had a great desire to offer “real scholarship” and create an educational system that would allow the University of Michigan to be “central to the life of the state” (Rudolph, 1990, p. 233), thus allowing University leaders to make decisions that were in the “best” interest of the public. This idea was similar to Jefferson’s work in developing the University of Virginia that opened in 1825 incorporating “larger social and political purposes to which he [Jefferson] pledged the university and the elementary and secondary institutions that were always a vital component of his conception of a complete system of education” (Wagoner, 2004, p. 127). Education, then, would serve to control and unite the people of the country in support of the Anglo values of those in power.

Also influencing educational discussions was Victor Cousin’s (1835) report published after he was commissioned by France to study the Prussian schools: “In general, his comments on Prussian education were highly favorable, particularly on the training of teachers” (Conant, 1962, p. 27). Cousins had been a professor of philosophy at the University of Paris, and his interpretation of the Prussian system would capture the interest of many in America. Cousin’s work was framed by Prussian administrators and visits to large city schools and universities. Regarding rural schools, Cousin praised the purpose of the schools to teach the lowliest of men, focusing on the moral growth and the inculcation of values. The Prussian leaders use of and control through public schools gave many American educational leaders the guidance in promoting the common schools and their role to create a civil and moral society based on Christian principles through control and conformity (Herbst, 1989).

To further the point of reform at this time, the reformers assumed that “the public, or

common, schools were to become gateways through which all competent Americans would pass on their way from poverty to riches. They provided the least expensive and most effective way of removing the threat of internal strife and chaos” (Herbst, 1989, p. 13). As the Prussian use of education was to teach all but also teach enough to secure the monarchy, the leaders in the United States also used education to perpetuate religious ideals or prevent the “unruly illiterates” from the “misguided support” of the non-elites (Conant, 1962). This meant that only a few would experience mobility as there would not be a radical re-distribution of men in the social fabric to disrupt those in power. Throughout the 1800s, states continued to refine their own educational systems to manage the changing demographics, but it was federal legislation in the mid-1800s that would open up a chance for more robust changes to higher education after the Morrill Act was passed in 1862. How these new institutions would serve the citizens was left to the interpretation of the states and educational leaders involved.

Morrill Act of 1862. When the Morrill Act, oft known as the Land Grant Act, was passed in 1862, public post-secondary educational institutions did create new opportunities for students who traditionally had not been able to access higher education (U.S. Office of Education, 1941). The Land Grant Act served to acknowledge the agrarian nature of much of America and offered financial support to one college in every state that some historians note as a reward to the common man (Rudolph, 1990), especially after the end of the Civil War. Lincoln’s address at the signing of the 1862 Morrill Act captured the more visible role higher education could play in the United States:

The complexity of our world, the impact of technology, the insecurity of employment, and the uncertainty of our times have led all sections of our society to identify education in general and higher education in particular as key to the future... Yet, in the midst of

this growing importance—indeed, perhaps because of it—higher education has become the focus of increasing concerns and criticisms. (as cited in Duderstadt, 2000, p. 21)

Although education was seen as a mechanism to train and manage the population, opportunity to participate, especially in higher education, was limited at best for many in the country.

Many of these criticisms or concerns about publicly-supported education centered on why the public should support the education of others. The argument, then, was that education would solve the ills of the society, keeping with the democratic ideals of America around opportunity and access, and would be most commonly and successfully used by leaders to promote changes to the educational system. Impacted by the Morrill Act was Michigan State University that had been established in 1855 as the Agricultural College of the State of Michigan:

The act granted lands to each loyal state to support a college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts . . . in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life. (Michigan State University, 2016).

With language such as this, there came a distinction between elite liberal arts and research universities and the new “more practical” colleges, and these sorts of definitions served to protect the most elite schools from the changing demographics.

With additions like the Hatch Act of 1887 expanding on the Morrill Act, the land grant universities set up a network of out-stations for agricultural experimentation. Unlike the wealthy and powerful of the time, whose children could afford and have access to a more traditional university education on the East Coast where the elite were located, the Morrill Act encouraged

more practical programs in agriculture and the mechanical arts, creating a “natural” ceiling for opportunity and growth for this group of people. In one experiment in 1858, just prior to the Morrill Act, the People’s College, championed by journalist and politician Horace Greeley, was established in central New York, specifically for farmers or those interested in a mechanical trade (Bishop, 1962; Lang, 1978). As part of the proposed curriculum, “Every pupil would be required to do from ten to twenty hours of manual labor a week, for pay” (Bishop, 1962, p. 54). Unfortunately, funding, enrollment, and the lack of a defined mission were too problematic. Plus, those men who had time and money to attend college favored a liberal arts curriculum, as that was the curriculum associated with those in power. Consequently, instead of a college for those interested in the mechanical arts, Cornell University, led by Ezra Cornell and following an accepted traditional curriculum, eventually rose from its ashes in 1865 (Bishop 1962; Lang, 1978).

This one failure, though, did not stop those who continued work to make post-secondary programming accessible to more citizens as the Morrill Act of 1862 incentivized educational support in the states. However, this was slow to be realized in many parts of the country in the grips of the Civil War (Thelin, 2014). Because of the Civil War, the Michigan State University President from 1941 to 1967, John Hannah, reported that it was Lincoln’s addition of “military tactics” to the original Act as an effort to train union officers that training became compulsory at Michigan State University (Michigan Civil War, 1964; Faverman, 1975). This use of public institutions to help with national problems would become more common in the twentieth century after the Great Depression and WWII, whether related to secondary or post-secondary programming. When institutions were able to operate more fully after the war, many of the newly-minted land-grant schools looked to schools like the University of Pennsylvania or the

University of Michigan for accepted structure and curriculum. This continued the trend that regions and states would decide what education would look like in the United States, serving to replicate the system of education across the country without strong federal directives.

The Second Morrill Act of 1890. Access to state-sponsored colleges increased with the passage of the second Morrill Act in 1890 that would restrict funds to states that would not allow admission based on race unless there were institutions specifically designed for minorities. Moreover, this act is often noted as a partial move toward equity and social justice at a national level because of the addition of race-based guidelines (Thelin, 2014). With the rising support of state schools to deal with the changing national values and stresses of mass immigration, many of the “old” private schools saw the growing separation from the “classical studies” perpetuated in the early institutions. Peckham (1994) noted that the land-grant colleges that were offering the courses in agricultural, mechanics, and home economics to those students from more rural or less wealthy areas illustrated that Congress saw that technical and vocational training were a function of higher education. Cohen and Brawer (2008) also show that “Universities were also sowing the idea of extension institution and agricultural divisions...schools of ...business, social work—more diverse goals meant the need for more diverse programs for even more people” to meet the needs of the growing industrial economy (p. 2). Although there was growth of practical programs across the country, those in power still sought out individuals from elite institutions and programs, solidifying the stratification of the classes.

As much as the University of Michigan was working toward leading research in the state and nation, embracing the German model of the university, the agricultural college in Michigan (later Michigan State University), through the federal support, was able to offer a wider variety of students a chance at advanced studies, with the school gaining constitutional status similar to

that of the University of Michigan in 1908 (Peckham, 1994). Like the early common schools that gained favor in the late 1700s and early 1800s, the expansion of programming in the late 1800s to include secondary and higher education was also gaining popularity among the public and served for many as a concrete example of opportunity and democracy in action; this allowed the more elite schools like Michigan to continue its selectivity in admissions. In essence, while it was more difficult for the public to see value in supporting students in a traditional college program, the inclusion of secondary and practical post-secondary programming made education on a whole seemingly more accessible. This could be framed as the public good, an ideal difficult with which to argue.

For higher education, the second Morrill Act also created more stable state funding, a new trend for much of public education after the Civil War: “Public colleges and universities did not become permanently secure until the second Morrill Act of 1890 that institutionalized steady state funds for higher education” (Beach, 2011, p. 3). With steadier funding streams and a desire to make education available for more and more people, some institutions like the University of Michigan began to “reshape loosely organized, extended, combined public primary-secondary schools into clearly differentiated elementary schools and high schools” (Rudolph, 1990, p. 283) in an attempt to raise the standards of scholarship at the public university through stronger coursework in the public school system.

Specifically, the University of Michigan in 1870, under Acting-President Henry Simmons Frieze, began sending faculty members to high schools to inspect and certify that the high school program would be sufficient enough that freshmen entering the University would be admitted without further examination (Hinsdale, 1906). This not only gave the University of Michigan power over curricular decisions but reinforced the hierarchy that had been built into the

Michigan constitution. This control was also supported through the use of tax dollars allocated for the university. Therefore, the public would subsidize the education of others people's children. Also, the state's educational model with the University of Michigan as the head became a model for other states as to how to use tax dollars for operations while also creating programs serving the most elite in the state and nation. Many state universities at this time had graduates in positions of power in the country as evidenced in 1898 when the United States Secretary of State, the Assistant Secretary of War, and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were graduates of the University of Michigan (Rudolph, 1962).

Particularly after the Civil War, businessmen and educators took the opportunity to develop educational objectives that would attempt to combat and take advantage of the economical, educational, and social ramifications of the war (Brick, 1964), and starting in the late 1800s, both secondary and post-secondary education saw some of its greatest change and potential for conflict among the growing number of stakeholders. Instead of answering to just the leaders and elites, state-sponsored schools had to answer to the taxpayers. Just as tax collection for common schools had become part of the cost of living in a chosen community, there was a slow movement toward the publicly-supported high school, instead of having to send boys to private boarding schools or academies for college preparatory classes (Mirel, 2006). Expanding the educational system, Boston, Massachusetts, boasted the first public high school in 1824, and many large cities followed suit as a means to serve the growing middle class (Labaree, 1988). This expansion was also a means to manage and frame acceptable values community members would need to be good citizens.

After the Civil War and the Michigan Supreme Court ruling of 1874 in Kalamazoo, Michigan, ruling that school districts must maintain a tax-supported public high school as

funding such schools was a public good, many college leaders needed a way to control the quality of students coming from the many different schools. Consequently, in 1893, the National Education Association created the Committee of Ten, made up of about 90 educators from all areas of education: colleges, universities, land-grant schools, city high schools, academies, and private schools (Mackenzie, 1894; Mirel, 2006). This group prided itself on the fact that its work represented the only “comprehensive working theory of education” and assumed that the report would guide pedagogy for the ages (Mackenzie, 1894, p. 148). The basic outcome from the group was to develop clear guidelines and rules that the high schools would have to follow to ensure that students were ready for the rigor of university as defined by those hoping to control the flow of students in and out of the school. This meant that schools would need to emphasize a robust liberal arts curriculum. In many of the larger cities like Philadelphia, this was already happening, and with these rules and categories to be followed, came greater legitimacy and power for the school officials over the education offered to the public

The work of the Committee of Ten led to many changes in secondary education, one being the use of the Carnegie Unit to codify a student’s time in high school. Brawer (2006) reported that as the number of four-year high schools grew, “2,526 in 1890 to 10,213 in 1910” (p. 16), Carnegie Foundation trustees worked to define what an institution must be in order to be ranked as a college, giving the school the distinction that would make it more credible and legitimate. They also took the liberty to define high school preparation in their 1906 report as written by Henry Pritchett, the first president of the Carnegie Foundation. The group decided on the use of “units” of class time as a standard, which meant about four years of academic or high school preparation. This unit/credit system would end up being used by most of the high schools in the twentieth century. The high school leadership had been compelled to do so by the colleges

that were seeking an appropriate college ranking from Carnegie. Without such a ranking, the student's family might seek out a "better" credentialed school whether or not there was an educational difference (Brawer, 2006).

This pressure to align with the Carnegie definitions of education would in turn create the "time-served" model of education, instead of material mastered, which was loosely followed and the reason college examinations were used prior to a student's entry. This meant that despite the report from the Committee of Ten, secondary schools gave up the rigor of a liberal arts education for vocational or college track work. This new philosophy that would lead to a comprehensive high school that offered the variety for "all" students that we are familiar with today began to be truly institutionalized during the Great Depression as more students were in school as the labor market was not an option (Mirel, 2006). Interestingly, the remnants of these changes can be seen in the twenty-first century transition from high school to post-secondary schools. Students often "put in time" at high school, but then due to the rigor or lack of rigor of their high school programming, could only enter into post-secondary programs that fit their level of knowledge.

Some of the popularity of college in the early 1900s certainly came from the fact that more students were completing secondary programs, but James Conant (1953), president of Harvard from 1933 – 1953, offered his reasons for college's growth. First, Conant saw that colleges offered more than formal study in the way of extracurriculars available to students. Students could experience more than just what the books could offer, making for a more well-rounded individual. Also, Conant believed that it was possible and even celebrated for a poor man in America to "work" his way through college, demonstrating the opportunities of the land. Finally, with the Morrill Act and subsequent acts to support the land-grant colleges across the nation, this meant that the federally funded programs extended "the privilege of free education to

ever-expanding numbers” (Conant, 1953, p. 44). Conant, from his position within the elite echelon, touted the common lines of support for post-secondary growth and support for these publicly-funded institutions. These were institutions that made it possible for schools like Harvard to remain selective in its admissions and work.

While the growth of many of the colleges impacted established selective institutions, high schools were also impacted by the changes in the post-secondary landscape, and a few of the larger high schools attempted to hold on to their market share. From 1912 to 1939, Central High School in Philadelphia “offered wide access but unequal educational experiences; it provided considerable choice, but these choices carried unequal value in the market. In the face of strong political pressure to expand enrollment and democratize the curriculum, Philadelphia’s oldest high school succeeded in holding its market position” (Labaree, 1988, p. 165), at least for a time. For high schools like Central where, at one time, a student’s completion of a program had value and merit, the high school diploma would continue to be demeaned as post-secondary credentialing took on more importance for employers and public school access was increased and encouraged. Therefore, with the expansion of the secondary schools and the notion that there would be “something for everyone,” the schools were not necessarily about serving a public good beyond control of the young people. Instead, schools, while offering access to educational opportunities, were simultaneously filtering, or “cooling out,” students prior to college. This organizing myth of the benefits of greater access served more to manage the flow of students to both the college level and to the labor market than hold students to high standards of rigor in their academics.

As secondary schools were finding their position in the hierarchy of education, normal schools, or teacher training schools for women primarily, were already in place to train teachers

for the many public primary schools. In Michigan, for example, the Michigan State Normal School (Eastern Michigan University) opened in 1849 just miles away from the University of Michigan; it was originally founded to train women teachers for primary settings (Flowers, 2006). For many of these students, the normal school was a way to access training needed for greater social mobility, and many of these institutions offered more and more access as liberal arts classes were added to the curriculum. This slowly changed the role of the normal school to a four-year institution, not a role the elite institutions always favored and created complex relationships between the varying “levels” of education.

Similar to the growth of the normal schools to manage the influx of women into higher education and the need for elementary teachers, the junior college would be used to manage the growing student population. For the early junior college, in particular, it was created or supported by some university educational leaders to relieve the university of the first two years of educating those students who may lack focus or ability. This would free up the elite institutions to work on sophisticated research that could result in accolades and funding from businesses and governments. However, the junior college would not settle on just college transfer work as it would eventually become a place that would accommodate a growing number of ill-prepared or undecided high school graduates seeking training for jobs that were considered semi-skilled or technical in nature.

It was California that moved quickly to add an additional two years of high school with the passage of a measure by the state legislature in 1907 authorizing high schools to offer “higher educational services,” stretching the K-12 experience to include grades 13 and 14, which also included more funding (Brick, 1964, p. 12). As post-secondary or additional secondary education programs were added to local schools, many of these new “institutions” tried to emulate the first

two years as a university in order to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the public as well as the university. In fact, as early as 1852 when Henry Tappan became president of the University of Michigan, he talked of the “high ideal of university study” (Farrand, 1895, p. 112), but it wouldn’t be until William Rainey Harper from the University of Chicago was credited with the creation of the first junior college that this separation became a reality. Therefore, as a new century began, expansion of the school systems and access to education perpetuated the organizational myth that school was designed for “everyone.” Like Jefferson’s early considerations of his two-track system for practical education versus traditional education, public schools at all levels had begun to track or sort students into programs that were “appropriate” to class, gender, or race. Even as the federal government got involved with the formation and funding of the land-grant colleges, these new institutions were not meant to rival the public or private elite schools but provide an outlet for more Americans in areas like agriculture. With the addition of the junior college to the post-secondary hierarchy, those of modest means or immigrants would have greater access to education that would serve to buffer both the universities and the labor market that could not or would not absorb the growing number of eligible adults.

The Junior College Movement

Keeping in mind ideas from noted educators like UM President Angell (1879) who said, “it is of vital importance, especially in a republic, that the higher education, as well as common school education, be accessible to the poor as well as the rich” (p. 5-6), college-level work first appeared in high schools in both Michigan and Minnesota near the end of the nineteenth century (Gray, 1915). In the late 1880s, “East Side High School of Saginaw, Michigan, offered freshman college work in Latin, algebra, trigonometry, paragraph-writing, and English history to graduates

of its four-year course of study,” and by 1897 eight students from East Side High School had graduated from the University of Michigan “only three years after doing a year’s work beyond the four-year high-school course of study at East Side High School” (Gray, 1915, p. 465). This extension beyond high school courses before heading to university was championed by Dr. Alexis F. Lange, the dean of the School of Education at the University of California. In his point of view, along with Dr. David Starr Jordan from Stanford, he saw the need for a six-year high school that would protect the university from ill-prepared or immature freshmen and sophomores, leaving the universities to focus on scholarship and research. This push from the California elites resulted in the initial junior college state model after a 1907 California law that allowed for “any city, district, union, joint union, or county high school” to create studies in the first two years of university courses (Gray, 1915, p. 466). For California, the sheer size of the state made for a practical argument around establishing junior colleges as the state institutions were often hundreds of miles away and brought the “college” experience closer to those who were paying for it.

Across the nation, the addition of junior colleges or high school extension programs like those in California was indicative of societal changes as America was facing increased number of immigrants and growing urban areas in the early 1900s, a pattern similar to that which inspired the growth of high schools in the early 1800s. Many educators and leaders were looking for a more unified system, a system that would serve a variety of purposes. One purpose was to provide more opportunity to the public while asking for funding for the schools. Also, this system would serve to unite the varying populations, or more aptly said, allow people to assimilate to the American culture through education and vocational training in some cases. With either function, the “faith” in the ever-expanding educational system to solve or contain the

issues that caused those in power discomfort was deployed as the junior college was defined. Gray (1915) argued that the growth of the junior college was a “natural and logical sequence of changes” (p. 468), adding that “the industrial, economical, and social forces that are demanding universal opportunities and complete efficiency for all citizens call for the junior college” (p. 469-70). Using language like this, the leaders were able to frame the educational rhetoric to make the junior college idea seem like the only option. As Edelman (1985) noted, “in our culture these language styles strongly promote social cohesion” (p. 151). In reality, the new levels of education defined who would have access to particular education and opportunities and where these opportunities might lead people.

Moreover, this call and description for junior colleges was similar to the call for the common school of the 1800s to ensure an educated and civilized populace for governance. Like the common schools, there were ceilings in place for the junior colleges as well: “The work must not be simply to get ready for something ahead—it must be considered as finishing something...the junior college must provide finishing courses, first and always” (Gray, 1915, p. 473). Of course, the issues of terminal degrees and employment versus transfer programs toward university work would not be answered at this time but would continue to be considered as this institution gained traction across the country. Consequently, from the start of these institutions, the production function was specifically defined by many of the elite university leaders. This school would initially be framed around college course work. In the years to come, job training would be added as a core function that would not make it possible for students to move to a university but to train students or keep students from flooding the labor market. Figure 4.1 shows the first core function for the junior college, keeping the transfer programs away from the “important” work of educating professionals.

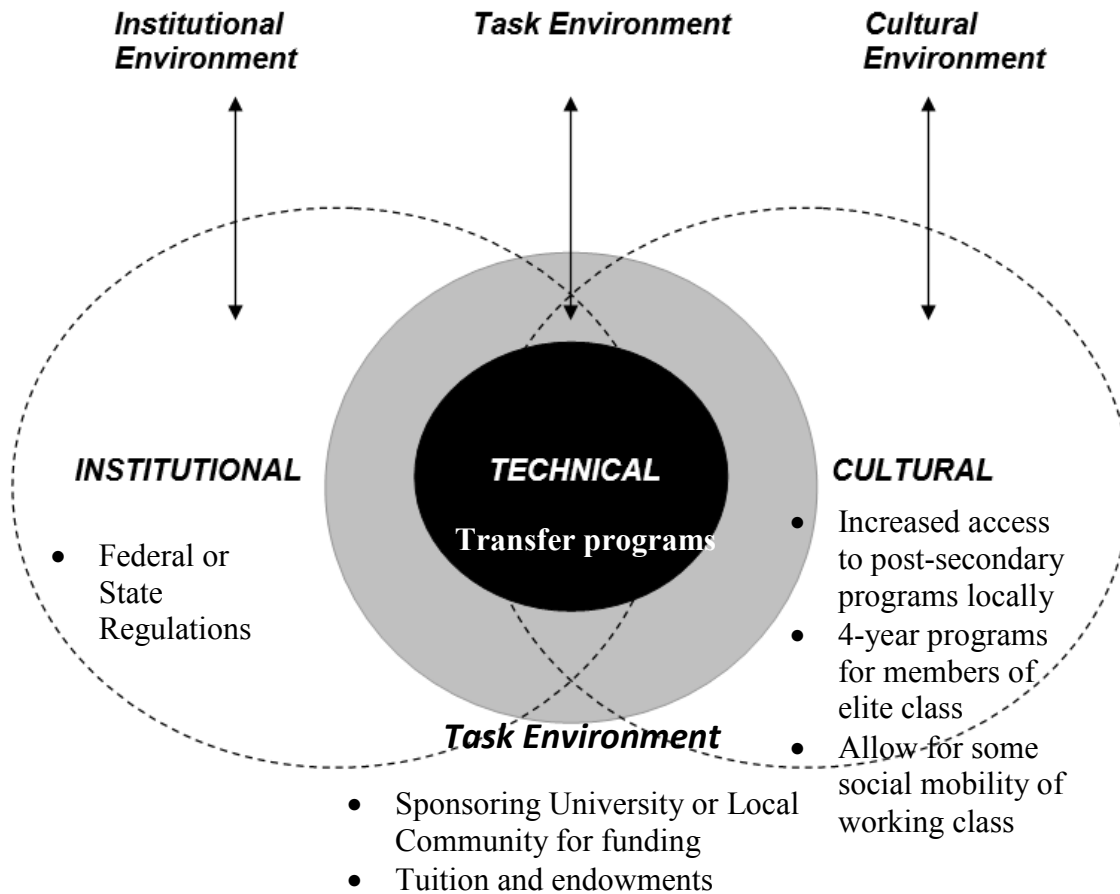


Figure 4.1. Levels of organization for early junior college 1901 – 1915 (adapted from Muwonge, 2012).

The stress on the professional programs and research of the universities were supported through federal and state funding, so minimal funding would be used to support the junior college, reserving funds and freeing up the professors' time to focus on the high level scholarship expected of these institutions, publicly and privately. In these early days of the junior college, the transfer program was designed with ideas similar to that Jefferson, find the stars in the general population. At this time, students attending the junior colleges were still working toward the goals laid out by the cooperating university, and the university could boast of local access without dedicating campus resources to the development of students. The change to a multi-core institution that stressed vocational work would then create conflicts within the core as many

students did not want just technical training to serve local business. Many students wanted access the university system through a transfer program. For junior colleges, the leaders had to balance the students' desire to post-secondary education that would result in mobility and the pressure from local businesses to meet their needs in exchange for local support. These competing purposes resulted in the "something for everyone" approach later seen in the comprehensive community college championed after WWII.

As Gray (1915) had alluded to in his work, other early historians of the junior college explained that the expansion of the junior colleges in America was based on four basic social and economic forces that supported the democratic principles of the nation and would support the needs of the non-elites: "(1) equality of opportunity, (2) use of education to achieve social mobility, (3) technological progress, and (4) acceptance of the concept that education is the producer of social capital" (Brick, 1964, p. 2). These ideas, in turn, were used by leaders to sell public education to the citizens of America as to allow people to function in and take advantage of the American Dream or social mobility. Although these ideals could certainly be claimed by many to be true, the function of the junior college was also one of separation as it must be noted that those individuals promoting the junior college were products of four-year schools and were, thereby, protecting and promoting the university; this is evidenced clearly through Harper's support in Illinois as he worked to recreate the German model of the university. This placed the university emphasis on research, not freshman and sophomore liberal arts, as many students were not seen as ready for such sophisticated or important work.

Used as a model for the emerging California system, Joliet Junior College in Illinois, created in 1901 as an annex of Joliet public high school, was supported through the work of William Rainey Harper, president of the University of Chicago. Although Harper has been noted

as the “founder” of the junior college, his work at the University of Chicago to use the junior college to create “efficiency” may be a more accurate description of his role (Ratcliff, 1986). Harper, who represented the elite, was reported as quite conservative and elitist, having earned his graduate degree by the age of 19 (Williams, 1966). When he took the helm of the University of Chicago in 1890, he already had millions at his fingertips from a grant by John D. Rockefeller and spoke and wrote of a junior and senior college model where those colleges “which have not the means to do the work of the junior and senior years will be satisfied under the arrangement to do the lower work” (Williams, 1966, p. 274). The junior college, then, was left to the Joliet school board led by J.S. Brown. His vision of the junior college contrasted with that of Harper in that Brown saw that all human beings were worthy of and entitled to develop to their greatest abilities while Harper did not want the burden of managing students in the early stages of post-secondary education or those without true capability for serious research (Ratcliff, 1986). These conflicting values of more access compared to management of freshman/sophomores between Brown and Harper were not isolated to Joliet as the role and purpose for the junior college would continue to be called into question by leaders, educators, and taxpayers as junior colleges dotted the national landscape. For Joliet, specifically, the task of creating and running the first junior college fell to Brown, but the underlying idea of the junior college was supported by Harper as he embraced a desire to “reinvent higher education in the United States along the lines of the German research university” (Beach, 2011, p. 6).

For Harper, the definitions of college and university varied greatly. His goal was to create a university, an institution that fostered research. Harper saw that “the obligation of a university to serve the people was not construed to mean that the public should be welcomed in departmental courses” (Storr, 1966, p. 113-14). Harper wanted to remove the work of the lower

colleges, the freshman and sophomores, from that of the university, yet he butted heads with his faculty about this sharp separation who did not see the burden of the “freshmen” as distinctly as Harper. With the pressure from faculty to allow more flexibility in enrollment so as to maintain enough students, Harper turned to working with the secondary schools and Joliet Junior College to make sure other schools were properly preparing students for higher level work (Storr, 1966). Similar to Tappan’s use of the University of Michigan to direct the curriculum of Michigan secondary schools, Harper agreed to affiliations with high schools and also urged those post-secondary schools without sufficient support to be limited to a two-year curriculum and become junior colleges (Storr, 1966). Like the Lange and Jordan on the West Coast, Harper wanted to protect the research and scholarship from becoming watered down while simultaneously allowing other schools, people, and funding streams to manage and dictate the progress of those who did not fit the elitist criteria of the university, allowing the junior college to take on this function.

The junior college model also came at a time of transition in the country as the early twentieth century bore witness to Ford’s mass production, the Wright brother’s flight, the creation of the NAACP, and WWI. With these events, secondary education with its growing comprehensive offerings to appeal to the variety of students (i.e., mass production of education) was being reinvented due to efforts of progressives like Alexis F. Lange, from California, who considered three levels of secondary education to include the junior high school, senior high school, and junior college that could track students into “appropriate” programming while still limiting the number that would be admitted to elite universities, protecting or buffering those programs. It would follow that junior colleges continued to grow in both number of and increased attendance by high school graduates so that “In 1910 there were only 25 junior

colleges, in the United States, but by 1927 there were 325 colleges in 39 states with 35,630 students,” both public and private serving as a buffer between the working class and upper class students who did not attend junior college programs (Beach, 2011, p. 7). With the changing educational landscape, the educational leaders needed to further define the roles of each school or organization that served the students. Figure 4.2 shows the emerging role of the junior college for sorting students in and out of post-secondary programs.

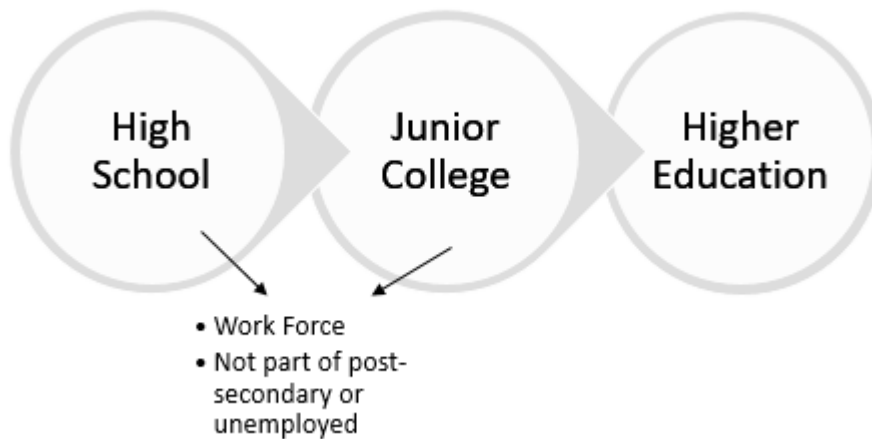


Figure 4.2. Emerging role of junior college in early 1900s.

As Lange (1917) stated in an address at a conference at the University of Chicago with secondary schools, he saw the junior college as “a new member of an evolving public—or, more precisely, state—school system” (p. 465). This system could be composed of the state university, modeled after both the German and English styles and have fourteen grades of elementary and secondary programming. With this, he proposed that the grouping of the grades be flexible, with a vocational system belonging to the normal schools and parts of the junior college, dismissing students who were tracked into these programs from other post-secondary opportunities (Lange, 1917). He continued that “the university proper should begin in the middle of the inherited four-year college scheme” (p. 470).

For Lange (1917), the California system was going to be able to serve as a model for

what he thought was a practical educational structure although he did note there would be “growing pains” as this process took shape. At first blush, the pragmatic nature of Lange’s proposal again goes to the idea that the junior college would propel the American democracy forward as citizens could use these institutions to create new opportunities for themselves. However, within the same speech his true regard for the place of the junior college is much more apparent as he is advocating for terminal training programs that would serve the general population:

And so the junior college will function adequately only if its first concern is with those who will go no farther, it meets local needs efficiently, it enables thousands and tens of thousands to round out their general education, it turns an increasing number into vocations for which training has not hitherto been afforded by our school system. (p. 472)

With this statement, Lange was supporting a continued stratification of the population, not necessarily looking to create new opportunities.

Lange attempted to soften this description of subjugation of junior colleges to the university by insisting that the universities needed the junior colleges and that there could be partnerships between the institutions. He ended his speech with the hope that junior colleges will be accepted and be developed as integral parts of the educational system; however, this educational system firmly placed the university at the top, in charge of those below. Counter, Gallagher (1994) argued that

Jordan and Lange, [wanted] not so much to elevate their universities, but to elevate undergraduate teaching. Universities might emphasize research at the expense of teaching. High schools might emphasize teaching at the expense of scholarship. The junior college might evolve as a hybrid institution with some of the university's concern

for scholarship but with also the high school's emphasis on effective teaching. (p. 12)

This idealism about the grand position of the junior college as a hybrid institution would be trotted out throughout the twentieth century as the moniker shifted to community college, but the reality for the junior college was much more like a middle child caught between living up to the older sibling yet managed like the younger sibling.

Additionally, many educators in the early 1900s sought to replicate the European model of secondary and university schools that would allow the lower schools to provide technical training for local industry in the urban area, freeing the businesses of having to train new employees (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). One difference, though, between the developing American system and the European models that had inspired and had trained many of the educational leaders of the time was that Western Europe did not develop community colleges or other avenues of “second chance” for students. European models kept institutions with differing missions and purposes separate from each other, tracking students when they were younger into the workforce and hence perpetuating the class system. What has been argued to be the difference in the United States is the myth that has been supported since the founding of the United States that people should be given the opportunity to reach their greatest potential (Cohen & Brawer, 2008), or the thought supported by Thomas Jefferson who noted that “citizens, therefore, needed a proper republican education in order to use their political power to benefit and protect their new republic, be it at the local, state, or national level” (Carpenter, 2014, p. 1). Another way to consider the role of education in the United States is that the republican education actually protects the nation from its people, allowing the elite to control the power levers.

Further, the junior college “was to be a distinctly American institution” not tied to

traditions, making it possible to create new methods of instruction specific for the young adults (Gallagher, 1994, p. 13); this made the junior college idea more powerful in that it was sold on the democratic ideals with which few could argue, and the symbolic nature of the junior college helped to further its growth in the country by supporting the notion of opportunity for all (Edelman, 1985). The problem with this argument is that the very nature of the junior college served to manage the workforce by creating programs that would not create a true path to other opportunities that would allow people to move beyond the class in which they were born. Moreover, teachers at the junior college were often from secondary teaching programs or industry-trained, creating another difference from four-year institutions. Therefore, using the junior college as a training ground for industry and using teachers and not professors bent on research solidified the role of the junior college as “less than” the university, which continued to pride itself on research and graduate studies.

During the early growth of junior colleges, university presidents, like Hutchins from University of Michigan, recognized the “junior college movement,” debating how this new institution would be defined. Other actors would also become involved with categorizing and setting standards by which the junior college would follow. In 1917, the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools was the “first junior college organization to establish accreditation standards for admissions policies, faculty qualifications, and funding” (Beach, 2011, p. 7). This was also the same time that the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 was passed by the Federal Government as a measure to manage the labor force. The goal of this act was to promote vocational education to deal with a shortage of skilled labor, but it also had the impact of “differentiating the secondary-education curriculum in ways that often reinforced existing class—and race-based inequalities” (Steffes, 2014). This promotion of vocational or job skills

education to a post-secondary position was the primary focus during the creation of the American Association of Junior Colleges (AAJC) in 1920, which further attempted to define the identity of the junior college and create a uniform purpose in an effort to encourage the public and the powerful to support the schools (Brint & Karabel, 1989). Figure 4.3 shows the transition to the dual-core function and the change in the task environment to include a broader group of stakeholders and actors, now outside of education.

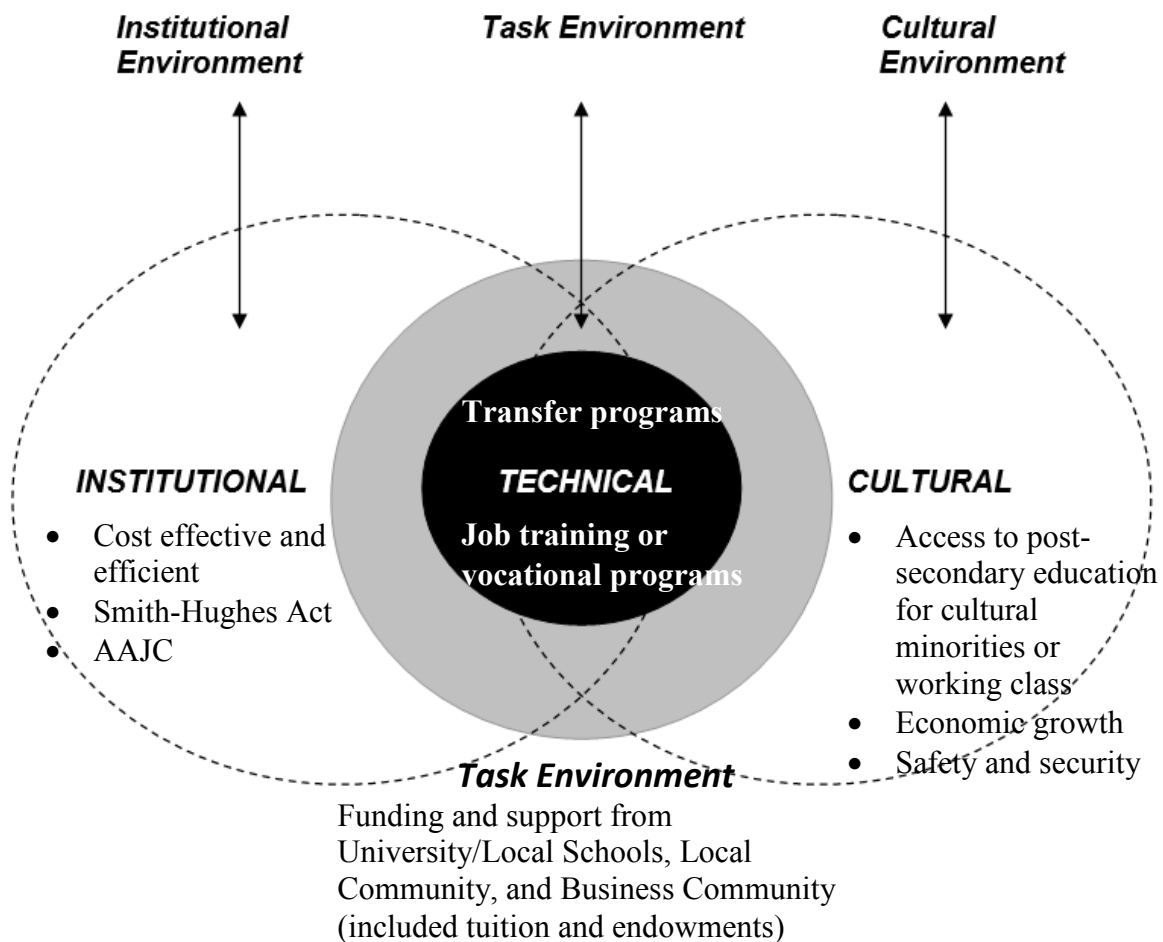


Figure 4.3. Dual function of junior college 1915 – 1940 (adapted from Muwonge, 2012).

Up to this point, the public was not well-informed about the purpose or role of the junior college, so there was a need to garner legitimacy from within the educational hierarchy, namely the elite universities, to continue to create and support these burgeoning schools as something both

needed and valued.

At the 1920 National Junior College Conference in St. Louis set up by the United States Commissioner of Education Philander Claxton, along with the new specialist in higher education for the Bureau of Education, George F. Zook, university leaders and junior college leaders had a chance to discuss and debate the role of the junior college, which varied in form and function across the nation, often with competing technical cores: vocational and transfer (Pedersen, 1995; Pedersen, 1997). For political and educational leaders, support for the junior college would help funnel the growing number of students attending public high schools who were not considered “college material” to other post-secondary options. As the secondary schools grew in number and size, the universities had less and less control over the type and level of education incoming students might receive, so a junior college would help manage these students while selling access and prosperity to the general public who wanted mobility and access. With such, the definition of the junior college—stuck between an extension of high school or college transfer—was hotly debated. David MacKenzie, principal of Detroit Central High School and President of Detroit Junior College, supported a pragmatic approach that served the “working-class student” who could not or did not want to leave family for school (Aschenbrennar, 2009). This was often in opposition to the university leaders who would just assume to limit their efforts to elites or those who could add value to the research and scholarship of the school.

With all this conversation going on around junior colleges, the public remained rather passive. For many, their concern was about conditions of daily life, and the growth of organized labor in the country at this time served many of those needs as the effects on wages, benefits, and conditions were immediate (Marks, Mbaye, & Kim, 2009). Therefore, the junior college model remained very much a discussion between educational progressives who were claiming territory

in the new educational hierarchy, though resonating little in the lives of everyday people. Still to secure funding, the junior college would need to be seen as a logical step between high school and the university, even if many students would never move on from the junior college.

By the end of the conference, MacKenzie and J. Stanley Brown from Joliet had made a case that communities were obligated to provide universal access, best yet if free of cost to the student—meaning the public would support the schools—reminiscent of Jefferson’s call for an educated public through publicly-funded schools (Pedersen, 1995). It is not surprising, then, that David MacKenzie would become the first president of the American Association of Junior Colleges in 1921, where he could continue to argue for the “end of traditional academic barriers,” and unlock the knowledge “too long locked within the walls of the university” (Pedersen, 1995, p. 30). As a former secondary teacher, MacKenzie wanted to expand educational offerings to all students, not just the elite, believing that the country would be stronger with a more educated and idealistically, more equal, populace. The paradox, though, is that MacKenzie, as part of the group of elite leaders, was imposing what he and other leaders believed best for the general population, without real representation from this group.

Building on this first conference, by 1922, “the AAJC defined the junior college as ‘an institution offering two years of instruction of strictly collegiate grade’” (Beach, 2011, p. 8). This definition was expanded in 1925 “to include ‘the larger and ever-changing civic, social, religious, and vocational needs of the entire community’” as industry began to press established junior colleges for training programs in semi-professional areas, and urban areas sought to manage the growing number of immigrants through training programs stressing timelines and order in the work place (Beach, 2011, p. 8). Consequently, the early twentieth century junior college, and its midcentury counterpart, rechristened after 1947 to the multipurpose community

college, was an institution in flux, one that faced conflicts between industry leaders who wanted vocational training and proponents of traditional liberal arts schooling. Serving industry or creating access via transfer programs, this dual core served as marketing tool for the business and educational leaders needed. They could highlight either or both programs as evidence of the public good the school was providing. In turn, university leaders supported junior colleges that buffered them from the mass of students from varying social classes, and local officials were able to show economic and social value to training programs for local businesses. Parents saw a path to the university for their children, and local citizens had access to some form of post-secondary education with the prospect of mobility, making for compelling arguments about why the public should fund these schools.

Eells used the idea of the American democratic ideals or the idea that America and its institutions, specifically the schools, were representative of opportunity, freedom, and social mobility. He said, “All junior colleges, however, although they may differ in type, in location, in philosophy, in curriculum, and in other respects have this element in common; they are institutions for transmitting our American heritage and our American democratic ideals” (Eells, 1941, p. 2). It was this expansion of education in particular that was and remains an essential part of any discussion of the history of the junior college (Medsker, 1960). The endorsement of these new institutions was done under the auspicious of access and reaching for the American Dream. The growth of the support for junior colleges bears similarity to the growth of the primary and secondary schools across the nation, when supporting education meant supporting the American democracy. However, despite the progressive talk and design of these new institutions in the early 1900s that seemed to offer educational equity and opportunity, the structure simultaneously created a strict hierarchy often constraining the social mobility of the lower-class, non-White, or

immigrant populations: “These institutions were created not only to educate but also to sort students into predetermined social classes based on economic status, race, and gender” (Beach, 2011, p. 8). Therefore, opportunity was offered, but not an opportunity of a direct route as the labeling and sorting done at the junior college would maintain the existing social structures.

The contradiction of design is seen in the California model where the “pinnacle of the system,” the university, was protected from students who may not be considered the best or the brightest. Beach (2011) considers that “progressive intellectuals saw the junior college as an institution that would allow expanded access to postsecondary schooling, while also limiting that education to terminal-vocational pursuits and thus offering a structurally limited opportunity to students in a hierarchically organized society” (p. 9). In other words, the junior college would sort and select students worthy of the university and limit or “cool-out” those individuals not fit for the selective institutions, with selectivity bound to race, gender, and socioeconomic status. However, this more critical look at the junior college movement is made by those looking back, and yet for those part of the initial movement, they were “selling” the idea of a democratic institution that should be supported by the public tax dollars as it served the public’s needs and provided the nation with a trained workforce.

Leonard Koos, a professor at the University of Minnesota and University of Chicago, published the first book on the junior college movement in 1925: *The Junior-College Movement*. While Koos (1970) recognized that some people, community members and university leaders alike, at this time [1920s] saw the purpose of the junior college as a preparatory institution for those heading to a university, Koos also saw the junior college curriculum as the culmination for high school students. His picture of the junior college was one that would ready students for the new “semi-professions” in areas of commerce, agriculture, and engineering, having completed

high school successfully. Because of the multi-purpose nature of the institution, Koos, just as was argued in the first AAJC meeting years prior, implored educational leaders to define more clearly the trade programs that could be offered in high schools, the semi-professions that could be offered in the junior college, and the professions offered at four-year institutions. Koos seemed to believe that without a clear delineation of roles, support and success of the junior college would suffer. For Koos, despite his democratic rhetoric, his desire was to reorganize and standardize the American junior college so that it could be reactive to the local industry needs of a community and allow the universities to continue their selective work, including the desire to be selective in their admissions, protecting the elite status of the university and its graduates. In this model, the university leaders and elite families maintained their hold on positions of power as “lower class” students were shunted to terminal programs that perpetuated the stratification of classes in the United States.

Additionally, the 1920s ushered in an era of economic growth and the rise of social activities tied to the automobile and radio. People were less isolated and sought out options to achieving the American Dream, and education was part this. Koos did concede that the junior college could “popularize the upper years of collegiate and university education by reducing the cost of the full course to approximately that of the years away from home” (p. 165).

Consequently, even Koos recognized that the junior college could not offer strictly terminal programs. It would have to serve as entrée to the university so that the public, which would fund such schools, would see a path beyond the terminal programs, again marketing the democratic myth of opportunity through education in order to appeal to a broad set of stakeholders.

This sentiment was similar to Proctor (1927) who summarized the benefits of the junior college for the state of California. In his list of contributions by the junior college, he concluded

with the most important contribution, a contribution that cannot be stated by the cost or growth to the economy: “The presence of thirty-one public junior colleges, not to mention ten or twelve private junior colleges, means that there are scattered throughout the state just many cultural and higher educational centers which tend to raise the standards of living and thinking in those communities” (p. 10). In Proctor’s (1927) collection of reports from various educational leaders, Walter Eells, a professor of education from Stanford University, showed how students who transfer to Stanford from a junior college did just as well as their classmates who began as freshmen. Proctor used Eells’ reports and those of others to advocate for the possible reorganization of American universities that would allow the universities to “become collections of liberal arts and professions colleges of high grade” (p. 197), thus assigning the junior college the job of sorting and selecting from the freshmen and sophomores. Proctor, as were many during his time, was confident that the junior college experiment of the early 1900s would see a time of rapid expansion and improvement; the junior college would be a mechanism to raise up the masses and promote vocations, while relieving the elite universities of the burden of educating undergraduates, which did not bring the recognition or funding opportunities as graduate/research programs did. As the name “junior college” would imply, though, it was subordinate to the university and meant to control the flow of students to the elite institutions while promoting access.

Frederick Whitney from Colorado State Teachers College also sought to capture the essence of this new institution in his study of the junior college in the 1920s. Building on William Proctor’s work, he noted the four-fold approach of junior colleges: the preparatory function, the popularizing function, the terminal function, and the guidance function (Whitney, 1928). With these functions, Whitney saw the need to define the purpose of the junior college,

both public and private, so that the institution could receive its desired respect and gain legitimacy as a step between secondary and university work. Also important, Whitney listed 16 social and economic considerations as basic needs for the establishment of a junior college as another way to “prove” its worth. Some of the 16 were community attitude, state attitude and aid, and an adequate student body with stress that “it must be possible, too, for the community to understand what legitimate junior college purposes and functions are” (p. 215). Whitney and others worked to not only define the junior college by the standards of the day but also to promote their efforts to develop training programs for able high school graduates in light of the Great Depression. With the Great Depression came a change in the environment that had a profound impact on the junior colleges that had been so much about sorting and selecting up to this point in higher education. Just as the secondary programs in the mid-1800s sorted and contained the growing number of immigrant children, the junior colleges would be framed through federal and state regulations promoting the junior college, norms and values placed on expanding access, and the desire of the general public to believe in mobility and security as a result of the educational expansion. These regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive structures helped manage the unemployed by keeping them out of the labor force but focused on an educational goal, all without jeopardizing the selectivity of the universities. This growth is evidenced by the number of junior colleges that grew from 25 in 1910 to 575 colleges in 45 states by 1939 (Beach, 2011, p. 7).

Eells (1931) continued efforts to define the community college during this era, producing *The Junior College Journal, Volume 1* as the number of junior colleges grew from 207 public and private schools in 1921 – 1922 to 436 in 1929 – 1930, again in response to the Great Depression that left many out of work (p. 223). Eells, as editor of the journal, desired to devote it

“exclusively to problems and interests in the junior college field, interpreted in the broadest sense” (p. 4). Influenced by the Bureau of Education’s 1918 *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, a report that did not support the goals of the 1893 Committee of Ten’s liberal arts desires, these leaders of the junior college believed in the need to consciously control schools so as to move the general population toward cooperation and social cohesion at a time when resources were scarce and the leaders of the country needed ways to manage the population in an effort to avoid community upheaval and restore a sense of calm after the stock market’s crash. Eells (1941) stated that “All junior colleges, however, although they may differ in type, in location, in philosophy, in curriculum, and in other respects have this element in common; they are institutions for transmitting our American heritage and our American democratic ideals” (p. 2). What goes unsaid was that this “education” was also used to counter the growing immigrant population of the 1920s and manage the growing number of students from secondary programs. With the change from the original core of the junior college that sought to ready college-students for professional studies to one that embraced training that had been done on-the-job or as an apprentice, the line between secondary and post-secondary became even more blurred. Recognizing that not all of the students coming to the junior college would have graduated or had had a full gamut of liberal arts programming, junior colleges also took to expanding the educational offerings for adults to include some pre-training or pre-college work—remediation or developmental by today’s standards—to fill in the gaps as seen in Figure 4.4.

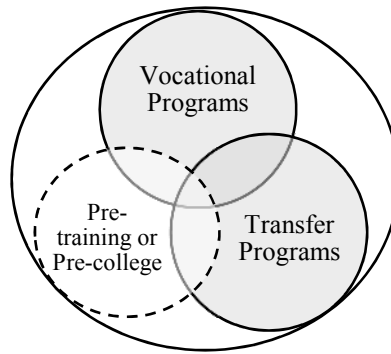


Figure 4.4. Changing technical core of junior college.

What is important to keep in mind, though, was that all of this was predicated on the idea that the students had an average intelligence and penchant to learn. At this time in the United States' history, education was not open to "all" people regardless of ability. Without the ability to benefit, students were not tracked to these programs, training or transfer. This would not remain the case, though, and the multi-core approach would continue to evolve just as public education expanded to meet the needs of more students with varying levels of ability. For the business leaders and many junior college leaders, their goal was to create a junior college primarily concerned with terminal education that would train men for local industry using tax dollars. Thus, the number of junior colleges fashioned by local school districts, universities, or normal schools unsystematically littered the educational landscape, operating under variable standards and functions. In fact, by 1941, over 600 junior colleges operated across the nation (Gleazer, 1960), but with WWII, the nation and the way education was seen and used would shift yet again.

In the 1941 American Association of Junior College's (AAJC) report, *Why Junior College Terminal Education?* Eells continued to redefine, or attempted to, the negative stigma of "terminal" education, which was in conflict with transfer programs. As part of the American Dream, the public believed that opportunity should abound, so many schools were stressing the

college-parallel classes instead of the vocational mission, much to the frustration of the leaders of the AAJC (Ogilvie, 1965). In the report, Eells issued allowances made to balance the liberal arts and vocational programming in order to try to appeal to the public demand, industry leaders, local and state leaders, and university leaders. This meant that students would not only take occupational training courses but also some liberal arts courses to round out their education and have dispositions that aligned more closely to those in power in the workplace. This back-and-forth between terminal and transfer would continue as new schools opened or transformed from previous institutions. Change came most dramatically, though, when the country faced the repercussions of World War II.

When the war ended, millions of veterans returned home and took advantage of the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944, commonly referred to as the GI Bill. The GI Bill "set a precedent for increased access and perhaps accelerated the trend toward vocationally oriented curricula" and gave returning servicemen options about employment, education, and housing (Clark, 1998, p. 189). Moreover, about 50% of the veterans used the educational benefits awarded to them within the decade after its passing, which in turn impacted the higher education institutions across the country (Peeps, 1984). Curriculum, facilities, students, and faculty all changed to accommodate the growing and changing student population made up of veterans and women, dramatically altering the environment. In essence, the use of the laws, a regulatory feature, set forth by the GI Bill encouraged more people to attend college as it was now affordable and helped change the perception of the role of post-secondary work in the United States.

This growing acceptance of post-secondary education was in contrast to the "college life" experienced by many before the war. Before the war, a college education seemed both

financially and culturally out of reach for many students not from wealth. The GI Bill allowed the “average Joe” access and subsequent media attention promoted the transition of college from remote to common (Clark, 1998). This national shift in the nation’s response to veterans stood in stark contrast to veterans returning from World War I. After WWI, veterans received financial support as they returned from duty, yet jobs were scarce and many found themselves on the street, struggling to survive. In part to honor the veterans and part to secure the economy, post-secondary education, including the junior college, was “called into duty” to serve and protect the nation from economic and political strife that had plagued the country during the Great Depression; junior colleges and four-year institutions would be able to slow the number of men seeking jobs and prevent high unemployment (Clark, 1998). To the relief of many, the economy after WWII expanded as the US government used the GI Bill and other governmental acts to bring stability to the economy, allowing more of its citizens a chance to be part of and prosper in post-war America. This expansion did not necessarily imply that those with the most power or access were giving up their market share. Instead, the stratification below the highest educational tier grew, allowing the junior college to sort and filter students to keep them from overwhelming the universities interested in maintaining their selectivity. Table 4.1 shows this expansion and transition from the junior college that sought to serve university-bound students to community colleges with multiple functions. With these multiple functions would come new funding streams and community-based governance systems similar to the K-12 system.

Table 4.1

Transformation from Junior College to Comprehensive Community College

Junior College (1901)	Transition (1920-1950)	Comprehensive Community College (1950-Present Day)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freshman and Sophomore courses that mimicked offerings at 4-year schools • Transfer to university was intention • Prepare students for the rigor of the university 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freshman and Sophomore classes that may transfer to a 4-year school • School-Business partnerships for training • Pre-college/Pre-training to prepare for freshman-level work • Students could prepare to be semi-professionals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freshman and Sophomore courses that may transfer to a 4-year school • Vocational/Occupational training certificates and degrees • School-business partnerships for training • Pre-college/Pre-training/remedial programming in reading, writing, and math • Vocational or Dual-enrolled high school students • Community enrichment (non-credit) • Open access and choice of programs for students: certificates, terminal degrees, transfer, personal improvement



Transition to the Community College

As the government could not have predicted that so many veterans would take advantage of the educational benefits, the Truman Commission’s Report in 1947, *Higher Education for American Democracy*, was a first look at the changing roles of post-secondary education in the country, specifically the role of the junior college as it saw growth in its programs (Kennedy, 1952). It was during this decade that the junior college shifted to an institution that would offer broad, comprehensive programming by incorporating vocational education, adult education, and general education that suited the individual community needs as it had started to do after WWII. Hence, the community college, a school that would be many things to many people, was created as the United States settled into the Cold War and the rise of the Civil Rights movement.

However, the change of the name and some of its functions was not a cure for the conflicts between the competing missions. In short, the community college would manage local training programs for private industry, offer post-secondary access with transferable general liberal arts programs, and allow citizens not “meant” for university a place for some form of post-secondary work like adult education and remediation. In the end, what would be termed “success” for these students attending the community college was still undefined.

The task, then, presented to the President’s Commission on Higher Education was to define “the responsibilities of colleges and universities in American democracy and in international affairs—and, more specifically, with reexamining the objectives, methods, and facilities of higher education in the United States in light of the social role it has to play” (Kennedy, 1952, p. 1). More to the point, higher education was being equated with economic development and employment for lower class and minority groups, offering these groups a chance to participate in the professional workforce in ways not accepted before. Also according to this report, the only way to make it possible for the population to take advantage of post-secondary education was to create a system of community colleges that “will provide easily accessible tuition-free [publicly-funded] education throughout the 13th and 14th grades; a federal program of scholarships...; legislation to prevent racial and religious discrimination...; federal aid for general purposes and to enlarge the physical plant of education institutions” (Kennedy, 1952, p. Vii).

Senator Edith Green (1964) reflected on the Truman Report in the 1963 Burton Lecture series held at Harvard saying that it was desirable to offer financial aid, the GI Bill, for education because of the public benefit. She argued that national challenges needed careful education planning. Essentially, what the Truman Report and many of the governmental reports that would

follow in the '50s and '60s did was create a script that could be used to argue for public works and public support building on the help to veterans through the GI Bill. As Edelman (1974) explained,

If political language both excites and mollifies fears, language is an integral facet of the political scene: not simply an instrument for describing events but itself a part of events, strongly shaping their meaning and helping to shape the political roles officials and mass publics see themselves as playing. In this sense language, events, and self-conceptions are a part of the same transaction, mutually determining each other's' meanings. (p. 23)

Without a doubt, during the time of this President's commission, the social, political, and economical changes were touching all aspects of America.

After WWII, there was a sense that without the education of more people to a higher level, America would not be able to compete and/or withstand the global pressures and move toward "international understanding and cooperation" to win the Cold War (Kennedy, 1952, p. 5). Touted in the 1947 report was the growth of education since the turn of the century, when the enrollment in high schools in 1900 was 700,000, climbing to 7,000,000 in 1940, representing nearly 73% of the youth at the time (Kennedy, 1952). Despite the extraordinary number of high school students, the report clearly noted that "the old, comfortable idea that 'any boy can get a college education who has it in him' simply is not true. Low family income, together with the rising costs of education constitutes an almost impassable barrier to college education for many young people" (Kennedy, 1952, p. 9). Since the GI Bill allowed many students who may not have considered attending college as an option to attend, the Truman Report continued this theme of access as a way to secure the country. This increased access resulted in questions about who should educate the masses and how that would be funded, with the community college

being named as both the most apt and cost effective model that would not disrupt the current higher education offerings.

Consequently, the Truman Report urged leaders in higher education to realize that they could no longer deny education to those who may have other aptitudes aside from verbal skills associated with university admissions. Instead, the report encouraged leaders to expand education to serve those with artistic ability, motor skill and dexterity, and mechanical aptitude, stressing that the society depended on “cultivating” all of the skills. Ultimately, this meant that by promoting the junior college to serve the greater population and the economic needs of a growing middle class, the elite universities could maintain their position of control at the top of the postsecondary ladder. The report further stated that although the name of an institution that reaches to the 14th grade does not matter, “community college” best described an institution that serves the needs of the local community, whatever they might be. Included with this idea of service to the community was the desire “to make public education at all levels equally accessible to all without regard to race, creed, sex or national origin” (Kennedy, 1952, p. 17).

Although the Truman Report contained a statement of dissent by some members of the committee, the dissent was driven by concern over how much control the federal government would assume in terms of funding and mandates as well as how private institutions would function in a federally-driven educational setting. In the end, though, the report emphatically supported “the development of a carefully planned, well conceived, and cooperatively evolved program of higher education [that] will entail a continuing study of national needs and resources and the relative role of both governmental and nongovernmental sources of income” (Kennedy, 1952, p 41), making it necessary to support the community college as it would act as a buffer for the universities, which wanted continued control over research and graduate work without

having to be directly involved with the mass of undergraduates.

Conant (1953) contemplated the educational shift facing the country in the 1950s. He suggested ten ways to manage the growing number of college-aged students, pushing for a more comprehensive high school program that would allow students to make the choice between two-year college courses or four-year programs, noting that not all students “need” to attend post-secondary programming, again supporting the selectivity of the universities and a call for the start of “tracking” programs in the high schools. Conant (1953) said,

If we so desire, we can, through out school, annually restore a great degree of fluidity to our social and economic life and in so doing make available for the national welfare reservoirs of potential professional talent now untapped. At the same time, by stressing the democratic elements in our school life and in the organization of our school, we can promote the social and political ideals necessary for the harmonious operation of an economic system based on private ownership and the profit motive, but committed to the ideals of social justice. (p. 56)

A more cynical consideration of educational expansion by Labaree (1988) used his study of Central High School in Philadelphia to highlight the problems with open enrollment and vocationalization. He said that through stratification within Central, the high school was initially able to protect “its thoroughbred credentials from the mongrelizing effects of expanding enrollments” by a powerful middle-class that wanted to protect the “exclusive high school education when high school was becoming a universal experience” (p. 8).

Labaree (1988) also looked to the political and market forces that created a high school system that had become “a peculiar combination of comprehensiveness and stratification,” and how the American high school “continues to be torn between its own democratic and

exclusionary tendencies” (p. 8). Although the expansion of public education created access for more students, this expansion also created variances in programs at all levels, by default, excluding all people from participating and benefitting in the same way. What Labaree suggested, then, for the high school was that “open access has provided the country with a great opportunity to educate its citizens, an opportunity that has been undermined by the market demand for credentialing rather than teaching,” meaning that degrees are based on timely completion of a program but not necessarily on mastery of content (p. 181). This expansion also meant that equity and excellence were in competition with one another.

Whether or not students were being “educated” fully in the expanded educational system, the expansion did impact colleges. During the 1940s and 1950s, as part of the general population, over half the young adults ages 25 – 29 year-olds had completed high school, with Blacks and other minorities beginning to “catch up” as education was made available to them (Snyder, 1993). Snyder (1993) reported further that “In fall 1949, about 2.4 million students enrolled in colleges, or about 15 per 100 18- to 24-year-olds... The proportion of students enrolled in public colleges was about half, the same as in the 1929 – 30. Enrollment was still concentrated at 4-year colleges, with less than 10 percent of students at 2-year colleges” (p. 65). It was the 1950s and 1960s that saw the greatest growth in those entering college: “College enrollment rose by 49 percent in the 1950s, partly because of the rise in the enrollment/population ratio from 15 percent to 24 percent... Public institutions accounted for 74 percent of enrollment, and about one-fourth of all students were enrolled at 2-year colleges” (Snyder, 1993, p. 67). Therefore, as the number of high school graduates increased at the secondary level, the proportion of students using the community college as a point of entry did as well, influencing the function of these institutions.

With the expansion of secondary education to the comprehensive model, many post-secondary leaders embraced the idea of the junior college as it moved to the comprehensive model in its shift to the community college. This move to a multi-core function coupled with open access created quite the buffer for universities that wanted to remain selective, but there was still chance for students to use the community college as a bridge to the university, once they had been sorted and selected. Despite the extra filters being put in place through this expansion, the public accepted the myth that great access would equal greater social mobility. However, as Figure 4.5 highlights, the cores split further to accommodate the growing number of students with limited or forgotten skills from high school, instead of being a direct route to a four-year school.

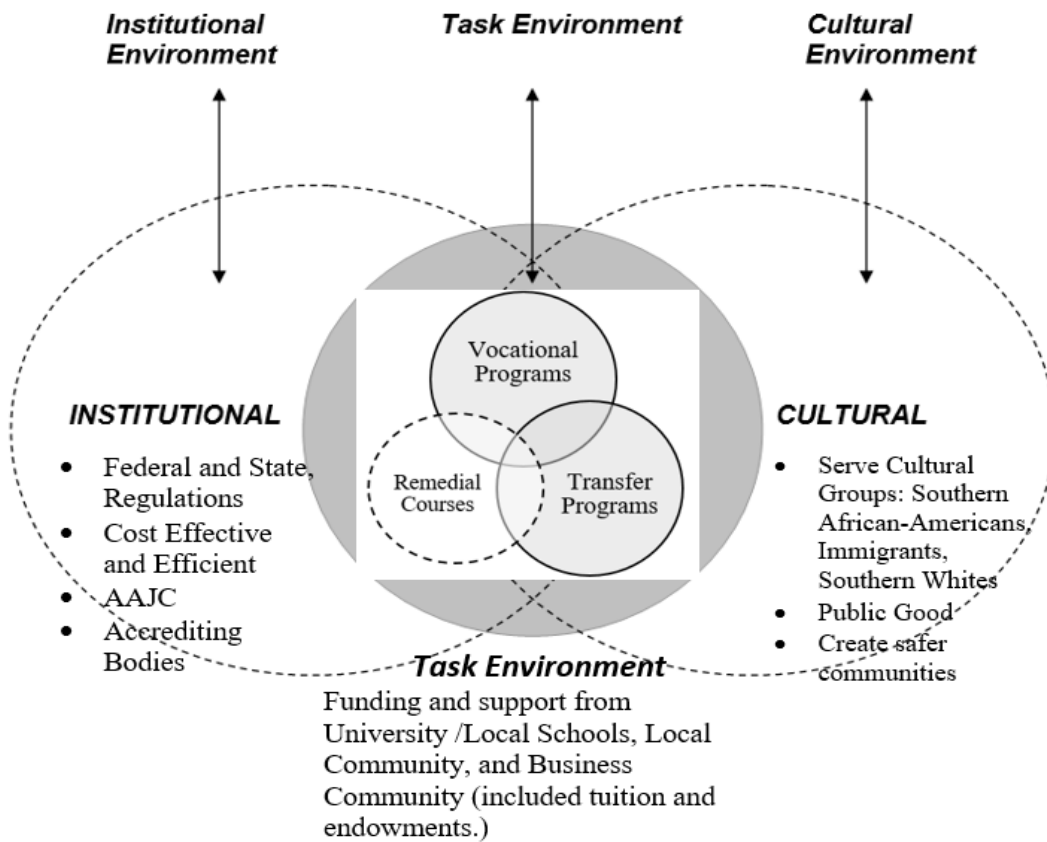


Figure 4.5. Transformation to comprehensive community college 1945 – 1970 (adapted from Muwonge, 2012).

The reverence being paid to vocational training during and immediately after WWII by educational leaders was well-noted in the 1941 Bulletin, No. 12 issued by the U.S. Office of Education, *America Builds a School System: A Short History of Education in the United States for Later Elementary and Junior High Students*, without mention of either the Committee of Ten or the Cardinal Rules of Secondary Education, both of which promoted curriculum rigor toward university readiness. In the bulletin, it said that the “recognition of the value of vocational education, together with an increase in high-school enrollments by boys and girls who had previously left school to go to work, created a demand for this practical type of education” (US Office of Education, 1941, p. 49); this phrasing matches the ideas fueling the American capitalistic idea of supply and demand—and in this case the demand was for stable work in a tight labor market. What this publication did not report was the root cause for the federal support, specifically for vocational programming, which was accelerated because of the Great Depression and continued to be embedded in schools in an effort to keep students engaged and out of the labor market. This was done in hopes that the markets would become more stable, essentially smoothing or leveling student progress throughout the system (Thompson, 2007).

As was said of the common school movement, which was a form of indoctrination for those in the United States, the modern day K-12 system was marketed as a way to better future earning potential, and that would be the path for the junior college too. The bulletin ended with the notion that all schools in America were becoming better at meeting the needs of those who “flocked” to their doors, and the educators were “fighting courageously to preserve their freedom of thought, speech, and inquiry; and they are making every effort to teach each student to think and discuss for himself, to seek the truth in an unbiased way, and to live a rich meaningful life, as is fitting for every citizen in a *democracy*” (US Office of Education, 1941, p. 51). As the

community college had been and continues to be described in America, access to education through the community college was defined as a public good for private gain, which meant conflict. One conflict has been over funding: taxes, tuition, and/or public-private partnerships. Another conflict has been over the type education provided at the community college: training programs, transfer programs, enrichment or remediation. These conflicts have placed leaders at all levels—university leaders, school district leaders, community members, and business leaders—in opposition to one another as each group may have differing ideas about the function of the community college.

As Burton Clark (1960) would go on to write after the shift from a junior college to a comprehensive community college, this institution was “caught between its own open door and the standards of other colleges” (p. 69). Spurring this change and the reflection on the purpose of this institution, post-WWII ushered in a new era. The questions arising after WWII about the role of education in the country included the changing role and marketing of the junior college to the community college. In 1946, historian and proponent of the junior college model, Jesse R. Bogue, became the executive secretary for the American Association of Junior Colleges, holding this position until 1958 before consulting for the University of Michigan for a few years (AACC, 2015). In his book *The Community College*, Bogue (1950) noted the many changes to the definition of the junior college in the early 1920s. What began simply defined as a two-year institution offering coursework at a collegiate level was added to in that the junior college developed curriculum that met the needs of the general public through training programs and some access to post-secondary work. For Bogue, and many others in the 1950s, moving to the title of “community college” represented the transformation of the original institution that served the universities to an institution that served the community and was funded by the community so

that the population of an area would have access to training from which local industry would draw. Also during the 1950s and into the 1960s, how these community colleges would be funded became of great concern, both at the state and federal levels. Bogue (1950) indicated that

there are wide differences of thought regarding the classification of the community college; some believe that it is secondary, and others, that it is higher in content and method. All citizens, however, who are intelligently informed as to the needs and functions of community colleges are inclined to opinion that they are destined to have an increasingly important place in American education. (p. 16)

Bogue went on to contend that the very nature of democracy requires “functional methods” through education, counseling, and training for people to find their place in the society and “to give a larger measure of assurance for freedom and prosperity, there must be an ever-increasing diffusion of knowledge and understanding” (Bogue, 1950, p. 19). This hearkened back to Jefferson’s idea to provide “an education adapted to the years, to the capacity, and the condition of everyone, and directed to their freedom and happiness” (Conant, 1962, p. 4). For both Bogue and Jefferson, they were not supporting four-year degrees at all; instead, they saw a “place” for the general public, and that place was not necessarily at the university. However, using the language of access created a path by which to sell the community college to the general public who would be responsible for its funding.

For Bogue, and others active in the community college movement, selling the idea of lifelong learning and universal access to education became the touchstone as the growth of community colleges exploded across the nation. This perspective, though, often ignored the community college’s position of being more than high school but not quite college and the fact that many did not move beyond the community college level. Despite the conflict over serving

the function of training students, creating transfer programming, or meeting the parochial needs of the community, the community college purpose really went unquestioned by the public. Instead, attendance was steadily growing, and with this growing population came an increased legitimacy as many state leaders authorized appropriations and managed their growth through legislative action for funding and curriculum to serve both the community and the university (Vaughan, 1985). It is important to remember that in the case of the community college, the public was not clamoring for the “community colleges”—they ultimately wanted post-secondary access to the university—so instead of the universities moving away from some of the selective practices, educational leaders used the community college as first a buffer while allowing for some bridging to the university, adding the vocational training programs. Convincing the public about the virtues of the community college continued into the 1960s. Succeeding Bogue as the head of the American Association of Junior Colleges in 1958, Edmund J. Gleazer took the role of executive director, continuing Bogue’s reverence to the idea of the community college.

Gleazer, during his 23 years as the head of the AAJC, saw the need to reflect on the growth of this American institution and begin to set a plan for what would be its new identity, which would embrace the comprehensive approach of offering “something for everyone” from remediation to training to transfer. In a 1958 speech delivered in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Gleazer (1960) spoke of what was on the horizon for the junior college as the rapidly growing middle class spurred the nation’s economic growth, attempting to further legitimize the “valued” role it would play in shaping the country but carefully laying out that its primary role would be that of training, not transfer:

The junior college is a new institution comparatively. Not many years ago our programs were primarily to prepare students for upper-division work in the senior colleges. Social

and economic developments in our society have resulted in educational needs that have required a great broadening in the kinds of educational services provided by the community and junior colleges. Adult education, vocational-technical curricula, and general education programs are offered today by the majority of our institutions. Our movement is immersed in a sea of forces that call for a response in service - a growing number of adults, more leisure time, a necessity for up-grading and re-training people in certain vocations, college aspirations by more-and more young people, more and more young people of college age, developing technology, etc.

Gleazer, like many of the leaders of the community college at the time, framed this institution as a school for the common man and a way to organize those “out” of the system who seemed less able, just as vocational and alternative educational programs were doing in high schools at the time.

As the 1960s dawned and the role of the community college continued to be part of a national discussion, Leland L. Medsker (1960), the vice-chair for the Center for the Study of Higher Education at University of California, Berkeley, completed *The Junior College: Progress and Prospect* that served to encapsulate the history of the junior college and predict its future, a future tied to bringing students in and making them well-trained workers for industry. His study, at the time, reviewed junior colleges in 15 states that were selected as examples of organizational, financial, and control patterns. Of the 15 states chosen, these states were home to over half of the junior colleges as recorded in the *1956 Junior College Directory*, and represented about 75% of the enrollments (Medsker, 1960). The report considered three stakeholders: the laymen and educators interested in the two-year college, those already involved with the two-year college, and those concerned with state roles and funding of higher education.

In terms of governance, Medsker found it important to define who should lead and manage this evolving institution. What Medsker (1960) revealed at the end of the report was the need for strong leaders at the community college, leaders trained by elite schools like Harvard or University Michigan, stating that

the increasing scope and complexity of this institution not only demand new administrators to fill new openings but also demand that these administrators be men and women with far-reaching educational vision; capable of interpreting society's needs and expectations; committed to the types of students this in-between institution serves; adepts at working with faculties, governing boards, community groups, as well as with representatives of other segments of education; and possessing the integrity that commands the respect of lay and professional people. (p. 318)

While it may seem contrary to pick leaders from elite schools to run schools for the non-elite, these leaders also believed that they had they had the best interest of the general population in mind. If the university elite were going to endorse the community college, it could not be a threat to the university, so leadership had to come from within the established system. Also, as the nation was in the process of examining its educational prowess in light of Russia's launch of Sputnik in 1957, those elite educators were able to capitalize on the momentum and desire for education, even if the educational track being created was not one that equaled those of the four-year schools. In the case of the community college, it reinforced that the elite or professionals were meant to lead, while the general public was meant to serve.

Medsker (1960) concluded in his report that the following ten years would be a key point in the history of the two-year college as it would be forced to sharpen its identity and role in post-secondary education as it sought funding and public support. Certainly this became more

evident with the Higher Education Act of 1965 and its subsequent reauthorizations that set in place funding opportunities that made it possible for so many Americans to attend college, many of whom had been convinced that a college education was the primary way to the “American Dream.” (FinAid, 2015). In fact, Cohen and Brawer (2008) saw that “community colleges seemed also to reflect the growing power of external authority over everyone’s life, the particularly American belief that people cannot be legitimately educated, employed, religiously observant, ill, or healthy unless some institution sanctions that aspect of their being” (p. 1), a sentiment that continues to be supported today. In President Lyndon B. Johnson’s “Education Message to the Eighty-ninth Congress, 1965,” he stressed, “Nothing matters more to the future of our country: not our military preparedness, for armed might is worthless if we lack the brainpower to build a world of peace; not our productive economy, for we cannot sustain growth without trained manpower; not our democratic system of government, for freedom is fragile if citizens are ignorant” (in Katz, 1971, p. 23-27). Again, Jeffersonian undertones abound in this appeal to proper training, at a level appropriate for each person, which does not necessarily mean social mobility or advancement.

Not all who spoke of the junior college/community college praised the expanding access to education but noted the conflicts inherent in the educational model. Also published in 1960 through the Center for the Study of Higher Education University of California, Berkeley, Burton R. Clark’s *The Open Door College: A Case Study* was more critical of the purpose and processes that had made up the junior college to that point. Part of his claim through his study of San Jose Junior College in California was that although two-thirds of the junior college students were in transfer curriculum, less than one-third actually transferred. Clark (1960) named these students “latent terminals”: “Caught between its own open door and the standards of other colleges,

therefore, an unselective two-year college needs to ‘administer’ the student who is, in fact destined to be a terminal student but who does not know it or refuses to recognize this likelihood at the time of entry” (p. 69). Essentially, Clark identified a process where students with transfer intentions were redirected to a terminal curriculum based on some measure of ability, real or arbitrary; although this process was part and parcel of the junior college model, Clark highlighted that this process was not discussed or recognized formally in counseling and placement. Instead, articulation agreements between the junior colleges/community colleges and universities laid out both the path and the limitations to students who may have considered transferring.

Clark (1960) determined that as the junior college/community college model opened the door to higher education for many people, it also became a “screening agent” for other colleges, a feature of sorting and selecting only those “worthy” of continuing in the system in order to protect the universities’ technical cores (p. 119). Clark recognized the difficulty of the two-year colleges had facing them that their basic construction and premise led to a definition, by some, that the junior/community colleges were for “third rate students—the culls of other colleges” (p. 160) and that instructors were no more than glorified high school teachers. This act of dealing with the latent terminal and or short-term students Clark called the “cooling-out function.” Since the open-door policy of the junior/community college encouraged the belief that all could take advantage of college, the “junior college, in effect, is asked to cool out the incompetent” (p. 163). This role, Clark claimed, must remain latent and away from public scrutiny as it does not support the ideal purpose of the junior college/community as a gateway to post-secondary education and could threaten the public’s funding of the schools. Clark, however, seemed to be arguing more for a clarity in the organization than a chastisement of the two year school. Further,

he argued that although all students can be admitted, students can be, should be, “differentially treated; for example, criteria for admission to various programs can be established to control better the impact of students on the program structure” (p. 176). What Clark refers to is differentiated instruction based on skills and knowledge, even if it meant that some students move to a four-year professional programs and some to terminal programs. He did not support the false claims that all could find a path to a college degree, but he recognized that the public had been sold the idea of mobility through access.

Although Clark’s study is remembered for its cooling-out function, his complete report can also be seen as a referendum for junior colleges and all educational units to understand the complexity of the junior/community college’s place in the hierarchy education in America from its students and faculty, funding streams, and governance systems. Despite the negativity that Clark’s study provoked among educators, the community college structure grew steadily throughout the 1960s, especially after Russia’s launch of Sputnik gave rise the rhetoric of preservation of our national ideals through education. This meant that education had become one of the many weapons the nation would use in its fight during the Cold War, placing a great deal of pressure on these relatively new schools to manage the growing number of students expecting to earn a degree.

The community college settled into its place in the 1970s and 1980s as early junior colleges made their transformation into comprehensive community colleges like those of the 1950s and 1960s, and all found a steady stream of students at their doors looking for training, transfer credits, or a second chance through education. Brint and Karabel (1989) in *The Diverted Dream: Community Colleges and the Promise of Educational Opportunity in America, 1900 – 1985* discussed the contradicting pressures that have faced the junior colleges since their

inception. They showed that the junior/community college's place between secondary schools and universities has been confusing, especially as many colleges emphasized vocational training. Despite this emphasis on an often used definition of junior colleges/community colleges as training schools, two-thirds of the community college students remained interested in the possibility of transferring to a university through enrollment in general education programs. Although less than half of this group ever transferred, general education programs continued to be promoted and were more desirable in terms of reputation and carried the possibility of more financial success and social standing for many students (Brint & Karabel, 1989; Cohen et al., 2013). Brint and Karabel (1989) noted the rapid growth of the college from the 1960s to 1970s when the enrollment tripled, reaching 1,630,000 million students at the start of the new decade (p. 84) as further evidence that citizens saw value in post-secondary education, having been sold the idea of social mobility and opportunity.

In essence, the original definition of the junior college was an institution that covered the first two years of a traditional four-year education, both public and private. In this definition, students who had been "raked" from the lower class or those who had worked through secondary programming could access college-level coursework locally in order to demonstrate worthiness to transfer to a distant university, thus gaining admittance to an elite group. This is in contrast to the term "community college" that emerged in the 1950s to define institutions that were comprehensive and publicly-supported, embracing a multiple-functions of vocational and liberal arts programming, as well as community enrichment and remediation programs. In this model, students were granted access by virtue of age and locality. For these students, time in the system may warrant a certificate or degree, moving directly to local industry or on to a four-year school; some used the community college to work on skills never mastered in the K-12 system. These

multiple functions made the term community college so much more valuable as it legitimized the purpose as it was marketed to the public as a public good.

These local institutions were “for” the public, which meant that four-year schools could remain selective in their admission processes for those entering professional programs as post-secondary education expanded. Also, selling knowledge and access to education was a concept difficult with which to argue. Parsons and Platt (1973) considered the changes in the American educational system, at all levels, as constructive and valuable and highlighted a common appeal for publicly-supported schools:

It has reduced ignorance and developed the capacity both of individuals and of societies to utilize knowledge in the interest of human goals and value-implementation...

Knowledge enhances capacity for rational action. Despite current preoccupation with the costs of these advances, such as the alleged damage to nonrational or expressive aspects of human concern, we shall contend that the impact of the educational revolution is constructive. (p. 5)

Certainly, this point-of-view may be a bit romantic for some, but educational leaders must see that there are many forces that push and pull the community college, and leaders must balance egalitarian myths with the reality of social hierarchy.

Today, the community college continues to struggle with pressures related to function, governance, and funding. Most obviously is the competing forces between the primary functions of transfer and vocational training, but this also includes issues related to readiness. For many students, recent graduate or older students, the community college has had to embed readiness programming into the curriculum to prepare students to take on math, reading, and writing requirements of the programs. Spending funds on these remedial or developmental programs

adds to the stress related to funding streams as many taxpayers do not want to pay “twice” for a student who did not master material in high school. Additionally, tuition, state taxes, local taxes, federal funding, and private-public partnerships frame the budget of each school, creating many levels of stakeholders. There is also a conflict related to governance that pits the local community of the college against the interests of the state leaders. This means that vocational versus transfer programs, state versus local controls, and variable funding streams must be considered when leaders make decisions (Figure 4.6). Brint and Karabel (1989) summed up best as they considered the institution’s beginnings: “Poised between a burgeoning system of secondary education and a highly stratified structure of economic opportunity, the junior college was located at the very point where the aspirations generated by American democracy clashed head on with the realities of its class structure” (p. 9). Although this quote refers to the creation of the junior college, it still reflects the conflicts the community college deals with to this day, conflicts and competing forces that are certainly evident in the history of education in Michigan.

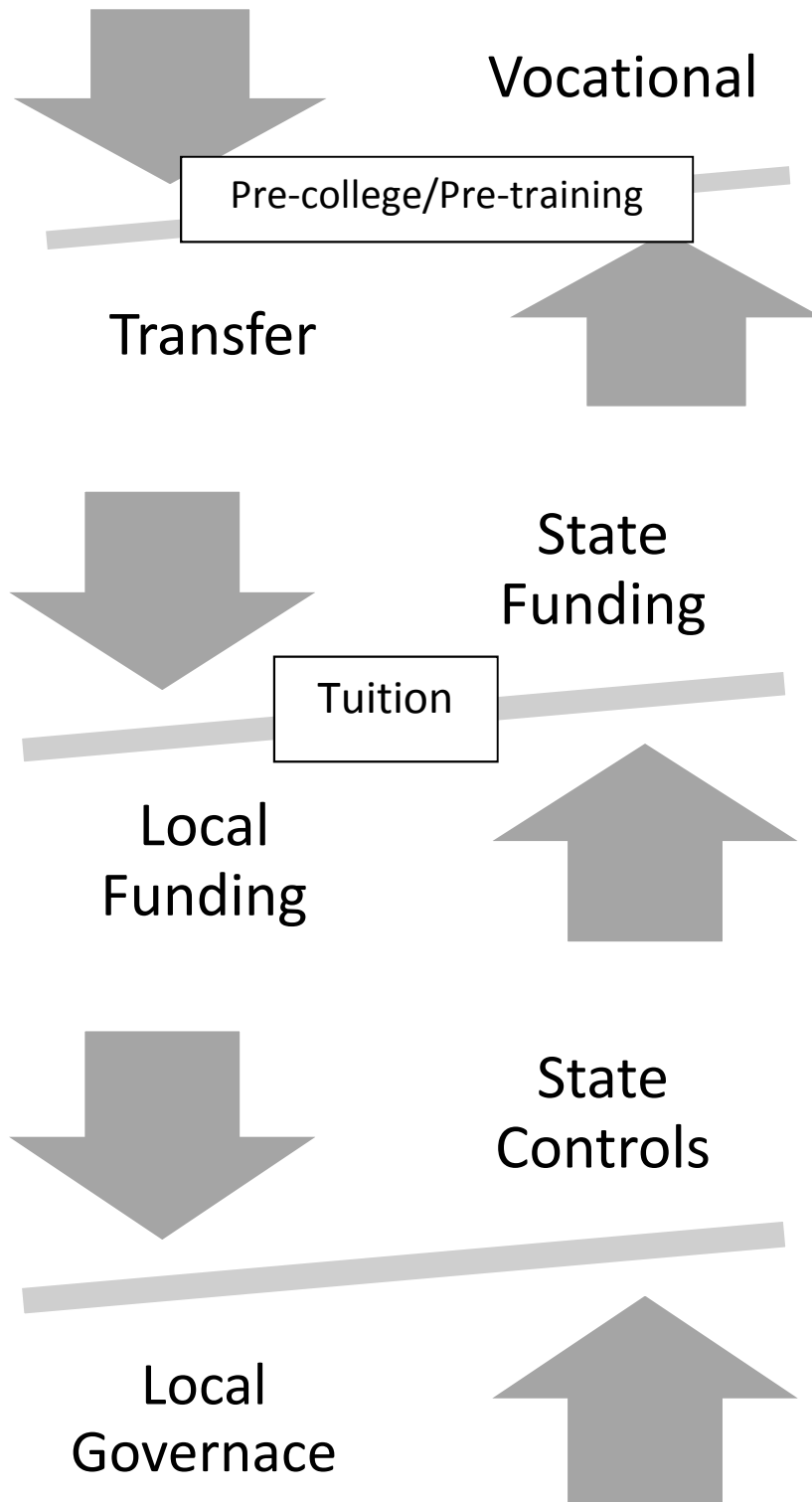


Figure 4.6. Pressures on the community college.

Higher Education in Michigan

University of Michigan President Harlan Hatcher (1958), like many leaders of their time, praised the ingenuity and perseverance of the nation: “When one looks today at the enormous industrial establishments of Michigan, and at the great University maintained by the State at Ann Arbor, it is difficult to realize that both, like most of the rest of America, have been built up out of nothing, or next to nothing, by human energy, enterprise, and idealism” (p. 7). This sort of idealism would be found in the history of Michigan.

Early Michigan settlers were French traders and missionaries, but there was little formal control until 1701 when the Canadian Authority became involved under LaMotte Cadillac, whose goal was to “lead the Indians to civilization” through a seminary (McLaughlin, 1891, p. 9). It would be many decades, though, before the territory of Michigan would have the beginnings of formal educational institutions. When Michigan became a territory in 1805, Detroit had just suffered a devastating fire as a newly-appointed governor and judges arrived from Washington, joining Father Gabriel Richard in Detroit (Peckham, 1994). The leaders of the time had a desire to create an educational system that would serve to shape the population and encourage settlers from the east who would expect educational opportunities for their children, only to be interrupted by the War of 1812.

As the territory recovered from the war, Judge Woodward, a friend of Jefferson’s, John Monteith, a graduate of Princeton Seminary, Father Gabriel Richard, and William Woodbridge, secretary of the Michigan territory, considered the development of a prestigious university to compete with the East Coast schools and be another draw for settlers of a higher class to the area (Hinsdale, 1906). The formation of such an institution was meant to be a “capstone of a statewide education system which it would supervise” (Peckham, 1994, p. 6). This would allow

the leaders of the school to oversee and manage the academies, primary programs, libraries, and museums supported by the public so that primary education was free and there would be a low tuition for higher education, similar to Jefferson's plans in Virginia (Peckham, 1994, Wagoner, 2004). In essence, their goal was to create a system that allowed them to control the scarce funds and resources for of all institutions, which would be maintained by those in power who understood what a "proper" education was for the time.

Catholepistemiad. After the War of 1812 was ended with a peace treaty in 1815, settlers from New England and New York began arriving, expecting access to schools; consequently, the territory law of 1817 set forth the basic framework of an institution that would serve as a "capstone of a statewide educational system which it [the university] would supervise" (Peckham, 1994, p. 6). Therefore, when the Catholepistemiad, or the University, of Michigania, was created by a legislative act in 1817 for the territory of Michigan, there was a desire to frame the role of education, including higher education, for the area. As Judge Woodward, Father Richard, secretary of the territory Woodbridge, and Reverend Monteith began their design for a state educational system based, at that time, in Detroit, they likely never imagined what a long and difficult process it might be (Shaw, 1934); they should have recognized, though, that people of the area were not scampering for education as the French who had been in Detroit were not interested in organized schools (Peckham, 1994).

From the beginning of Michigan as a territory, it has been unique in its development of a strong state university that would be the culmination of primary and secondary programming. Woodward, Monteith, Woodbridge, and Richard wanted the state-supported institution to lead the establishment of schools throughout the territory. Although there was little infrastructure developed during the territorial years, what is important is how control of the school was

defined: “the fact that so much power and authority in setting up of an educational system was to be concentrated in the hands of a few appointive officers is most significant” (Dunbar, 1935, p. 388-89). Dunbar believed that Woodward’s desires to create the pinnacle of an educational system with centralized control from his relationship with Thomas Jefferson, who was working on a plan for the University of Virginia, a school that would also serve to guide education in Virginia. In 1817, Jefferson wrote a letter to George Ticknor, a Harvard professor, regarding his efforts to establish a general system of education in Virginia made up of elementary schools, collegiate institutions, and a university (Wagoner, 2004). Therefore, it may be assumed that the educational leaders like Woodward looked to friends like Jefferson for inspiration.

Despite the increase in settlers from the east, the change of name to University of Michigan (UM) in 1821, and the establishment of a board of trustees, the school did little in regard to what would be considered higher education, instead serving primary and some secondary educational purposes until 1827; the original building in Detroit continued to be used after 1827 with teachers running private schools as there were no university students at this time (Shaw, 1934). Those in power, though, did eventually use the constitutional language that granted UM the ability to restrict any other institutions from conferring degrees and becoming solely denominational throughout the 1800s. Even when charters were finally granted for Baptist and Methodist schools, they were not able to confer degrees, demonstrating the power and influence of this model for education long term (Dunbar, 1935); in fact, conferring powers would continue to be restricted through much of the 1800s. For the University of Michigan, a college curriculum would not be realized until the Ann Arbor campus was established in 1837 under the new state constitution (Hinsdale, 1906; Shaw, 1934). As the Michigan territory approached statehood in the 1830s, it was Isaac E. Crary and John D. Pierce, inspired by Victor Cousin’s

report on the Prussian system, who set in motion the plan for the University of Michigan to lead the state's educational system, building on Woodward's original idea.

Pierce, a Presbyterian missionary, was sent to Marshall, Michigan, in 1831. After Pierce's wife died of cholera in 1834, he met Crary who had moved to Marshall in 1832 (Hinsdale, 1906; Dunbar, 1935). What these men found in common was education, and it was Crary who introduced Pierce to Victor Cousin's report about the Prussian system of education originally published in 1831. For Pierce, he saw that emulating the Prussian system would be a way to constitutionally frame a state-supported university that could "guide" all other schools in the state: "Under the system, every child of school age, male and female, had to attend school regularly under penalty of discipline for truancy and fines for the parents. The chain of institutions was integrated so that the State controlled it from kindergarten to the university" (Sagendorph, 1948, p. 49). In considering Cousin's report, Crary and Pierce saw that schools would be designed to mimic the class system and provide stability, so at the top of this order would be the professionals who would train and run operations at the university or college. Below this group would be the merchant or skilled trades groups that would work through technical programs and advanced primary work and would be trusted to maintain control in their towns (Herbst, 1989). The semi-skilled group or laborers would only attend the common schools. In the Prussian system, primary instruction was in the hands of the clergy, whose goals were to provide religious instruction, language, geometry, calculation, science and history, singing, writing, exercise, and simple manual labor. Pierce was very taken with teacher training, and he would capitalize on this interest some years later with the Michigan Normal School as instruction by the clergy was replaced with instruction by trained teachers (Hinsdale, 1906).

Moreover, Cousin reported that in the Prussian system all children were expected to

attend “no matter how humble” (Taylor, 1836, p. 25), and with this, Prussia had the right to tax for the good of the country. Taylor (1836) reflected on Cousin’s report, noting that the Prussian government created laws so that “All citizens, [are the] the patrons and guardians of public schools” (p. 32). Likewise, Crary and Pierce saw the need to be guardians of the educational system in Michigan with the University of Michigan marking the path as men like Jefferson, Woodward, Crary, or Pierce, did not trust the general population to make entirely their own choices. As learned men, they saw their duty to protect the democracy from the people by setting up an educational system that would best serve the democracy at the time—controlling who and how people would gain or share power. Moreover, a Prussian-like system would allow for clear control over the core technology at each level of school; thus, there would be control over how the students (the inputs in the system) were sorted, selected, or considered for the next level of school, in appropriate.

Crary, a fledgling politician, worked to get himself elected to the Constitutional Convention to help draft the Michigan constitution in 1835 and find a way to integrate his work with Pierce about establishing the educational system. Using Cousin’s report as a marker, Crary added to the constitution a plan for a library, common schools, and a university, including a provision for the appointment of a superintendent of public instruction (Dunbar, 1935; McLaughlin, 1891, p. 34). Appointed to the position of superintendent of public instruction was none other than Rev. John D. Pierce, who optimistically and feverishly began the work on developing the schools for the state, culminating with the University of Michigan. McLaughlin (1891) reported that

As early as 1836, Hon. John D. Pierce, then recently chosen State superintendent of public instruction and the first incumbent of that office in Michigan, gave, in his first

report to the legislature, a review of the Prussian normal schools and urgently recommended the adoption of a similar plan for the advantage of free schools in Michigan. (p. 99-100)

Luckily, for both Crary and Pierce, Governor Stevens T. Mason supported the Prussian-inspired plan and as Michigan fought for its statehood, Crary headed to Washington and Pierce worked to define the plan more fully in Michigan. From 1835 to 1837, when Michigan was officially admitted into the Union, Pierce traveled and spoke to educators about the Michigan plan that culminated with a State superintendent of public instruction and a university.

Building on the language of the Northwest Ordinance, where every 16th section of a township was dedicated to education, Crary finessed the language of the act for the Michigan constitution that allowed for State control over the land rather than the townships (Sagendorph, 1948). Article 10 of the Constitution of Michigan of 1835 clearly lays out the plans so carefully crafted by Crary and Pierce:

ARTICLE X EDUCATION

Superintendent of public instruction, appointment, term.

1. The Governor shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the legislature in joint vote, shall appoint a Superintendent of Public Instruction, who shall hold his office for two years, and whose duties shall be prescribed by law.

Perpetual fund for support of schools.

2. The legislature shall encourage, by all suitable means, the promotion of Intellectual, Scientifical and Agricultural improvement. The proceeds of all lands that have been, or hereafter may be, granted by the United States to this state, for the support of schools, which shall hereafter be sold or disposed of, shall be and remain a perpetual fund; the interest of which, together with the rents of all such unsold lands, shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of schools throughout the State.

Common school system, yearly term.

3. The legislature shall provide for a system of Common Schools, by which a school shall be kept up and supported in each school district, at least three months in every year; and any school district neglecting to keep up and support such a school may be deprived of its equal proportion of the interest of the public fund.

Libraries.

4. As soon as the circumstances of the state will permit, the legislature shall provide for the establishment of Libraries, one at least in each township; and the money which shall be paid by persons as an equivalent for exemption from military duty, and the clear proceeds of all fines assessed in the several counties for any breach of the penal laws, shall be exclusively applied for the support of said libraries.

University fund.

5. The legislature shall take measures for the protection, improvement or other disposition of such lands as have been, or may hereafter be, reserved or granted by the United States to this state for the support of a University; and the funds accruing from the rents or sale of such lands, or from any other source, for the purpose aforesaid, shall be and remain a permanent fund for the support of said University, with such branches as the public convenience may hereafter demand, for the promotion of literature, the arts and sciences, and as may be authorized by the terms of such grant: and it shall be the duty of the legislature, as soon as may be, to provide effectual means for the improvement and permanent security of the funds of said University. (State Archives of Michigan)

This meant that state officials could use taxes collected for this system, which Pierce headed as the superintendent of public instruction until 1841. In the end, it was important for the leaders of Michigan, through education, to balance the demands by settlers for economic progress and social mobility with the preservation of the status quo. As in the Prussian system, especially the primary schools, educators were the means for the inculcation of the population, religiously, politically, and economically. Therefore, in the creation of the territory of Michigan and later its statehood, the leaders of Michigan were looking for a way to centralize authority in a region that was diverse and sparsely populated.

One early plan for the newly-minted state university in 1837 was that branches would be established in different parts of the state, with Ann Arbor serving as the central location. These branches would be able to serve two roles: train common school (elementary) teachers and serve as secondary schools that would ready students for the University of Michigan (Dunbar, 1935). With branches in Pontiac, Monroe, Kalamazoo, Niles, Detroit, White Pigeon, Tecumseh, and Romeo, teachers would ready students for main campus and have the possibility for the growth

of the branch into a college, in its own right, although certainly not one of equal stature with the University of Michigan (Hinsdale, 1906; Shaw, 1934). These branches were well-received and used by the community members who could not afford to send their children to an academy, but due to funding issues, though, these branches had only a brief life. There was no money for branches even though they had students and some of the public thought the branches more deserving and useful than UM, but those in power, led by Pierce, would not allow the branches to “sap the very life-blood of the university, and to give Michigan a host of rival acephalous colleges rather than one large and comprehensive university” (McLaughlin, 1891, p. 38).

McLaughlin continued to sing the praises of Pierce noting that his efforts “may be credited with averting destruction from the university, for he had obtained from leading educator of the country statements strong in favor of concentration as opposed to distribution and consequent dissipation” (p. 38). Pierce would continue his work as superintendent of public instruction until 1841 when funding no longer supported his position. Pierce returned to Marshall and soon after started his work at developing the normal school in Ypsilanti to train teachers for the primary schools. His school would be on the east side of Washtenaw County, just a few miles from Ann Arbor and the University of Michigan (McLaughlin, 1891).

With the approval of the 1850 constitution, Michigan did not name the branches as part of the system, and appropriations were directed back to the UM to support the financially-strapped school (Hinsdale, 1906). As the new state constitution in 1850 solidified the University of Michigan as the educational zenith through appropriations and the ability to confer degrees, the goal of a centralized state educational system lessened as private academies managed the secondary schools and denominational colleges fought to gain charters (Dunbar, 1935). Needing a strong leader at the University of Michigan to guide the school as the head of state, the 1850

constitution also added the role of university president and the Board of Regents began their search, ultimately putting UM outside the control of the state superintendent and state boards. Henry Tappan, both a doctor of divinity and doctor of law, took the president's office in 1852. A follower of the German educational system that placed high value on research and academics for those with talent (Hinsdale, 1906), Tappan quickly laid out plans for courses and standards of qualifications for admission. Moreover, he recognized the school's dependence on the primary and secondary schools and worked to improve curriculum at that level so that students were ready for the UM, influencing the trajectory of the state educational system as a number of cities had organized high schools, both private and public: Detroit, Adrian, Ann Arbor, Battle Creek, Coldwater, Jonesville, Kalamazoo, Ypsilanti, and Monroe (Dunbar, 1964).

The constitution also separated the Board of Regents from the superintendent of public instruction, allowing for greater independence of both decision-making power and funding for UM (Peckham, 1994). Tappan also saw an opportunity to create a strong institution that could serve the post-graduate needs to "cultivate the originality and genius of the talented few" (Peckham, 1994, p. 39). Through the 1850s, Tappan worked to create this "new" system through the professors he hired and the buildings he authorized. Tappan is often regarded to have developed the prestige of the University of Michigan through the hiring of distinguished faculty from around the country who were or would be active in the national educational movements of the late nineteenth century, bringing notoriety and prestige to the school (Hatcher, 1958). Under Tappan's leadership, he also saw the rise of the Michigan State Normal School in Ypsilanti in 1849 and the establishment of the Michigan Agricultural College in 1855. Tappan, however, did not have as much control over these two new institutions as he would have liked, and his reported condescension caused ill feelings between Tappan, his Board, and the legislature

(Peckham, 1994). In 1861, many of the old battles between Tappan and the Board continued to escalate, and in June of 1863, Tappan was removed from office (Peckham, 1994; Hinsdale, 1906). By the time Tappan left the UM in 1863, student attendance had nearly tripled in his decade at the helm from 222 in 1852 to 652 in 1863 (Hinsdale, 1906, p. 49). Like many public institutions of the time, availability of programs, funding, and access would influence the choices of each school.

For many connected to the University of Michigan during its early years, they felt the purpose of the institution was to direct the state educational system and perpetuate their standing over the people of the state, demonstrating the school's greatness through scholarship and research. One such person who believed in the skill and superiority of the school was Harold W. Payne, the chair of pedagogy at the University of Michigan starting in 1879 (Hinsdale, 1906). He saw the University of Michigan very much as the pinnacle of the educational system in the state: "It is without doubt a simple matter of fact that we now have in Michigan all the elements necessary to perfect this system; and it seems only necessary to define a little more closely their relation and to effect adjustments which shall give certainty and efficiency to the whole scheme" (Payne, 1871, p. 18). Payne went further, saying, "If we direct our attention to the University, under whose shadow we are now sitting, we behold an Institution magnificent in its conception, marvellous in its growth, and truly great in its results" (p. 18). Whether it was Pierce's educational model in 1837 or the reconfigured constitutional arrangement in 1850 (Figures 4.7 and 4.8), the leaders of the University of Michigan were afforded the freedom to set their own standards while imposing standards on the rest of the state schools. As the decades stretched toward the twentieth century, the University of Michigan certainly found its place as the head of the educational system in the state, and students throughout the nation made their way to campus

as the school's reputation spread. In 1852, students from eleven states attended the school, and by 1862, students represented 18 states and Canada (Hinsdale, 1906), allowing the school to tout its impact and influence in the country.

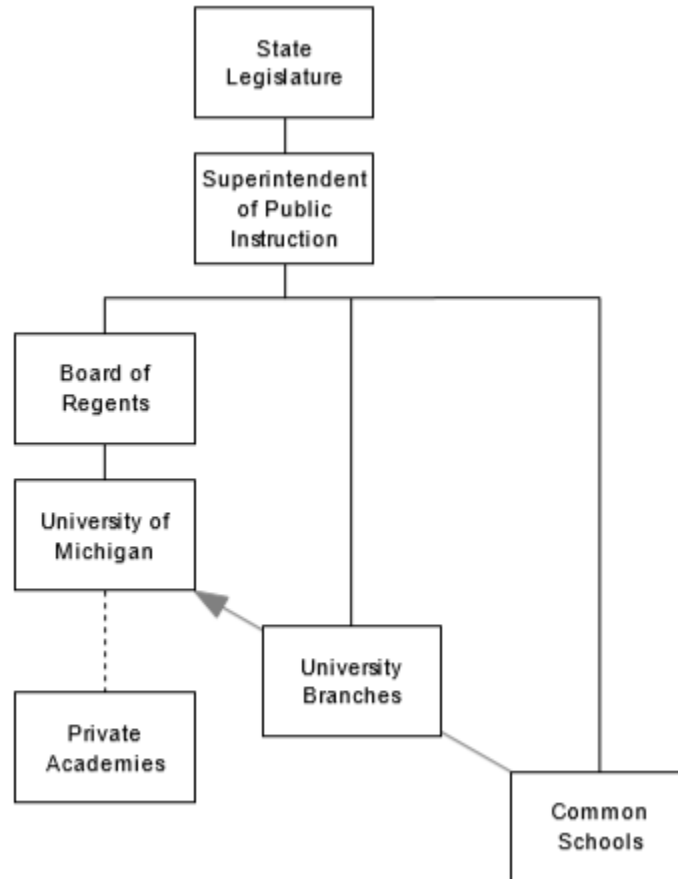


Figure 4.7. Pierce's system of public education, 1837 (Flowers, 2006, p. 246).

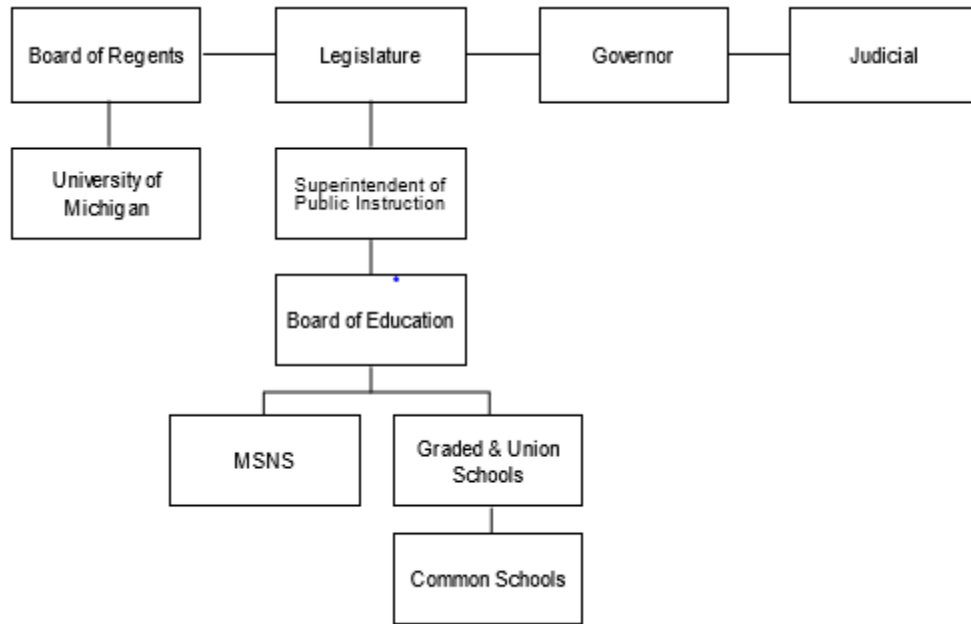


Figure 4.8. 1850 Constitutional arrangement of public schooling in Michigan (Flowers, 2006, p. 280).

One “first” for the University of Michigan was its acceptance of women under President’s Frieze’s tenure (Peckham, 1994). Although there were small private colleges in Michigan allowing women to enroll in the late 1800s, it was Michigan’s acceptance of the first woman in 1870 that made it more widely accepted at other universities and colleges in the Midwest and West (Shaw, 1934). Also, the University of Michigan managed symbiotic relationships with some secondary schools, the “union” schools, granting them the chance to allow graduates entry to the UM without examination beginning in 1871.

High schools that gained the accreditation could boast of their approval, and it was not long until Detroit, Ann Arbor, Flint, Jackson, Kalamazoo, Adrian, Pontiac, Coldwater, Grand Rapids, and Ypsilanti were participating in the accrediting process controlled by the UM (Conant, 1962; Peckham, 1994). As for the private schools, McLaughlin (1891) reported that the “University of Michigan stands ready to add to its diploma lists private schools whose curricula and methods win fair and candid approbation” (p. 179), illustrating the influence of the school

over all education in the state. An 1857 report by the Michigan superintendent of public instruction, Ira Mayhew, described the union schools system as “three distinct grades, consisting of: (1) The University of Michigan, (2) Branches of the University, (3) Primary Schools” (Springman, 1952, p. 50). Frieze’s diploma connection to the secondary schools in 1870 would continue efforts by UM to set standards for the rest of the state, whether or not the school officials wanted the guidance (Hinsdale, 1906).

With the help of the 1859 Act 161 to establish graded schools, the public high school continued to strengthen, and even UM President Frieze noted in 1870 that the preparatory schools were ever-improving, allowing the University of Michigan to realize its goal to be a true “university” (Springman, 1952). However, not all of the public high schools appreciated the “rules” or the diploma plan of UM, and in one Board of Visitors report to the UM in 1874, Superintendent Briggs noted that “some [Grand Rapids, 1874] of the largest high schools in the state refuse or reluctantly consent to undertake the preparation of students for UM entrance. To those who are fond of regarding our educational system a harmonious whole, these incongruities will seem strange and to be regretted” (Springman, 1952, p. 65). Much of the disdain from the high schools could have been from the fact that the visitors to the school were University of Michigan faculty, so the schools were essentially forced to subscribe to standards they had no power to control (Peckham, 1994). Also, for many of the communities investing in the local schools, the goal was not to send their kids to the UM, but to make sure that they were educated enough to care for themselves and their families. Therefore, many were not supporting of a curriculum requirement that would not serve their needs. However, the University of Michigan certainly set itself up as the zenith of Michigan’s educational system, using its legislative influences to affect policy decisions (Hatcher, 1958).

Adding to the educational changes impacting the state was the Kalamazoo case in 1874.

As Conant (1962) explained,

A group of taxpayers in Kalamazoo, Michigan, had brought a bill of complaint before a lower state court to enjoin the collection of taxes for the support of a high school. The lower court dismissed the bill and the case was appealed to the state Supreme Court, which decided that the decree of the lower court was right and should be affirmed. (p. 47)

The complaint settled around the idea of the public having to pay for the education of children whose families could afford to send them to school. What also upset those who filed the complaint was that the high school curriculum was preparation for college, and their children were not going to college and had no need for the high schools. However, in the opinion of Justice Thomas M. Cooley, which was supported by the other members of the court, he saw that the Michigan Constitution of 1850 clearly outlined the right of school districts to collect taxes for the common schools and grammar school branches up to the university, making high schools publicly-funded college preparatory schools, at least for the time being (Conant, 1962):

ARTICLE 13 EDUCATION

Supervision by the superintendent of public instruction.

Sec. 1. The superintendent of public instruction shall have the general supervision of public instruction, and his duties shall be prescribed by law.

School fund.

Sec. 2. The proceeds from the sales of all lands that have been or hereafter may be granted by the United States to the State for educational purposes, and the proceeds of all lands or other property given by individuals or appropriated by the state for like purposes, shall be and remain a perpetual fund, the interest and income of which, together with the rents of all such lands as may remain unsold, shall be inviolably appropriated and annually applied to the specific objects of the original gift, grant or appropriation.

Escheats.

Sec. 3. All lands the titles to which shall fail from a defect of heirs, shall escheat to the state, and the interest on the clear proceeds from the sales thereof shall be appropriated exclusively to the support of primary schools.

Primary schools; instruction in English language.

Sec. 4. The legislature shall, within five years from the adoption of this constitution, provide for and establish a system of primary schools, whereby a school shall be kept without charge for tuition, at least three months in each year, in every school district in the state; and all instruction in said school shall be conducted in the English language.

School term.

Sec. 5. A school shall be maintained in each school district at least three months in each year. Any school district neglecting to maintain such school, shall be deprived, for the ensuing year, of its proportion of the income of the primary school fund, and of all funds arising from taxes for the support of schools.

This was an important precedent for publicly-funded education. In fact, years later when Grand Rapids Junior College was organizing, there was concern over the collection of taxes for the post-secondary programming, but no such uproar occurred and the state codified tax collection for junior colleges in 1917 (Davis, 1956).

When Dr. James B. Angell began his 38-year tenure as president of University of Michigan in 1871, he likely never realized the changes that he would witness. The University of Michigan had set itself up to guide the structure of the educational system in the state, hosting conferences like the Classical Conference for high school teachers that started on the Ann Arbor campus in 1865, or setting up an entrance by certification program in 1870 in an effort to “encourage” high school programs to follow a more strict college-prep curriculum (Davis, 1956). With Angell’s retirement final in 1909, the Board of Regents named Dean Harry B. Hutchins as acting president, extending that offer the following year. During the early 1900s, prior to World War I, training for many school districts was completed on the Ann Arbor campus for some of the larger school districts, and UM began to create standards for high school graduates in conjunction with the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Created in 1874 in Chicago, North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was the accrediting body that took over much of the previous consulting and advising

work the UM had controlled for decades (Davis, 1956). Also, enrollment at the UM was steadily increasing, putting the school in the top five in size, along with Harvard, Chicago, Columbia, and California (Peckham, 1994). As enrollment blossomed on campus, Hutchins was keenly aware that space was a valuable commodity, so this issue may have been in play when Hutchins first got word that Principal Jesse B. Davis of Grand Rapids was putting together a plan for the creation for Michigan's first true junior college (Peckham, 1994; Hinsdale, 1906). Hutchins only had to look to Harper's influence in Chicago to see how a junior college might serve the UM.

What is valuable to keep in mind is that Michigan, from the time it was a territory in the early 1800s, has been an active participant in defining state models for education. For Michigan, higher education developed independent of other local peer institutions, and with that, the state developed its own process for the coordination, authority, and control of its public institutions (Faverman, 1975a). As the state grew and changed, many of these changes were captured in the constitutional changes of 1850, 1908, and 1963. For example, the constitutional changes made in 1963 reflected the growth of the student population, allowing state and university leaders to consider how education would be framed for future generations, particularly as the community college became central to the lives of many in the state. In 2009, about 39% (nearly 400,000) of 18- to 24-year olds were enrolled in undergraduate studies according to the NCHEMS Information Center for Higher Education Policymaking and Analysis (2016). The 2013 Census and Demographic Data (Michigan.gov, 2016) notes that nearly 10 million people lived in Michigan at the time of census. The people of Michigan have access to 15 public universities and 48 independent universities or colleges for undergraduate and graduate degrees. Also available to the people of Michigan are 28 community colleges.

Based on data in the *Demographic Enrollment Data Book 2013 – 2014* from the

Michigan Community College Network (2015), Michigan's 28 public community colleges enroll over 400,000 students in both credit and non-credit programming. Of this group, over two-thirds are enrolled part-time [less than 12 credits each term], with the average student age of 26 years old. Of the students, 57% are women and 43% are men. Twenty-five percent of the 400,000 students are minorities, with those identifying as Black making up 17%. Employment is a commonality with community college students, with about 62% of the full-time students employed either part or full-time and 53% of part-time students employed part or full-time. Plus, over half of the student population receives aid in some form, and many of these students are part of employed population. Additionally, over one-third of the community college student population in Michigan is among the first generation to attend college, paying, on average, about \$94 per credit hour for in-district cost and \$156 per credit hour for out-of-district cost. Other than tuition revenue that makes up about 44% of each community college's revenue stream, Michigan community colleges rely on about 20% state funding and 34% of local property taxes to make up the rest (*Demographic Enrollment Data Book*, 2015). In fact, financial support for community colleges and four-year institutions has been part of the State's dialogue since its days as a territory when the elites who founded the state sought to establish measures to ensure that educating the youth of Michigan would be a priority (Shaw, 1934).

Michigan Junior Colleges

Although Harper is credited with opening of the first junior college in 1901, years earlier the idea of bridging secondary and post-secondary work was taking shape in Saginaw, Michigan (Gray, 1915; Young, 1950). East Side High School began offering coursework beyond high school for those students interested in transferring to the University of Michigan, and there is a record of students graduating from the UM in 1897, having only attended for three instead of

four years due to the preparation at East Side High School (Gray, 1915). However, the work done in the Saginaw was completed only within the bounds of the high school, so Grand Rapids Junior College, established formally in 1914, earns the title of the first junior college in Michigan and would bring the influence of the University of Michigan to the west side of the state.

Grand Rapids Junior College (GRJC) was created after a faculty resolution by University of Michigan was solicited by Jesse B. Davis of Grand Rapids; this faculty resolution clearly demonstrated the control and power of UM in the state (Grand Rapids Community College, 2015, Davis 1956). For ten years, GRJC operated out of Central High School using course work based on University of Michigan offerings with a focus on college transfer courses for UM, essentially resurrecting the branch structure set in the first constitution (Davis, 1956). In this first iteration, GRJC operated much like Harper in Chicago had intended a junior college to operate—manage coursework for freshman and sophomores. As Davis led the charge for GRJC, he also became the first president of the college in 1914, but GRJC would not focus solely on college coursework for long as local business leaders saw other roles for GRJC.

Davis, a Vermont native who moved to Detroit in his early teens, attended Detroit High School where he took courses designed to prepare him for the University of Michigan. Davis (1956) noted that the high school plan and the educational doctrine of the time was also a mental doctrine: “It was argued that the best preparation for college was also the best preparation for life...If you differed from the college preparatory pattern, get out. We have no responsibility for you” (p. 26). This selectivity and rigor for students was driven by the desire of many educational leaders of Michigan schools to establish a reputation of scholarship, starting with President Tappan. “It must prove its ability to equal, if not surpass, the records of the academies and the private preparatory schools of the East,” Davis reported in his autobiography (p. 29). After

graduating from Colgate in 1895, Davis returned to his family home in Detroit and took a teaching position at Detroit High School where he had attended, eventually teaching history and later becoming the head of the department of history and the eleventh grade principal in the renamed Detroit Central High School.

It was also at this time that Davis worked under David MacKenzie, principal of Detroit Central High and later Detroit Junior College, which would eventually fold in post-secondary programming in the area to become the College of the City of Detroit in 1923 (Davis, 1956; Walter, 2016). MacKenzie held a similar philosophy as that of J. Stanley Brown, superintendent of the Joliet Public Schools, who supported and implemented the creation of Joliet Junior College in 1901 under Harper's leadership. Like Brown, MacKenzie saw open access from the secondary programs to post-secondary education through the junior college model as a positive step in the educational offerings, instead of being a mechanism for buffering the universities from teaching freshman and sophomore students as the leaders of the UM often favored. This contradiction of purpose, then, has followed the junior college, and depending on the leaders of the time, either the bridging function of the junior college was highlighted or the buffering function of terminal programs framed around job training was highlighted (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2

Junior College Through Transition Period

Junior College (1901)	Transition (1920-1950)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freshman and Sophomore courses that mimicked offerings at 4-year schools • Transfer to university was intention • Prepare students for the rigor of the university 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freshman and Sophomore classes that may transfer to a 4-year school • School-Business partnerships for training • Pre-college/Pre-training to prepare for freshman-level work • Students could prepare to be semi-professionals

At this time in history and with Mackenzie's idealism, he would be nominated to become the first president of the American Association of Junior Colleges (AAJC) in 1920, promoting access by the general public to post-secondary programs starting at the junior college (Brick 1964; Davis, 1956). Also during Davis's tenure in Detroit, along with his supervising principal, he participated in what would become the North Central Association, an organization that sought to promote interests common to a liberal education in connection with preparatory schools and colleges. Davis's work with North Central brought him to University of Michigan for conferences. Additionally in the early 1900s, Davis was part of a committee headed by New York City's first superintendent of schools, William H. Maxwell, to create plans on how to teach municipal government in public high schools (Davis, 1956). As the urban areas of the country grew, the educational standards became the working model for the nation. As Tyack (1974) wrote,

increasing concentrations of people in cities, and restructuring of economic and political institution into large bureaucracies. Thoughtful educators ...were aware that the functions of schooling were shifting in response to these 'modernizing' forces. As village patterns merged into urbanism as a way of life, factories and counting houses split the place of work from home; impersonal and codified roles of structured relationships in organizations, replacing diffuse and personal role relationships familiar in the village. (p. 5)

Essentially, education, instead of being shaped locally, was being controlled more and more by "professional administrators" in the field of education who came from the elite schools that supported the stratification of education that protected these schools; this would be the eventual fate of Davis. Working with presidents and professors from Harvard and University of Michigan,

Davis was active in preparing reports and developing pedagogy for many of the growing school districts in the young country. Due to Davis' growing administrative experiences in Detroit and active role in educational matters in the state and East Coast, in 1907 he was approached by Superintendent William A. Greeson of the Grand Rapids school district to become the principal of the Grand Rapids High School and was elected principal shortly after this visit from Greeson (Davis, 1956).

At this time, the junior high structure (Grades 7, 8 and 9) was being employed in California, and David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford, had lobbied for legislation, which would include tax allocations, in 1907 to establish the first two years of post-secondary work in the high schools to allow the universities to focus more fully on research and scholarship with and for the elite (Davis, 1956; Brick, 1964). Advocating for Grades 13 and 14 to be housed in the high schools would create a clear separation from the university and make it easier for leaders to justify increased taxes to support the new programs. This would free up resources that the universities could use just as Harper had hoped for in Chicago. Building on these new trends, with Davis's experience in Detroit with MacKenzie, and the growing desire of the residents on the west side of the state to have post-secondary opportunities nearby, the junior college idea was viable. In all, familiar structures created by educational leaders with a common history spread throughout the country, creating a new step in the post-secondary hierarchy.

Following the growth of Joliet Junior College and the new hierarchy of the California system, led by Dean Alexis Lange, a UM graduate, and President Jordan, Davis was able to capitalize on the momentum of the emerging movement to use what sometimes referred to as Grades 13 and 14 for either college-level work or training, establishing two competing purposes of the junior college (Davis, 1956; Gray, 1915). With each function, a different constituency was

served. For the university, the junior college would serve to bridge or buffer it, leaving the selecting and sorting to the junior college. For the local business community, the leaders would find that the junior college was open to partnerships that deferred job training cost to the public. For the community members, there was greater access to programming beyond secondary schools that created opportunity, tangible or idealized, fulfilling the idea of proponents that the junior college could benefit the community's growth as it would individual students.

Further, with the new senior high building and the space provided by moving the ninth graders to the junior high, Davis, with the blessing of a citizens group, was able to expand the secondary programs to include industrial training. Because of the local industries in furniture and fruit farms, classes in woodworking and agriculture were slated for boys and home economics and needle arts for the girls, satisfying the desire of many of the parents to keep their kids close to home and active in the community (Davis, 1956). Considering the growth of the junior college movement in California and Harper's work in Chicago to separate out the post-high school years, Davis was inspired to use the space in the new high school and the available teaching staff to offer college programming, commensurate to University of Michigan while appeasing the local community with training programs that would eventually become part of the GRCC.

Building on his work with J. Stanley Brown in Joliet and his many visits to Harper's University of Chicago for the annual conferences on high schools, Davis was convinced that he and his staff could take advantage of their resources and use the "branch" idea to move forward with a junior college (Davis, 1956). After gaining approval from the Grand Rapids superintendent, Davis contacted President Hutchins of the University of Michigan to present a "carefully planned curriculum which paralleled that of the first two years of the University in the department of Arts and Sciences" (Davis, 1956, p. 162). Davis' goal was to prepare the finest

students to arrive at the University of Michigan as juniors in full standing. This would save professors the time teaching freshmen and sophomores, in theory, allowing for greater opportunity for advanced research, which brought the school and faculty recognition. The proposal was accepted by the president and faculty, with only some concerns about the level of education of the instructors available in this sparsely populated west side of the state. Since it would prove difficult to have highly-degreed faculty in the Grand Rapids area, the University of Michigan faculty finally relented and looked to evaluate the success of the program on the performance of the students who came to the university. With the backing of UM, Davis had no problem securing approval from the Grand Rapids Board of Education. With this, Grand Rapids Junior College opened in 1914, using the same tuition and admission requirements of the University of Michigan (Davis, 1956). In this model, open access was not the goal; instead, the goal was local access. In many ways, the creation and acceptance of GRJC was a precursor to the branch campuses that would later develop in Flint and Dearborn: institutions that would benefit from the reputation of the University of Michigan and help ease the number of students on main campus while being limited in growth and power as compared to the main campus.

After the first year of GRJC, President Davis and Superintendent Gleeson knew that it was time to request funding for the new school, which came with trepidation. Davis and Gleeson thought that asking the community for appropriations would open a similar fight like the 1874 Kalamazoo case that questioned the taxation of the community members to support the local high school (Davis, 1956). However, considering the amount of money being kept in the Grand Rapids area and the opportunity for post-secondary education available to the students of the area without having to leave home, Grand Rapids Junior College received steady local funding, keeping tuition affordable. Another factor regarding funding was tied to course offerings.

Whereas tuition and extra funds from the school district kept GRJC funded, asking for the local funding also meant the need to add new programs that were not for those with ambitions to attend the University of Michigan. This also meant that the original motive for the junior college, to teach freshman and sophomore course work, was changed to include job skills training to match the comprehensive nature of the high school. Expanding on the secondary vocational programs in the high school, Davis added training programs to the course schedule that would train students to work in the local industries. The multi-core of the junior college was well on its way to becoming the standard model for the state, and these cores were used to appeal to the public when it came to funding.

It would not be until nearly 10 years later (1923) that two more junior colleges dotted the Michigan landscape: Flint Junior College, later Mott Community College, and Port Huron Junior College, later St. Clair County Community College (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2015). Prior to the start of the Great Depression, five more junior colleges would emerge in Michigan, including Highland Park Junior College that closed in 1995 and Detroit Junior College that was eventually absorbed into what became Wayne State University (Detroiturbex.com, 2013; Wayne State University, 2016). These new schools began by offering college transfer classes for students planning on attending a university, but they also began to coordinate work programs with the local high schools in areas like auto repair (Detroiturbex.com, 2013). Again, the junior college was framed to the public as a bridge to the university through transfer course work. However, as local industry became less willing to commit funds to training new workers, business leaders used the local high schools and junior colleges as training grounds, forcing the cost onto the taxpayer, renewing the conflict over how to best balance and fund such programs.

Immediately after the Depression, junior college creation in Michigan stagnated as

resources were scarce with only three junior colleges opening from 1929 to 1949. It would not be until the close of WWII that education would see changes similar to the growth of higher education at the turn of the century. For the state of Michigan, the impact of World War II would be felt for years to follow. For the University of Michigan, this meant an uptick in research. By April 1942, the federal government had awarded 31 research contracts to UM, but President Alexander G. Ruthven was also concerned about how the university would cope after the war (Peckham, 1994). One of the most obvious results of the war was the Willow Run bomber plant that had started construction in 1941 (Peterson, 2013). The federal government relied on Henry Ford's team and assembly line know-how to serve the nation. Peterson (2013) described this interdependent relationship of the federal, state, and local units as "cooperative federalism" completed through the exploitation of patriotism (p. 13). No matter the positives or negatives of the relationships and deals that were made to execute the making of the plant, the creation of the Willow Run community is inextricably linked to the future development of southeast Michigan: "Building bombers required building communities, even in wartime, and building communities for Willow Run meant forging alliances to accrue the benefits of cooperation and coordination" (Peterson, 2013, p. 3). In fact, Willow Run Village would end up playing a major role in post-war efforts to reintegrate the veterans, house research projects, and eventually come to life as Washtenaw Community College.

Thinking to post-war efforts, President Ruthven President Ruthven was invited to England by the British Embassy to inspect the school system in 1943. Considering the fact that WWII was raging in Europe, Ruthven did end up visiting in late 1943, and upon his return, began to consider the impact of post-war students on the University (Peckham, 1994). Ruthven's concern was well-founded in that the GI Bill made it possible for many veterans to return to

school if their education had been interrupted or begin a college career as it was financially accessible; in fact, UM had 12,000 students in 1945 but over 21,000 students in 1948. Therefore, to accommodate the influx of students, the UM leased the Willow Run Village that had been created for the bomber plant workers to house the veterans, many of whom were married, and provide a bus service from the village to campus (Peckham, 1994). The changes in the student body also meant changes for the teachers who not only faced more students, but more mature students, who had seen the pain of war. As the University of Michigan returned to a new normal after the war, it also continued to capitalize on the federal research dollars with the Phoenix Project designed to find peaceful uses for atomic energy (Peckham, 1994).

Educationally, the 1950s were a time of great change and growth. In the 1955, the Flint Board of Education asked UM to establish a branch senior college to support the growing student population of the area, an area that had seen growth as General Motors expanded its operations. Among the options, Flint Junior College could develop into a four-year institution under joint efforts with University of Michigan, easing the burden of the number of students applying to the Ann Arbor campus (Peckham, 2005). Conversations between the Flint Board of Education and UM centered on the options of creating a four-year university or a senior college that would allow Flint Junior College graduates to finish a bachelor degree close to home (Peckham, 2005). While the state legislature considered this branch idea, the Mott Foundation promised a building for the college if UM came to Flint, and in response to the efforts of University of Michigan and of Mott's philanthropy, Act 63 of 1955 was passed by the state legislation: "AN ACT making an appropriation to the board of regents of the University of Michigan to be expended in connection with the installation of two-year university programs in cooperation with the Flint junior college." The goal was not to usurp control of the junior college, but to have the

University of Michigan represented and available in this part of the state. Moreover, having a legislative action to justify the scheme provided the UM with the leverage it needed and expected as it worked to secure appropriations and be part of the state's decision-making processes. Section 1 of the act was effective May 20, 1955:

There is hereby appropriated from the general fund of the state the sum of \$37,000.00 to the regents of the University of Michigan to be expended for completion of program plans and for expenses preliminary to organization of a 2-year university program in cooperation with the Flint junior college. The regents of the University of Michigan are directed to present to the 1956 session of the legislature completed organizational plans for said college together with a budget covering estimated requirements for the beginning of senior college operations in September of 1956.

By the fall of 1956, the new senior college had over 700 upperclassmen (Peckham, 1994).

Consequently, with a \$1 million donation from General Motors executive Charles Stewart Mott plus legislative support, Flint Senior College opened in 1956 on the campus of Flint Junior College and remained part of the campus until 1971 when the University of Michigan regents agreed to move to four-year fully funded institution for Flint. This quelled a lengthy struggle between state college presidents, the legislature, and the junior college over the amount of control the University of Michigan would have over education in the state in the 1960s (Michigan Council of State College Presidents, 1952 – 1985). In Flint, Mott even contributed 40 acres of land along the Flint River to build the new campus for University of Michigan. For the city of Flint and the local colleges, Mott created a cultural center, including the DeWaters Art Center, the Flint Institute of Arts, Longway Planetarium, Bower Theater, Sloan Museum, Whiting Auditorium, Flint Institute of Music, and the Flint Public Library main

branch. Another GM executive whose donations supported the education endeavors of Flint was William Ballenger, who worked closely with Kettering University, a GM-sponsored engineering school (William S. Ballenger, 2014). Flint Junior College was re-named Genesee County Community College in 1969, and eventually Charles Stewart Mott Community College after Mott's death, and it currently serves about 12,000 students today (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2015).

It was not only those associated with General Motors who became involved with the University of Michigan on educational matters. In 1953, Ford Motor Company gave \$1,000,000 for a nuclear reactor for the Phoenix Project, and in 1956, it gave the UM the former residence and grounds of Henry Ford at Fairlane, plus \$6,500,000 to “encourage” a senior college in connection with business and industry in Dearborn. As Flint Junior College would feed the University of Michigan-Flint, Henry Ford Community College, established in 1938, would feed the University of Michigan-Dearborn (Peckham, 1994). Leaders at both Flint Junior College and Henry Ford Community College wanted to make college education available to students of the local factory workers at minimal cost and without leaving home while creating a relationship between education and industry. This relationship was not just for high-level national research. Local industry would see the community college as a fertile training ground for future semi-professional employees, the children of those working the assembly lines of the time. This added to the dichotomous role of the junior college of both bridging and buffering the university while serving the local business community, justifying the taxes that went to support the new school (Figure 4.9).

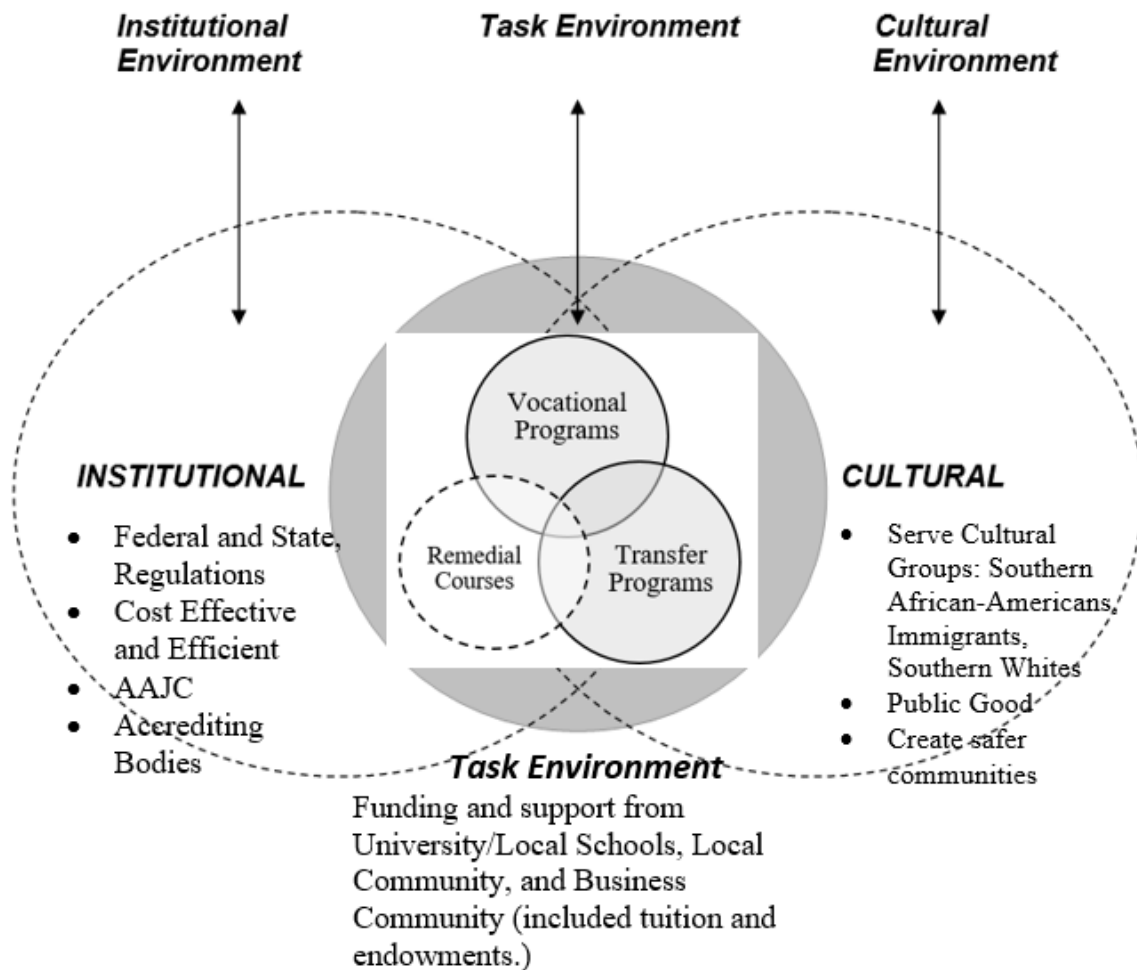


Figure 4.9. Comprehensive community college (adapted from Muwonge, 2012).

Structures of the Community College

Dr. David Ponitz, the first president of Washtenaw Community College in Ann Arbor, Michigan, noted the Horatio Alger “syndrome” or the need of the public to grab “the golden ring” as part of the draw to post-secondary education (Faverman, 1975, p. 444). This meant that the community college could be framed by state and educational leaders in Michigan as a way to provide nearly every adult some form of post-secondary education, a needed commodity in the changing markets. So what once used as a sorting and selecting function for the university, the evolving junior college/community college would be used by businesses for sorting and selecting

of employees for technical training or semi-skilled jobs. As Tyack (1974) reported regarding a 1940 educational study,

Researchers documented that educational attainment and credentials were becoming increasingly important in employment...entrance into white-collar occupations depended heavily upon the degree of schooling. While employers required only minimal schooling for workers in unskilled, semiskilled, service, and skilled jobs, they demanded high school graduation for a majority of persons hired as managers and as clerical and sales workers; a majority of those hired as professionals or semiprofessionals needed a college degree. (p. 273)

To this end, the booming auto industry in the state looked to local schools to prepare students to meet their standards so there was little need to provide training once hired, a cost benefit to the business. Also, the parents in the growing middle class created by the auto industry wanted their children to have the benefit of a college education and have greater social mobility.

However, the universities were not physically able to take in that many students and, frankly, did not want to jeopardize their reputations by becoming less selective in enrollment or split their technical cores to accommodate the growing number of students and their career choices. Legislatively, this meant determining how the state would finance and support community colleges to “house” the lower and middle class students from Southern African-American, Southern White, and Immigrant families who had come to the area during the war. Therefore, the goal was to take the students—the input in this process—and move them through a post-secondary program to create workers—the output—who could feed local industry needs and further the state of the community without impinging on the university structure still primarily for training of professionals, simultaneously claiming access and mobility through

education (Russell, 1958; Faverman, 1975).

Conflicts over funding, then, became an issue as more community colleges were added in the state and all colleges and universities were vying for both state and federal dollars. To stretch the allocations for community colleges, there was pressure in some communities to consider housing the school within the local high schools, but local facilities were not designed for such sharing and community college dollars came from higher education allocation, not the K-12 budget at this time. There was also concern over how to pay for teachers who have to exceed the credentials of secondary teachers but likely not carry doctorates in their field as did university professors. Just as the community college curriculum would become a combination of vocational and transfer offerings, the organization and faculty for the school would resemble both secondary schools and universities, with the addition of adult education and community enrichment programs that might involve or appeal to a great number of taxpayers.

For Michigan, the changes in the fiscal support for higher education is evidenced in the appropriations change from 1958 to 1970. In 1958, the higher education budget was \$80 million, but by 1970, it had reached nearly \$250 million (Faverman, 1975). Further legislation in 1955 set the path for other junior colleges to transition to the community college name and set up a funding scheme that included local millages. Of the 28 community colleges currently operating in Michigan, 20 of them were opened between 1951 and 1967 (Michigan Community College Network, 2015) as community colleges. In Act 259 of 1955, the junior college and community college programs would be maintained by public school districts with state appropriations from the state general fund:

AN ACT to aid in the sound development of junior and community college programs maintained by public school districts and to provide for the appropriation of moneys from

the state general fund in furtherance of this objective.

390.901 Junior and community college programs; development.

Sec. 1.

It is declared to be the policy of the state to further the development of approved junior and community colleges to supplement existing state supported colleges and universities in providing educational programs and facilities for the first 2 years of college study.

This act was further used to stabilize the funding stream, creating the “third” standard revenue scheme used at community colleges: 1/3 state funds, 1/3 local funds, and 1/3 tuition. (Figure 4.10).

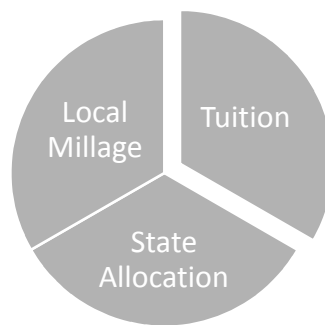


Figure 4.10. Community college funding streams per Act 259, 1955.

Not only did Act 259 clearly lay out state funding that used K-12 methods of state allocations and special millages familiar to the public, with the addition of tuition like universities, this act also stated that these schools would be maintained by a public school district, not a local college, and would focus on the first two years of college study, like many of the early junior colleges. Using the familiar structures for both funding and governance made it easier for proponents of the community college to bring the idea to the public. Without the need to explain a new or complicated method of funding, leaders instead focused on the benefits of

this institution. In this case, then, the regulative and normative standards—the laws and processes—built on common or understood structures already in use. As some college leaders worried that the University of Michigan would attempt to create too many “branch” campuses, this act helped to frame the community college as a separate, independent unit seemingly controlled by local communities and not institutions; nonetheless, universities like UM and MSU would have influence over many of these new schools, helping to establish legitimacy and favor (Faverman, 1975).

These changes also came at a time when the politicians recognized the need to evaluate how higher education was functioning and determine how to make choices regarding appropriations. Consequently, in 1955, the Michigan State Legislature adopted Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 30 to study and recommend how to deal with the higher education needs of the state (Russell, 1958); this was followed by a full review starting in 1956 of higher education, published by John D. Russell in 1958. Russell, when hired in 1956, was chancellor and executive secretary of the New Mexico Board of Educational Finance, which was the coordinating agency for the public educational institutions in New Mexico (Russell, 1958). Russell noted the legislative reasoning in the opening of the report:

A review of the total pattern of higher education in the State is necessary as a background for the detailed analysis of the facilities and programs that are maintained currently. Such background material related to the place of Michigan in the total national picture of higher education, the numbers and nature of the institutions of higher education operating in the State, the population distribution of the State, the geographical origins of the students attending the colleges and universities, and the trends in college enrollments. (p. 1)

Russell organized a committee that then formed additional citizens' committees to represent the political, economic, and educational interests of those in power through data, interviews with leading officers, and first-hand impressions. In particular, Russell's committee was interested in the community college since it seemed to be cost-effective and would not place a burden on the existing universities and their work. Also, the community college was a malleable institution as it was relatively new and could be fashioned by those who controlled it, again leaving the universities with their traditions and selectivity in educating professional to remain insulated from the students expecting access to post-secondary coursework. Russell (1958) reported that "there is need, however, for sound planning on a State-wide basis so that the new community colleges will be located where they will make significant improvements in the opportunities of the people for continued education beyond the high school" (p. 133-34). Russell's team suggested that there were not enough post-secondary schools for the growing population, especially when attendance was geographically determined, which meant that students were more likely to attend college, especially a college that was seen to be affordable, if there was one in close proximity.

The results of the many legislative pushes to report on Michigan's educational system took many pages of explanation in the superintendent of public education's biennium publications. In the *One Hundred and Fourth Report for 1956 – 58*, the State Superintendent Lynn Bartlett took time to consider the then-current catalyst for much of the reflection on education: Russia's 1957 Sputnik launch. He attempted to rebuke the argument that education had somehow "failed" in the United States and that this failure allowed Russia to achieve such glory. However, the time was not one of failure but a time to reassess and consider all of the factors that bear on academic success and struggles, specifically the need for better financing in

education, a need for competent teachers, a need for better equipment, and a need to reappraise and re-emphasize the curriculum. One piece to the educational puzzle, then, was the need to invest in the community college. Bartlett cited the 20.4% increase in enrollment in the community college from 1956 to 1958. Bartlett continued this press for proper financing of higher education, saying that

each passing day brings additional evidence of the need for more and better educated and better trained citizens for our changing society...It is very clear that Michigan must provide post-high school educational opportunities for all who may profit from it. This must be done to insure not only the social and economic welfare of the individual, but also the welfare of the state and nation. (p. 9)

Like earlier state reports, leaders kept citing growing numbers of students, and while there was growth in the number of high school graduates between 1950 to 1960, 18.2% to 21.2% respectively, this still only represented just over 20% of the possible high school graduates, meaning that most students were not graduating high school and, therefore, would not be attending university (*One Hundred and Fifth Report*, 1960). However, this meant that for the 80% of the students who did not graduate high school, they would need jobs that required little training or skill. Many businesses had little desire to use its resources to train workers; hence the community college would be an open-access institution for those 18 and over, with or without a diploma, where training could be subsidized by the public.

To this end, Bartlett (1958) also drew similarities between Michigan's community colleges and the growth of the secondary programming noting the expansion of education as purely positive:

A major reason [for the community college's popularity] is that the community college

seems to be accomplishing for higher education what the high school has done for secondary education since the days of the academy—the democratization of education.

By virtue of its open-door policy and its nearness to the homes of its students, it tends to equalize the opportunity for all those who wish to develop, through the post-twelfth grade educational experiences, into responsible participants in democracy as a way of life. (p. 33)

To support this supposed need, reports noted the enrollment increases of 424% in the community colleges between 1950 and 1959. In real numbers, there were 5,800 students enrolled in one of ten community colleges in 1950, and by 1959, there were over 24,000 students enrolled in sixteen community colleges (*One Hundred and Fifth Report*, 1960, p. 7). Put in context with Michigan's population of 7.8 million in 1960 and only 160,000 students in higher education, the fear of out-growing the institutions of the time does not seem as dire as the reports state (National Center for Education Statistics, 1993; United States Census Bureau, 2016). The agenda, then, was not entirely to make room for the steady growth of students but to create post-secondary programs and demand for these programs to serve other purposes. As stated previously, the community college protected the established universities and their selectivity. Community colleges also worked with local businesses to set up training programs that would, in part, be funded by the public, saving businesses time and money. Additionally, the use of the “democratizing” idea created the picture of equality and mobility by expanding “access” to different types of schools but not actually changing the distribution in the schools. Nonetheless, the community college and its grand purpose was in the news around the state, which perpetuated the organizing myth for this institution. For the general public, issues of affordability along with global concerns with the Cold War in process made for a relatively quick acceptance

of this new institution.

Issues related to higher education were also noted during the 1961 election, which led to the creation of a Constitutional Convention to amend the 1908 constitution (Greenberg, 1960). The changing political, social, and economic forces of the 1950s and early 1960s highlighted the gaps in the 1908 constitution that did not cover issues of roads, public schools, or public works in specific enough ways that would allow the legislature to make state-wide changes or improvements through centralized control, instead having to rely on or wait for local entities for change. Part of the concern was also connected to the expected population growth in the suburban areas. In Michigan Pamphlet No. 29, Michigan's financial future was questioned, noting that

for some time past—to a considerable extent as a result of rapid expansion—the state government and many local governments have been hard-pressed to finance adequate services. Unmet needs now exist for highways, education, mental health, police and fire protection, recreation, water and sewer facilities, and a myriad of other governmental functions. (Pealy, 1960)

Changes to the state constitution approved in 1963 more clearly defined the role of the community and/or junior college in Article VIII, section 7:

The legislature shall provide by law for the establishment and financial support of public community and junior colleges which shall be supervised and controlled by locally elected boards. The legislature shall provide by law for a state board for public community and junior colleges which shall advise the state board of education concerning general supervision and planning for such colleges and requests for annual appropriations for their support. The board shall consist of eight members who shall hold

office for terms of eight years, not more than two of which shall expire in the same year, and who shall be appointed by the state board of education. Vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The superintendent of public instruction shall be ex-officio a member of this board without the right to vote.

This constitutional change was followed by the Community College Act 331 of 1966 in an effort to consolidate laws relating to community colleges. In addition to the elected college boards that created buy-in and legitimacy for the institution, the new language would highlight the vocational role the college should play. This mandate solidified the transition from a junior college model focused on college transfer work to the multi-faceted function of community training ground. Therefore, it is the language of this act that eliminated the use of “junior college” as any “junior colleges” had converted or were in the process of the name change:

AN ACT to revise and consolidate the laws relating to community colleges; to provide for the creation of community college districts; to provide a charter for such districts; to provide for the government, control and administration of such districts; to provide for the election of a board of trustees; to define the powers and duties of the board of trustees; to provide for the assessment, levy, collection and return of taxes therefore; to authorize community college districts to operate a new jobs training program, enter into certain training agreements, and issue bonds to finance the training program; to prescribe penalties and provide remedies; and to repeal acts and parts of acts.

By the end of 1967, the last of the 28 community colleges had been established in Michigan. Independent community colleges, each with their own Board of Trustees and funding streams, were now a permanent and prominent part of the post-secondary landscape throughout Michigan supported by state and local tax dollars (Figure 4. 11). This funding stream kept tuition low for

students and allowed the universities to remain selective in their enrollment, making the community colleges responsible for training the local workforce using public funds as had been noted in the Russell Report (1958), which identified those locations best suited for this institution (Figure 4.12). Although the name of the community college provides a sense that the college is inspired by and for the community it serves, the function, nature of funding, and the governance were designed and implemented by educational and state leaders from the top down as laws and rules set the boundaries of the institutions.

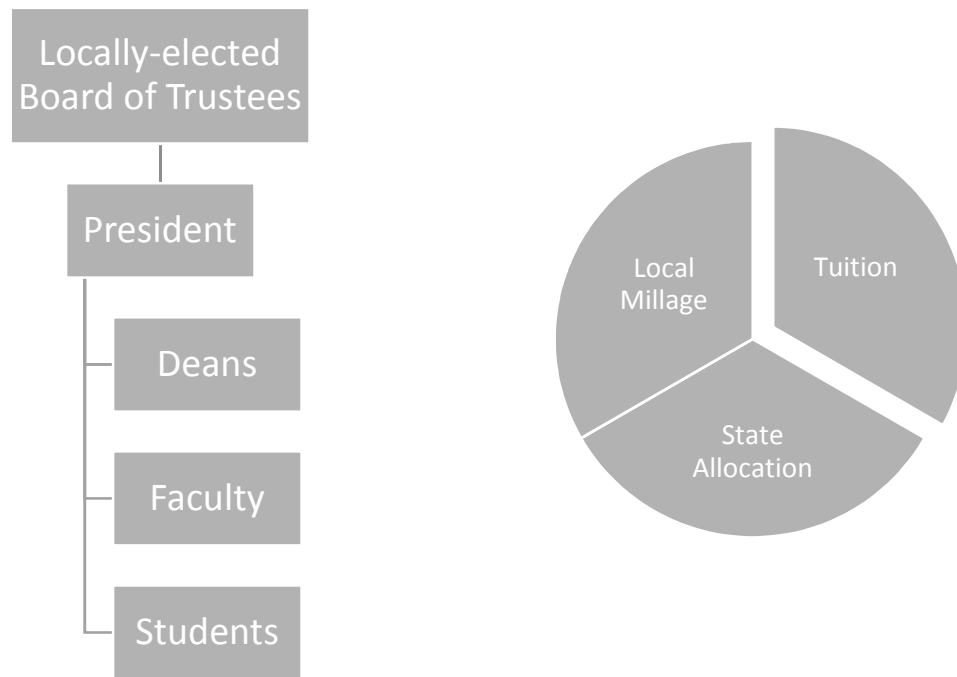


Figure 4.11. Community college governance and funding streams.

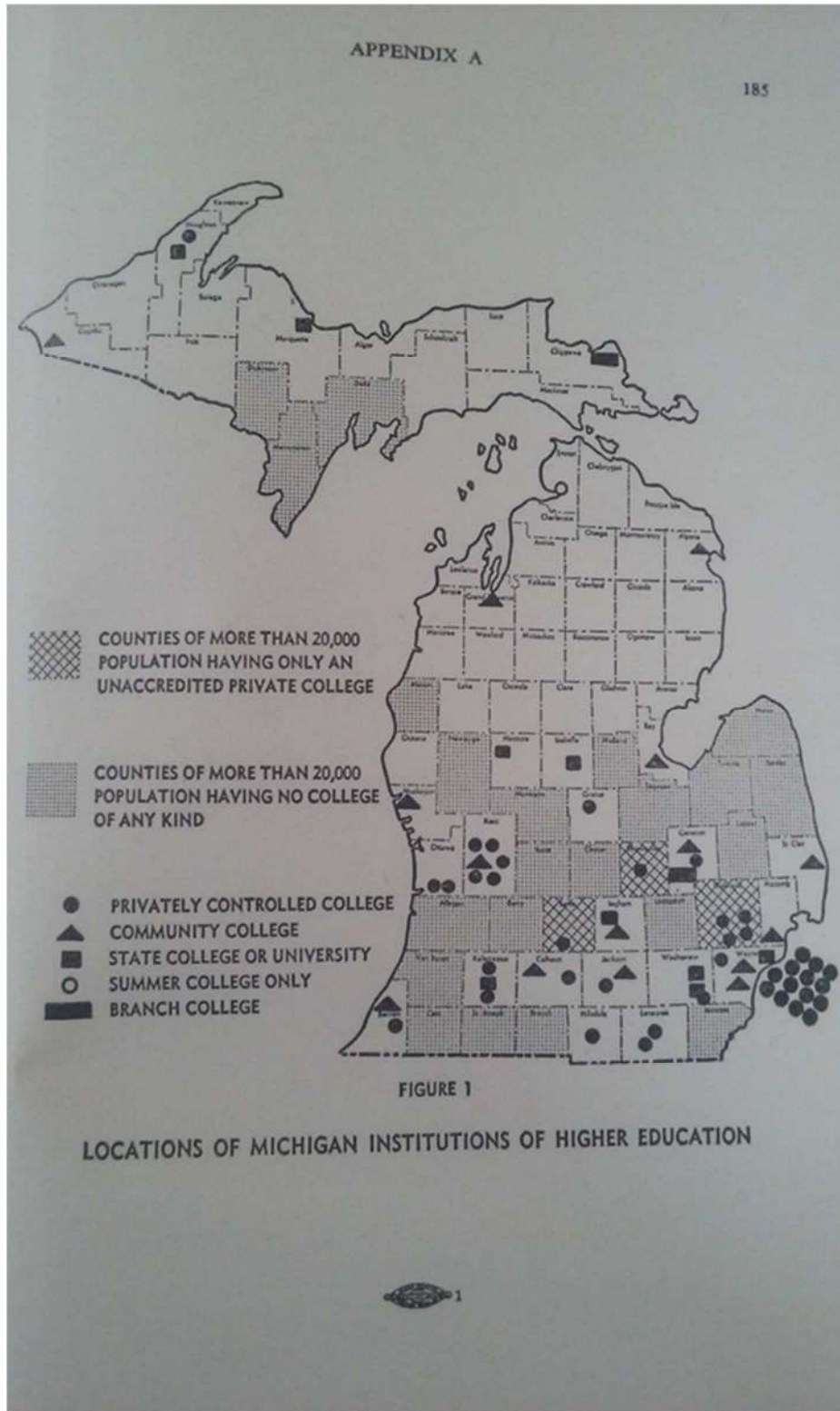


Figure 4.12. Locations of Michigan institutions of higher education (Russell, 1958).

Part II: Washtenaw Community College

“On every side, one hears discussion of the greater need of youth for extended secondary education. In the face of these discussions and proposals, the conclusion that study of the public junior college is important and imperative is well substantiated” (Young, 1950, p. 2-3).

Located just west of Wayne County and the City of Detroit, Washtenaw County (Figure 4.13) covers over 700 square miles of urban, suburban, and rural settings with the University of Michigan and Eastern Michigan University anchoring Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, respectively (*eWashtenaw*, 2016). As the Territory of Michigan was moving closer to statehood in the early 1800s, the county of Washtenaw was legally recognized in 1827 as nearly 1,000 people created homes along the Detroit to Chicago road, following an old Indian trail (*eWashtenaw*, 2016; Ypsilanti Convention, 2016). Once Michigan became a state in 1837 and the University of Michigan moved to Ann Arbor, the county quickly secured itself to be in the business of education with the Michigan State Normal School (Eastern Michigan University) opening in 1849. As industry grew and changed in the area during the early 1900s with the addition of a hotel and retail areas, local business leaders in the Washtenaw communities looked beyond local governments to meet the immediate needs of the community and plan for the future (Marsh, 1970). To support these business needs, business leaders organized the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce and Ypsilanti Board of Commerce to unite businesses and guide the work of the city governments after the creation of the national Chamber of Commerce in 1912; this allowed businesses to work on their goals outside of the public realm while maintaining a tie to the decision makers.

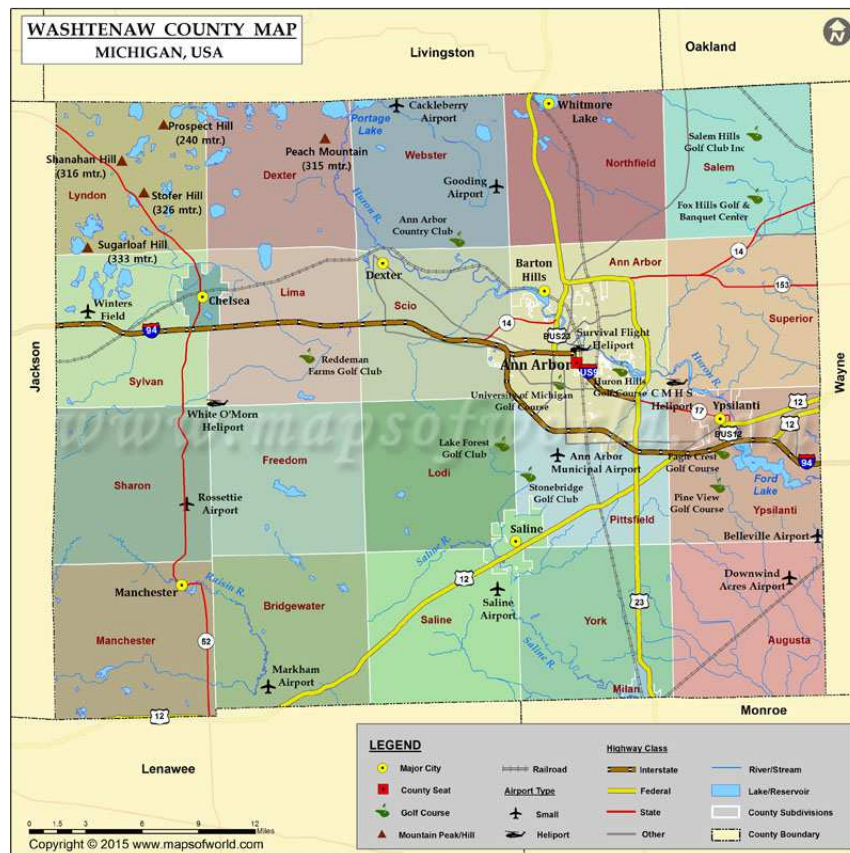


Figure 4.13. State and county maps.

Under President Taft in 1912, the US Chamber of Commerce was born of a desire of government officials to unite the national business community (West’s, 2005; United States Chamber, 2012). In a plan for the new organization, John Fahey presented a plan for the group in Article I: “The name of this Association will be the CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE

UNITED STATES.” He went on further with the objectives of this non-governmental agency in Article II: “The object of this association shall be to provide a national clearinghouse for the development and consideration of business opinion, and to provide consideration of business opinion, and to provide united action upon questions affecting the commercial interests of the United States. Only questions of national importance shall be considered” (U.S. Chamber, 2012). Conservative in general, this group brought together many of the local organizations already in existence and served to guide new organizations in growing cities, villages, and townships, regardless if the local chamber had representatives in Washington. The overarching goal was to protect their capitalistic endeavors while showing support for the community, or more simply put, the business community wanted to be able to shape the public policy to serve their ends. For Washtenaw County, prior to the 1940s, there were five chamber or boards of commerce operating: Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, Chelsea, Dexter, and Northfield/Whitmore Lake.

Organized in 1919, the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce set out to help with the work of city government. In a statement around 1930 by Chamber President C. W. Lighthall, factory manager and board member for the Hoover Steel Ball Company of Ann Arbor, he noted that “the function and obligation of a Chamber of Commerce is to encourage and support any project or cause that will promote the welfare of the community it seeks to serve and from which it derives its support” (Ann Arbor Chamber, Box 1). He continued that the Chamber “stands for fair competition, honest merchandising methods and a willingness to [accept] a fair share of the community’s burden as expressed in taxes and in the demands which the community makes for service and money upon the good and efficient citizen.” In other words, what was in the best interest of the businesses was going to be in the best interest of the community. The Ann Arbor Chamber, then, solicited financial support from the local businesses, and in return, the Chamber

would argue and champion the needs of Ann Arbor businesses or the University of Michigan in areas like sewage improvement, public affairs, industrial development, roads, and retail activity that would benefit their bottom lines. In fact, it was advertised on a 1930 Greater Ann Arbor Expansion Campaign that highlighted the cooperative action of the business, professional, and individual interests for Ann Arbor's growth and prosperity that while likely not all the same were closely linked (Ann Arbor Chamber, Box 1). Although UM was a public institution, its structure of a president and board allowed it to function outside of the direct contact of the state, much like private enterprise. With this, the Ann Arbor Chamber aligned itself with the largest employer in the area, and generally, what was good for UM was good for business too. In essence, the local chamber was used to promote the needs of the business elite, including UM, and work to have a voice in local government without having to deal with being elected.

The Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, from its early years, was involved in the business of education as leaders shared alliances with the University of Michigan, in ways that the other local chambers were not. A 1934 resolution about the importance of education noted that "the individual American must be educated not only that he may enjoy a happier and fuller life; he must be educated in order that he may do his part toward sustaining and upbuliding an intelligent and effective government" (Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, 1934, Box 1). As will be true with the Ann Arbor Chamber's involvement in the creation of Washtenaw Community College, the members of the chamber saw the local educational system as a training ground for their current or future employees that would be paid for by the public. This resolution also noted that it is the teachers and schools that pass on the heritage of the nation, and thereby are worthy of supporting since the uneducated and unemployable would not serve the needs of the businesses. This is true insomuch that an education committee was appointed in 1930 and continued for

decades. The Chamber's consideration of education, primarily the work done at the University of Michigan, was captured in a 1930 article noting a Chamber meeting to discuss industry needs. In the article, it summarized a discussion around the building of dormitories and the need for rooming houses. With this, members agreed that bringing in factories would be valuable, but that "the University would deserve consideration, of course, in adopting any industrial programs. High-class manufacturing plants would be desirable because they would fit in nicely with some of the research work at the University" (Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, 1930, Box 1).

The 1940s saw some pressure from member businesses like the Buhr Machine Tool Company to improve the job skills training, or vocational education, in the public high schools, similar to programs that had begun at Detroit Cass Technical High School (Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, 1940, Box 2). Buhr praised Cass Tech's "excellent industrial education" and said that Ann Arbor could improve its industry and business life if boys were prepared in high school, saving time (and money) with on the job training. Although there is no record if the Ann Arbor Chamber made any progress with Buhr's request, the Chamber did continue to support the educational endeavors like a building program for the Ann Arbor schools, promising publicity and the Chamber's cooperation in 1949. Certainly active from its origin in 1919 and after WWII, the 1950s and 1960s would be a key time for the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce as it supported the merging of education and industry as a means for community growth. In the 1958 Annual Meeting notes, the Chamber boasted about its four areas of concern: economic development, business development, education, and municipal affairs (Creal, 1958, Box 1). This fusing of business and educational interests would come to play a significant role in the movement to develop a community college in Washtenaw County.

As the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce was beginning, the Ypsilanti Board of

Commerce launched its own robust campaign in 1920 to promote membership and growth for the area (Ypsilanti Board, 1950; Marsh, 1970). This initial campaign was designed to support development of the infrastructure so that local businesses could thrive. Later, the board and the Willow Run Community Council would attempt to be involved in as much as possible in the planning surrounding the Willow Run bomber plant and the influx of workers to the area and the growth of the communities. Due to the sheer size of the bomber plant complex and the national demands to serve the war effort, the board was often left little choice in matters and had to balance the future of Ypsilanti with the pressures from the Federal government under the premise of patriotism (Peterson, 2013). In the 1950s, having survived the pressures of the war and the effort to balance the needs of the federal government, the union pressures, and Ford's command of the plant, the Ypsilanti Board of Commerce changed its name to Ypsilanti Chamber of Commerce and once again made a concerted effort to attract more industry by improving city services like police, fire, and roads (Marsh, 1970).

In 1950, Chamber President-elect Durant said in the *30th Annual Report* that one goal of the Chamber was to strengthen the ties of business and education, specifically job training programs, so that youth develop into good citizens. To this end, the Chamber sponsored a junior achievement program in the early '50s to encourage future businessmen and sponsored a "Salute to Industry" as Ford celebrated its 50th anniversary (Marsh, 1970). In 1962, the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) was created by Chamber members to promote the growing role of industry in the area by securing land for development and expanding local city services to keep current industry like the Detroit Ball Bearing Company (Marsh, 1970). With the opening of Washtenaw Community College in 1966, the IDC worked to develop a pre-vocational attitudinal training program through WCC, building on the promise made during the campaign that WCC

would serve as a training ground for local businesses. The industry training continued with an IDC plan in 1970 to “dovetail a plan with WCC to offer curriculum helpful to local industry” (Marsh, 1970).

With Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti having the highest populations and most of the industry, the Chambers’ leaders wielded influence over the business of the city leaders. Out-county areas like Chelsea, Dexter, Manchester, Whitmore Lake, and Saline had local chambers, but unlike the Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti chambers, the chambers of the out-county areas served along with many other smaller groups like the Rotary or other fraternal organizations to support their communities, which diffused their power to impact or dictate change as dramatically as in the larger cities. The Chelsea Chamber of Commerce was established in 1947 “to advance the economic, civic, commercial, industrial, cultural, and educational interests of the community” (Connelly, 1984, p. 67). Similarly, Manchester businesses were represented by a chamber of commerce, valuing their local businesses that supported the farming efforts of the area (Schneider, 1967). These two out-county areas differed from the northern part of the county made up of Northfield Township and the Whitmore Lake village that lacked such cohesiveness as the southern region.

Whitmore Lake was originally a summer resort area for many Ann Arbor residents in the late 1800s. In the 1940s, it was reported that there were more than 200 cottages, a hotel, two resorts, and eight boat liveries on the lake, in addition to the permanent homes in the village proper (Towns, 1993). This area changed, though, after WWII. With the in-migration of many Kentuckians to the Ypsilanti area to work at the Willow Run bomber plant, many of these new residents were looking for permanent homes and communities (Hennings, 1985; Peterson, 2013). Because the Whitmore Lake area had many cottages for summer use, many of these “Ypsi-

tuckians” moved to Whitmore Lake due to the low cost. This, however, created what many residents from the southern part of the county called a “low-class hamlet” (Hennings, 1985, p. 223). Due to the economic and social differences from the north of the county to the south, Whitmore Lake continued to be an area of the county that wealthier families avoided, choosing instead to move to areas like Chelsea, Dexter, and Saline to be out of the city. To this day, the southern areas of the county have a more developed business district and attract more visitors, creating a much different culture and community. Being relegated to the “low-class hamlet” station, the Whitmore Lake area has not been represented in the activities of the community college through student enrollment or elected positions in any way commensurate with the western and southern portions of the county

Following WWII, many communities across the nation had to concentrate on building the industry and businesses in their areas to replace war-time enterprises. For Ypsilanti, this meant working with the city in the area of housing, expanding fire and police services, and improving sewer and water services (“Community Post-War”, 194-; Marsh, 1970). The Ypsilanti Board [changed to Chamber] of Commerce helped the Kaiser-Frazer car manufacturer keep its government contract to build cars to meet the demand of the public after car manufacturing was stilted during the war (Ypsilanti Automotive Heritage). This meant that Ypsilanti and Willow Run would be able to keep thousands of residents employed at the former bomber plant (Figure 4.14). Use of the bomber plant would continue after Kaiser-Frazer’s departure in 1953 when Detroit Transmission, later General Motors Hydra-matic, took over the plant in 1954 (Ypsilanti Automotive Heritage). With such a significant number of residents depending on industry at Willow Run, Ypsilanti leaders would give great support to training partnerships between GM Hydra-matic and WCC once WCC opened, again supporting the purpose of the college as a

training ground offering retraining and pre-training programs. Having a stable and growing industry in the area was celebrated by the board members and used to give the group credibility and power to make decisions for the area in the decades after the war.

Kaiser-Frazer at Willow Run



Kaiser-Frazer Body Assembly Line at Willow Run



Circa 1950 aerial photograph of the Kaiser-Frazer plant at Willow Run where it operated from 1946-1953, including the Willow Run airport in rear and the Willow Cottage.

1949 photo of body assembly line and storage of the Kaiser-Frazer Corporation at Willow Run.

Kaiser-Frazer, UAW and Government Officials



Circa 1950 photo of Kaiser-Frazer Corporation executives with United Auto Workers officials, including (on the far left) John Burton (1910-1992), K-F employee and UAW representative and later mayor of Ypsilanti (1967-68); Henry J. Kaiser (third from left), Chairman of the Board of Kaiser-Frazer; and (sixth from left) Walter Reuther (1907-1970), President of United Auto Workers from 1946 to 1970.

Figure 4.14. Willow Run photos.

For the Ann Arbor area, similar to Ypsilanti, there were great efforts to draw new industry and not rely solely on the auto industry or education. The Ann Arbor Chamber members and representatives from UM believed that one way to draw businesses was to create a research park, and the Ann Arbor area was not alone in this endeavor. In the 1950s, North Carolina was seeing a decline in its economic health with changes to the furniture, tobacco, and textile industries. In looking for a replacement for these industries, the Research Triangle Institute (RTI) was formed in 1958. Using the physical space between Duke University, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and North Carolina State University, an Act of the General Assembly in 1959 created a location to attract research labs, increase employment opportunities, and increase funds per capita. This research center was modeled after those in Palo Alto and at Princeton, and research institutions like the University of Michigan were also vying for partnerships with industry (Link, 2002). Helping the University of Michigan live up to this new focus, the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce throughout the late 1950s and into the 1960s began marketing Ann Arbor as the Research Center of the Midwest for both medical research and engineering (Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, 1961, Box 2 and Box 3). This push for the research center created a need for new infrastructure and staffing to support this expansion, and a community college in the county was thought to be a wise addition to the area.

In 1957, Cecil Creal, manager of the Godfrey Moving and Storage Company, was appointed by the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce as the Chairman of the Economic Development Committee (Mayors, 2015). Creal, who would go on to be the mayor of Ann Arbor from 1959 – 1965, was also the father of Richard Creal, one of the first Board of Trustee members for Washtenaw Community College. In a letter to President William MacDonald of Economy Baler Company in Ann Arbor, Creal wanted MacDonald to serve on his committee to

seek out new industry and research facilities for Ann Arbor (Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, 1957, Box 3). Also in 1957, Bill Bott, the manager of the Chamber of Commerce, received a letter from Stuart Walsh of an industrial planning firm consulting with the Chamber and UM highlighting the work Princeton University was doing in establishing an research park, stressing that Ann Arbor should emulate the work in Princeton and plan with great effort so as to avoid having Ann Arbor fill up “with less desirable types of development” (Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, 1959, Box 3). Throughout 1958 and 1959, the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce continued to “sell” Ann Arbor and saw a willingness of the people to accept new industry that was generally quiet and odorless, according to internal reports of the Chamber of Commerce (Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, 1959, Box 3). In other words, industry growth would be accepted if it met the needs of the Ann Arbor professionals who controlled the local businesses and the University of Michigan.

In a February 1959 memorandum on economic development from the Chamber’s Economic Development Committee, the chair stressed the need to continue to build the relationships and connections with city hall and the UM. He noted that the major problem in getting a research park started was the competition for land with sewer and water services. The committee pledged to “continue our close contacts with the University and the city. And we shall encourage area wide planning in the hope it will clearly indicate the areas into which we can agree industry and research should move” (Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, 1959, Box 3). By 1960, there were some reports of success in diversifying the industry base to include the University of Michigan, Parke Davis & Company, Bendix Systems Division, and American Metal Products Co. of Detroit. An editorial from the *Ann Arbor News* (1960) said that “This is the area of ‘new frontiers,’ not only for Ann Arbor but for Michigan, a state which has unusual

natural resources, a highly skilled labor force and – most importantly – a strength in education which may well be the major deciding factor in growth of the future” (Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, 1960, Box 3; “From Our Point of View.”). The overlap between the University of Michigan, the University of Michigan medical center, the Ann Arbor Chamber, and state government was praised in the editorial for bringing such possibilities of economic growth for UM and local businesses, especially the federal monies appropriated to UM to build a cyclotron for energy research. This growth in research and the need for trained technicians would be one of the talking points during the efforts to create Washtenaw Community College.

At this time, the members of the Ann Arbor Chamber were focused on marketing Ann Arbor as the Research Center of the Midwest. To this end, the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce members worked to align its many sub-committees as members connected with the business and political groups in the area. In the *1961 Progress Report* issued by the Chamber, the report not only discussed its efforts to work with the Ann Arbor School System to ready students for the workforce, but noted its work with the Ann Arbor Board of Education to survey the community about the addition of a community college that would be able to train recent high school graduates and retrain the unemployed or underemployed for the expected growth in technical positions to support the engineers working at the research park (Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, 1961, Box 3; Bott, 1981). As there was interest in the idea, the Chamber recommended that a county-wide group be put in place to complete more comprehensive work on this issue, stressing that the Chamber would be happy to cooperate in any way with a new survey (Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, Box 3). Therefore, the primary reason for Ann Arbor businesses and public schools to support a community college would not be to prepare students just for transfer like the junior colleges of yesteryear, but to create a place where non-college

bound graduates could go for training, and recent high school graduates and those needing retraining could go, all while using county-based funds to offset the cost of in-house training for local businesses and the planned research park.

The Chamber also reported on its continued work with UM representatives appointed by President Hatcher in order to facilitate more contacts and interest in Ann Arbor. Federal-Mogul laboratory was first to purchase a site in the new Research Park near Interstate 94, south of Ann Arbor. University leaders were so interested in the success of the Park that in 1962 Marvin Niehuss, a University of Michigan vice president, helped to create a joint economic development committee between UM and the Chamber of Commerce, stating that “The University of Michigan will continue to play an increasingly active and vital role in the community’s economic development” (Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, 1962, Box 3). With this, UM and Chamber leaders were aware that they were not primarily looking to offer students of the county the chance to earn transfer credits in order to attend the University of Michigan or other four-year schools. Instead, they were looking to take the many young people of the county and train them to be research and medical technicians for the research center and the medical center as these programs did not exist at the UM, and resources would not be diverted from its fundamental task of educating professionals. For the Ypsilanti area and other out-county areas with automobile and other light industry needs, a community college could train this group of students as well and serve as a re-training location when needed. As a public institution, fire and police units from the county could also benefit from a common training ground funded by the community as seen in Table 4.3. Although transfer programs would be available, it was the focus on the vocational aspects the community college could offer that was discussed with the local businesses.

Table 4.3

WCC Training Outcomes

INPUTS	CORE	OUTPUTS
High school graduates, drop-outs, or non-traditional, returning students, minority and working class students	Industry/job training Pre-training	Workers for GM Firefighters and Police Officers
	Research technicians Medical technicians	University of Michigan medical center and research park
	Transfer programs	Eastern Michigan University University of Michigan

As part of both the institutional level and the task environment of Washtenaw Community College depending on their level of involvement, the relationships established between the leaders of the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce and the University of Michigan would in time prove valuable as the county inched toward the creation of the college. In fact, without the leaders in Ann Arbor and at the University, it is likely the community college would have never happened. This group of leaders had a plan in mind long before the public was convinced that a community college would benefit the students of the county. It was also at this time that the task environment in which the community college would operate was solidifying. Throughout Washtenaw County, the business and government leaders involved with the chambers of commerce and members of the elite civic and educational leadership circles in the county, primarily residents of Ann Arbor, had to find a way to bring the prospect of the community college to the public.

Moreover, in bringing this idea forward, the leaders of the initiative had to convince the public that the support of the institution was a public good and would make the county stronger economically, safer from petty crimes due to idleness, and create opportunity for well-paying jobs for more people. In the end, the leaders in Ann Arbor were able to build on a number of

surveys conducted by various public bodies in the state. Although the 1963 *Citizens' Survey of Washtenaw County Community College Possibilities* would serve as the primary piece of evidence to support the petition for a community college between 1949 and 1965, there were no less than 12 studies produced and used by state and local leadership to rally public support for public education, beginning with Public Act 225 of 1949, creating the *Guide for an Area Study*, influencing the creation of additional guides (Figure 4.15), sponsored by the Michigan Department of Public Instruction (Bureau of School Services, 1963; Michigan Department of Public Education, 1949).

The Foundation of an Idea (1949 – 1965)

FOREWORD

More than thirty counties and scores of communities have initiated an Area Study Program since the passage of Act 225, Public Acts of 1949. Thousands of interested citizens in these counties and communities with the cooperation of local school people are making a serious inquiry into the educational conditions and needs of their area.

A tremendous amount of effort is being expended in the study of the different phases of the total educational program. The many fact-finding committees are compiling significant data. Countless hours are being spent in the analysis of and in the interpretation of these data. Much of this effort will be lost unless facts about present conditions and problems facing communities can be presented to the general public in an understandable manner.

This bulletin is designed to assist those groups who are responsible for reporting the findings and their implications. Presenting information to the citizenry is an important phase of the Area Study Program, as common understandings are a prerequisite for successful action programs.



Superintendent

Figure 4.15. How to Complete an Area Study (Michigan Superintendent of Public Education, 1957).

In 1947, the Truman Commission released its report *Higher Education for an American Democracy*. In this document, there was a clear call to action by the federal government regarding the need to evaluate and plan for the changing educational landscape across the nation as more students saw education as a means to social mobility, thereby increasing the pressure on four-year schools to develop programs and/or space to accommodate the changing student body. This also meant that leaders of elite institutions had to find a way to protect their programs and secure funding for research projects that brought recognition and power to the schools. To this end, many states and counties took the time to conduct surveys. For Michigan and Washtenaw County, there was no shortage of educational and economic studies that all reiterated the same theme of tax support for education, with at least 12 conducted over a 16 year period (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4.

State and County Educational Studies

1949: *Guide for an Area Study*, Michigan Department of Public Instruction

1950: *Making an Area Study*, University of Michigan

1953: *Washtenaw County Area Study School Improvement in Washtenaw County*, The Citizens' Committee on the Washtenaw County Area Study

1957: *How to Complete an Area Study*, Michigan Superintendent of Public Instruction

1958: *Final Report of the Junior and Community College Study Commission to the Governor of Michigan*, Junior and Community College Study Commission

1958: *The Final Report of the Survey of Higher Education in Michigan*, John D. Russell for the Michigan Legislative Study Committee on Higher Education

1959: *The Public's Picture of Higher Education in the State of Michigan: A Statewide Survey Conducted for the Association of Governing Boards and Presidents of State Universities and Colleges of Michigan*, University of Michigan. Survey Research Center

1960: *Six County Study of Community College Needs*, Citizen Advisory Council

1961: Community College Survey Committee formed under the guidance of Raymond Young, University of Michigan

1963: *Citizens' Survey of Washtenaw County Community College Possibilities*, Bureau of School Services, University of Michigan

1963: Governor Romney's Blue Ribbon Committee on Higher Education appointed and begins study

1965: *Report of Citizens Committee on Higher Education in Michigan: Reports of the Six Study Committees and a Consolidated and Summary Statement of Findings and Recommendations.*

Beginning in 1949, there were many reports and surveys at the state and local levels as war veterans settled in to their post-war lives, which for many meant a return to school, marriage, and starting a family. In 1949, the Michigan Department of Public Instruction released Bulletin No. 1020 *Guide for Area Studies*. This was followed in many counties in the state with area-specific guidelines for these surveys. For the Washtenaw County area, the *Making an Area Study* (1950) was published by the University of Michigan in the early 1950s with a forward by State Superintendent Lee M. Thurston and Dean James B. Edmonson, dean of the School of Education, at the University of Michigan, noting that

As this bulletin goes to press the Area Studies program is scarcely fifteen months old. Nevertheless it has already demonstrated itself as a popular and serviceable means of educational improvement. The reasons are now plain. An Area Study allows the people to deal in a very direct manner with their educational problems, and to do it in a way wholly consistent with American traditions of local educational control. It puts squarely in the hands of the people the power to transform their educational ideals into action. It tends to enlarge the view of the citizen to educational dimensions that correspond with the other broadening aspects of his life. And, moreover, it enables community serving agencies, such as the University of Michigan and the Department of Public Instruction, to make their services available and effective by reaching at once many communities with common educational concerns.

These educational concerns or “problems” included out-of-date facilities as some schools did not have indoor plumbing, transportation and attendance issues, lack of certified teachers, and low completion rates, areas that had been all but ignored during WWII. Therefore, the goal for the Washtenaw County Board of Education as discussed during their October 1949 meeting was to

sponsor a study that was a “sincere inquiry into educational needs and conditions of the area” (Washtenaw County Board of Education).

Using the guides, Washtenaw County educational leaders and community supporters released a 1953 report by the Citizens’ Committee on the Washtenaw County Area that focused on issues of school improvement for the county. This report, and many of those that followed throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, stressed a sense of urgency regarding education at all levels by many of the state and educational leaders as they were equating economic success with educational success, and there was concern over the increased number of college-age adults born during the baby boom after the war. The narrative from these reports stressed that these young adults would “need” an education, and the public had a responsibility to provide (i.e., pay for) just that.

One key player at this time was Harlan Hatcher. Harlan Hatcher was the president of the University of Michigan from 1951 to 1967. During his tenure, he saw many changes to the University and to higher education throughout the state of Michigan. As the University of Michigan had been the flagship for the state’s post-secondary programming, Hatcher saw himself not just as the leader of the UM, but that his opinions and decisions were influential and considered by many of the leaders throughout the state (Hatcher, 1958). In a 1964 speech at the Alumni Clubs’ Legislative Dinner, Hatcher summed up his feelings about his and the University of Michigan’s role in response to a *New York Times* article with the headline “In 1966, Half of Us Will Be Under 25.” He said in his speech,

Because my mission here tonight is to talk to you about The University of Michigan, I particularly invite you to think about that headline and its meaning for the University.

What are our responsibilities to this one-half of our population? To be more fundamental,

what are the responsibilities of the State of Michigan to these young people? I suggest that we are obligated to provide these millions of young people with two things. First, an education, Second an opportunity to use that education—in other words, a job. (Niehuss, 1964, Box 14)

Hatcher seemed to see his role as creator and director of educational endeavors and programs, programs that would surely be designed to preserve the preparation of professionals of the University, while creating a system to manage the growing number of students.

One major change Hatcher saw while in office was the increase in state appropriations as the student population increased. In 1958, fiscal support for higher education was \$80 million, but by 1970 that had risen to over three times that amount to \$250 million (Faverman, 1975). Years later, Hatcher noted that 1951 was the last year of the GI bulge, and the Michigan legislature began to increase appropriations based on student population projections that were being closely monitored by the college presidents and state leaders. There was concern by the leaders about where the students would go as the student population would exceed the space in four-year schools and could compromise their mission of training professionals (Faverman, 1975). Therefore, community colleges or other less prestigious four-year schools would have to prepare the mass of students expected.

In many ways, the growing student population and the 1957 launch of Sputnik made people from many backgrounds see a new value in a college education and that education, especially higher education, could and should support the interests of the nation. Just as the GI Bill created a mechanism to manage the returning veterans after WWII, the increase in appropriations through the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in 1958 was not only going to students at established colleges, but the funds were also used to support students at many new

schools, both two-year and four-year (Hunt, 2017). With the NDEA, there were now loans available for students, particularly those interested and skilled in areas of science and math, in hopes of attracting more students to post-secondary studies (Hunt, 2017). The Federal involvement along with the state's efforts to encourage post-secondary work did make way for more students to enter higher education. In the mid-1950s, the University of Michigan and the Michigan State College of Agriculture (Michigan State University in 1964) were beginning to turn away students because of space; this was part of the impetus for the University of Michigan branch campuses in Flint and Dearborn (Faverman, 1975), allowing the best to attend in Ann Arbor and the rest being served at the branches, continuing the efforts of the University to be selective in its admissions.

Another report that state and university leaders used to sell the value of education as a public good to be supported by tax money can be seen in *The Public's Picture of Higher Education in the State of Michigan: A Statewide Survey*, completed for the Association of Governing Boards and Presidents of State Universities and Colleges of Michigan by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center in 1959. Fueling the study was the rise in the number of students seeking a college education as the personal value attributed to and the accessibility of higher education since the end of WWII had grown. Therefore, there seemed to be a shared understanding among the leaders in higher education to deal with the pressures: "It becomes necessary for officials in educational institutions to understand the view points of the public, and for the public to understand the actions, policies, and needs of these institutions" (*A Preliminary Report*, 1959, p. 1). In the background to the study, the authors recognized that although there had been many studies, none had covered the public's point of view, a point of view that is from "the informed public or the politically active public, or the public that

contributes financially, or the public that makes a fuss” (p. 1).

This study collected data from a relatively small sample of 950 adults over the age of 21 selected randomly from 17 geographical areas in Michigan who lived in “dwelling units” as defined by the 1950 US Census—house, trailer, boat, or apartment, but not rooming houses, military bases, or institutionalized settings (*The Public’s Picture*, 1959, p. 72). This report considered the sample based on occupation (blue-collar versus white-collar), geographical location (rural versus urban), and level of education in the statistical reports. Different from other studies at the time, this study presented “administrative implications” stating that “the data presented here do not necessarily define the path of administrative policy. Rather, these data should be seen as part of the information that is needed before administrative policy can be most intelligently charted” (*A Preliminary Report*, 1959, p. 5).

Framing this study in the time, the state and nation had come out of the war having operated under federal mandates and controls set up for the war effort, but by the late 1950s, control was becoming much more regional or local, making funding for projects regional and local as well. For the state of Michigan, state and educational leaders were forecasting the growth of a student population that would mean to them the expansion of higher education, including the community college, so the universities would not need to alter the mission of preparing a select group of students for professions and leadership roles. Therefore, this report sought to set out practical responses for the administrators in order to justify such expansion of community colleges and increased taxes for higher education. In particular, the study developers wanted to look at the “possible tie-in between the aspirations for parents for themselves and for their children...with special stress placed on occupational mobility” (*A Preliminary Report*, 1959, p. 7). However, placing stress on this particular concept presumes that the respondent had

this notion already, biasing the study.

This study did not ask respondents about familiarity or expectations as related to the junior or community college, but instead looked to find out what people believed to be the “pay-off” of getting a college education. Respondents noted that success would be in the area of job achievement and salary, but not for the sake of a liberal education. The idea that a job meant success for many of the respondents was also indicative of the response to K-12 related questions. In a question about the nature of the K-12 system, over 50% believed that schools should do something additional like offering more science and math, likely connected to the national discussion after the Sputnik launch in 1957, and vocational or practical training. Another significant finding noted that of respondents who planned to have their kids go to college, 35% would pick a college if it was close to home and/or the child could live at home while in college. Additionally, this percentage can be added to those who would pick a college based on low cost (12%), giving rise to a call for local colleges. As this study seemed to be designed to find out what administrators and state leaders only wanted to know, this study would be used to begin to lay out a plan to market the community colleges based on vocational programming, lower cost, and proximity to home, while securing the universities’ desires to continue a selective enrollment process (*A Preliminary Report*, 1959).

The state and regional studies and reports continued throughout the state during this time, seemingly trying to determine how to best frame asking taxpayers to support community colleges along with other public institutions. In the 1960 report *Six County Study of Community College Needs: Citizens Advisory Council Final Report*, the work of 85 residents of Wayne, Washtenaw, Macomb, Oakland, Monroe, and St. Clair counties was compiled to reflect the “public’s” desires (Citizens Advisory Council). Building on the work of the Sebastian Martorana

in the 1957, Staff Report #1 completed for the Russell Report, the 85 residents—educational or business leaders within each respective community—of these counties were concerned about the expectation that student growth would double by 1971, according to the reports of the 1950s. To accommodate this growing number of students, the community college was identified by these leaders as the most efficient way to offer post-secondary education as many students could not afford to attend, did not have the preparation, or they lacked the desire to attend a four-year school.

Additionally, the reports stressed that business leaders wanted an institution that placed emphasis on specialized technical-vocational work that students directly out of high school were not ready for, and the community college became the carrier for these programs. Therefore, like the Russell Report, the six-county study recommended that at least five community colleges be established immediately, housed on local high school campuses or in new facilities. Funding for these schools would be a combination of state funds, tuition, and county taxes. The report also noted that creating these new schools meant ensuring that teachers were ready for these programs, both of a technical bent and traditional liberal arts training. This implied that each region would have to continuously research to track community and business needs, attract trained educators for a variety of programs, and maintain facilities to meet such variety of instruction needed. In the foreword of the report, the cost of not acting on the recommendations is clearly noted by the Citizens Advisory Council (1960) in the *Six County Study*:

To fail to plan adequately now will cost much in the future. It will cost many individuals the opportunity of higher education. It will deny to these individuals the opportunity to make their maximum contribution to themselves, their communities and their nation. It will rob the Six County Area of skilled and trained men and women. And it will do all

these things at a time when our country needs to maintain world leadership in science, technology, and—perhaps most important—moral and ethical conduct. (p. i-ii)

This “call to action” referencing national security and long-term growth would continue to be a sentiment used by leaders to sell the idea of funding for higher education, especially the community college, as without education, the nation would be pulled asunder. For university leaders, many saw “one of the many advantages of a network of two-year junior colleges is that this saves the four-year institutions from having their seams burst by mushrooming masses of more or less immature and untried freshmen and sophomores” (Chambers, 1960, p. 17). No matter the motivation of the many people involved with these studies, education was going to be in the news. Moreover, the community college would be in the headlines throughout the 1960s. These headlines would frame the need for a community college based on data collected from the surveys, the changes in legislation impacting education, and the call by business leaders for a better trained talent pool from those cultural groups like the Southern African-Americans, Southern Whites, and Immigrants, whose parents had come for work during WWII. These desires would be manifest in a new post-secondary institution that would not have just traditional transfer courses for those interested in attending four-year schools, but an equally important core to train and manage students for semi-professional work not requiring coursework beyond two years. Therefore, the core functions of the institution were going to be defined more clearly by the institutional agents—school districts, local universities, business community—as the community college became more common place and leaders sought legitimacy of each institution (Figure 4.16).

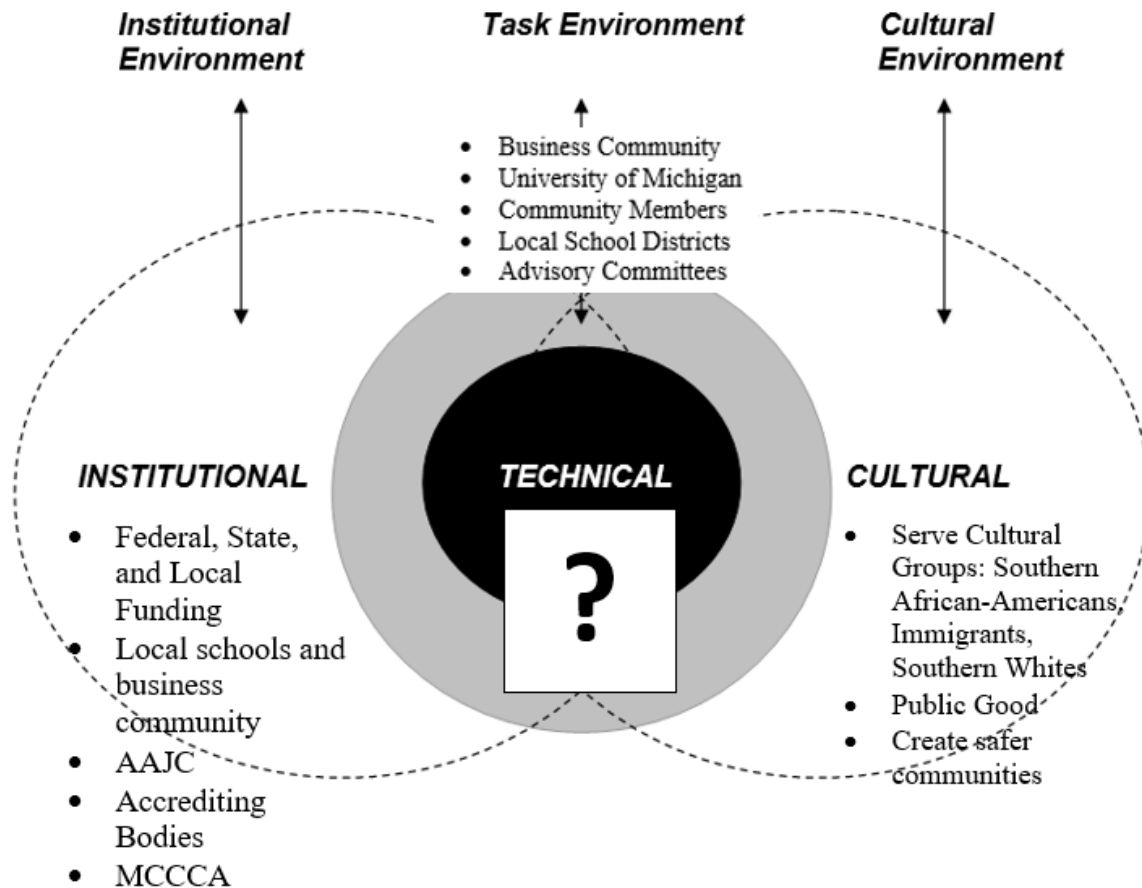


Figure 4.16. The evolving core of Washtenaw Community College (adapted from Muwonge, 2012).

The University Guidance

“The University of Michigan strongly endorses the establishment of additional community colleges in Michigan...For many young people, the community college can be the difference between technological unemployment and socially desirable productivity. The universities must be prepared to receive and train advanced students with the ability and desire to go on to graduate and professional work. The community college can well locate and provide the preliminary training. The University of Michigan is ready at all times to aid in this important development” (Hatcher, 1963).

The growing community college movement was of great interest to UM’s President Hatcher, and he took a clear position regarding support for them throughout the state and in Washtenaw County. In a 1963 letter to Dean James C. Browning of Port Huron Junior College

(now St. Clair County Community College), Hatcher congratulated Browning and the College as it celebrated its 40th anniversary. He praised how Port Huron had become an integral part of the community, offering students self-improvement and transferable programming (Hatcher, 1963, Box 35). President Hatcher was also encouraged in a 1963 letter from Raymond Young, director of the Community and Junior College Administration Institute at the University of Michigan through the Center for the Study of Higher Education, to continue his support of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation grant to train community and junior college administrators as Young expected up to fifteen new community colleges to be added in Michigan (Hatcher, 1963, Box 35; Young, 2001). Directors like Young had received grants in 1961, and Young (2001) reported that “in spite of admonitions in the late 1950s that state level planning for public two-year college development was a state responsibility and that establishment should be preceded by an adequate study of needs for programs and conditions pertaining to finance, location, and facilities, by 1965, the demand by the public expressed through various groups including chambers of commerce, was overwhelming” (p. 7). For WCC, the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce would play a crucial role in the creation of the college.

In 1963, Hatcher was also solicited by other county committees studying possibilities of establishing a community college to write letters of support that could be used for publicity campaigns in their counties. In a November 13, 1963, response to a request by a Berrien County community college president looking to expand the school’s programming to a county system, Hatcher heartily endorsed the proposition stressing the importance of training programs that would serve the local communities, not necessarily transfer programs:

Because of the long and happy relationship that The University of Michigan has had with community colleges, not only in the State but elsewhere in the nation, I am happy to

respond to your invitation to send you our thoughts about the need for community colleges. The University of Michigan strongly endorses the establishment of additional community colleges in Michigan... For many young people, the community college can be the difference between technological unemployment and socially desirable productivity. The universities must be prepared to receive and train advanced students with the ability and desire to go on to graduate and professional work. The community college can well locate and provide the preliminary training. The University of Michigan is ready at all times to aid in this important development. (Hatcher, 1963, Box 35)

Despite Hatcher's obvious support of the community college to aid in the training, he was not advocating accepting transfer students. For the University of Michigan, it would encourage transfer programming at community colleges insomuch that the students transferred to other four-year schools like Eastern Michigan University that had less selective admissions processes. In fact, not all of Hatcher's policies were well received as was evident in both the Saginaw and Flint areas as educational leaders competing for resources feared that UM was seeking to further control the educational market in the state.

When Delta College, the two-year college in the tri-county area of Saginaw, Bay City, and Midland, was established in 1958 by absorbing Bay City Junior College, there were already plans by the Delta leaders to transform to a four-year institution when it opened in 1961 as a community college (Saginaw Valley State University, 2016). In November 1962, State Representative Lester Begick chaired a committee to study the need and feasibility of establishing a state-supported four-year college in the Saginaw Valley area. President Hatcher was invited to a hearing to present his views on this need. As President Hatcher was out of the country, he did not attend the meeting. However, according to a December 1962 letter from

President Hatcher in response to Representative Begick, the Delta Trustees “invited” the University of Michigan executive leadership to discuss becoming a branch campus similar to Flint and Dearborn campuses. Hatcher assured Begick that the UM understood the broad implications of its actions and was only trying to best serve the students of the tri-county area in considering Delta’s proposal, a proposal that had already moved to a preliminary plan between the two institutions, so the desire of the University of Michigan was really one of expansion first and foremost (Niehuss, 1962, Box 9; Hatcher, 1962, Box 35).

Unlike the support in the establishment of the University of Michigan senior college programs created in the 1950s in Dearborn and Flint, there were state and educational leaders who did not believe that the University of Michigan should use Delta to expand, and these leaders promoted the creation of an independent college that would develop separately from both Delta and the University of Michigan. Primarily, Dr. John Jamrich from Michigan State University led the charge against the expansion of the University of Michigan, which he felt would mean more funding from an already thinly stretched budget and a chance for UM to gain even more leverage throughout the state. Consequently, the Begick committee was quick to be concerned about the presumptive nature of the plans between the schools as the legislative committee had not come up with an appropriate recommendation. Also in the letter Hatcher wrote to Begick in December 1962, Hatcher stressed that the UM representatives had accepted an informal invitation to talk about the branch idea and the “initiative clearly located with the Delta Board” (Niehuss, 1962, Box 9; Hatcher, 1962, Box 35). Hatcher went further indicating that a branch would only be established outside of Ann Arbor if there were both strong interest from the community and legislative support. He ended by stressing that the UM’s goal was only to serve the public as needed, but other college leaders saw Hatcher’s actions as a way to gain

more power through appropriations and multiple campus locations. Nonetheless, progress continued on the part of Delta's President Samuel D. Marble and UM representatives with a formal statement about a cooperative understanding between the UM and Delta on January 5, 1963 (Hatcher, 1963, Box 35).

As the UM regents were approving a resolution to recommend negotiations between Delta and the UM, Representative Begick was releasing the recommendations from his committee, which did not support the University at Delta plan. Still, on February 1, 1963, Hatcher reported to the UM regents about the substantial progress, ending his report with "there is a growing awareness among the thoughtful citizens of the State of Michigan regarding the University's integrity and sense of stewardship" (Hatcher, 1963, Box 35). Essentially from November 1962 to April 1963, the battle between the leadership at Delta, University of Michigan representatives, and Dr. John Jamrich, Michigan State University consultant to the Lester Begick higher education study committee for the Saginaw Valley area, was documented in the newspapers in Saginaw, Lansing, Flint, Detroit, and Ann Arbor ("Finances," 1963).

Despite the swirling controversy, the Delta Trustees and University of Michigan executives had progressed so far as to have planned for the University of Michigan to begin offering courses as early as fall in 1963. In plans submitted to Marvin Niehuss, executive president of University of Michigan, Dean Joseph M. Stokes of Delta submitted a report in March 1963 outlining faculty needs and faculty-sharing between the two schools, including costs. This was in contrast to Dr. Jamrich's recommendations as early as December 1962 insisted that the Saginaw Valley area needed Delta and a separate four-year institution as was suggested originally in the Russell report of 1958 (Niehuss, 1962, Box 8). Attorney John Riecker, a UM alumnus and Delta Trustee 1964 – 1968, wrote to Marvin Niehuss on January 14, 1963, summing

up the concerns surrounding the branch idea. Riecker said, “I can explain my concern another way. If the U. of M. absorbs Delta it is possible that Michigan State University will claim a ‘turn’ in succession. Undoubtedly, they will go after a medical facility in Grand Rapids. I would hate to see Michigan lose this ‘goose and gander’ game” (Niehuss, 1963, Box 12). For Riecker, he feared that if each school continued to reciprocate in a “turf war,” the Michigan brand would be harmed in the process by ceding some of its respectability to add to an already full coffer.

At last, the issue found some closure. In the article “Feud Subsides: U-M Halts Fight for Delta Branch,” Governor Romney wanted a four-year school in the tri-county area, but he would have to wait for the final word from the Blue Ribbon committee due in 1965 before making a final decision (*The Detroit News*, April 10, 1963). Although the general public was not privy to the many facets to this debate, Representative William Boos from Saginaw County’s first district summed up the branch scheme the best in a letter to Harlan Hatcher on April 3, 1963, just before the news of the doomed deal was made public:

It is most distressing to me to watch a so-called coordinating council of governing boards of our state colleges and universities unable to coordinate anything of significance. It is equally distressing to see a Council of State College Presidents unable to agree on many matters of substance, and now engaged in a massive power struggle to see if all can get their ‘fair share’ of the coming expansion of higher educational facilities in Michigan. In short, we have now witnessed the onset of open warfare in the public higher education establishment in Michigan—including, I might add, the active participation of the community college group.

In the end, the state granted a charter to Saginaw Valley College in November 1963 to establish a private, four-year liberal arts school that would be initially housed in the basement of

Delta College and run by the President Marble of Delta (Saginaw Valley State University, 2016). Marble resigned his position at Delta to focus solely on Saginaw Valley College as it considered its move to its own campus. After the release of the Blue Ribbon committee report in 1965, Governor Romney signed legislation that bypassed any battle by the state house or senate members to convert the private institution to a state-supported school. Saginaw Valley College built its campus on the northern edge of Saginaw County in 1967, within five miles of Delta College, essentially fulfilling the plan submitted by Dr. Jamrich in 1963 (Saginaw Valley, 2016; Niehuss, 1965, Box 14).

Having learned from this experience, Niehuss found himself advising a UM regent in January 1964 to proceed with great caution when Delta President Marble again approached the UM to support the new senior college, requesting only confidential discussions. As Saginaw Valley College would soon be converted to a state-supported school, these discussions likely never went further. What is important to note is that this drama was playing out while plans for a community college in Washtenaw County were being quietly controlled by members of the UM staff, who served on the Citizens' Committee or worked closely with the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce. Because of the negative publicity over the Delta branch, the UM leadership through the Citizens' Committee on the county college made strong statements about its neutrality in the process, stressing the "citizens' voices" and the county needs. During an August 1964 annual meeting of the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, Robert Harrington, chairman of the Citizens' Committee, reminded the members that the citizens' group "studied the need for a community college for 1 ½ years...there is a demonstrated demand by county youths and employers for a post-high school program" ("Community College Plan to be Aired at C of C Annual Meeting, 1964). Although there were UM representatives present, the stress was on the role of the citizens.

This process was in line with Young's work where he had observed that support of community colleges would only come when the voting public had a voice in the process, albeit a contrived and controlled process. However, the leaders or institutional agents would not be silent the entire time, but, instead, step in when they would not be seen as directors of the community college endeavor.

As issues with Delta were being played out in public, the UM was also embroiled in a disagreement in Flint about expanding the branch to accommodate the students applying to the University of Michigan. In 1963, Hatcher received a letter from Norvin Holm, President of the Faculty Senate at Flint Community Junior College. In this letter, Holm expressed great concern to Hatcher that for the second time that year, the University of Michigan had publicly announced plans to expand services at Flint College of The University of Michigan to include the first two years, the same two years that Flint Community Junior College was offering (Hatcher, 1963, Box 35). The faculty resolution made it clear that adding the first two years would be a duplication of services and that UM should not be allowed to create additional branches as it would not serve the public and would strip away the role of the junior college. A final point in the faculty resolution recognized the need to expand higher education, but for Flint, it would be better to have a four-year school develop outside of the established traditions and patterns of the University of Michigan. This sentiment captured the same concern held by those in opposition to UM's work at Delta as well.

Hatcher's response to the letter gave assurances that if and when any conclusions were reached, it would be done only after the Liaison Committee, made up of members of the Flint Board of Education and the University of Michigan—not Flint Junior College—had given “full and careful consideration” and that any acceptable plan “must be one which would result in

benefits to the Flint community and to its existing educational system” (Harlan Hatcher, 1963, Box 35). Again, Hatcher framed his argument for expansion on public need, while others saw efforts by UM to secure additional appropriations through the accumulation of branches. Essentially, Hatcher disregarded Holm’s concerns and used his position as the head of the University of Michigan to make the deals he thought best for his institution, not Flint Junior College.

The expansion of the University of Michigan’s senior branch in Flint to a four-year institution and the establishment of a four-year school in the Saginaw area would not be fully settled until 1965. The publication of Governor’s Romney’s Blue Ribbon committee findings stated that “The Committee believes that with these two additional four-year programs the state will be adequately supplied with such educational programs and campuses for at least the next decade and possibly considerably longer” (*Report of Citizens Committee*, 1965, I-A8). In the meantime, smaller public colleges and universities continued to fight for their appropriations as the growth and interest of the student population in higher education put stress on their institutions as well, yet they did not have the same resources with which to fight (Michigan Council of State College Presidents, 1952 – 1985). Although the University of Michigan was not able to establish a branch campus in conjunction with Delta College, it did expand its programming in Flint and Dearborn by the end of the 1960s.

It could be seen that UM’s public efforts in Saginaw, Flint, and Dearborn to expand its reach and control over educational endeavors in Michigan offered a distraction to the role of the UM in influencing the creation of a community college in Washtenaw County. Representatives from the University of Michigan continued their quiet efforts to support the establishment of Washtenaw County’s community college. Although the UM was directly involved in the creation

of survey materials and the publishing of many supporting documents, credit was given to the citizens working this “grassroots” endeavor. Also, unlike issues related to Delta, Flint, or Dearborn, all publications to this point in time stressed that the new college in the county would not duplicate services but provide an industry training ground for Washtenaw County residents who neither met the UM standards nor could afford the UM’s tuition. This was an idea that was being embraced by local business leaders that looked to a publicly-supported training facility and local school districts that hoped to use the training facilities for high school students who may not have the skills needed for the job market. Using the many surveys and reports to justify the actions and supports for a community college, the county leaders were well on their way of making it a reality.

The “Johnny Appleseed” of Community Colleges

“May I add that The University of Michigan is wholeheartedly in support of the proposed Washtenaw County Community College and is ready to offer its resources and talents to make the plan a reality” (Pierpont, Vice President Business and Finance, University of Michigan, June 15, 1964).

Planning for Washtenaw Community College meant negotiating relationships among local leaders, the chambers/boards of commerce, the state government, and the University of Michigan as early as 1959. Cooperation in and out of county would be required to bring WCC to fruition as local businesses, school districts, and leaders lobbied for a college to support their interests ranging from training to safety and security. However, for leaders in the State of Michigan, the leaders fed on an urgency noted in the many surveys, reports, and newspapers over the years to provide post-secondary programming to meet the needs of the growing student population, creating a window of opportunity never witnessed in the state before or since. Helping guide the leaders of Washtenaw County was Dr. Raymond Young from the University of Michigan, who would become known as the “Johnny Appleseed” of community colleges for

his efforts to promote the institution.

Dr. Raymond Young, the chairman of the community college survey committee, earned his Ed.D. from the University of Colorado in 1950. After completing his dissertation on junior colleges, he continued his research on the junior college at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, focusing on the general legislation related to the public junior college. Although all of the states he reviewed had differing legislative provisions regarding the junior or community college, he noted the flexibility this provided each state (Young, 1951). His recommendations from his study were for each state to use the prior 30 years of experience with the junior college across the nation as a guide for enactment or revision of legislation as the junior college was the fastest growing educational institution of the time. In 1955 Young co-authored with John Grinnell, Dean of Instruction at Indiana State Teacher College, *The School and the Community: Educational and Public Relations*. The authors noted that the purpose of the book was to help define how good school and community relationships are both public relations and educational relations. Further, they said that “a community which understands and appreciates its schools makes a more effective contribution to educational activities” (Grinnell & Young, 1955, p. iv).

In chapter one, authored by Young, he specifically embraced a comprehensive, cooperative, partnership approach to develop school-community relationships. It was this framing of the institution/community roles that he brought to the junior college movement across the nation as he worked with more than twenty states to develop or reorganize junior-community colleges, and it was this process he brought to Washtenaw County. For Young (2001), he believed that

in those days of the late 1950s and early 1960s, it was necessary to persuade and

convince citizens in an area that they needed a two-year college if they were to vote favorably for one. The best method to neutralize dissent was the involvement approach to determining if conditions supported the notion of a new public college in their midst. The citizen's involvement approach is an educational process which can proceed only over sufficient time to permit thorough discourse of study findings as they are developed. (p. 3)

In other words, those leading an endeavor to establish a community college needed to learn about what the voters were willing to support, and to what lengths they would go in that support, especially in the case of a new institution with which there was little familiarity. Understanding the voters would help the local leaders turn their desire to have a public post-secondary training ground into a reality—the leaders had to find a way to make their agenda palatable to the public and even make it seem as if the public could not do without the new college.

Young's work with Washtenaw County came as a result of his employment at the University of Michigan in the Center for Higher Education, which he accepted in 1959 (Young, 2001). Although Young worked throughout the country, in the 1960s he was directly involved in fourteen different Michigan county or multi-county studies directing comprehensive citizen participatory studies with the outcome of establishing a community college: Allegan Alpena, Berrien, Cass, Clare, Escanaba, Gratiot, Isabella, Kent, Montcalm, Northwest Wayne, Roscommon, Shiawassee, and Washtenaw (Young, 2001). As the process in Washtenaw County took 6 years from the start of the process to the millage vote, Young's approach may have been considered long, but the result was a school that solidly passed the original millage and would garner little negative publicity over its 50 year history. The time needed to either wear down the opposition or make voters comfortable with the idea gave the school leaders time to capitalize on

the support gathered initially, allowing the early leaders to move forward unfettered by negative feedback. As Schattschneider considered, “What happens in politics depends on the way in which people are divided (p. 60). Therefore, Young’s goal was to understand the possible conflicts and understand how to move the line of cleavage that would allow for support of a new college. In many respects, it would boil down to the public’s willingness to pay for other people’s education in hopes that the overall community (i.e., each voter) would be safer and more economically sound in the end.

The process Young developed and helped facilitate with the local leaders of Washtenaw County officially began in 1959 with a request to the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce by the Ann Arbor Public Schools Board of Education President Harlan Bloomer to consider the establishment of a community college in the county. The conversations that spurred this action are long lost to time, but considering the junior or community college studies during the late 1950s and the national imperative to educate the youth to compete with Russia after the launch of Sputnik, the largest and most powerful school district in Washtenaw County could capitalize on the popular idea of a post-secondary training ground. This publicly-funded school would partner with local businesses to create job training and be a place to direct recent graduates or drop-outs students to who could not or did not want to attend a four-year school like University of Michigan or Eastern Michigan University.

The Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce with its history of helping create jobs in the community quickly moved on the request by the AAPS board, sending out over 90 surveys to local businesses (Ann Arbor Board of Education, 1960; Creal, Box 1). After results of 52 returned surveys were compiled, members of the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce and later the Washtenaw County School Officers Association, a committee sponsored by the Washtenaw

County Board of Education (later the Washtenaw Intermediate School District [WISD]), began to plan the next steps that would mean expanding the survey and using help from the experts located conveniently at the University of Michigan. The survey results indicated that 40 of the 52 respondents would hire people who had two-years of technical training beyond high school, especially in the areas of drafting, clerical, and bookkeeping (Figure 4.17). As this survey was clearly labeled “Community College Preliminary Survey,” there was little question that the training would come from this new institution. A survey designed as such leaves little room for an opposing view. Hence, the outcome was always in mind as this process began in 1959.

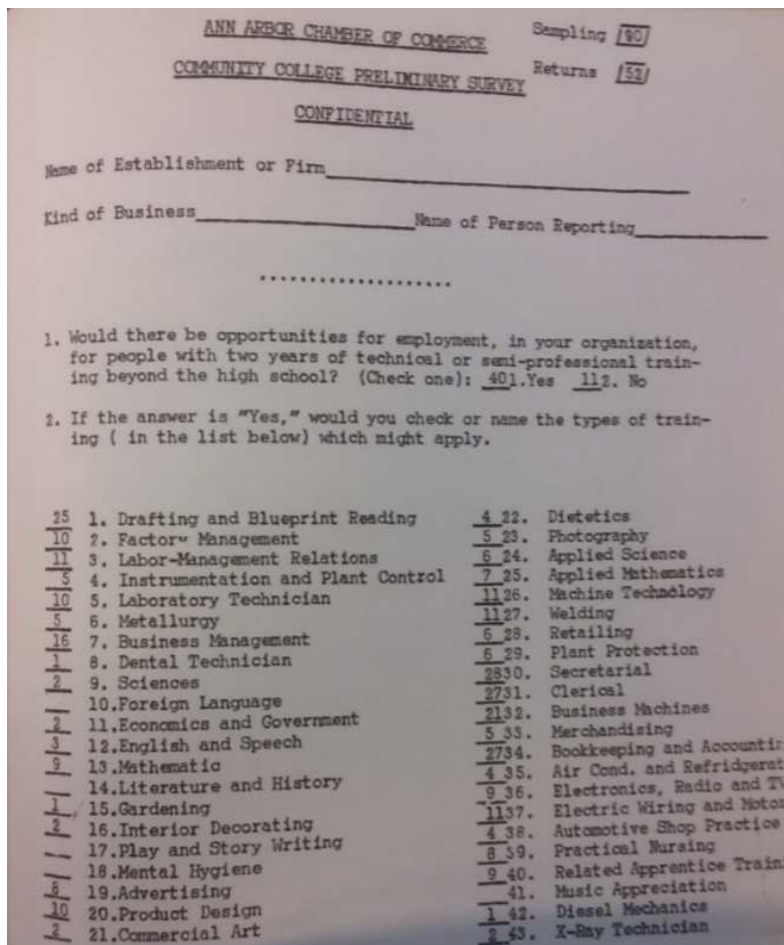


Figure 4.17. AACC community college preliminary survey.

Elvira Vogel, an active county resident and trustee for the Washtenaw County

Intermediate School District, would later recall that a Washtenaw County community college would provide an alternative to the four-year universities and be a place for those with “particular skills or interest that needed to be developed...and [the public would] be grateful for it.” (Vogel, 1981). Again, her focus, like other leaders at this time, was to create an institution that would support the primary role of training, unlike Harper’s role of transfer coursework. In the end, local chambers of commerce, clubs, unions, PTAs, businesses, and local colleges put their support behind the creation of a new community college that was marketed for those residents not currently being served in the county by existing businesses and educational institutions. With the idea of a vocational function for the school, this also meant that the students for the school would be of a certain class or status as it would help with student drop out, suggesting that the new school would keep students off the streets and out of trouble while training for one of skilled or semi-skilled jobs within the county (“Community College,” 1962). The local newspapers would regularly follow the creation of a community college in Washtenaw County (Figure 4.18).

“Group to Discuss Community College”
The Michigan Daily (January 1960)

“Favors Vocational School”
Ypsilanti Press (September 1962)

**“Community College at Earliest Date: School Drop-Out Problem Will Get Worse Here,
Committee Says”**
Ann Arbor News (September 1962)

Figure 4.18. Headlines from local papers 1960 – 1962.

Early news reports shared the initial survey work of the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce with Raymond Young from the University of Michigan directing (Reistman, 1960). Funding issues and placement of a community college near other institutions were certainly

concerns at the time. However, executive director/manager of the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce Bill Bott noted the success of Lansing Community College established in 1957 in the shadow of Michigan State University. He said that a community college in Washtenaw County would offer training and education that was not available at the four-year schools in the area and at a lower cost to the student (Reistman, 1960). In the February 1960 Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce News Letter to its members, the Education Committee reported that the state-wide survey [likely the 1958 Russell Report] had indicated that a community college in Washtenaw was needed, so the purpose of the Chamber's initial survey was to validate the recommendation, especially as Ann Arbor was building itself to be the "Research Center of the Midwest" and would need skilled technicians who could be trained at a community college (Creal, 1960, Box 1). The Chamber, with the call from Harlan Bloomer to consider a community college, set the stage for the findings in November 1960.

The Education Committee was ready to present its findings to the Ann Arbor School Board on November 14, 1960, according to AAPS board minutes. Education Committee member James McDonald, committee chair Bill Bott, among others, presented the results of the survey given to local businesses about the need for a community college (Ann Arbor Public School, 1969). Of those surveys returned, 40 businesses felt that the area could use a community college to train individuals as it would allow the businesses to defer the cost of training people in-house. The initial survey results were labeled confidential, but it was recommended that additional parties join the conversation to determine the next step of the process and not allow the Chamber's work to be interpreted in an unfavorable way by others. This group was bent on protecting their idea and work from the opposition, if there were to be one. One can only assume that this group wanted to be sure how this information was handled as it became more public. If

the general public came to believe that the business community was trying to foist a new project with new taxes onto the voters, the initial momentum might be lost. It was important that this plan be presented as an educational endeavor and not a business decision in order to capitalize on the power that education had at this time in history.

At the December 14, 1960, AAPS Board meeting, Superintendent Jack Elzay planned to meet with the superintendent of the Washtenaw Intermediate School District (WISD) in early 1961 so that the county board could be updated with the work of the Education Committee (Washtenaw Intermediate School District, 1960; Ann Arbor Public Schools, 1960) and connect with the county-wide educational committees sponsored by the WISD. Once the county board became involved, the Washtenaw County School Officers Association, made up of representatives from each school district, took up the cause and began to pull in other school district representatives. For Ypsilanti schools, trustee John Montonye was appointed by the Ypsilanti Board president to represent his district on the community college committee, so now the two largest districts were represented and supportive of proceeding to the next step (Ypsilanti Public Schools, 1961). It is worth noting that these initial steps happened without direct connections to UM or Eastern Michigan University (EMU), although UM was indirectly connected through ties with the Ann Arbor Chamber, but EMU did not share similar connections. The University of Michigan leaders familiar with this endeavor remained quiet in their support so as to let Young's process of "growing" community acceptance to blossom.

As the work progressed after the initial survey of the local businesses by the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, John Paup was named the chair of the Education Committee (Chamber of Commerce, 1961, Box 3). He replaced McDonald, and a seven-member team was created to continue to work on both the community college survey and begin exploring needs and locations

for a new high school in Ann Arbor at the request of the Ann Arbor Public Schools (AAPS) Board. AAPS trustee Robert Harrington, former mayor of the City of East Ann Arbor and member of the Washtenaw County Board of Supervisors in the 1950s, would play a key role in the establishment of the community college in Washtenaw County (Harrington, 1982). Robert Harrington, named one of the initiators of the Citizens' Committee, said the cost of the survey would be no more than \$3,000 for the AAPS district. The Board pledged to support some of the cost if needed (Ann Arbor Public Schools, 1961). The Ypsilanti Public School Board would also offer \$3,000 toward the survey, passing a resolution on November 10, 1961 (Ypsilanti Public Schools, 1961)).

No other information in the many schools' board minutes or found in local news indicated any push back to the consideration of a community college. However, there were some indications of what might be driving school districts' support. As the community college plan unfolded, one possible outcome of having a community college was the chance that a new school would also support high school vocational programs that were so very costly for the district, so a \$3,000 investment considering this prospect could pay off in the end for the districts. Therefore, with the support of the two largest districts of Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, guidance from the WISD, and the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, work could begin in earnest toward the establishment of the community college using Dr. Young's established methods.

Having a primary role in the community college development, Robert Harrington, elected president of the Washtenaw County School Officers Association in 1961, recalled in a 1982 oral history some of the particulars surrounding the development of a community college in Washtenaw County. Harrington, one of the original members and chairperson of the Committee for Washtenaw County Community College, or Citizens' Committee, came to Ann Arbor in

1949, while a pilot for American Airlines. During 1953, Harrington was elected to the Pittsfield Number Nine School District, a K-8 district, and subsequently helped to transition the district to Ann Arbor School District. In 1955, Harrington was elected mayor of East Ann Arbor, a town of about 2,500 people, and, shortly after, the people of East Ann Arbor voted to be added to the city of Ann Arbor. Once this town was absorbed by the city of Ann Arbor, Harrington was appointed to Washtenaw County Board of Supervisors by Mayor Creal, a term which lasted for about three years (Harrington, 1982). He was then elected to the Ann Arbor Board of Education in 1960 and then appointed to a committee to determine if it would be feasible or advantageous to have a community college in Washtenaw County. The Citizens' Committee eventually developed into an independent committee that was not directly endorsed by any of the local school districts; instead, the committee had representatives from each of the county districts that had high schools appointed by the Washtenaw County School Officers' Association. Once the appointments to the committee were set in late 1961, the committee's name became the Committee for Washtenaw County Community College ("Will Survey Need," 1961; Harrington, 1982).

Armed with the results of the Ann Arbor Chamber's survey to the local businesses, the support from the Washtenaw County School Officers Association, and the resources of the University of Michigan, the Ann Arbor Public Schools adopted a resolution on Oct. 11, 1961, approving continued financial support for a more comprehensive survey of Washtenaw County business leaders and residents concerning the community college, this time led by a Citizens' Committee representing the county's interests (Ann Arbor Public Schools, 1969). By November 1, 1961, Harrington reported to the AAPS Board that the community college survey was "off the ground" and all but three districts had pledged support of the project. In "Will Survey Need for CC Here" (1961) the work of the committee was made public; however, much of this work had

been done already by the AAPS and the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce in preparation for the public release of the project carefully watched and manipulated by UM's Raymond Young.

The article addressed the goal of the in-depth county-wide study, which was to determine if a community college was needed in the county and the ability to finance a new school. The only person named in the article was Dr. Young as the consultant on the project, with the University willing to pay for any expenses beyond what could be committed by each district or group. In the end, nine groups would pay for the \$15,000 survey: Washtenaw County Planning Commission - \$5,000; city of Ann Arbor—\$2,000; Ann Arbor Board of Education—\$2,000; Michigan Employment Security Commission—\$2,000; Ypsilanti School Board—\$1,000; Ypsilanti Board of Commerce—\$1,000; University of Michigan—\$1,000; Willow Run School Board—\$500; Eastern Michigan University—\$500 (Creal, 1962, Box 6). For each of these groups, their goals were slightly different; some represented business interests, some looked to support K-12 programming, and some wanted to find a “place” for those students who may not fit the university model. They all used the idea of education as an example of a way to preserve and safeguard our society for future generations. This would mean that the creation of this new school must have one production function for training and re-training for skilled and semi-skilled professions while offering liberal arts courses that would “round-out” the student and/or allow a few to move on to four-year programs.

The article went on to name each of the county groups involved and identify how the sub-committees were formed, but it did not name the county representatives as school boards and chambers of commerce were in the process of submitting names to Harrington and Young. The article also reported that the survey would be completed by June 30, 1962, with results ready in August 1962. These completion dates were far too optimistic, as the report was not completed

until 1963. The slower pace was due in part the naming of the sub-committees. It was not until February 1962 that the Ann Arbor City Council had made its appointments to the committee, and the work was officially sanctioned by the Washtenaw County School Officers Association and the University of Michigan, Bureau of School Services (Council Proceedings, 1961/62). For all of the groups that had been part of the early conversations, they would become part of the Citizens’ Committee, but the University of Michigan leaders continued to guide the work, making sure to fulfill the original goal of bring a community college to Washtenaw County (Figure 4.19).

Input	<p style="text-align: center;">Community College</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Served as boundary spanner • Bridge and buffer • Label and sort for the institutions dominating the institutional environment 	Output
Local High School Students		University of Michigan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hospital • Research Centers on campus
Non-traditional Students		General Motors
Drop-outs		Ford
Workers in need of additional training		Local Businesses

Figure 4.19. Goals for Washtenaw County community college.

In the meantime, Harrington relayed to the AAPS Board on November 1, 1961, that three school districts had not yet committed, but one was in the process. Despite Harrington’s assurances that the other school boards were in support, the Saline Area School District members nearly sent a letter noting their lack of support (Ann Arbor Public Schools, 1969). In January 1962, the Saline school board discussed a response to the Saline Area Civic Association’s request from Harrington to participate and support the survey. The members voted on a motion to send a “terse response that ‘we feel it is neither our legal or moral province to enter into discussion or financial support of a Community College survey’” (Saline Area Schools, 1961-62). This motion was defeated 3 to 2, and according to the Board’s minutes, the issue of participation with the community college project would not be broached fully until November

1964. At this time, the members agreed to send someone to work on the advisory committee as the millage vote was just two months away, despite having received an earlier invitation in December 1963 by the Washtenaw County School Officers Association to be involved (Saline Area Schools, 1963-64). Part of the early resistance may have been because the district was facing failed millages and growing debt throughout the 1960s as the area was shifting from primarily farmland to a mix of industry and subdivision creation, so there was little option for the district to provide financial support while tending to its own bills. The Saline Area Civic Association [similar to a chamber of commerce] not wanting to be left out did take up the work regarding the survey, but of the many people involved in the survey, only two members of the final committee were from the Saline area (“Four Named,” 1962).

The Chelsea News picked up the story in May 1962 in the article “Progress Report on Community College Survey.” In the article, it focused on the many area representatives, highlighting the process of conducting the survey, to determining methods for the collection of data, the data collection, and data interpretation. Dr. Young reported that the initial findings showed that the county was supportive in general of educational programming evidenced by millage votes and bond approvals. Harrington, the committee chairman for the survey, noted that any recent millage defeats were more about how well the electorate understood the issue before voting (“Community College Status Told,” June 1962). Therefore, Harrington said that the local Chambers of Commerce were working with local businesses to determine the need for a community college and a report was expected to be distributed to the public by November 1962, attempting to “help” the public understand the initiative properly. However, what was really happening was that the leaders had already decided to support the development of the school, so the true goal was to convince the public that it was in their best interest to support it and believe

that the idea had been generated and cultivated by the community.

Used to support the premise that a community college was needed in the county, the Ann Arbor Youth Commission reported in September 1962 that the commission was quite concerned about the local drop-out rate, and Nicholas Schreiber, chairman of the commission, said that there must be a community college established as soon as possible, along with a variety of other interventions:

It is the view of the commission that we have literally hundreds of youth in this country who would profit from such an opportunity. Our society cannot afford to lose the contributions of these young citizens; nor can we afford the consequences of unemployment of untrained youth. Our community has an urgent responsibility to meet the needs of those youth.” (Park, 1962)

Issues related to “trouble-causing” youth were also part of the discussion with many of the county’s education boards. During the November 1962 meeting, the board members discussed that districts had reported that many students, whether graduating or not, were causing trouble because they were idle most of the time. The group stressed that one help could be a community college that would offer terminal programming. The county board, now called the Washtenaw Intermediate School District (WISD), firmly believed in espousing the “merits of the community college” to the county (Washtenaw Intermediate School District, 1961-65) and wanted to address the voting public in its mailings and postings. In essence, the reports and meetings served to “prime the well” and stress the dire needs of idle youth, needs only the community college could solve.

With the community college survey underway and receiving positive press coverage, the representative nature of the process may have been a bit of a show. In the Board Proceedings for

Ypsilanti Schools on April 9, 1962, the Board was notified by the community college committee to send choices for site locations to the committee by the end of the month (Ypsilanti Public Schools). Even though the college was years away from becoming a reality, decisions about site location were already being explored. This could have been a matter of simply providing the committee with ideas or it could have been to define this endeavor as much as possible so that the electorate could fully “understand” what they were voting for as Harrington noted in the June 1962 interview (Harrington, 1962). Alternatively, it could be evidence that those running or funding the committees would move their ideas forward under the guise of the committee, establishing privately which group would get what in the process. The Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce Education Committee felt that “a community college is needed due to the changing character of the community and because of the research and development facilities coming into Ann Arbor” (Creal, 1962, Box 6). This “changing character” could have meant the growing number of students expecting to attend post-secondary programs, but it was more likely referring to the increase in Black students entering the post-secondary world as the Civil Rights movement was gaining momentum; nonetheless, those involved with this campaign had to be persistent and patient as the process was so lengthy.

With such support from the elite of Ann Arbor, the process to establish a community college in Washtenaw Community College moved forward with little friction as the public report was completed. In an interim report from Raymond Young to Mayor Creal in May 1963, Young was “very much surprised that only a very small percentage of our high school graduates enter these [local post-secondary] institutions” (Creal, 1963, Box 4). Noted in the release of the *Citizens' Survey of Washtenaw County Community College Possibilities* (Bureau, 1963), of the 36% of high school seniors surveyed who indicated post-secondary desires, only 13% would

attend the University of Michigan or Eastern Michigan University (p. 63). Further, the survey indicated that population and urbanization in the county must be considered when planning the location and programs for the college. This specifically focused on the concentration of the non-White population on the eastern portion of the county where the rate of unemployment was also higher.

Moving beyond creating a school to manage just those in of low socioeconomic status or from minority group, a theme of serving the entire community would underpin much of the 1964 campaign that expanded the idea of creating a college for just vocational studies. Instead, the college was framed as, not only, having a strong vocational bent, but there would also be opportunities for traditional freshman/sophomore course work toward associate degrees or even transfer options for those students interested in advanced work. To appeal to the voters, the community college would have to become a bit so something for everyone for it to become a reality. For the businesses, the school would have to be willing to work as partners to develop the right kind of employee. For the school districts, the long-term goal would be to have a school that could help with students who were not on the traditional college track through training programs or even adult education after leaving high school. For the community leaders, there was hope that through education, people from various minority backgrounds or of low socioeconomic status would have an outlet other than to succumb to idleness. For the University of Michigan, it would when needed create partnerships with the community college, but primarily, it could continue to be selective in admissions using the community college as a buffer, even as pressures of desegregation and access spread through the country. Finally, for the community members, there would be post-secondary programming within reach, feeding the long-standing myth of mobility and success through education. Of course, to manage all of these

groups, those leading the endeavor needed to carefully manage how the information was released, making sure that the “citizens” were clearly behind the work.

Launching the Campaign

The Citizens’ Survey Committee under Raymond Young’s guidance worked from fall 1962 through the summer of 1963 to prepare the report for the public, a year later than originally promised. Led by Raymond Young, the final committee was made up of 11 representatives from each school district (school officers association) and two of the out-of-county school representatives that shared a border with Washtenaw County. Representing local organizations, there were members from the Ann Arbor, Saline, and Ypsilanti Chambers of Commerce; Ann Arbor, Chelsea, Willow Run, and Dexter Parent-Teacher Organizations; and the Washtenaw County Farm Council. Completing the surveys and canvassing the county, four sub-committees with 9 to 13 members from across the county were responsible for gathering and interpreting the data. These sub-committees focused on history, growth, and development; educational needs and program; site and housing; and finance and legal (Bureau of School Services, 1963). All of this information was slowly being released to the public through local news sources (Figure 4.20).

“Washtenaw Community College Plans Launched”

Ann Arbor News (October 1963)

“From Our Point of View: Community College Idea Will Take Some Selling”

Ann Arbor News (November 1963)

Figure 4.20. Headlines from local papers 1963.

By fall 1963, Raymond Young and his team released a comprehensive survey of 192 pages titled the *Citizens’ Survey of Washtenaw County Community College Possibilities* (Bureau). This report contained data compiled by state and county entities regarding population,

land use, socioeconomic status, business areas, and any other demographics available at the time. Once this report was released, the process of sharing the information and deciding the course of action came next. *The Michigan Daily* ran a lengthy article on September 11, 1963. The article recapped the work done by the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce in 1960 and the leadership from the Washtenaw County School Officers Association (Benoit, 1963). The article highlighted the business and industry needs as the business leaders claimed that high school graduates did not have enough training for the current or future job markets. The article stressed the outcomes of the report, indicating that without a community college many high school graduates would be denied post-secondary education solely based on the high cost of attending a four-year institution. To sell this idea of a community college, the leaders within the committee chose to use the economic benefits, both in cost-savings and future earnings, as a positive. By stressing this point that appealed to a wide-range of the voters, the committee leadership was able to privatize or not share other motives like serving the minority population of the eastern portion of the county. Since Ann Arbor Public Schools was just beginning its desegregation process, it was easier to mask the fact a community college would be de facto segregation by many standards, highlighting access for all, whether training or transfer.

The *Ann Arbor News* followed with two more articles on October 30 and November 1, 1963. In “Washtenaw Community College Plans Launched,” reporter Mary Wallace (1963), who would do much of the *Ann Arbor News* articles about the community college project, restated the process up to that point, emphasizing that for the county representatives to request that the Michigan superintendent of public instruction authorize a community college district, only 25 signatures were needed, and these signatures would normally be board members or local educational leaders. However, participating members representing ten school boards would each

seek 25 signatures, making it appear as if there had been extensive cooperative efforts of the many districts when many had simply agreed and gone along with the original proposition by the initial committee from Ann Arbor. Further, on December 2, 1963, a public meeting would be held at Ann Arbor High School to build support for the endeavor and begin a plan to move toward a county election.

In spite of the lack of true discord with this project since it began in 1959, *The Ann Arbor News* did run an editorial on November 1, 1963, "Community College Idea Will Take Some Selling." The editorial made the point that it is easy to support a good idea, just not when that good idea is attached to a tax levy. It went on to say that Ann Arbor is quick to tout the positives of Washtenaw County regarding low unemployment and highest median family income in the state, yet the citizens' survey made it clear that Washtenaw businesses did not see that new high school graduates as workforce-ready, and nearly half of the county's high school graduates felt they had little or no guidance services in high school, a dig on the high schools more than on the community college prospect (Bureau, 1963). The editorial clearly pointed out the issues facing the leaders of this initiative: despite the obvious and agreed-upon value a community college might offer to the county, the young people of the county did not have the voting power or the tax base. Consequently, "the selling job will have to be done mainly by businessmen who expressed interest, in the school officers' survey, in upgrading the county's labor force" to meet local business leaders' needs and those of the budding research park in southern Ann Arbor. In the December 1963 minutes from the Ann Arbor Economic Development and Manpower Commission meeting, there was extensive talk of the need to "upgrade skills" and the community college would be key to helping endorse and run training programs (Creal, 1963, Box 4).

Although references to training and workforce development for local businesses would continue to be stated in conjunction with the initiative to establish a community college, the committee was also able to use the rhetoric surrounding the safety and security a community college education might provide, again bringing up concern over idle teens and dropouts damaging the good name of a community. Eric Bradner, president of Schoolcraft Community College, said that Washtenaw County was long overdue for a community college and the “policy of accepting high school dropouts above a certain age is ‘the salvation of cities’” (“County Bid Advanced,” 1963). Also during early 1963, the *Detroit News* ran a series of articles praising the rise of the community college in “Community Colleges Blooming” to exploring the turmoil of the youth in “Hordes of Jobless Dropouts Packs ‘Social Dynamite,’” “Dropouts Prove Schools’ Failure to Fulfill Needs,” and “Youth Problems Demand Action, Experts Warn.” As Bradner had indicated, training and educational opportunities at the community college would be a strong selling point to combat the problems of the youth that had been publicly documented, whether based in truth or just on fear. The next 15 months would be the critical time as the committee went public with the survey and petitioned for a millage. One step toward the vote was for the Washtenaw County Intermediate School District to issue its formal support, which was done on November 19, 1963 with the following resolution:

NOW THEREFORE, Be it resolved, that the Board of Education of the Washtenaw County Intermediate School District does by this resolution so determine to unequivocally endorse the aforesaid proposal to establish a community college in Washtenaw County, subject to the approval of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the registered and qualified voters of Washtenaw County.

NOW THEREFORE, Be it resolved, that the Board of Education of the

Washtenaw County Intermediate School District does by this resolution so determine that in the event that the afore-described proposal is approved for voting and eventually sanctioned by the voters of Washtenaw County, (the Washtenaw County Intermediate School District Board of Education), would spare no effort to cooperate with the Board of Trustees of such newly created Washtenaw County Community College District, in providing a diversity of high quality technical and collegiate level programs not presently available and for which the aforementioned study shows great need. (Washtenaw Intermediate School District, 1963)

The second of these resolutions presumes a level of certainty about this initiative. To support the ongoing efforts of the committee was expected, but the support of an unnamed board for a not-yet created school seems a bit presumptive, and like the location for the college was discussed early in the process, the plans for the college were well-developed long before the millage vote. Nonetheless, this issue would eventually go to the voters, and like Harrington noted in 1962, it all came down to how well the electorate understood the issues, or at least what the leaders wanted the public to understand. To the benefit of the committee, Ann Arbor and the surrounding areas were well-equipped to share information about this new school and clearly articulate how the “value” of the county aligned with the need for the community college.

Using the *Citizens' Survey of Washtenaw County Community College Possibilities* (Bureau, 1963), Young and his team were able to collect and present information about the county's history, growth, and development, a study of recent high school graduates high school seniors and fifth graders in the county, business and industry needs, and overall opinions and attitudes as related to education in the county (Bureau, 1963). Although the study was premised on the fact that the educational and business leaders, primarily from Ann Arbor and the

University of Michigan, supported this endeavor, the time put into meeting and sharing information with many voters along with the lengthy report gave the process credibility. In the conclusion to Chapter 1 about the general history of the county, it stressed the need to share “the full story regarding the needs of the County and the alternatives to the building of a community college...In general, the people of Washtenaw County have demonstrated a willingness to assume responsibility for an to financially support provisions for public education demanded by the times” (p. 30). Instead of framing this endeavor by showing pros and cons of a community college, the survey truly led readers to a conclusion that not supporting the community college would hinder economic growth and jeopardize the safety and security of the county.

Taking It to the Public

“The study provides a sound basis for future action by responsible authorities. The County School Official Association and supporting members of the survey deserve commendation for having followed a procedure in assessing the needs for a community college which is advocated by authorities in the field of higher education and required by the state approval agency. It is not the responsibility of the initiating agency and various other groups to take whatever action is deemed desirable. No effort should be spared to provide a diversity of high quality collegiate level of programs not presently available and for which this study shows great need. It is the soundest investment any American community can make” (Raymond J. Young, 1963).

With the help of Raymond Young from UM, the Citizens’ Committee was able to use the survey he had refined to find out what the public would or would not support when it came to a new institution and then use the gathered information to support the move toward an election. Independently, the school districts knew they could neither fund nor were interested in establishing a community college as the tax burden would be too high. In Michigan, the community colleges that were in the process of being established or had been established in the 1950s and early 1960s used the county lines as the boundary. In Washtenaw County, as Bott (1981) noted, the public, not the well-connected business and educational leaders, had some concern over the role of the community college as the county had the University of Michigan,

Eastern Michigan University, Cleary College, and the newly-established Concordia Lutheran College. In the news reports and meetings that took place from fall 1963 to January 1965, the message from the Citizens' Committee was clear: The community college would provide vocational education or terminal training programs that could serve the local businesses and industry of the area while offering a balanced two-year liberal arts program. Therefore, a strong selling point was that all of the county youth could have a chance to attend a post-secondary institution while the universities brought in students from all over the state and nation. It was valuable for the committee to define the population of students this new school would serve as it would be funded by local dollars. The goal, then, was to capitalize on the ability of the local community college to deliver a clear return on investment in the way of jobs for those who earned certificates or degrees from the college. Again, those championing this idea relied on the values and norms of access, equity, safety, and opportunity as expressed in the reports and meetings throughout the county.

In the final report compiled by Dr. Young, he wrote in the foreword of the survey saying that "in the interests of best serving the educational needs of post-high school youth and adults in Washtenaw county," The Washtenaw County School Officials Association, led by Robert Harrington and aided by representatives from University of Michigan Center for the Study of Higher Education Bureau of School Services, which was invited to assist, "initiated a study of community college needs and possibilities" according to the report (Young, 1963). In this report, Young told the public that an "objective, scientific, cooperative study was conducted," and the "members of the Citizens' Survey Committee deserve much credit for their conscientious efforts and many hours of work in pursuing this study." Young further stated that "the study provides a sound basis for future action by responsible authorities," which is "advocated by authorities in

the field of higher education and required by the state approval agency” (Bureau, 1963). Again, though, this study was not done to discover whether or not a community college was needed, but to determine how to best convince the public of its need.

Young (1963) concluded that the Washtenaw County region deserved diverse and high quality collegiate level programs and providing a community college to the region would be the “soundest investment any American community can make.” Framing the message around the work of the Citizens’ Committee that was only “aided” by the University of Michigan and the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, there were no indications of animosity toward the University for its involvement in the process, which was quite different than the battle over the University of Michigan at Delta plan that had been broiling in the Tri-city area and in Lansing since fall 1962. In news releases and presentations, those with direct affiliations to the University made an effort to be identified with other community titles before acknowledging the University, thus screening the University from possible backlash over its role. It is clear, though, from the forward of the survey who was behind the work as Young named the actual preparers of the final document, who were all University of Michigan students or employees, but included that each sub-committee had editorial roles in the final product. Robert Harrington was given the credit as initiator, but without the resources and support of the University of Michigan, completion and delivery of the survey materials would have been much more difficult.

As the 1963 citizens’ survey was complete, the process could move toward a possible ballot initiative, but there was much work to be done to bring the entire county to a point to support a millage, despite the sense of desire to have a community college in the county. Robert Harrington, the chairman of the citizens’ survey, recalled in a 1982 interview that Ann Arbor residents were first to support the idea enthusiastically, and Ypsilanti residents eventually came

around to supporting the idea but still had reservations about the funding of the school (Harrington, 1982). Many of the other school district members, which were much smaller than Ann Arbor or Ypsilanti, did not support the idea initially as they saw it as a “bleeding of the funds” that they were seeking from the county as well. For business school Cleary College, the Board of Directors was very worried about what a new institution would mean for the area, and they even feared a take-over of the college (Harrington, 1982).

While the community college study was occurring, there were a number of important and possibly influential issues being dealt with at the county and state level. In 1961, Ann Arbor began a project to create a community profile. In the December 1962 report *Ann Arbor—Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* sponsored by the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, it said that there were many forces acting on Ann Arbor area and due to the “inherent strong state of the economy...[it is important to be] taking advantage of national trends toward an education and research society” (Hatcher, 1962, Box 3). Harlan Hatcher, President of the University of Michigan, was also defining the findings from Governor Romney’s Blue Ribbon Campaign that hoped to offer how the state of Michigan would remain competitive and sound in the future as outlined in a report to Hatcher from the Governor’s office in January 1963 (Hatcher, 1963, Box 52). Part of the takeaway from the Blue Ribbon Campaign was the need for increased funding for higher education. In an open letter to Michigan Alumni from President Hatcher on November 15, 1963, he shared some of the early findings as the report would not be issued until 1965. He stressed that since higher education would need more money, it would mean more state taxes. He also noted that the community college is “indispensable” with the “potential for dealing with economic and social problems which is so seriously beset us now,” without noting what those problems were specifically (Hatcher, 1963, Box 52). A likely area of concern for Hatcher could

have been the population growth in the suburbs of the county and the urban unrest centered in Detroit (SEMCOG, 2002).

The consolidated report (*Report of Citizens*, 1965) for the Blue Ribbon campaign would clearly state that the community colleges should be independent institutions that complement the universities, each with a separate core technology. Moreover, the universities would be allowed to remain selective in their student admissions process, while the community colleges would be non-selective in their admission process. These schools would then be able to enrich each other as neither could do the job of the other. All of this hinged, of course, on the whether or not the residents and businesses of the state were willing to finance increased funding for schools in general. Even in the Ann Arbor area where business leaders were supportive of the idea of a community college that would offer technical training, support of a millage was not always given easily. Considering Schattschneider's (1975) displacement of conflicts, what was going to happen with this initiative depended on how the people would be divided. Therefore, the outcome would not "be determined merely by what people wanted but by their priorities" (Schattschneider, 1975, p. 66). Considering the various cleavages for each group or for each purpose as there was conflict between what local schools wanted and how the funding might be found. In the end, the desires of the University of Michigan and the local businesses would help the public support the funding of the institution. If businesses were not looking to support the community college through training partnerships or if the UM did not want to make sure the county would remain ripe for growth within for both its professional programs and need for semi-skilled employees, it is likely the concept for the school would never move beyond the public's general desire for more post-secondary educational opportunities.

Ultimately, the creation of a community college in Washtenaw County would come down

to funding for the election and getting the businesses to stand behind their interest in the community college. Harrington (1982) reported that funding for campaign materials was credited to Howard Holmes of the Chelsea Milling Company, who provided the funds to support the publicity needed before the election. When it came down to getting the businesses on board with the election, this task fell to President of the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher.

The University of Michigan Steps Up

For nearly 5 years, through the process of the initial Chamber survey of business and the comprehensive citizens' study, Washtenaw County businesses affirmed repeatedly that they saw benefit in a community college. However, after the release of the 1963 comprehensive report that positioned the county to seek a millage vote, the businesses needed to be helped along in their decision to ultimately support the establishment of the community college. Hatcher reported in an interview with Gerald Faverman (1975) that he supported the community college from the start but "Ann Arbor was loath to support a community college" (p. 791), yet this is an idea that is not fully supported by the research. Unfortunately, Faverman did not question "who" in Ann Arbor was not supportive. It could be assumed that Hatcher meant that local businesses did not support the tax burden a community college would bring because he saw the need to call together about fifty business people for a luncheon at the Michigan Union Anderson Room on June 15, 1964, to ask the businesses to give "seed" money to support the publicity campaign for the millage (Hatcher, 1964, Box 39).

In the luncheon invitation letter from Hatcher to Wyeth Allen, Professor Emeritus of Industrial Engineering at University of Michigan, on May 28, 1964, Hatcher reminded Allen of the careful survey that had verified the need for a community college, and he wanted to explore how a community college would "complement the existing educational structure in the area"

(Hatcher, 1964, Box 39). In essence, this invitation made clear that the only reasonable response was to support the community college issue. The original invitation list covered 59 businesses from all parts of the county, and 37 of those business leaders accepted the invitation. Guiding the presentation and discussion were Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce director Bill Bott; UM vice president of business and finance, W.K. Pierpont; president Hatcher; the Washtenaw County School Officers Association president, John Montonye from the Ypsilanti school board; and executive secretary of the Citizens' Committee for Community College, Wyeth Allen.

In the executive notes from the luncheon, President Hatcher was slated to give a speech entitled "Educational Need for Community Colleges," followed by discussion where some of the guests were already prepped to offer "reaction" to the community college proposition. In the meeting "script" that did not include a copy of Hatcher's speech, Pierpont, who was the master of ceremonies, ended with

We hope that you have enjoyed this meeting as have we who have participated in it. I want to thank those who have spoken to us and all of you who have come to listen. May I add that The University of Michigan is wholeheartedly in support of the proposed Washtenaw County Community College and is ready to offer its resources and talents to make the plan a reality. (Hatcher, 1964, Box 39)

One supporter of the community college who missed the luncheon was Howard Holmes, president of Chelsea Milling Company and educational finance chairman for the Washtenaw Community College Committee. He followed up with Dr. Hatcher on June 18, 1964, thanking Hatcher for the commitment of \$1,500 from the UM to fund the campaign and encourage local businesses to support the endeavor. Holmes continued in the letter saying, "I understand that you had a most inspiring and informative meeting on Monday. I know the Committee is most

indebted to you for this activity as well...I sincerely hope we will be successful in getting the needed funds for furthering the interest in this worthy project” (Hatcher, 1964, Box 39). In fact, it would be Holmes who would raise the final \$10,000 needed to fully launch the campaign to call for a vote (Reynolds, 2004). Without a doubt, President Harlan Hatcher was instrumental in the founding of Washtenaw Community College.

Once the funds for the publicity campaign were secured, the project leaders were now able to begin their work in earnest. The *Ann Arbor News* reported in “January Vote Planned on Community College” on September 16, 1964, that Wyeth Allen, UM professor-emeritus, would become the director for the community college implementation committee as he had been active on the Citizens’ Committee and a key member at the luncheon to rally local business support. Working with Allen, LeRoy deMarrais, faculty member at Schoolcraft Community College in neighboring Wayne County and Washtenaw County resident, would serve to coordinate the petition drive to collect at least 2% of the county voters at least sixty days from a proposed election date. Allen remarked that this process “must be a citizens’ effort,” and he planned to name the leaders from each school district for the informational campaign. Albert Coudron, a former president of the Ann Arbor Board of Education and then member of the WISD, affirmed that the community college would support technical and vocational needs of the local industry, and with his connections to Ann Arbor, he knew many of the business and educational leaders. These connections, then, made certain to proffer support for the endeavor in the community as reported by local news outlets (Figure 4.21).

**“C of C Members Told Community College Needed—And Soon”
Ann Arbor News (April 1964)**

**“Washtenaw Citizens Should Support Community College”
The Michigan Daily (October 1964)**

**“Creation of Community College Urged”
Dexter Leader (November 1964)**

**“Community College Drive Raises Important Questions”
Ypsilanti Press (December 1964)**

**“Two Candidates...and a College” (Editorial)
The Saline Reporter (December 1964)**

**“Some Questions on College”
Ann Arbor News (January 1965)**

Figure 4.21. Headlines from local papers 1964 – 1965.

Along with the Washtenaw Labor Council endorsement of the campaign, the support from county businesses was evidenced by their financial contributions to the project and their interest in the school since the initial surveys by the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, as reported by Robert Harrington, the acting chair of the implementation team (Harrington, 1982). By September 30, 1964, school district leaders representing Willow Run, Ypsilanti, Whitmore Lake, Dexter, Chelsea, Manchester, Milan, Saline, and Ann Arbor were named. A representative for Lincoln schools would be named shortly. Saline schools, which had remained aloof through this process due to its financial issues, did decide in November 1964 to send a representative to the advisory committee to work on the campaign, supporting the option that a community college might serve K-12 schools as well (Saline, 1964-65). From this point, district leaders would be responsible for guiding the petition drive efforts and the campaign for the millage set for January 1965.

In October 1964, once the campaign was truly underway, the media coverage increased. The Ann Arbor area had had a steady stream of coverage up to this point, but the smaller papers and those located in the rural areas of the county began regular coverage. The *Manchester Enterprise* covered the increasing college enrollment numbers, which far out-paced the estimated increases from the Russell Report of the late 1950s (Gross, "Exceeds," 1964). Gross (1964) also reported in "War Baby Crop Near Crest: Next Year Crucial for College Seats," quoting Dr. Lynn M. Bartlett, state school superintendent, who noted the need for better appropriations to hire more teachers and expand facilities for the influx of students on all campuses. In a separate article, "Need for Community College Explained" (1964), it was reported that Dr. Young spoke at Dexter High School to Milan, Chelsea, Dexter, Saline, Manchester, and Whitmore Lake community leaders stressing that "the high school graduates of which he speaks are 'good material' for higher education, but cannot today meet entrance standards at the University of Michigan and Eastern Michigan University." Young ("Need," 1964) went on to urge the "creation of a county community college with strong emphasis on post-high school occupational as well as academic education 'as the best solution to the problem.'" In actuality, this "problem" could have been the high number of students or the fact that university leaders had little desire to work with the under-prepared or lower socioeconomic students and were happy to use the community college to buffer their campus and long-held traditions. Nonetheless, Young's slow and steady efforts to engage the community was proving fruitful.

As the 1963 editorial in the *Ann Arbor News* hinted at, the high schools were not being held to doing a better job counseling and training students before graduation. Instead, the educational push from the 1950s into the 1960s revolved around the comprehensive nature of secondary schools to prepare some students for college while others received limited training for

entry-level jobs after graduation. With this, though, local businesses claimed that many students were not ready for the workforce upon graduation and favored training facilities for adults. It would not be until after the vote to approve the community college in the county that the intermediate school district would try to improve the course offerings in vocational training or clerical training by attempting to use the community college programs for eleventh and twelfth grade students. The hope of many districts was that the community college could serve as a central location that even high schoolers could attend as most districts and the WISD found programming cost prohibitive. This would not turn out to be the case in the long run, though.

In two more articles in *The Dexter Leader* and *Ypsilanti Press* from October 1964, the headlines, respectively, promoted the hope that a junior college can provide: “Junior College Called Hope of Teen Jobless” and “Industry Now Emphasizing Special Employee Training.” Following the same vocational theme, the *Chelsea Standard* ran the article “Community College Area Leaders Plan Campaign” (1964), highlighting the survey findings and the need to keep students in the county. Jackson and Schoolcraft community colleges, in neighboring counties, were both getting students from Washtenaw County who could not afford or did not meet the selectivity of the four-year schools. The end of the article made clear the position of its author or of the paper: “No public funds are being used to promote a Community College. All costs come from voluntary contributions of business, industry and individuals who realize that the entire area will profit, not just the students who enroll because education in a community goes hand-in-hand with the economy of that community” (“Community College Area,” 1964). This was an important point to be stressed as those behind the millage wanted to maintain the illusion that the process for the college was driven by the community members, not by governmental or school entities pushing an agenda.

Not to be left out, *The Michigan Daily* noted both the role of Wyeth Allen as the head of the citizens' group and its position on the proposed college in the October 25, 1964, article "Washtenaw Citizens Should Support Community College" (1964). This article is unique in that it reported on the work of other groups in the county working with the "culturally deprived student, the unemployed dropout or the high school graduate" and "laying the groundwork for the proposed college" and that "the proposed college is a natural outgrowth of programs such as these" (Fitzgerald, 1964). Fitzgerald finished saying that "the citizens of Washtenaw County cannot afford to let an opportunity such as the proposed college be defeated. The informed, conscientious citizen will vote 'yes' in January." This call to action regarding opportunity and access continued to separate the function of the community college from the university as the university leaders were not willing to dilute their core functions to serve local students, especially for the areas of industry training, which did not require traditional degrees, only training. Moreover, the lack of opposition seemed to indicate that there was little concern that the county would have too many institutions of higher education because the community college was not like University of Michigan or Eastern Michigan University and would capture many students who had no chance to attend a four-year school.

November 1964 saw the champions of a community college in Washtenaw County busy after the general election in the first week of November. At the Ypsilanti Board of Education meeting, Trustee Peters reminded the board that the process for the community college is "totally a citizen undertaking and that there is no direct endorsement from a college in the area," ("Jan. 15 Election Sought: County College Vote Drive Started," 1964). His statement was partially true in that no local college had come out to direct state support of the school, yet the citizens who did engage in the process were those connected directly with the University of Michigan or the

Ann Arbor school district. Peters was also reported saying that the new school would stress a basic liberal arts program, differing from other reports that the primary focus of the college would be vocational education although this seems to be the only statement made to this effect. This difference was important as the vocational programming was marketed to the public as a way to build community and create stronger businesses. If promotion of the liberal arts programming connected too closely to the universities in the area, it could have been grounds not to support another school that would only duplicate programs. Therefore, it was important that the focus remain on the value associated with training programs instead of the transfer programs.

To promote the millage, the campaign leaders also scheduled forums sponsored by local community groups like the Ypsilanti Chamber of Commerce or held at local high schools with representatives from the Citizens' Committee. Other local groups like The Business and Professional Women's Club of Ypsilanti passed resolutions in late 1964 of support of the community college and prepared materials for its members regarding the new school's board candidates (The Business and Professional Women's club, 1964; "Club Votes to Support College Plan," 1964), all touting the vocational or technical training that had been promised to them by the initiators of the original study. This training would be the way to engage the many members of the community who could not access the local universities, financially or academically.

By the end of November, all of the local papers had run articles about the campaign and listed the many forums scheduled to run through December and January. These forums continued the theme of "citizen-driven," ignoring the many representatives like Raymond Young from the University of Michigan who had helped with the reports. Young, although willing to address the public, always went back to the findings of the citizens, making it easy for the public to believe the narrative. Additionally, two local unions formally backed the college initiative as reported in

the *Ypsilanti Press*. The secretary of the UAW Local 898 from the Rawsonville Ford Plant on the easternmost edge of the county said the union “would do all in its power to help bring the college to Washtenaw County” (“Union Council Backs College,” 1964). Reported on November 27, 1964, the Washtenaw County AFL-CIO Council unanimously backed the community college with the council president saying it would “use all of its resources to make the college a reality” (“AFL-CIO Council Backs New College,” 1964). The crux of the publicity was not just to tout the merits of a community college for the area youth but to remind voters that the process had been driven by citizens and all funds were donated.


If November was all about the college proposal itself, by December the talk swirled around the candidates for the six Board of Trustees seats. By December 3, 1964, three county residents had already announced their bids for the six trustee positions. In this first group of three, two were members of the Citizens’ Committee and the third was a board member of the intermediate school district. By December 17, 1964, the *Dexter Leader* ran the article “38 Candidates Enter Race for Community College Posts” (1964), a number that was surprising as few races for public office generated such interest. Included in the group were a number of residents of the out-county areas of Dexter, Chelsea, Manchester, and Saline, four University of Michigan faculty members, five University of Michigan Staff members, three Eastern Michigan University staff or faculty members, five public school employees, four members of local industry, a handful of housewives, a student, and local professionals. There was general excitement about being part of a new school, especially one that would allow locals to flex their political muscle and be a noted decision-maker. This would also be the only time in the college’s history that candidates represented broad areas of the county and helped diffuse any ideas that the entire process had been clearly orchestrated by those affiliated with the University of

Michigan or from Ann Arbor. After the initial election, new members would come from Ann Arbor or Ypsilanti as these areas have the largest voting blocks and business centers. In the end, the six chosen would be connected to either Ann Arbor or Ypsilanti as the out-county area candidates did not or could not generate enough votes outside of their respective towns.

During the final run-up to the election, all of the local newspapers were running ads and articles, generally in full support of the community college. Also by this time in the campaign, endorsements from across the county had been made by many of the boards of education, city councils, village councils, civic groups, unions, and local universities. One civic group, the Business and Professional Women's Club of Ypsilanti (1965), issued a letter of support on January 5, 1965, in favor of a community college to give the people of Washtenaw "an opportunity of an education not now available to them," referring to training for semi-skilled, skilled, technical, and pre-professional jobs. Also, as part of their commitment to the community, the club's president issued support for one of the candidates for trustee, Marcia Potter, M.D. The president said that Dr. Potter sees that some kids are technically or mechanically-minded and others are academically-minded, so a community college would allow students, including adults, to develop at their own pace and to their own abilities (Business and Professional Women's Club of Ypsilanti Records, 1965). Statements such as these supported the idea that the new college would be for those not "fit" for the university, yet needed to support the county businesses, helping to maintain a safe and secure county while offering access and opportunity. All of this would feed into the final run-up to the millage and the subsequent advertisements in support of the community college (Figure 4.22).

THE PRESS Wednesday, January 13, 1965

the need is great



JAN 15TH

the time is now

EDUCATION for EVERYONE

VOTE YES

ON JANUARY 15th

What a community college will offer . . .

Associate Degree Programs
Semi-professional, technical, and liberal arts curricula

Vocational and Technical Education Programs
One- and two-year programs to train students for jobs in industry

Liberal Arts and Pre-professional Courses
Freshman and sophomore college courses for students who will transfer as juniors to colleges and universities

Continuing Education Credit Programs
Courses in all fields for those who believe that education is a lifelong, never-ending process

Cooperative Courses
Work-study programs in cooperation with local industry

• Continuing education for employees

• Publicity or part-time education from early morning until late in night

• Widest range of services: technical, occupational, and traditional freshman and sophomore courses

Be sure to vote for All Three.

Establish an all-Washtenaw County College District.

Approve a MAXIMUM 1% mills to support the college.

Select the BEST POSSIBLE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.
(To be selected)

Executive Committee For A Washtenaw County Community College

Washtenaw County School Officers Association Ann Arbor Chairman Deputy Member	Robert Harrington, Chairman C. W. Matheson, Secretary Albert J. Coulter Mrs. Florence Meyer Paul R. Reed Mrs. Elizabeth Grossman	Miss Wilma Lake William Roe Sally Teresa Linda	D. A. J. Cox Charles Anderson D. Wayne Taylor Alan Grossman Frederick J. Peters Edward C. Wason
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Wyeth Allen, Director LaRay deMarrais, Coordinator

Figure 4.22. Ad in *Ypsilanti Press* on January 13, 1965.

To counter the attention on the vocation aspect of the new school, a counselor in Plymouth-Canton school district commented in a letter to the editor in the *Ypsilanti Press* on January 9, 1965. He was responding to an earlier article reporting that the Ypsilanti City Council had endorsed a vocational-technical school, missing the idea that the concept of a “community college” is one that provides both occupational and transfer programs (Chumbley, 1965). He stressed that the public, and leaders especially, must understand what they are endorsing and settling for just a vocational college was selling the school short. He ended saying, “I do not

believe we will find anyone who does not agree that this college will be a truly wonderful thing for the entire areas, but we can have the whole loaf, why settle for a slice” (Chumbley, 1965).

Put another way in a *Saline Reporter* editorial on December 2, 1964, said, “We have come to see a community college as needed...and let’s make this plain: It’s not designed for ‘stupid’ kids;” instead, the community college is really designed to work with people with undeveloped abilities” (“Editorial: Two Candidates,” 1964). However, both of these points underscore the fact that the college, because of its placement in county with established four-year schools, needed to stress how it was different from those, not how it might duplicate or compete for services.

Therefore, defining this new institution’s role in the community would continue to be a point of discussion long after the election as vocational programming became the hallmark of the college because on average 50% of the student population at any time would be in general education courses, and it would be the credit hours generated through the liberal arts programs that would drive the revenue stream of the college. Again, there was a need to balance the technical cores of the institution even before it became a reality. The work, then, that was put into this endeavor is summarized in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5

Timeline from 1959 to the 1965 Millage

January 4, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ann Arbor Public School (AAPS) Board President Bloomer expresses a desire to discuss the possibility of a community college—not a junior college—with the Board of Education (BOE).
January 26, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> BOE Trustee Marckwardt presented information collected from a Traverse City community college with regard to cost per student. BOE Trustee Hollowell was told to report to the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce Education Committee requesting that the Chamber executes a study in Ann Arbor as it would be a value to the BOE.

Table 4.5 *continued*

March 18, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BOE and Education Committee meet for dinner at the Allenel Hotel to discuss the community college and other financial aid issues. • Bill Bott, Chamber manager, talked about the three ways a community college can serve the students. • BOE did not believe that a new facility would be needed but would wait to see what the Chamber committee decided • James Conant, former Harvard president, scheduled to speak in Kalamazoo on March 20, 1959, to discuss educational problems and kick off the Michigan Citizens' Council for Better Schools.
May 7, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President Bloomer plans to invite Dr. Jessie P. Bogue, former president of the American Association of the Junior College and visiting professor at the University of Michigan, to a BOE meeting to discuss the community college.
May 13, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bogue is scheduled to speak and serve as a resource person for this project.
May 17, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bogue and Ralph Wenrich of University of Michigan (also one of the first WCC Board members) will serve as resources. • They believe that a survey of the area needs to be completed to look at the number of possible students. • They both recommend a community college in the area, and Bogue directs the BOE to his successor, Raymond Young, who will be joining the University of Michigan, as he is an expert in doing the community college survey. • Ferris Crawford of the Michigan State Department of Public Instruction should also be contacted. • In the end, establishing a community college must be approached with caution as there are many questions about funding and actual needs.
May 25, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommendations from Dr. Conant stress the immediate need for a community college in Ann Arbor.
June 10, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ferris Crawford will join BOE meeting on June 17, 1959.
June 17, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ferris Crawford, Wenrich, Bott, and Jim MacDonald, chair of Education Committee join meeting. • Crawford noted that the State can help with any statistics needed and said there is value in a large citizen group to complete a comprehensive survey.
August 5, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BOE members expressed concern over the need for a community college. • AAPS Superintendent Elzay planned to contact the Tri-City (Bay, Midland, and Saginaw) on their work to establish Delta College and the study group for St. Joseph/Benton Harbor.
August 26, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ann Arbor Superintendent Elzay provided the study materials from both areas noted on August 5, and he discussed the progress of the six-county study (Washtenaw, Wayne, Oakland, Macomb, Monroe, St. Clair) that began in 1958 building on the findings of the Russell Report (1958) and the Junior and Community College Study to the Governor (1958).

Table 4.5 *continued*

September 16, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board contacted resource people from the six-county study and a few others: Stevenson, Dean University of Michigan; Johnson, Superintendent of Willow Run Schools; Bott, Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce; Haab, Washtenaw County Superintendent; Drabkowski, Washtenaw County Planning Commission; Bloomer, former BOE president; Wenrich, University of Michigan; Tupper, San Diego Board of Education. • Johnson noted the six-county representatives favored a community college. • Bott worried that the six-county report would not be released in time and suggested a local survey with the help of Raymond Young. • Tupper reported on the community college model of California and how to make colleges more effective. • Reports were also given by two representatives of Cleary College highlighting its programs and costs.
November 11, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Superintendent Elzay extended a formal invitation to Dr. Raymond Young to serve as a resource for the study.
November 23, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr. Young repeated the need for a community college in the area and a school for the county would be the best in terms of tax cost. • The school should be located in or near Ann Arbor, focus on terminal training programs, have a balanced two-year liberal arts program, and be able to have at least 200 students by the second year of operation. • There must be work done to bring in other districts and other area businesses in the county as it “would be desirable not to arouse the hostility of the smaller districts.”
December 4, 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • County Superintendent Haab reported to the county school board that the Washtenaw County School Officers Association will be devoted to holding a discussion regarding the community college at its January 1960 meeting.
January 26, 1960	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Washtenaw County Schools Officers Association elects Robert Harrington as president.
September 11, 1960	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • County Board requests updates regarding the survey led by the Chamber of Commerce Education Committee
November 16, 1960	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survey results of the local businesses results presented to the BOE by Chair of the Education Committee, MacDonald and Chamber manager, Bott. • A community college would not be in direct competition with Eastern Michigan University and University of Michigan. • There may be crossover with Cleary College. • A luncheon was held for the 20 largest firms to verify that their interest was genuine and all reaffirmed their interest. • The committee now recommends a county-wide group to conduct a more comprehensive survey under the guidance of UM, MSU, or Wayne State, that have worked on these before. • This work needs to be moved to the Washtenaw County School Officers Association for their leadership, but the Chamber will still be willing to help.

Table 4.5 *continued*

February 13, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> President of the Ypsilanti Board of Education names Trustee Montonye as the Ypsilanti representative to the community college committee led by the County School Officers.
September 11, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> County Board again requests that Harrington be asked to report on the progress of the survey.
October 10, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ypsilanti Board of Education passes a resolution to support the efforts of the Washtenaw County Community College Survey Committee and provide up to \$3000 toward cost of survey.
November 16, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Harrington reported to the County board officers regarding a meeting of the survey committee in Ann Arbor. He also reported that school boards had been passing resolutions of support.
November 30, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> AAPS Superintendent Elzay working to set up a meeting with the School Officers.
December 14, 1960	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Superintendent Elzay planned to meet with Washtenaw County Superintendent of Schools, Julius Haab, to follow up on the community college survey. Elzay recommended that the County board members should be added to the meeting.
January 26, 1960	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public meeting on the community college lead by Bloomer, MacDonald, Lewis, Bott, and Young.
March 3, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chamber of Commerce to hold meeting on March 23, 1961. Each Board of Education in the county was asked to attend; Harrington represented the Ann Arbor BOE. The cost of the survey should not exceed \$3,000, and the Ann Arbor BOE promised to support the cost if pro-rated for each district.
June 14, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chamber of Commerce Education Committee appointed John Paup to chair the continuation of the community college survey and to consider a new high school for Ann Arbor (including having the Chamber recommend locations for a new high school).
July 26, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Area Skills study supported by the Washtenaw Planning Commission, Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti Chambers of Commerce, and the University looking at manpower issues. The BOE is interested in the results of the study and is willing to support the cost of the study to have access to the information.
October 11, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resolution passed by the BOE to financially support the pro-rated cost for the Washtenaw County community college survey. Motion passed unanimously.
November 1, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Harrington reported that the survey was “off the ground” and all but three districts (unnamed) had pledged support. Harrington believed one of the districts would follow soon. The Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti Chambers of Commerce set to meet on November 3, 1961 to discuss progress.
November 30, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community college meeting to complete the final implementation of the survey. All high schools had committed to the survey, except for Saline, which was to follow shortly. Dr. Young believed that the initial work would be ready fall 1962.

Table 4.5 *continued*

December 1, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BOE gave Superintendent Elzay a priority list of those individuals to be selected to be on the county-wide citizen committee, noting that final appointments would be completed mid-December.
December 6, 1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The County-wide Citizens' Committee names Dr. Raymond Young as the director and Robert Harrington as the Chair of the Community College Committee.
February 5, 1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ann Arbor Council Member Flannery presented a request for consideration of advisability of community college in Washtenaw County and was appointed to the Citizens' Study Committee. • Mayor Cecil Creal ordered copies of initial work by the Chamber's Education Committee for next meeting.
February 13, 1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Council passed a resolution in support the study of the possibility of a community college in Washtenaw County. • The study would be guided by the Washtenaw County School Officers and the University of Michigan Bureau of School Services
February 14, 1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harrington reported on the resolution by the AA City Council to support the survey
May 23, 1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On behalf of the Chamber of Commerce Education Committee, Robert Harrington noted that the final report from the survey should be ready in August. • He noted that the Ypsilanti Chamber of Commerce continued to have intense interest in the project.
June 18, 1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Robert Harrington, BOE member and survey committee member, reported on the progress of the study as prepared by Raymond Young.
April 15, 1963	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Councilwoman Burns appointed to the survey committee.
September 30, 1963	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charles Lehman presented the results of the community college possibility survey to the AA City Council.
December 2, 1963	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation: The Community College by the Washtenaw School Officers Association. • Seventy-five people in attendance at Pioneer HS along with representatives from all of the school districts, except Milan. • Flyer was provided <i>Facing Facts about the Two-year College: A Guide for High School Students and Their Parents</i>. Forward by Dr. Gleazer, Executive Director of the American Association of Junior Colleges. • The districts present agreed to an executive committee with a representative from each district, and there was talk of the tax of 1.25 mills.
November 16, 1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ann Arbor Parent-Teacher Legislative Committee stressed the need to hold meetings to discuss the role and reasons for the community college; each presentation must have representatives from the citizen committee.
November 30, 1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Council orders a special election and passes a resolution to endorse the establishment of a community college to address the serious needs of the area.
December 14, 1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Ann Arbor Parent-teacher Legislative Committee heartily endorses the millage to be held on January 15, 1965.
January 15, 1965	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Millage Vote passed. • Board members named.

Development of the Idea (1965 – 1967)

On a cold, snowy January 15, 1965, the proposal to establish a community college in Washtenaw County, including the 1.25 mills to support it, passed: 69% in favor of the school and 64% in favor of the millage (Wallace, January 16, 1965). Throughout the county, though, the passing rates varied considerably (Figure 4.23).

“Voters Approve Community College: Two Propositions Pass by Substantial Margins”

Ann Arbor News (January 1965)

“‘Paper College’ Draws Interest”

Ypsilanti Press (February 1965)

Figure 4.23. Headlines from local papers 1965.

As the most influential in the process leading up to the millage lived in Ann Arbor, the city of Ann Arbor had the highest pass rate at 80%, dropping nearly 20% moving just out of the city center. The city of Ann Arbor also represented 51% of the total votes cast, with 60% of those votes in favor of the community college. Of the nine areas that did not vote in favor of the college with an average of 40% yes votes—Lyndon, Sharon, Bridgewater, Freedom, Lodi, York, Northfield, Lima, and Dexter (86 yes; 87 no)—they represented 12% of the total votes cast but 23% of the total NO votes cast (Figure 4.24; The Board of County Canvassers of Washtenaw County, 1965).

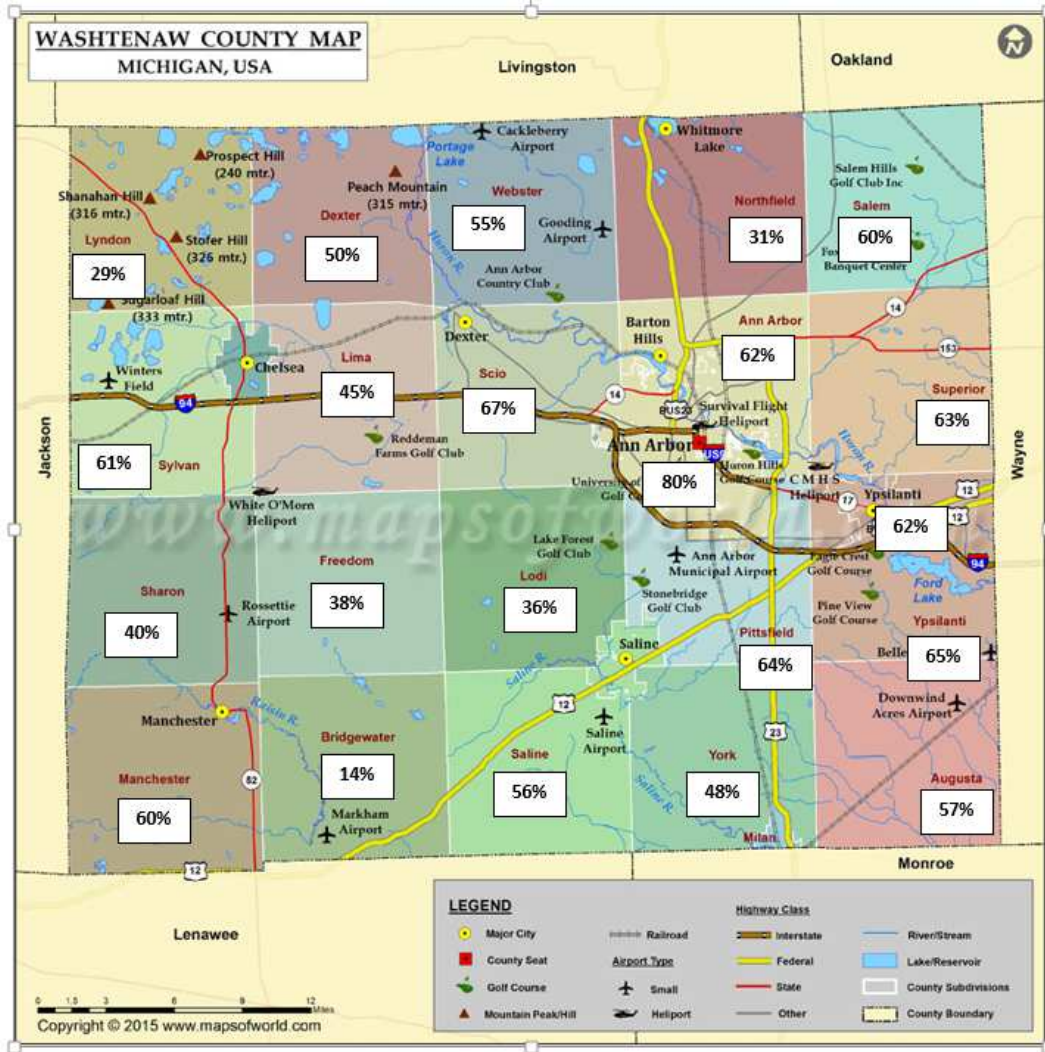


Figure 4.24. Percentage of yes votes by townships.

In one report from the *Ann Arbor News*, the turnout—only 16,000 or the 72,000 registered voters—was extremely light due to the snowy conditions, a situation that could have impacted the rural parts of the county more severely (“Light College Vote Seen,” 1965). However, the *Dexter Leader* reported in “Voters Okay Community College Plan” on January 21, 1965, that the “miserable weather and considerable apathy” resulted in no out-county candidates getting elected and the defeat of the proposals by one vote in Dexter, a likely more accurate description of the vote. Evidence of this apathy in the out-county areas regarding the community college can be seen in the lack of follow-up to the election as most local papers ran few articles,

while the *Ann Arbor News* and *Ypsilanti Press* continued regular and detailed coverage of the school and its progress. Simply put, the new school would be on the east side of the county, and for many residents on the west side of the county, there was little reason to support it, especially those residents who did not have college-aged children or did not see value in paying for other people's education.

In the days just after the vote, Albert Coudron, a former AAPS board member, member of the WISD, and member of the Citizens' Committee, expressed his appreciation to the AAPS board that was read into the minutes on January 27, 1965: "I have appreciated knowing that the entire project carried the backing of the [AAPS] Board of Education. We are now on our way toward fulfillment of an idea begun five years ago by forward thinking members of the Ann Arbor Board" (Board of Education, 1965). For Ann Arbor, this successful millage was a sign that the efforts to develop this idea were worth it.

The original request to the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce revolved around being able to help build the business sector and create a place for the many students who would never go to the University of Michigan or other local four-year schools, and like the Chamber noted decades earlier, Ann Arbor could not have just any type of business because this town held the University. On the other hand, the low voter turnout in the rural out-county areas could be framed as apathy on the part of the residents who were not seeking post-secondary programs and felt removed from the pressures of the established schools or concerns over the idleness and unemployment of the young people in the more urban areas of the county. For many in the out-county areas, they did not see as many benefits to supporting the college. The school might offer their students an option, but the return to businesses was slim to none, making the vocational training aspect less appealing. Despite this low turnout and limited support from the out-county

areas, the proposals both passed, so the next step was for the new Board of Trustee members to deliver on the promise to the county members.

Call to Order

The first board meeting for the Washtenaw County community college was held on February 2, 1965, in a temporary office in downtown Ann Arbor (Washtenaw Community College, February 2, 1965). Clarence Markham, the president of the Washtenaw Intermediate School District, called the meeting to order and welcomed the six new trustees. Leading the governance structure for the new college, Samuel Harmon assumed the chair position having received the most votes during the election (Figure 4.25).



Founding Trustees (L to R): Evart W. Ardis, Edward Adams Jr., Samuel T. Harmon, Ralph C. Weinrich, Richard C. Creal, Kenneth L. Yourd

(WCC 50th Anniversary, 2015)

Board of Trustee Members January 1965

Samuel Harmon (Chair): President of Sensor Dynamics

Edward Adams, Jr.: President of the Ann Arbor National Bank and Trust Co.

Evart Ardis: Director of the Bureau of Appointments at the University of Michigan; former Superintendent of Ypsilanti Public Schools

Richard Creal: Chairman of the Social Studies Department at Slauson Junior High in Ann Arbor

Kenneth Yourd: Assistant to the Dean of the University Medical School

Ralph Wenrich: Chairman of the Department of Vocational Education and Practical Arts at the University of Michigan

Figure 4.25. WCC founding trustees.

The 90-minute meeting reported the appreciation by the chairman of the Committee for a

Washtenaw County Community College, Robert Harrington, and words from survey creator Raymond Young who would follow-up with the new community college board about the survey results and how the results might guide choices made by the trustees. Trustee Richard Creal, son of the Ann Arbor mayor, followed with a motion for resolution of appreciation to the voters of Washtenaw county:

Be it resolved, that this newly created Board of Trustees of the Washtenaw County Community College does both acknowledge the contributions of the many people who labored long and arduously in behalf of a Community College and commend them for a spirit of public service over and above the normal call of citizenship and for a job well done. The Board of Trustees willingly assumes the responsibility of carrying on.

(Washtenaw Community College, February 2, 1965)

Like the Citizens' Committee, which relied on the guidance from the Ann Arbor elite and employees of the University of Michigan, the community college board through employment or residence would be connected to Ann Arbor more than any other area of the county, serving the training needs of the Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti businesses. This meant that the new board would look to support vocational programming first and transfer programs second, so as to avoid any thought of duplication. As such, dual technical cores had to be formally developed: vocational and transfer. With this in mind, among the first steps of the new board would be the creation of bylaws, purposes, curriculum, finance, personnel, land, and facilities, work that would begin in earnest at their second meeting on February 9, 1965.

During the second meeting on February 9, 1965, there was much discussion over the need to establish a more permanent meeting place, set the priorities in the selection of a president, and begin the work of site choice for the new college (Washtenaw Community College, 1965;

Wallace, February 24, 1965). The issues related to the site would be contingent on the discussions with Cleary College, the only school that had business programs that might be similar to offerings of the community college. Meetings with Cleary administration were on the calendar for the following week, and based on the Board of Trustee minutes from February and March 1965, the Board members found the vice-presidents of Cleary welcoming. At meetings on February 23 and March 2, the community college trustees adopted a statement of purpose to support both vocational and transfer programming in service to the community and by-laws by which to operate. It was also in February that the community college board received notice of a gift of land from Dr. Emil M. Isberg, former doctor at the University, as a possible building site ("Community College Board," 1965). Isberg was willing to gift a portion of the land and sell the rest for a competitive price as he no longer lived in Ann Arbor ("Community College Picks," 1965). Along with gifts of land for consideration, the new board members also accepted a scholarship gift of just over \$1,100.00 from the Ypsilanti Chamber of Commerce designated for students from the city or township in April 1965 (Washtenaw Community College, 1965). Both with the gift of land and the scholarship activities, Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti residents and business would be the primary stakeholders of this new school.

The community college board was in an interesting position in these early days. As a group, they were in a position to determine how the organization would act and function for years to come. With the election, they had to design an organization with multiple cores but also determine how to manage and function in the task environment to meet the demands and expectations of the constituencies. Beyond these technical functions, the new Board had to also deal with the institutional levels of the organization as the school would have to seek support from groups that would offer legitimacy for the new school. Dealing with how to set up advisory

groups to serve businesses and gaining accreditation for a variety of programs had to be done at the same time as the core was being defined. Consequently, as the Board was dealing with the name of the school and sorting out how to balance the business, community, and student needs in the county, Chairman Harmon was also active at the state level. With the growth of the community college in Michigan, the State Board of Education intended on developing a Community College Advisory Council to help with recommendations to the State. The trustees approved the recommendation to appoint Albert Courdon, who had served on the Citizens' Committee and the Ann Arbor School Board, to this role for the community college (Washtenaw Community College, 1965).

Regarding policy development for the new school, Dr. Russell Wilson, another UM consultant, from University of Michigan Bureau of School Services was willing to find consultants for the Board to help with policies and action (Washtenaw Community College, March 23, 1965). The community college Board of Trustees also decided to consider a contract and fee for such services and did secure the help of Dr. Raymond Young, who had worked on the establishment of the college. Fees for services rendered would only apply if circumstances warranted it. Similar to the support during the campaign for the school, UM was willing to continue its support of WCC by offering services, and thereby control, over the founding of the school, and at this time, UM was connected to most of the decisions being made.

Just through the first few meetings, the influence and reliance of the Washtenaw Board of Trustees on the University and the Ann Arbor representatives was greater than on any other part of the county. Not to be left out, though, Dr. Anderson, dean of field services at Eastern Michigan University, offered the full resources to the WCC Board and began the process of assembling a team of faculty to serve as consultants (Washtenaw Community College, April 13,

1965). With the flurry of ideas and work being done, Trustee Wenrich, chair of vocational education and practical arts at UM, also stressed the need that vocational training take the lead in the process of developing the school as this was the marketed expectation for the school (Washtenaw Community College, March 2, 1965). In addition, vocational programming was such a desire by county educational leaders that by the end of March, Mr. Nick Ianni, chair of the Washtenaw County Superintendent's Association and assistant superintendent of the Washtenaw Intermediate School District, approached the WCC Board requesting a joint study to establish a vocational center for the high schools in the county at the College, but the Board was insistent that the first goal was to find a president for the college (Washtenaw Community College, March 23, 1965). The novice Board also had to deal with funding concerns as monies for their future capital outlay projects might have to be staggered unless the federal Higher Education Facilities Act was reworked to be more equitable about how funds are granted ("College Bond Bill Snags," 1965). This meant that the Board feared a later opening, which could result in less support from the businesses and public who were expecting the Board to deliver on the promise to train people to be good workers and good community members.

President Ponitz

Like the first two months of work on the new college, April 1965 proved just as busy as the deadline for presidential applicants approached (Figure 4.26). On April 13, 1965, Trustee Wenrich relayed a request from the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce Education Committee for representation from the Board as well as offering any services of the Chamber, which had been instrumental in establishing the school (Washtenaw Community College). The Ann Arbor Chamber's continued efforts to work with WCC leadership meant continued influence as the

decisions about how the college would serve the county, service that should include training for local businesses.

“‘Take time,’ say Prof: College Warned on Site Selection”
Ypsilanti Press (February 1965)

“Trustees Dwell on Definition of Role”
Ann Arbor News (March 1965)

“Community College Plans Advancing ‘Very Well’”
The Michigan Daily (July 1965)

Figure 4.26. Headlines from local papers Feb. – Jul. 1965.

Also, with guidance from officials of Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, Saline, and the County Treasurer, WCC Board Treasurer Adams was able to solicit help to secure funds with a summer tax in Ypsilanti, instead of just a winter tax, so that the school could be properly funded and open in a timely fashion (Washtenaw Community College, April 13, 1965; “Ypsi Will Pay,” 1965). With this, a working budget would be set for public release by the end of May. This budget would also include the capital outlay projects that would qualify for government aid once taxes started to be collected. Although the school was only months old, the 1965 Tax Resolution 65-19 as recorded in the Board of Trustee minutes on May 27, 1965, would collect \$905,691.13 for the July 1, 1965 to June 30, 1966, fiscal year. As the population for Washtenaw County centered in the Ann Arbor-Ypsilanti area, nearly \$350,000 and just over \$300,000 would come from these areas respectively to fund the newly-named Washtenaw Community College (WCC; “College ‘Changes’ Its Name,” 1965). With the school now named and a budget in development, the hiring of the president took precedent as more than 60 candidates were reduced to one, making sure to pick “a man who is available now” (“Trustees Decide,” 1965; Washtenaw Community

College, July 13, 1965). Among these men was the future president of Washtenaw Community College, Dr. David Ponitz (Wallace, July 13, 1965).

Dr. David Ponitz, the first president of Washtenaw Community College, provided his reflections on the founding of the college in 1981. Ponitz, a native-Michigander, grew up in Lansing where his dad was the assistant superintendent of public instruction in charge of adult education. He went on to earn his first two degrees at the University of Michigan in political science and educational administration and business. After time in the Army, he returned to southern Michigan and began work the Waldron Area School District, eventually being named the superintendent (Ponitz, 1981). After 4 years in the district, he started the administrative career program at Harvard and was 1 of 12 people to go through a Ford Foundation program to train superintendents for large districts. While at Harvard, he met Harold Hunt, who had been the superintendent for Chicago schools before taking on an advisory role for Harvard's program and an interest in the community college movement. Hunt's interest in the community college would rub off on Ponitz as he left Harvard. After finishing the program at Harvard, Ponitz interviewed for a superintendent position in Freeport, Illinois, and he reported that during his interview, the interview committee noted that the district was starting a community college, so Ponitz would have that responsibilities of that new school as well as the K-12 school district (Ponitz, 1981).

After accepting the position in Freeport, Ponitz quickly studied the basics of a community college and was part of the founding of what has become Highland Community College. Quite different than WCC, Highland Community College was the only college within a hundred miles of Freeport and capitalized on the local business and agricultural needs. Ponitz was happy with his position in Freeport, but after a call to college buddy and WCC board member Evert "Slim" Ardis, Ardis indicated that Washtenaw County was looking to create a community college, one

that was like a “small University of Michigan.” However, Ponitz remembered that he was concerned about replicating the University; it did not seem right to him (Ponitz, 1981). After a second meeting with the newly-elected WCC Board of Trustees in 1965, Ponitz believed that he would and could be the right president of this new community college in Washtenaw County:

We would provide for students that even with two great universities in the county— whose needs are not being met at that time in terms of occupational program, in terms of developmental remedial program, in terms of adults who really had had few opportunities to really indicate the kind of intellectual opportunities they wanted to achieve. (Ponitz, 1981, p. 4)

Ponitz said to an audience in the Dexter area during a reception set up by the Kiwanis Club welcoming him that a “high school student does not compete with people, he competes with a machine” (“New CC President,” 1965). He further stated that WCC cannot be defined as “a high school, not a university,” but it supplies a special need to the community (“New CC President,” 1965). Ponitz fully supported the belief that vocational training should be the primary focus of the school and traditional liberal arts classes would support this primary focus. This assumed that students would come to WCC for the vocational programs but might stay for additional work that might allow them to transfer or improve their general knowledge. However, upon the school’s opening, many students were, indeed, interested in general education programs despite the lack of marketing to this interest as many enrolled and identified as transfer students (Table 4.6). With so many students wanting general education courses for transfer purposes, there was a conflict with the marketed mission of vocational coursework. However, what would become needed for students in any of the programs was the need for remediation as many students, even recent high school graduates, lacked the basic skills needed to be successful in

classes. Although some “pre-training” programs would be offered to students in some of the

Table 4.6

Fall 1966 Enrollment for WCC

Number of Students	General Education	Occupational Programs	Men	Women	Ann Arbor Residents	Ypsilanti Residents
1205	53%	47%	791	394	43%	35%

vocational courses, a remedial curriculum in reading, writing, and math would not be officially advertised until the 1970 school year, giving the school time to establish itself as a post-secondary institution. Also, these courses were by self-selection, with the exception of the pre-training courses tied to vocational training offered through business partnerships. These programs could require students to take these courses as pre-requisites (“WCC to Begin,” 1966). Marketing to adult education or remedial education could have caused many stakeholders to question the legitimacy of the school as it opened, so it was best for the community to be fed news of student success in vocational and general education programs first.

Although President Ponitz was not slated to begin until November 1965, the newly-chosen president and the Board of Trustees met in September 1965 to discuss plans for the college and to meet with local press. Ponitz made clear that the new college would have an open-door admission policy and an aggressive recruiting plan in the “culturally deprived and minority areas of the county” (Wallace, September 24, 1965), keeping to the promises of access and opportunity from the campaign. He also stressed the need to find instructors who were interested in teaching and not just research as these teachers would have to be able to work in a variety of ways to meet the needs of the students, many of whom may not have been successful in school previously. As the school had been marketed primarily as a vocational center to train people for semi-professional and semi-skilled jobs, Ponitz said that he would honor specific requests from

industry when possible, but he also needed to do what was best for the most students, acknowledging the general education and transfer goals that many residents expected the school to fulfill. Since the type of school was new, Ponitz and the Board had the chance to define the environment within it would function. The type of students, teachers, and curriculum of the school all went toward this definition and set the boundaries and expectations that defined the institution to the public. Wanting to serve the most students as possible as soon as possible, the goals of the fledging administrative team Ponitz had to build were to find temporary facilities, establish tuition rates, and build a multi-core curriculum.

Despite the heavy load for Ponitz and the Board during the fall and into winter as the school began to take shape, local civic groups that had supported the establishment of the community college welcomed Dr. Ponitz to the community with a number of receptions throughout the county as reported in the *Dexter Leader*, *Chelsea Standard*, and *Ypsilanti Press*. One of the first steps for Dr. Ponitz was to be introduced at the October 6, 1965, Ann Arbor Public Schools Board of Education meeting, where just a week before, the Board had heard a committee progress report regarding adult education in Ann Arbor, which noted the need to collaborate with Washtenaw Community College. Making himself available continued the narrative behind the “community college”; he said the goal was to be reactive to community needs and accessible as the university leaders were not in most cases. Spending time with the local community groups and meeting with the local taxpayers would allow Ponitz more freedom in the long run, as the impression from reporting marked him as knowledgeable, and the public seemed confident that its tax dollars would be well spent. In the months to follow, WCC Board members and administrators would be active in many county meetings to discuss the streamlining of educational services and ways to avoid duplication, all of which was happening

to a school and administration without a campus.

With a president picked and at the helm full-time in November 1965, the Board had to turn its attention to state funding issues. The Michigan Council of Community College Administrators, a new group, had started meeting to discuss problems common to community colleges, and in late 1965, issues with bonding and borrowing as defined by the state created consternation for the Board members (Washtenaw Community College, August 10, 1965). These meetings, often attended by each community college's legal team and executives, looked at the division of the state and federal monies for capital outlay projects. Two other funding issues came up during this first year. In August 1965, the *Ann Arbor News* reported that one local business, Conductron Corp, had filed a lawsuit against the College and City of Ann Arbor regarding personal property tax ("New College President," 1965). Conductron Corporation of Ann Arbor had paid its summer taxes for the College under protest. This article described Conductron as a well-funded research laboratory for high-level electronics, and it was seeking a refund of a bit more than \$1,000 of personal property tax because the owner did not believe the tax levy was just as the business did not benefit from the college or City services; \$100 was earmarked for WCC and the rest to the City of Ann Arbor. Attorneys from Ann Arbor were given the authorization to represent WCC in the suit, fearing that a long battle would encourage other businesses to question the new taxes for WCC (Washtenaw Community College, August 24, 1965). The suit was quietly settled in January 1966, and the WCC Board would authorize payment of \$104.58 to Conductron on Jan 25, 1966 (Washtenaw Community College). Although the College had to pay a small sum in the suit, there was little press coverage of this issue, and with the sound legal help from Ann Arbor lawyers, the core of the school remained protected and ready to grow.

Location, Location, Location

Ending an eventful year, the WCC Board and President, the only members of the school, announced the permanent campus location. Although the College had received some donated land from the Isberg family shortly after the election, the Board eventually decided on the 235 acre Franzblau property, an apple orchard known as Huron Farms, in Ann Arbor and Superior Townships for \$822,000 (Washtenaw Community College, December 22, 1965). Picking this location meant that WCC would have an Ann Arbor address but be at the most eastern portion of Ann Arbor next to Ypsilanti, where the school would draw over one-third of its students in the early years. This location served a number of other purposes beyond a center point for students from Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti. Representatives of WCC could say it was in Ann Arbor, immediately linking the school to the University of Michigan's reputation. Having this connection solidified the strong relationship to Ann Arbor that started in 1959 when Ann Arbor Public School Board members endorsed the establishment of the school. This location was also far enough from the City of Ann Arbor and its local schools so that it would not be considered a mere extension of the AAPS. The separation from AAPS became even clearer after US 23 highway opened and became the informal boundary between Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, giving Ypsilanti the benefit of having WCC on its side of the highway. Trustee Harmon praised the fact that the site was "equidistant between Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor" ("Site Chosen," 1965). An *Ypsilanti Press* editorial on the same date "Community College Site Choice of Major Import" identified what it called the "simple fact" that the new school would offer opportunity to the area and to its youth in a way that the four-year institutions never did, never could, or never would do.

For a county with such academic resources, many people in the general public had been convinced that many of the youth of the county remained outsiders and had limited access to

educational opportunities due to academics and finances, making a community college a viable option. Academically, many students could not meet the admission standards of the University of Michigan or Eastern Michigan University, and financially, students were often priced out of both the public and private schools in the area. Ponitz capitalized on this idea during his welcome in Chelsea, sponsored by the Chelsea Chamber of Commerce, where Ponitz talked of the “needs of the community” and how Washtenaw Community College would rely on “counseling and good teaching” (“Community College Classes to Start in Fall,” 1966) as if these traits were missing or were unique from other educational options. Another consideration regarding “need” was that as the University of Michigan, Eastern Michigan University, and other local businesses expanded, there would be a need for an institution that would focus on training for those serving the professionals of the local institutions and businesses. In other words, as the local communities became more stratified based on profession or class, “appropriate” levels of post-secondary educational opportunities would support the hierarchy (Figure 4.27).

FALL SEMESTER SEPTEMBER 15 - JANUARY 21

AFTER DINNER EDUCATION

Washtenaw Community College will offer the following schedule of courses during the fall semester 1966-67 for persons who cannot attend classes during the day. Individuals who wish to improve their occupational skills or who want to continue their education for any reason will be provided a wide selection of offerings. Additional courses for which there is sufficient demand will be added; the college reserves the right to drop courses for which there is insufficient enrollment.

REGISTRATION FOR EXTENDED-DAY COURSES:
AT COLLEGE HALL, 2025 CLARK ROAD, YPSILANTI
Monday, September 12 7:00 - 8:45 p.m.
Tuesday, September 13 7:00 - 8:45 p.m.
CLASSES BEGIN THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1966

TUITION: \$ 9.00 per credit hour for district residents.
 \$18.00 per credit hour for non-district residents (Michigan residents).
 \$27.00 per credit hour for out-of-state residents.

REFUNDS: Refund of 75% of tuition will be made to adults who withdraw from College on or before September 29, 1966.

VETERANS: Applications for veterans' benefits are available at Washtenaw Community College, 204 East Huron Street, Ann Arbor, or 1150 Midway, Ypsilanti. Veterans enrolling for six or more credit hours are eligible for at least one-half benefits under the G.I. Bill.

TRANSFER OF CREDIT: All courses numbered 100 and above may be transferred to Michigan colleges and universities.

ADMISSION: Anyone over 18 years of age. (High school diploma NOT required.)

1. Extended-day classes will be conducted Monday through Friday, 6:00 p.m. to 10:30 p.m., and Saturday mornings.

All courses will be taught at College Hall, 2025 East Clark Road, Ypsilanti, except Automotive, Welding and Auto Body Repair, which will be taught at the Automotive Center, 5115 Carpenter Road, Ypsilanti.

COURSE NO.	COURSE TITLE	CREDIT HOURS	TIME	DAY
COMMUNICATION ARTS				
111	Basic Drawing	3	7 - 9:30 a.m.	T, Th
102	Developmental English	3	7 - 9:30 a.m.	M, W
111	English Composition	3	7 - 9:30 a.m.	M, W
111	English Composition	3	7 - 9:30 a.m.	T, Th
102	Music Appreciation I	3	7:30 - 9 a.m.	M, W
102	Fundamentals of Speaking	3	7:30 - 9 a.m.	M, W
111	Four Year French	4	7:30 - 9:15 a.m.	M, T, W, Th
111	Four Year Spanish	4	7:30 - 9:15 a.m.	M, T, W, Th
100	Physical Education-Fitness	1	7:15 - 8:15 a.m.	M, W, Thursday
100	Physical Education-Fitness	1	7:15 - 8:15 a.m.	T, Th, (Men)
BUSINESS & MANAGEMENT				
101	Principles of Accounting	3	7 - 9:30 a.m.	M, W
142	Introduction to Business	3	7 - 9:30 a.m.	T, Th
111	Introduction to Data Proc.	4	7 - 12 a.m.	Sa
130	Shorthand	3	7 - 9:30 a.m.	T, Th
130	Shorthand	3	8:30 - 10 a.m.	T, Th
EXACT SCIENCES				
100	Business Mathematics	3	7 - 9:30 a.m.	M, W
100	Introduction to Algebra	3	7 - 9:30 a.m.	M, W
112	Algebra	3	8:30 - 10 a.m.	T, Th
111	Physics	4	7:30 - 9 p.m.	T, Th
SOCIAL SCIENCES				
101	Economics	3	7 - 9:30 a.m.	T, Th
100	Western Civilization	3	8 - 10:30 a.m.	T, Th
100	Intro. to Political Science	3	8 - 10:30 a.m.	M, W
100	Intro. to Political Science	3	8 - 10:30 a.m.	T, Th
99	Elem. of Social Psychology	3	8 - 10:30 a.m.	M, W, F
100	Elementary Psychology	3	8:30 - 10 a.m.	T, Th
TECHNICAL & INDUSTRIAL				
110	Basic Technical Drawing	3	7 - 10 a.m.	T, Th
111	Blueprint Reading	3	7 - 10 a.m.	T, Th
111	Shop Orientation	3	8 - 10:30 a.m.	T, Th
111	Drafting & Design (Automotive or Mechanical)	3	7 - 10:30 a.m.	M, W, Th
111	Electrical Fundamentals	3	7 - 9:30 a.m.	M, W
99	Introductory Electricity	4	8 - 10:30 a.m.	T, Th
	Basic & Advanced Automotive	6	8 - 10:30 a.m.	M, T, W, Th, F
	Basic & Advanced Welding & Fabrication	6	8 - 10:30 a.m.	M, T, W, Th, F
	Basic & Advanced Auto Body Repair	6	8 - 10:30 a.m.	M, T, W, Th, F
		6	8 - 10:30 a.m.	Sa, Su
		6	8 - 10:30 a.m.	W, Th

FOR APPLICATION FORM OR INFORMATION CONTACT:
WASHTENAW COMMUNITY COLLEGE
 204 E. HURON STREET ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106 PHONE 761-1411

Figure 4.27. Ad posted in the *Chelsea Standard* and *Dexter Leader* September 19, 1966.

Like the process to establish the community college a year prior, the process of turning a “paper” institution into a brick and mortar institution was met with little negative publicity and had fended off an early attack on its revenue stream by settling quietly with Conductron. WCC seemed to be considered the “best hope for many graduates” as University of Michigan’s Norman Harris, Associate Professor of Technical Education, said of students who may be denied admission to a four-year institution and are not ready for work, so they were best suited for the community college (“Local College,” 1966). Certainly, this new school created a new way of managing the students, both to buffer and bridge the local businesses and educational institutions, allowing those in power to pick and choose from this newly-vetted population.

January 1966 would begin the run-up to the opening of the school in a temporary location now that the name and the permanent site of the school were official. President Ponitz also made some administrative appointments in the way of a business manager and an assistant to the president. With new administrators in place, the Board and administrative team were able to begin the process of applying for federal and state grants that would help subsidize the facilities and supplies needed, along with student resources beyond what state and local aid would provide. One of the first applications approved by the Board was for participation in the College Work-Study Program under Title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act (Washtenaw Community College, February 8, 1966). Dr. Ponitz also continued to reach out to local groups. At a meeting with the Ann Arbor Parent-Teacher Legislative Committee in January 1966 to discuss the impact of the Vocational Act of 1965 and a Building Trades Apprentice Program plan, Ponitz reminded the group that WCC would not have facilities for years, so expansion by AAPS would be limited (Board of Education, 1966). Nonetheless, the WCC administration and Board continued to be pressured to commit to a vocational plan for the county high schools.

On March 22, 1966, the WCC Board heard from the local school districts' Vocational Education Committee, receiving a letter from the committee as well as a separate letter from Manchester Public Schools asking WCC to act quickly on a plan (Washtenaw Community College; Board of Education, 1970). The committee members stressed that there had been efforts to improve vocational education at the secondary level within the county, but there had been no real change. Therefore, it was essential that WCC help the high schools, according to these members. The group proposed that WCC should provide all county vocational education for 11th and 12th graders as WCC could then garner a broader tax base to support operations (Saline Area Schools, 1966). This presentation to the Board had come just a month after the Saline Board of Education agreed on a resolution that the

Saline Area Schools Board of Education go on record unanimously favoring the inclusion of a Vocational Educational program in the Washtenaw Community College where eleventh and twelfth grade high school students would attend on a half-day basis and then spend the other half of the school day at the local high school in related vocational program," reducing the number of students in the direct care of the district (Saline Board of Education, 1966).

Despite the pressures from these local districts and committees, the WCC Board only "agreed to further consideration of the problem," a problem for the county, but not necessarily for WCC (Washtenaw Community College, March 22, 1966). However, the support from the county educational leaders was a valuable commodity that WCC officials could not simply dismiss as leaders could not predict what requests might need to be made in the future. Understanding that the secondary vocational program issue was not closed, on June 14, 1966, letters from the superintendents of Dexter and Willow Run were read into the WCC Board minutes urging the

Board to work on a plan for vocational programs that would serve the county high schools. Since the members of the WISD had supported the establishment of WCC, there was a sense that they were owed this effort.

In these early days of the institution, balancing external constituencies would remain a necessity as WCC became entrenched in the community's psyche. The school had been marketed to serve vocational needs of local businesses, and once authorized, the local secondary programs looked to WCC to help meet their needs as was intimated during the campaign for the millage. Certainly the interest was great in how WCC could fill the need for job training, but to be more than an extension of high school programming and be seen as a legitimate post-secondary school, President Ponitz and the Board would have to work quickly to balance the vocational aspects with the traditional liberal arts transfer as advertised in "After Dinner Education." Thus, the key at this point in managing the conflicts that were emerging was to focus on opening the temporary campus in September 1966 with a variety of classes that would meet the purpose of the multi-core mission.

While the president and WCC board members were in talks with local school districts, they were also preparing for a September 1966 opening on a temporary campus, which meant that the Board also released its tuition schedule of \$100 for a full-time student and a college calendar (Washtenaw Community College, February 22, 1966; "Tuition Fees," 1966). In April 1966, without a school facility or a faculty, the WCC Board approved the first official college catalog with program and course descriptions compiled by the handful of deans and administrators recently hired, all with plans to begin classes in Fall 1966 (Washtenaw Community College, April 26, 1966). This curriculum boasted dozens of possible vocational programs, 100-level transfer programs, and even a few pre-training/developmental courses in the

area of math and English for students needing to “refresh” their skills. There were just over four months to get the campus ready for students, but a campus they did not have yet. Finding a temporary site proved tricky with the variety of courses the college planned to offer. In the end, the campus was spread out throughout the county: main campus on former Willow Run Village, health programs at University of Michigan health facilities in Ann Arbor, and auto repair courses at an auto shop on Carpenter Rd. on the Ypsilanti/Ann Arbor border (Washtenaw Community College, May 10, 1966).

A Temporary Campus

WCC’s main classrooms from 1966 to 1968 were housed in the former Foster Elementary School that was used for the children of the workers at the Bomber Plant at Willow Run Airport during the war. In the *Ypsilanti Press* article, “500 Students Will Soon Enliven Former Willow Run Village Area,” Steve Cain (1966) noted that WCC had a three-year lease with the Ypsilanti Township Board and Parks Commission for Foster Elementary and two other buildings that would need about \$75,000 in renovations to bring them back to life. Because of the location in the Willow Run area, youth without cars would be able to attend because the location was close to many subdivisions. What the college administrators did not realize at this time was that the estimate of 500 students would be far lower than the actual number who showed up in the fall, indicating great desire from the county residents to take advantage of the new offerings that were built on ideas of increased access to education and opportunity (Washtenaw Community College, May 10, 1966).

With little time to spare, renovations on what were kindly called “dilapidated” buildings started the second week of June and wrapped up six weeks later. The dean of occupational education, Paul Hunt, said that the occupation facilities would be designed to fit about 400 full-

time students as well as part-time or short-term students, holding classes between 8 a.m. and 10 p.m. (“School Renovation,” 1966). While renovations were in full swing and the opening of WCC less than three months away, the WCC Board of Trustees voted to seek initial accreditation from North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (NCA; “College Applies for Accreditation,” 1966). The trustees did discuss how it might be more important to have the occupational programs accredited by each professional organization, rather than NCA, but to prove WCC’s legitimacy as a post-secondary institution, NCA accreditation was also a necessary step for the general education programs (Washtenaw Community College, June 14, 1966). The difficulty facing the college leaders was represented in this dichotomous relationship between accrediting bodies. The businesses, anxious for trained employees, were interested in certificate-level training, yet school leaders recognized that to offer transfer programs to gain legitimacy as a post-secondary institution, the school needed to do more than “train” people for direct-entry jobs. The school would need to train mid-level leaders for the business community, and this meant additional coursework in the liberal arts. This effort to be “everything for everyone at any time” would remain in integral part of the character of the college, always considering the relationship between vocational programming and transfer-level courses.

As a temporary campus slowly took shape, the Board continued to work with the new administration and growing staff as the initial application for WCC to seek accreditation from North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was readied in June 1966, and resolutions were drafted to seek federal funds through the Higher Education Facilities Act and to follow guidelines for Civil Rights compliance (Washtenaw Community College, August 9, 1966). As the Board handled the applications and funding, Ponitz began to work with his new faculty. Ponitz felt strongly about not wanting to become like the other post-secondary

institutions—namely four-year schools—and through many conversations with the WCC board of Trustee members, there was the distinct desire to organize the college so that people would understand that the emphasis would be on occupational education (Ponitz, 1981). Therefore, one of the first decisions Ponitz made was to create an organizational structure that would highlight this desire. Instead of creating a general dean of instruction, the president and WCC board created two separate positions to highlight the dual function of the school: dean of general studies and dean of occupation studies (“Detroit Educator Hired for Vocational Program,” 1966). This administrative structure reinforced and clearly highlighted the marketed purpose of the college as a vocational school, yet it also allowed for the two competing cores to function separately under the umbrella of WCC. With this move, it was clear that the education in each of these areas—vocational and general education—were, indeed, different from one another and would be treated as such as funding streams, accreditation, and faculty would vary greatly over time.

Although the community college experts of the time recommended that no more than three occupational programs should be started a year, WCC had 27 occupational programs ready and enough students to fill 26 as it opened in the fall of 1966. Ponitz clearly articulated that he believed in an educational division of labor: “The educational division of labor meant that the University of Michigan, Eastern Michigan University, and Washtenaw Community College should not necessarily be doing the same thing,” or not market the duplication of some courses (Ponitz, 1981, p. 7). Again, the pressure to be different enough from the other post-secondary schools so as to not be threat, yet the need to demonstrate standards representative of post-secondary schools had quickly become the ongoing challenge of the school. If WCC appeared in form and function too much like a four-year school or too much like a high school, local support

could wane even before the school was open.

This desire to not do the “same” thing as the local universities, other community colleges, or high schools extended to professional titles as well. Ponitz did not use professorial ranks, opting for a short-lived “teacher-counselor” title, but this early work did impact WCC’s 50-year history. Instructors have never used the traditional professorial titles, keeping to the college’s origin. Ponitz recognized that finding faculty with advanced degrees that would satisfy college accreditation bodies and who were also interested in teaching, not necessarily researching, was the key to making the institution work over the long term. He was looking for people who understood the “kinds of students who were coming to the community college and asking for particular help” (Ponitz, 1981, p. 8). Along with finding the right instructors for the general studies, he also had to find highly-skilled instructors for the occupational programs. These positions would not be filled by those with advanced degrees but those with advanced skills. He wanted to find those people who had worked in these areas and understood the industry needs for training. Throughout spring and summer 1966, Ponitz and his limited staff hired, teacher-counselors for all areas, general counselors, and library staff with backgrounds in teaching, research, and military experience from across the country (Washtenaw Community College, May 10, 1966; “More Department Head Positions,” 1966).

As instructors in all areas accepted positions, Ponitz and his administrators placed instructors from different offices together so as to help the faculty understand that each person and each area in the college had merit and to make sure that through the sharing of common space, the faculty members would not “get at one another’s throats” (Ponitz, 1981, p. 11). Also, Ponitz did not want faculty to view differing areas as better than another and attempted to blend general education instructors with vocational instructors to reduce the inherent conflict. With

such variety in one small space, Ponitz saw specifically defining roles might lead to isolation or territorialism, but there may have been another purpose to his plan that was not stated. By loosely defining roles and not subscribing to formal titles, Ponitz could more easily assign new tasks as the college needed, with little worry about regular duties. With a small staff and what seemed to be insurmountable tasks tied to opening a school, this approach allowed WCC to change and evolve quickly.

Additionally, Ponitz sought to endorse a college structure and culture that would allow students to grow and even fail in some cases, but know they could keep trying. Embracing the open-door policy of the community college, he recognized that his faculty would have to be more than just classroom teachers to guide students toward success. It was important to him that there be “cross fertilization of ideas. So, that structure was very much intended to move in that direction—that we have people talking with one another, and we have people committed to teaching—that we would have administrators who had that commitment also to the open-door, to working with students to working with the experiments” (Ponitz, 1981, p. 15-16). While many faculty were hired from the local pool of graduates from EMU or UM, some teacher-counselors were from across the country with a variety of teaching experiences. The key for hiring faculty was “teaching” not research, separating the school from four-year programs, which was lauded by Ponitz and his administration. With some having May, June, or July 1966 start dates (Washtenaw Community College, 1966), many of these the first teacher-counselors and staff were responsible for printing and distributing applications to the local schools, in hopes of getting students in the classroom by fall 1966. The long hours and “making it up” as they went along process meant that staff and faculty came and went during the first year, but the one primary goal remained clear from the Board of Trustees and President Ponitz: serve the needs of

the local businesses through the many occupational courses.

Along with meetings with other community college trustees from around the state, the Board of Trustees was also asked to appoint representatives to the Ann Arbor Metropolitan Area Planning Commission. This connection was important to WCC as it meant associating with a powerful base of support in the county (Washtenaw Community College, March 8, 1966). On July 14, 1966, local news reported that WCC would be seeking advice and approval of course guides from Washtenaw County business and professional men. According to the report, about 15 men in each course field would be solicited for guidance as the courses were developed (“Business Will Advise College”). With relationships with local and state representatives growing, the administration and staff were recognized for their efforts to that point. Just a week before the WCC’s opening day, Washtenaw Community College administrators and staff told 60 Ypsilanti area businessmen meeting the community’s needs was the primary goal of the school. In a dinner hosted by the Ypsilanti Chamber of Commerce, nearly 125 people dined at West Junior High School. One trade instructor said during the question and answer period that “when the need is there we’ll meet it.” (“County College’s Goal,” 1966).

Complicating an already hectic time, before the students even arrived on campus, President Ponitz was working to develop an agreement with Wayne State University College of Education to make binding decisions about transfer credits, hoping to encourage broader agreements in the future. While it was unclear how Ponitz came to work on this agreement with Wayne State, this work with a school outside of the county was quickly quashed by the Board of Trustees. In particular, Trustee Wenrich, employed at the University of Michigan, was not in favor of WCC entering into one-to-one agreements with any one college, or possibly supporting transfer programs over occupational programs. Wenrich explained later in the meeting that he

was “trying to encourage U-M College of Education to work up a program whereby colleges like WCC would take a two-year program in a vocational area, get their junior and senior years at the U-M and become teachers of vocational education” (“WCC Trustees Table Plan for Transition to Wayne,” 1966). After much discussion and some disagreement among the trustees who felt that students should have an easier path for transfer, the issue was tabled.

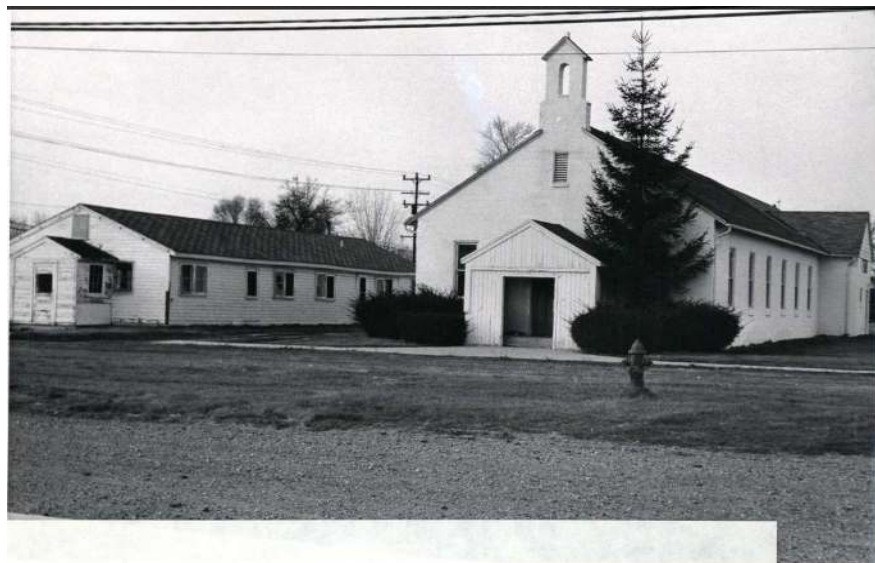
What may have also been of concern about an articulation agreement was that the in-county universities had not committed to honoring transfer courses in any formal agreement, so working out of the county with Wayne State would reflect poorly on the in-county institutions that had pledged so much support for WCC. Interestingly, Wenrich denied that his reason to dismiss work with Wayne was based on the fact that any agreement with Wayne would make the University of Michigan or Eastern Michigan University look bad, but as he was a UM employee, it is difficult to believe that he would not protect his school first, especially since this point came up in the explanation about tabling the plan. (Washtenaw Community College, September 13, 1966; “WCC Trustees,” 1966). Since the transfer programs were not the lead goal for the trustees, even if President Ponitz saw the value of building these relationships, it would take years to establish true articulation agreements and transfer rates were not consistently tracked in the early years. According to a 1972 review of transfer programs, of the thousands of students that had attended WCC starting in 1966, EMU had enrolled 620 WCC students and UM had enrolled 78 WCC students (Reynolds, 1972). Transfer was not the primary function of the school by these numbers. However, as Ponitz likely recognized, though, to gain further legitimacy in the post-secondary community, there would have been clear transfer options for students, not only those transferring in-county to Eastern Michigan University or the few that might be accepted at University of Michigan, but throughout the state as well. This, however, was not a battle Ponitz

would take on in the early years.

At last, Washtenaw Community College opened on September 15, 1966, in its temporary facilities around the county (Figure 4.28). It had 58 full-time and 41 part-time instructors to teach the 40 occupational or general education studies classes to a student body that was split almost evenly between the two divisions, feeding the dual cores. On final count, there were over 1,200 students, exceeding the number predicted by the Board of Trustees (“750 to Enroll in New College,” 1966; “New College to Begin Thursday,” 1966; McIntosh, 1966).



Figure 4.28. WCC campus at Willow Run Village.



ST- ALEXIS CHURCH, 1967
(OLD CAMPUS - DATA PROCESSING, REGISTRAR'S OFFICE)



CHILDREN'S CENTER 1967
(OLD CAMPUS)

Figure 4.28. continued.

According to news reports, the Washtenaw Community College trustees and college leaders had kept their promise to build a strong vocational education program. Particularly, the *Ypsilanti Press* editorial at the end of September focused on both the vocational and general

educational roles of the new college, saying that these programs are “of immense value to area industries which need a pool of skilled labor,” skilled labor for General Motors or the Ann Arbor research park. This, in turn, might make other businesses want to expand and/or move to the area, so the community would see economic growth because of it. “At the same time, the college must maintain a strong general education program” as it not only enhanced the vocational programming, but it gave students who were not successful in high school a second chance through remedial coursework in reading, writing, and math that it offered to students who felt they needed a refresher (“WCC Fulfills,” 1966). The *Ann Arbor News* reported on the fall enrollment in September, indicating that 47% of the students were enrolled in primarily occupational courses, and 53% were enrolled in general studies/education courses (“Enrollment Total 1205 for Community College,” 1966). President Ponitz was pleased that WCC had one of the highest percentages of students in occupational courses in the state. Trustee chair, Harmon, and the other trustees commended “the administrative and teaching staff for their work so far in achieving the Board’s goal of providing every person who wants it an educational opportunity” (“Enrollment,” 1966). This statement is interesting in that it stressed educational opportunity and not job placement as there was no way the college could guarantee jobs in the fluctuating market.

Continuing the push to develop industry-education partnerships, the Board of Trustees agreed on September 27, 1966, to a Trade-Related Instruction and Apprenticeable Training Program (TRI-program) that would provide training in seven areas: die cast diemaker, diemaker, toolmaker, machine repair, industrial electricity, millwright, and mechanical design (Washtenaw Community College, 1966; “College’s Trade Program,” 1965). These 12-week programs would begin in November 1966 and would be open to local apprentices looking to become journeymen or retraining for journeymen (“WCC to Begin,” 1966). As WCC’s first step toward remedial

course work, which was not added formally until fall 1970, Ponitz had committed to offer pre-apprentice training for those individuals who could not meet the rigorous entrance standards at the local training facilities. The program was also designed to meet the industry standards for Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, and the federal government (“WCC to Begin,” 1966). In other words, a publicly-supported institution would manage the training for private industry, and reports published in the papers continued to normalize this structure.

In another *Ypsilanti Press* editorial “WCC Serves Area Industry As Well As Students’ Needs” from November 3, 1966, the paper reported that WCC had mailed letters to manufacturers to ask about needs in order to use the local knowledge and practical experience to build the right programs (“WCC Serves,” 1966). The editorial wanted to remind the community that the college “is performing a valuable service to students in occupational programs and to business and industry in the area” (WCC Serves,” 1966). The local community had seemingly embraced the idea that vocational training and industry-school relationships were a true benefit to the area. In the case of WCC, a publicly-supported school, it marketed itself as serving a public good—access to education—but with the training programs, private businesses were slated to gain from this arrangement. These relationships were praised when the market was flourishing. However, as of November 17, 1966, the director of the TRI program said that all 14 classes still had openings and encouraged those interested to apply anytime (“WCC Trades Registration to Continue,” 1966). Unfortunately, the TRI program would end in February 1968 due to industry layoffs and a slowing economy (Wallace, 1968).

As the first semester wore on, WCC administrators, faculty, staff, and board members had little time to rejoice in their efforts as the November election would be cause for change in the Board of Trustees. With the November election, the Board would have seven members and a

staggered term, so there would be more continuity of process on the Board. In the November 8, 1966, election original members Samuel Harmon and Kenneth Yourd did not run and three new trustees were added: Robert Forman, director of U-M Alumni Association; J. Douglas Cook, Ypsilanti Assistant City Attorney; and Anthony Procassini, director of industrial relations at Bendix Systems in Ann Arbor. Procassini had run in the original election and had served on the Citizens' Committee for the college ("Chairman Harmon," 1966; "2 Mild Upsets Seen," 1966). For the three new members of the Board, they all campaigned stressing that they would continue the work of a comprehensive college with a focus on vocational programming that had been guided by President Ponitz ("Newcomers," 1966).

Service to the Community

Wrapping up a busy year, Washtenaw Community College had fully engaged with WISD and the vocational education committee to explore a secondary vocational education program at WCC (Washtenaw Community College, June 14, 1966). The chairwoman of the General Vocational Education Advisory Committee, Patricia Walsh, noted in a November 1966 report to the AAPS Board of Education that "The committee recognizes that vocational education needs to be made attractive enough to invite students to participate in it and to eliminate the idea that it's a choice only when a college preparatory course is not possible" (Saline Area Schools, 1966). What Walsh stated was reminiscent of the initial battles of Koos and Eells to create demand, status, and legitimacy for vocational programs, evidence that the battle was still ongoing. Her statement had come after months of conversation with WCC leaders; in a letter on June 6, 1966, from the WISD Assistant Superintendent Ianni to Ann Arbor Public School Superintendent Elzay, Ianni reported that "our persistence has paid off" (Ann Arbor Public Schools, 1966). College administrators had finally agreed to meet with the county Vocational-ed. Committee to

discuss the development of a survey for the county to clearly define the needs and drum up support for the plan. However, WCC would remain hesitant in its support as fully supporting this initiative would make the community college more like a high school.

For this meeting, each school district sent its superintendent and a representative, all looking for a way to offer these pricey services at a reduced cost. This was such good news for AAPS that its board during its June 8, 1966, meeting approved a resolution of support for an area vocational program at WCC before a survey could be initiated (Ann Arbor Public Schools, 1966). The survey cost was estimated at \$20,000 and would take 8 – 10 months to complete. The cost would be split three ways: the state would pay half, WCC would pay a quarter, and the WISD would pay a quarter (Ann Arbor Public Schools, 1966; Washtenaw Community College, June 28, 1966). Although WCC would not have a permanent campus for years, some of the local area schools were pleased at the prospect of working with WCC as *The Saline Reporter* noted on November 21, 1966, in the article “Board Endorses Vocational Program,” adding that Saline Area Schools passed its resolution in February to work with WCC on a plan.

January 1967 would begin another semester on the temporary Willow Run campus as enrollment remained steady and more ties to the community were created. For occupational education programs, the Board continued to approve members for advisory committees, and the administrators were continuing to develop training programs as a need was found. One program set up in 1967 was with the City of Ann Arbor to help its police officers return to school (“City Gives Policeman College Study Funds,” 1967). While Ann Arbor looked to upgrade general education knowledge for its police force, Ypsilanti was considering a two-year program to train new officers for job entry and would begin to work with WCC to that end (Wallace, January 25, 1967).

As programs across campus grew, so did the need for more teachers, and these teachers were also in the process of unionizing to create the Washtenaw Community College Education Association (“Community College Forms Association,” 1966). As many of the teachers had come from public school settings or industries with unions, the faculty saw the union as a way to manage their work environment and have stability in the work place. Further, southeastern Michigan, due in part to the auto industry, was heavily unionized, and this process was likely seen as perfunctory as there was no record of discord. The Board of Trustees recognized the group and set forth negotiations for a master contract for the teachers in February 1967 by naming its negotiation team (Washtenaw Community College, February 23, 1967). With the ratification of the faculty master contract in June 13, 1967, it would not be long before the clerical staff and custodial staff organized under Michigan Council 55 AFSCME, AFL-CIO in 1968 and 1970, respectively, establishing protocols that would influence the institution permanently (Washtenaw Community College, June 13, 1967, February 27, 1968, & March 24, 1970; Wallace, June 14, 1967).

Functioning in a complex task environment with pressures from local businesses, local educational leaders, and community members, Washtenaw Community College, in the span of a few years, had moved from an idea on paper to a full-fledged campus, establishing its legitimacy through its coursework, its marketing, its relationships within the community, and its relationships with business and industry. Table 4.7 represents the first class of WCC students, with 78% of the students representing Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti. The split between general education and occupational programs would remain around the 50% mark as President Ponitz and the Trustees held true to its promise to the community (“35 Percent from Ypsi,” 1966). These numbers also included students enrolled in remedial or “pre-training” courses, which

would not count toward certificates or degrees, but to attempt to ready students for college-level work.

Table 4.7

Fall 1966 Enrollment for WCC

Number of Students	General Education	Occupational Programs	Men	Women	Ann Arbor Residents	Ypsilanti Residents
1205	53%	47%	791	394	43%	35%

Under the direction of President Ponitz, WCC would be careful not to be seen as duplicating services even as the general education courses out-paced the vocational programs in terms of offerings and demand, and there were no formal articulation agreements with EMU or UM, although ten WCC students a year were in part of a dual UM-WCC initiative (Reynolds, 1972). There seemed to be little concern from other institutions about the growth of WCC. This lack of concern could be attributed to the growth both EMU and UM were experiencing at this time. For EMU, enrollment rose from just over 10,000 students in 1965 to nearly 20,000 by 1970 (Gaymer, 2009). University of Michigan experienced growth as well as it saw an increase of 14,000 students between 1956 and 1966, 22,000 to 36,000 students (Peckham, 1967). As there was growth in the varying markets, there was little competition for students. As 60% of UM's freshman came from the top 10% of high school graduating classes, and EMU was built on teaching programs, WCC would draw its students from working class populations or those students not originally college-bound. Like the other post-secondary schools in the area, WCC's winter 1967 enrollment would be on pace with fall enrollment with nearly 500 students enrolled for during summer 1967 ("WCC Enrolls Record Number," 1968).

Again, these early years established two clear technical cores: a variety of vocational programs and liberal arts transfer programs. Although Ponitz sought to bring the faculty, no

matter the area, together during the early years, the two distinct areas, often housed in different locations did set forth a pattern that would become part of the legacy of the school and impact how it would continue to develop and be shaped by the competing forces, externally and internally.

The Developing Institution (1967 – 1971)

“Our current understanding of social structures is that their persistence is not to be taken for granted. It requires continuing effort—both to ‘talk the talk’ and to walk the walk’—if structures are not to erode and dissolve” (Scott, 2014, p. 178).

As WCC ended its first school year in 1967, the Board of Trustees, administration, faculty, and staff still had a great deal of work to stabilize this new institution. In general, the public had received the new school well, and it was allowed to settle into a routine as the school itself, although new, did not vary from other organizational structures of schools, creating a level of comfort and familiarity. For such a new school, this lack of attention and concern from the public could be also be attributed to larger issues of the time. For all of the efforts from members of Ann Arbor Public Schools, there was little mention of WCC in any of the AAPS board minutes after 1965. Much of this was connected to the desegregation initiatives in that district, leaving its leaders with little time or need to focus on WCC. In some of the western out-county areas, the local leaders were more concerned about programming within the village or township limits rather than with a school over thirty minutes away in some cases. Most interestingly, though, was that the public seemed to trust the leaders to handle the business without interference, providing the school continue to appear to live up to its campaign promises of service to the community.

The county leaders through the long campaign had been able to make WCC part of the public conscience, even before it opened. This allowed the leaders of the school to make decisions independently and quickly. In fact, many of the pressures and concerns faced by WCC

would not come from the general public concerned about how their tax dollars were being spent, but from those working for and with the school. As WCC became more complex and had a more clearly defined managerial/administrative staff, it left behind the ill-defined roles and practices for the much more familiar post-secondary hierarchy where distinct groups of faculty, administration, staff, or students would be noted, instead of a “one for all” merging of roles as Ponitz idealized in the early years. With this, the issues that came to the forefront, aside the general construction woes of building a new campus, fell into one of four categories: industry/community relationships; vocational/high school programming; institutional pressures; and student/faculty relationships. Dealing with these issues over the course of the next four years as the student body grew, as the faculty and staff defined their roles more acutely, and as the school connected itself to other governance bodies, WCC would set standard operating procedures that would allow it to settle into its niche in Washtenaw County.

Industry/Community Relationships

From the start of the institution, the Board members and the president and his administration marketed the school as a vocational school that just happened to have general education classes. Opening in fall 1966, WCC boasted 27 one- and two-year programs with the goal of finding a job for any student who successfully completed a course (Cain, 1966). Using guidelines created by the Board of Trustees in July 1966, the advisory committees made up of representatives from local businesses and organizations helped the school in a number of ways (Washtenaw Community College, July 12, 1966). The committees developed and maintained relationships with the businesses that had supported the establishment of the college. These business gave money and equipment to the college in return for work-study students, specialized training at a reduced cost to the business, and positive publicity. Since the majority of the voters

came from the Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti area, the advisory committee members represented this largest voting block as well. Also, with the many resources available through the University of Michigan, many of the committee members represented the University or the University Hospital.

Although members would come and go from these committees over the years just as programs would change, it served WCC to maintain these advisory committee relationships because with the associations came legitimacy. Just like the Ann Arbor school address that connected WCC to the reputation of Ann Arbor as an educational center, associations with the powerful business and industry leaders created a sense of ease that the school was doing the task it campaigned on: a post-secondary vocational training ground ready to help industry if asked (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8

WCC Advisory Committees 1966 – 1967

Program	Advisory Committee	Affiliation/Business Location
Agribusiness	Added in 1968	
Auto Body Repair	7 men (body shop owners)	2 from Ann Arbor 1 each from Chelsea, Detroit, Dexter, Saline, and Ypsilanti
Automotive Technology	10 men (mainly dealership owners/service managers)	1 from University of Michigan, Engineering 3 from Ann Arbor 2 from Ypsilanti 1 each from Chelsea, Milan, and Saline 1 Plant supervisor from Detroit Metro Airport
Dental Assisting	9 men 1 woman added in 1967 to represent dental assistants	2 from University of Michigan 2 from Ypsilanti Practice 1 each from Milan, Saline, Whitmore Lake, Chelsea, and Dexter
Drafting	11 Men	4 from University of Michigan 4 from Ann Arbor firms 1 from Monroe firm 2 from Ypsilanti firms
Educational Assisting	Added in 1968	

Table 4.8 *continued*

Program	Advisory Committee	Affiliation/Business Location
Electrical and Electronic	8 men	7 from Ann Arbor businesses 1 from Saline Ford Motor Division
Fire Protection	Added in 1968	
Fluid Power Technician	5 men	3 from General Motors Hydra-matic at Willow Run 1 each from Belleville and Ypsilanti businesses
Food Service	Added in 1968	
Industrial Drafting	10 men	4 from Ann Arbor 2 from Ypsilanti 2 from General Motors Hydra-matic at Willow Run 1 each from Saline and Chelsea
Inhalation Therapy	8 Men	4 from University of Michigan Hospital 1 from the Veterans Hospital Ann Arbor 2 from St. Joseph Mercy Hospital 1 from UAW Ypsilanti
Library Technician	6 men 3 women	4 from Ann Arbor libraries 2 from University of Michigan libraries 1 each from Eastern Michigan University, WCC, and Ypsilanti libraries
Metallurgical Technician	7 men	2 from General Motors Hydra-matic at Willow Run 2 from Ford in Ypsilanti 1 each from Ann Arbor, Chelsea, and Saline and businesses
Radiographic Technology (x-11 men ray)		3 from University Hospital 3 from St. Joseph Mercy Hospital 2 from Beyer Hospital in Ypsilanti 3 from Veterans Hospital Ann Arbor
Welding and Fabrication	5 men	2 from Ann Arbor businesses 1 each from Brighton and Chelsea 1 from the Pipefitters and Plumbers Union

Note: As named in Board of Trustee minutes from June 28, 1965; August 9, 1965; and January 24, 1967.

With WCC's enrollment slated to double during the 1967 – 68 school year (“WCC May Limit,” 1967), the president and Board members saw a need to set priorities for enrollment and allocate more space (Washtenaw Community College, May 23, 1967). The Board unanimously agreed to prioritize students using four measures. Those first admitted would be in-county students as these students represented the constituency that funded much of the school. The next group would be those students from Livingston and Lenawee counties since they did not have a community college in those counties and would pay high tuition for being out of the county. The third group of students admitted would be those from school districts that overlapped county lines: Belleville and Lincoln. The final group would be those from out-of- county/out-of-state. This prioritizing grew out of the reality that enrollment at community colleges in neighboring counties was great, and both Henry Ford Community College in Dearborn and Schoolcraft Community College in Livonia had to turn students away (“WCC May Limit,” 1967). As the fall 1967 semester settled in, enrollment was double that of fall 1966 (Table 4.9; “2000 Expected, 1967; “College Doubles,” 1967). The state leaders, for years, had talked about the growing number of students, and like a self-fulfilling prophecy, students flocked to higher education in search of the American Dream.

Table 4.9

Fall 1966 and Fall 1967 Enrollment for WCC

Fall 1966

Number of Students	General Education	Occupational Programs	Men	Women	Ann Arbor Residents	Ypsilanti Residents
1205	53%	47%	791	394	43%	35%

Table 4.9 *continued*

Fall 1967						
Number of Students	General Education	Occupational Programs	Undecided	Ann Arbor Residents	Ypsilanti Residents	Total In-county Residents
2374	42%	49%	9%	34%	25%	83%

For Washtenaw Community College leaders, the steady growth in enrollment meant renting three additional buildings and buying the Carpenter Rd. building that housed the automotive classes to accommodate the new students and teachers (Washtenaw Community College, August 22, 1967). Additionally, four new programs were added to include dental assisting, metallurgy, fluid power, and technical commercial art. Ponitz remarked that the “motivation for new course comes from the community,” and this would be the case in 1968 as construction plans for the permanent campus considered how best to meet the known community needs and plan for the unknown (“2,000 Expected,” 1967).

One particular school and industry effort was the Machine Maintenance and Rebuilding Cooperative set up between General Motor’s Hydra-matic Plant at Willow Run and WCC (Washtenaw Community College, February 26, 1968). As part of this cooperative, three malfunctioning pieces of heavy equipment valued at over \$100,000 would be donated, and an industrial class at the college would rebuild the equipment for Hydra-matic. General Motors would pay the college 50 to 90% of Hydra-matic’s labor cost for the work depending on the quality of the finished product. (“Hydra-matic Gives WCC Equipment,” 1968). The contract with GM was slated to bring in up to \$10,000 a year in scholarship funds for students. Hydra-matic leaders stressed that the company would not make money off this partnership but would “provide young people with skills that are in short supply.” What was left unsaid was that this training program removed the onus of training from GM, giving GM flexibility with its own

budget. This program was likely a direct result of the long relationship between President of Hydra-matic James McDonald and Washtenaw Community College as McDonald had served on the Citizens' Committee years prior. In essence, the training production function was meeting the demands in the task environment at the time.

This deal with Hydra-matic was soon followed with two other courses approved by the Board of Trustees on March 26, 1968. The first course to be developed was a two-year Fireman Protection Technician course that once set up would be approved by the State Department of Education. This 62 credit-hour course would be a combination of general and special studies leading to an associate's degree ("Fireman Program Set up at College," 1968). This program would also be developed with the help of The University of Michigan Extension Service (Washtenaw Community College, March 26, 1968). The Extension Service, an auxiliary branch of the president's office, was designed to offer programming and support to those projects where students were not able to be residential students (Shaw, 2000). This work with the firemen through WCC, then, hearkened back to one of the original goals of the University to provide educational guidance and support throughout the state.

At the same Board meeting, the trustees also approved to a short-course in applied math for local water and sewage plant personnel, expanding the college's partnerships with local industry, including offering a general education course for the Ann Arbor city police right at city headquarters ("WCC Brings Classes to Police Officers," 1968). When it came to vocational programming, Trustee Wenrich stressed during the April 1968 budget meeting that the balance of occupational programs to general education programs must be kept, even proposing that general education enrollments should be capped to allow proper budgeting for occupational programs. Wenrich said, "We will not have paper programs and poorly equipped shops"

(Wallace, April 16, 1968). For Wenrich, who had not wanted to pursue a transfer agreement with Wayne State, claiming the need to have standard agreements with many schools, he was now proposing to limit the general education program so that the vocational programs could be properly funded, pushing his agenda to see that WCC be maintained as a training school in service to the community.

To an extent, Wenrich's request to limit general education enrollment was honored as out-of-county general education students were limited in fall 1968 and vocational registration was highlighted. The college would try, though, to maintain the 50/50 relationship of vocational to general education for as long as possible. This percentage would slowly change in favor of transfer classes, so that by 2007 – 08 general education credit courses had the highest enrollment: 36% in the humanities and social sciences division; 31% in the math, natural, and behavioral sciences division; 16% in the business and computer technology division; 10% in the health and applied technology division; and 7% in the vocational technologies division (*WCC Self-Study*, 2009). Considering this break down, 67% of the students are enrolled in transfer level courses if humanities, math, and science are combined. However, it could be argued that 26% of students in business and health programs could seek transfer easily, meaning that just 7% of WCC is in the business of job training. However, marketing for the school, then, as it is presently, would focus on vocational training as its calling card, not giving up on the original plan for the school.

All of this was coming at a time when local leaders and local newspapers were highlighting vocational training for high school dropouts and local African Americans in *Ann Arbor News* articles from February 7, February 9, March 14, and March 15, 1968. In "Chamber, 22 Employers OK Better Jobs Program," the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce was working to create and upgrade jobs for "negroes and high school dropouts" to create an "adequate,

competent labor force as well as fulfilling moral and social obligations” (1968). The Chamber hoped that its newly-formed Human Development Committee could work with WCC to provide training when possible. In “Fleming Says College Degree No Key to High Pay,” Larry Bush (1968) reported that University of Michigan president, Robben Fleming, said there was too much correlation between college and income, and that skilled laborers have pay equal to most of those with college degrees. Of course, these remarks came at a time when the University of Michigan, like many schools, was facing the need to turn away a great many undergraduate students, and it could be argued that Fleming talked well of the community college as it was serving to lessen the flow of “average” students to the UM.

Pat Roessle (1968) continued the focus on race and education in “Despite Job Credibility Gap, Negroes Being Upgraded.” WCC counselor Neil Anthony was quoted in this article saying that there were only a few African Americans in decision-making positions, and it was through the work of internships and externships that some Blacks were moving into higher level positions, but more work had to be done. In a follow-up article on March 15, Roessle (1968) continued to stress that “equal opportunity” was not a real thing for many Black job applicants. In the article “Negro Describes ‘Old Run-Around’ in Job Hunting,” Roessle stressed that due to the lack of equal opportunity, there was little incentive to seek out education. Roessle meant that although education was framed to be the way to access better jobs, education could not trump being an African American as the racial divide was very real and persistent. As Ann Arbor Public Schools was working on issues in its efforts to desegregate, concerns of race and equality would become part of a very public dialog at Washtenaw Community College in the following years.

Even with such mounting pressures on the institution as it became more complex, Washtenaw Community College staff took time to celebrate and reflect. On June 8, 1968, Washtenaw Community College held its first commencement on the Willow Run campus grounds (“First Graduation,” 1968; “First WCC Graduation,” 1968; Wallace, June 10, 1968). Of the 60 graduates, 48 earned an associate degree and 12 earned certificates of completion (less than two year program). Described another way, there were 34 degrees or certificates in the occupational area and 26 in the general education area (Table 4.10). However, as this school was marketed for two-year programs, of the 1,205 who began in 1966, the graduates only represent 5% of that group. What was missing in this report and subsequent reports was the number of transfers, indicating the lack of interest in this area, but happily reporting degrees earned.

Table 4.10

1968 Graduation

Number of Students	General Education	Occupational Programs	Associate Degree	Certificate
60	26	34	48	12

Speaking at commencement was the industrial relations manager, general parts division for Ford Motor Company. In his speech, he said that industry was looking beyond just a good job with good pay. With industry and education working together, there would be greater equality of opportunity, which was both a right and a privilege (“Industry’s New Role Outline for Grads,” 1968). From all accounts, the programming offered by WCC was respected and sought-after as summer classes for 1968 offered seventeen occupational courses and twenty-one general education courses to over 700 students (Table 4.11; “WCC Adds to Summer Courses,” 1968; “700 at WCC,” 1968).

Table 4.11

1968 Summer Enrollment

Number of Students	General Education	Occupational Programs	Men	Women	In County Residents	Out County Residents
707	43%	57%	489	219	76%	24%

As the public had no questions about the purpose WCC was serving, WCC leaders readied for the start of the 1968 – 69 school year that was already on track to see record enrollment, two and a half times more than 1966, with estimates at 3,200 (“Applicant Totals Soar,” 1968). To meet the goal of balance between the occupational and general education programs that Wenrich had suggested earlier, there was a hold placed on students from out of the county into the general education courses during fall 1968 so that funds could be used to support the occupational courses instead. Consequently, the dual technical cores were not treated equally. The transfer programs were cheaper and “easier” to run, receiving less state per pupil aid than a student in an occupational program. For the 1968 school year state funding was \$357 for general education full-time equivalency and \$425 for occupational FTE (Wallace, 1969). This funding structure that gave more money to the occupational or vocational programming helped support Wenrich’s call to limit enrollment from out-of-county students in general education classes. Also, since WCC was touted as a vocational training ground, the leadership had to make certain that the occupational programming lived up to the marketing of the school, even if that meant spending more money on fewer students. The work done in the occupational programs would be worth reporting to the public in order to keep their trust.

In another joint effort with the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, Washtenaw Community College agreed to take part in the STEP-UP program. The Specialized Training Employment Program-United Project would work as a trial project with WCC starting in March 1969. Under

the plan, the Ann Arbor Human Relations Commission would find local youth who were underemployed or unemployed, and the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce would be responsible for job placement and financing after they took courses vocational courses at WCC (Washtenaw Community College, February 25, 1969; “Job Step-up Program Begins,” 1969). The goal of the project would be to run up to 20 students through the program every two weeks. To further help these students, WCC Board members authorized that a loan account be set up that could help participants out in the case of an emergency. This program would run until 1972 when community colleges across the state had to make cuts as state aid decreased. This program, though, would set a precedent for future programs that bridged community-based programming and access to higher education for at-risk groups, a function reserved for the community college (Reynolds, 1972).

As enrollment continued to steadily grow, Washtenaw Community College celebrated another graduation in June of 1969. More than doubling the number of graduates from 1968, WCC leaders were looking to the move to the new campus in Ann Arbor (Table 4.12) (“Graduation,” 1969). Again, though, if considering students could complete courses in two years, this graduation class only represented 7% of the 1967 freshman class. Put in further context, the WCC Institutional Research Department (2014) reported in *Historical Success Outcomes* between 2007 and 2013, 1% of students graduated with a degree or certificate and transferred to a four-year school, 15% transferred before graduating, and 25% earned a degree or certificate and/or transferred within 2 years. Consequently, noting graduation increases was a way for the WCC leaders to demonstrate success to the public.

Table 4.12

<i>1969 Graduation</i>		
Number of Students	Associate Degree	Certificate
166	152	14

With the continued success of the school as framed by the press and the WCC Board based on enrollment increases, graduates, and business partnerships, WCC looked to a new decade, continuing its attention to vocational programming and general education courses that would help in one's career in ads that ran in local papers from 1968 to 1970. Based on marketing, it seemed as if WCC had developed its niche in the community as a vocational school, one that would be stressed as its primary function although about 50% or more of the student body, in any given semester was enrolled in transfer courses, whether in occupational or general education tracks. This tenuous relationship can be seen clearly when considering credit hour totals versus program declaration. Despite the greater number of students who had declared an occupational course of study, those students in the general education classes generated a greater number of credit hours by a 2 to 1 margin. In a study conducted by WCC in 1972 in response to the ever-decreasing state aid and contracting job market of the early 1970s, the contrast between the cores is striking (Table 4.13; "WCC Job Study," 1972).

Table 4.13

<i>1972 Enrollment Study</i>				
	Number of Students	Percentage of Student Body	Credit Hours	Percentage of Credit Hours
Occupational Programs	2,173	51.8%	11,516	36%
General Education	1,885	44.9%	20,061	62.7%

The college seldom used credit hours to compare the two cores in this way as it went against the marketed function of the school. What was not shared with the public was the real cost as well. Occupational courses, due to smaller class size and more expensive equipment, were more costly to run and produced little, if any, revenue. General education classes could be taught using minimal equipment to more students, allowing the school to generate revenue on these courses. Therefore, the goal would be to continue to market to the vocational aspect of the school and use the general education work as a means to improving career choices by rounding out the educational experience in these terminal programs; moreover, the increase in general education courses would help fund the pricier programs. However, this conflict was not shared publicly, and to meet the expectations of the community, the percentage of the student body involved in either area allowed the leaders to continue the narrative that the WCC was a vocational school with general education programs (Figure 4.29).

A Career for You . . .
Washtenaw Community College

FOOD SERVICE
 Learn food preparation and volume food management leading to employment as a chef, host, cook, manager, purchasing agent, food supervisor. Gain practical experience working in the college foods laboratory.

AGRIBUSINESS
 Prepare for interesting work in non-farming occupations such as landscaping, nurseries, elevator and farm supply, soil technology, floriculture, and turfgrass management.

EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANT
 Train for employment in public and private schools as a teacher aide, or in clinics and laboratories as a laboratory assistant. Opportunities available for trained persons in nursery schools, day-care centers, and children's clinics in hospitals.

FIRE PROTECTION
 Improve specialized skills and gain general education if currently an active-duty fireman or train for job-entry into fire department or civil defense work.

LAW ENFORCEMENT
 Study criminology, juvenile delinquency, human relations, for advancement in police or sheriff departments or start training for employment in local, state, or federal agencies dealing with the law.

Note: These are two-year associate degree programs, but courses may be taken one or two at a time as your schedule permits.

Washtenaw Community College

Chelsea Standard and The Dexter Leader 1969

COLLEGE CLASSES
IN DEXTER

WASHTENAW COMMUNITY COLLEGE
 ANYONE OVER 18 YEARS ADMITTED

STARTING SEPTEMBER 15 & 17
 will offer this Fall semester the following courses at Dexter High School:

INTRODUCTORY PSYCHOLOGY 100, 3 credit hours, Monday, 7-10 p.m.
 An introduction to the scientific study and interpretation of human behavior, surveying such topics as psychological development, learning, thinking, motivation, emotions, perception, intelligence, aptitude, and personality. Basic principles and their practical application are discussed.

ENGLISH COMPOSITION III, 3 credit hours, Tuesday, 6:30-9:30 p.m.
 English composition 111 and 122 constitute a sequence designed for students who intend to transfer to senior colleges and universities. The student will write both in-class and outside themes frequently. Reading materials will serve as the basis for these themes and for classroom discussions.

REGISTRATION AND TUITION:
 Register at Dexter High School on the first night of the class. Tuition is \$10 per credit hour for district residents. LATE REGISTRATION—you may register as late as the second class meeting, Sept. 22-23. If sufficient registrations are not received the classes may be changed to another location or canceled.

OTHER CLASSES IN THE AREA:
 CHELSEA—Starting September 15-17 (High School)
 Introduction to Literature 160, 3 credit hours, Monday 6:30-9:30 p.m.
 Blueprint Reading 101, sec. 4, 3 credit hours, Monday, 7-10 p.m.
 Child Psychology 290, 3 credit hours, Wednesday 7-10 p.m.
 MANCHESTER—Starting September 17 and 18 (High School)
 English Composition 111, 3 credit hours, Wednesday 6:30-9:30 p.m.
 Introductory Psychology 100, 3 credit hours, Thursday 7-10 p.m.

FOR INFORMATION CALL
WASHTENAW COMMUNITY COLLEGE
 DEAN JOHN WOODEN
 Phone: 483-5152

The Dexter Leader 1969

Figure 4.29. Local ads for WCC.

**CONSIDER YOUR FUTURE . . .
WASHTENAW COMMUNITY COLLEGE**
has
Career Education Opportunities
Available in:

<input type="checkbox"/> Agri-Business	<input type="checkbox"/> Food Service Technology
<input type="checkbox"/> Data Processing	<input type="checkbox"/> Library Technology
<input type="checkbox"/> X-ray Technology	<input type="checkbox"/> Medical Office Specialist Program
<input type="checkbox"/> Dental Assisting	<input type="checkbox"/> Technical-Commercial Artists Program
<input type="checkbox"/> Inhalation Therapy	<input type="checkbox"/> Auto Body Repair
<input type="checkbox"/> Architectural Drafting	<input type="checkbox"/> Automotive Technology
<input type="checkbox"/> Electronics-Engineering Technology	<input type="checkbox"/> Industrial Drafting
<input type="checkbox"/> Numerical Control Technology	<input type="checkbox"/> Electro-Mechanical Technology
<input type="checkbox"/> Metallurgical Technology	<input type="checkbox"/> Fluid Power Technology
<input type="checkbox"/> Educational Assisting	<input type="checkbox"/> Mechanical-Engineering Technology
<input type="checkbox"/> Marketing	<input type="checkbox"/> Toolroom Machine Operation
<input type="checkbox"/> Management	<input type="checkbox"/> Welding & Fabricating
<input type="checkbox"/> Secretarial Science	<input type="checkbox"/> Accounting
<input type="checkbox"/> General Education	

Fall Semester Registration: September 2 & 3 (see schedule below)
Place: Exact Science Building, 4800 Huron River Drive

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2

8:20 a.m. LEO-MARE	1:00 p.m. SCH-ORL	
9:40 a.m. MAD-BEE	1:00 p.m. SHM-SOH	
9:00 a.m. MED-MONZ	1:40 p.m. SOO-VOL	EXTENDED DAY REGISTRATION
9:40 a.m. NED-NEL	2:00 p.m. VOL-WAL	7:00 p.m. A-B
9:40 a.m. ORE-OR	2:00 p.m. WEL-WHITE X	7:00 p.m. C-D
10:00 a.m. GRE-GR	2:40 p.m. WHITE L-WEM	7:40 p.m. E-F
10:20 a.m. PEZ-PP	3:00 p.m. WEL-ZEE	8:00 p.m. G-H
10:40 a.m. PUL-PU	3:20 p.m. A-ARE	8:20 p.m. I-J
11:00 a.m. RID-RE	3:40 p.m. AK-BKA	8:40 p.m. K-L
11:20 a.m. S-SOG	4:00 p.m. BSB-BLE	

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3

8:20 a.m. BKB-BE	1:00 p.m. COO-HAG	
8:40 a.m. BEP-CAT	1:20 p.m. HAH-HEA	
9:00 a.m. CAL-COD	1:40 p.m. BEH-BEL	EXTENDED DAY REGISTRATION
9:20 p.m. COO-DAD	2:00 p.m. HOL-LER	7:00 p.m. M-N
9:40 a.m. DAN-DM	2:20 p.m. JES	7:20 p.m. O-P
10:00 a.m. DON-DE	2:40 p.m. K-KIN	7:40 p.m. Q-R
10:20 a.m. E-EM	3:00 p.m. KID-KEG	8:00 p.m. T-U
10:40 a.m. EN-EN	3:20 p.m. KIB-LEH	8:20 p.m. V-W
11:00 a.m. FFG-FM	3:40 p.m. LEL-LEC	8:40 p.m. X-Z
11:20 a.m. GAN-GOO	4:00 p.m. OPEN TO STUDENTS REGISTERING OUT OF SCHEDULE	

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<input type="checkbox"/> Architectural Draftsmen	<input type="checkbox"/> Electro-Mechanical Technicians
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<input type="checkbox"/> Numerical Control Technicians	<input type="checkbox"/> Mechanical-Engineering Technicians
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Figure 4.29. continued.

To the public, the school was founded on the principle that it would not duplicate services despite the fact that the transfer programs would, in fact, be framed as comparable to those at a four-year school, just at a lower cost. Instead of competing with the universities as an alternative then, WCC general education courses were complementary to the universities' courses and was at the service of the universities by making sure its courses met the university standards. Also, by using the general education courses to pay for the occupational programs helped to solidify the cultural legitimacy of a "job-training" school, until it became taken for granted. WCC leaders also recognized that unlike the universities, WCC could not turn people away as there was nowhere else to go. Therefore, 1970 would also see the advertising of remedial course work in reading, writing, and math that had been occurring since it opened in 1966 ("Community College, 1970). This course work would not be housed in a separate department, but embedded

in the existing general education sequence and reported as an expansion to the areas at little cost to run but could be used as evidence of how WCC helps all students. In advertising these courses, college leaders were anticipating the need for increased enrollment and tuition revenue as state aid was shrinking as the economy was beginning to contract. For WCC, capitalizing on the open access, course variety, and business connections and support, WCC had found its place in the county and had been successful in managing the complex task environment by which it operated.

High School Vocational Education

As Washtenaw Community College opened its doors to the community in 1966, the representatives of school districts that had been so actively involved in WCC's development went back to their respective districts to manage issues of facilities, desegregation, and faculty. However, many district leaders hoped for the vocational center to be housed at WCC. A proposition by the WISD in early 1965 continued to be of discussion during the second half of the 1960s as WCC had agreed to a study on June 28, 1966 (Washtenaw Community College, 1966). On December 11, 1967, the Ypsilanti Board heard a report on the area vocational technical study from committee director Earl Shaffer, who had been hired by the WISD (Ypsilanti Public Schools). Shaffer's goal was to move the county districts toward consensus so that, if desired, a millage vote could be called for the new center. When the Ypsilanti Board was pressed in March 1968 to make a formal recommendation toward this center, the Board members were not ready to report on this topic. Many of the members expressed concerns about district reorganization as they saw the vocational needs of students from "their" side of the county as different compared to the rural western side of the county that still relied on farming. Also giving up financial and administrative choices that would lead to the lack of local control was not

appealing (Ypsilanti Public Schools, 1968). Despite the years of effort by Shaffer and his committee's work and the districts' stated support for better vocational education at the secondary level, this project would fall short as was proven in the first failed millage attempt in December 1968.

In *The Dexter Leader* article from October 10, 1968, it reported that about 2,000 students would be able to use this new program housed on WCC's campus ("County Superintendents OK Plan for Voc. Ed.," 1968). Likewise, *The Saline Reporter* on December 12, 1968, stated that the Jaycees, nearly unanimously, approved of this plan, noting the growth of training programs to help students get jobs ("Jaycee's Endorse Vo-Ed Plan," 1968). Even the University of Michigan and Eastern Michigan University presidents asked for "yes" votes in another article from the *Dexter Leader* on November 28, 1968, "UM, EMU Heads Join Group Pushing for Vo-Tech Center." However, there was little reason for either university to deny support, and it reinforced push to create a path for job training in the county. The presidents stated that the members of the Citizens' Committee wanted to ensure that the students had a chance at the skills needed for the jobs of the future as was defined in the joint WCC/WISD study. They added that the skills center created would also be used for dropouts, an argument used during the establishment of Washtenaw Community College. Employing similar tactics that were used during the establishment of WCC of allowing the powerful businesses and institutions to influence voter choice, there was hope for a successful campaign, but it was not to be.

Although the Citizens' Committee behind the millage tried to inspire full support of the program, the Ypsilanti school board never did fully support the plan despite Shaffer's assurance that all districts would have a say in the program. Another reason for the millage failure was the delay of support from Ann Arbor Public Schools (AAPS). It took until the end of October for

AAPS to respond “favorably” to the plan as some AAPS board members, like Ypsilanti board members, were concerned over financial and administrative compromises (“City Board Endorses Job School, 1968). In the *Ann Arbor News* article “Proposal Supported, Opposed” from December 15, 1968, the Ann Arbor Jaycees supported the training program, yet the NAACP was opposed as it was not clear that even with proper training that jobs would be available for the Black students. With such variance and late endorsements from the local school districts, the proposal lost handily in the low-turnout election 7,842 to 4,960 (Stucker, 1968). In the out-county areas, the same areas that had lower support for WCC than Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti in 1965, this measure was voted down by a 3-to-1 margin. Superintendent Ianni was disappointed, but he said the committee would evaluate the concerns and revisit the option later (Stucker, 1968).

Ianni was right that the vocational education center would be revisited. Again in 1970, the WCC Board discussed the county-wide vocational program that would go up for another vote (Washtenaw Community College, February 24, 1970). Unlike the cooperative effort between the WISD and WCC that started in 1966, during this attempt, WCC only agreed to support the endeavors of the WISD and be willing to support a program on its campus if that was the desire of the voters and school districts. The WISD leaders would have to make this attempt alone. WCC was already stretched regarding its budget and personnel, as well as dealing with a labor market slow down as the economy was beginning to contract. Not to disregard the county educational leaders entirely, especially as they might be needed for future support, WCC leaders did not publicly state their lack of enthusiasm for the project. In a similar fashion, the Ypsilanti school board were willing to open the conversation again about a vocational center, but any support was too late. A full endorsement of this endeavor by YPS would not come until

December 1971 after yet another failed millage attempt in June 1970 by the WISD, failing by a 2-to-1 margin in the out-counties (Ypsilanti Public Schools, 1969-1972; Stucker, 1970). In this 1970 attempt, the proposed program created a partnership with Livingston County to the north, hoping to defer costs and garner more support (Gray, 1969). After the first failed millage vote in December 1968, the WISD at its December 19, 1968, meeting remarked that it was not the time to quit, and there needed to be a grassroots campaign in each community (Washtenaw Intermediate School District, 1968). However, the grassroots momentum to convince enough of the out-county and in-county residents to support new taxes would not come for this measure, and without people willing to pay, this county project would not happen.

In considering the factors why this county program never materialized despite being connected to Washtenaw Community College, which was receiving substantial community support, the WISD could have simply been relying too much on a connection to the college and support from Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti to give this project legitimacy. Going back to July 1963, the Manchester Board of Education had already begun discussing the Tri-Community Vocational Education Study between Manchester, Chelsea, and Dexter, the three most-western towns in Washtenaw County (Manchester Public Schools, 1963). During this 1963 meeting, the plans for the cooperative meant hiring a vocational director to serve all three areas, determining apprenticeship programs, and considering adult programs. Each district would contribute a third of the budget with some funding coming from the State through its vocational incentives. Ted Blake took the position of director on February 1, 1965, just as the WISD was starting its sell to WCC regarding a county-wide vocational center to be housed at and managed by WCC (Manchester Public, 1964). Like other vocational programs, the Tri-Community program had advisory committees for general and vocational agriculture, graphic arts, and auto mechanics

(Manchester Public Schools, 1966). It would not be until October 10, 1966, that the Manchester Board would report on a meeting with WISD superintendent Ianni to have a discussion about redistricting and vocational programs.

Unlike the establishment of WCC, the WISD did not seem to involve all of the stakeholders in meaningful and inclusive ways, nor did it have the power of business leaders and the University of Michigan to guide the process as there was little in this proposal that would serve their interests. In the meantime, the Tri-Community program continued to serve its students the best it could. Even though the Manchester Board did endorse the proposed Vocational and Technical school in October 1968, it was likely too late to convince these out-county areas of the value of this program miles from their homes. It was not that the people of these out-county areas were necessarily against vocational education, but their communities were being served, included, and updated regularly by the head of their program (“School Board Briefs, 1965; “Voc Ed Head Speaks, 1965; “Vo-Ed Head Addresses,” 1965; “Vocational Education Vital,” 1967). Considering WCC’s role with this the vocational programming, it was not in WCC’s interest to actively seek the K-12 partnership if it wanted to be seen as a post-secondary school. However, since local school districts supported the creation of WCC, it was difficult to deny some support to the endeavor. Instead, WCC leaders opted to build relationships with businesses and accreditation agencies for post-secondary sector relationships, an area that would seem to offer greater returns and legitimacy. For Earl Schaffer, he would eventually take all of his experience to the Ann Arbor Public Schools in 1972 and work to expand local control over AAPS vocational offerings using State funds appropriated specifically for this reason (Dolph, 1972), ending any chance for the WISD to create a county-wide program as part of WCC.

It was not that WCC leaders did not believe in some benefits of working with the local school districts, but there was a desire to remain apart from the K-12 system and maintain a picture that the work done at WCC was beyond that of the secondary programs. In a 1973 article, President Ponitz stressed that “the college is an area vocation center in terms of post-secondary students... I would categorize the need of this area as a division of labor between secondary [non-skilled] and post-secondary [skilled and semi-skilled] vocational education. I can see a number of areas where the community college should work cooperatively with an area secondary vocational center... in a contractual relationship” (Reynolds, 1973). Essentially, President Ponitz was indicating that he was not willing to dilute the current production functions of vocational and general education by adding secondary programming.

As the history of the junior or community college was connected to the expansion of secondary programs in high schools, remaining separate or offering the services of WCC on a contractual basis was the more attractive choice for long-term growth of the college as a post-secondary school focused on certificate and degree programs. Connecting too tightly to the secondary programs might be seen as delegitimizing of the work of adults. Although there were valid reasons to support a K-12 vocational program on WCC’s campus, these reasons and/or benefits did not outweigh the negatives. Leaders of WCC had marketed the school as a post-secondary institution for adults. Local business leaders had already indicated in the run-up to the WCC millage that high school students were ill-prepared for the workforce, but the community college could get them ready to become better employees, more mature employees. To add high school programming to the campus, even if just using the facilities, could shift the still solidifying idea of what a community college in the county should be, and for the leaders of

WCC, the goal was to remain a post-secondary school with programming for whatever community members needed.

Institutional Forces and Pressures

One of the first memberships for Washtenaw Community College was with The American Association of Junior Colleges (AAJC; Washtenaw Community College, November 24, 1965). Ponitz explained to the Board the advantages of membership in the national organization that was working to support the need for skills-based education for high school graduates and adults. As President Gleazer of the AAJC said in a 1958 speech,

Social and economic developments in our society have resulted in educational needs that have required a great broadening in the kinds of educational services provided by the community and junior colleges. Adult education, vocational-technical curricula, and general education programs are offered today by the majority of our institutions. Our movement is immersed in a sea of forces that call for a response in service.

Gleazer, like many educational leaders before him, used the appealing idea of democratization or the view of access and opportunity to wed the needs for the community college to the needs of the nation, fulfilling its task. Gleazer did note the “sea of forces,” recognizing that the very position of the community college between secondary and post-secondary institutions meant that the community college had a primary role to serve what was not happening in K-12 and what the four-year schools were unwilling to do. Depending on one’s vantage point, the community college could be identified as a bridge to opportunity or a buffer for elite programming, with the AAJC using the idea of “bridging” to sell the junior or community college to the public through the normative language of access and opportunity. The AAJC would be an organization that would promote its role to help the “people” of the country and give community college leaders a

way to recognize one another without having to share the stage with the university leaders. This self-referential activity helped to sustain and bolster the community college leaders, who had come from elite universities in many cases, yet were managing colleges quite different from those they attended. With little discussion, the Board approved the application and membership fee unanimously, adding another level of legitimacy to the young institution.

Not only did WCC have to be seen as a legitimate school when it came to teaching and training through well-qualified instructors and community partnerships, it also had to work to create broader legitimacy among schools through official bodies, starting with its accreditation process that began on June 14, 1966. The accreditation process, as a regulative action from an outside entity, allowed WCC to “prove” its worth as a college as this professional body set standards and norms for what the public should accept. Once the initial application of WCC to seek accreditation from North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was approved by the Board of Trustees, it started the lengthy process (Washtenaw Community College, June 14, 1966). After the completion of the first phase granted WCC the “pre-accreditation” status in March 1969, the process of the “self-study” along with visits by NCA representatives began and lasted for about three years before WCC received full accreditation of all programs (“WCC Moves Step Closer to Gain Accreditation,” 1969; Washtenaw Community College, April 22, 1969). This long process was more than just about setting curricular standards; it was about making sure that WCC was creating an institutional arrangement that would garner acceptance from its stakeholders: business leaders, university leaders, taxpayers, students, and regional and national organizations. WCC had to be seen as valuable and fit into the definition of a comprehensive community college, even as the institution itself was loosely defined on both the state and national levels.

The WCC Board of Trustee minutes were also punctuated with acknowledgments of other memberships for both the trustees and the president. Trustee Harmon was slated to serve on the newly-formed Michigan Association of Community College Boards to add a voice to the many interest groups in Lansing (Washtenaw Community College, September 27, 1966; "Community Colleges," 1966). Trustee Harmon planned to do three things for the college: exchange ideas about governing, cooperate with the state board of public junior and community colleges, and work on appropriate state and federal legislation. Ponitz would also get involved with the Michigan Council of Community College Administrators (MCCCA), serving first as vice president before being elected president of the council in 1969 ("Heads College Council," 1969). In this role, Ponitz would not only represent Washtenaw Community College's interests, but further the role of the community college in the state. With both the trustees and the president involved in community college organizations, they were called to testify at a state hearing for vocational funding, stressing the need for more appropriations ("4 at Hearing," 1969). Ponitz took on a leadership role in the MCCCA, one that would give him a voice and power in funding issues for the state, increasing the legitimacy of the school through his relationships with those in power and making sure WCC was protected politically and financially.

Another group involving a WCC trustee was the Southeast Michigan Council of Governments, attended first by Trustee Ardis (Washtenaw Community College, July 18, 1967). In a recommendation from President Ponitz on September 26, 1967, to the trustees, the newly-created Southeast Michigan Council would be able to consult with local governments to review problems, policies, and concerns of the local area. The college would be required to pay an annual membership fee of \$100 to participate, but the trustees saw this group as a valuable resource to managing inter-county relationships and unanimously supported the motion

(Washtenaw Community College, September 26, 1967). Again in 1970, the trustees became more involved at the state level with the Michigan Community College Association, an organization to help community colleges leverage their power when it came to state legislation (Washtenaw Community College, April 28, 1970). Trustee Creal said of the association in 1973 that “working with the Michigan Community College Association, our area legislators, and professional organizations [are able] to secure a stable consistent, rational, and supportive plan for state aid to community colleges” (Reynolds, 1973). From an institutional standpoint, WCC leaders used the associations with regional, state, and national groups to legitimize the school’s purpose. As Figure 4.30 shows, these relationships buoyed the cores of the school.

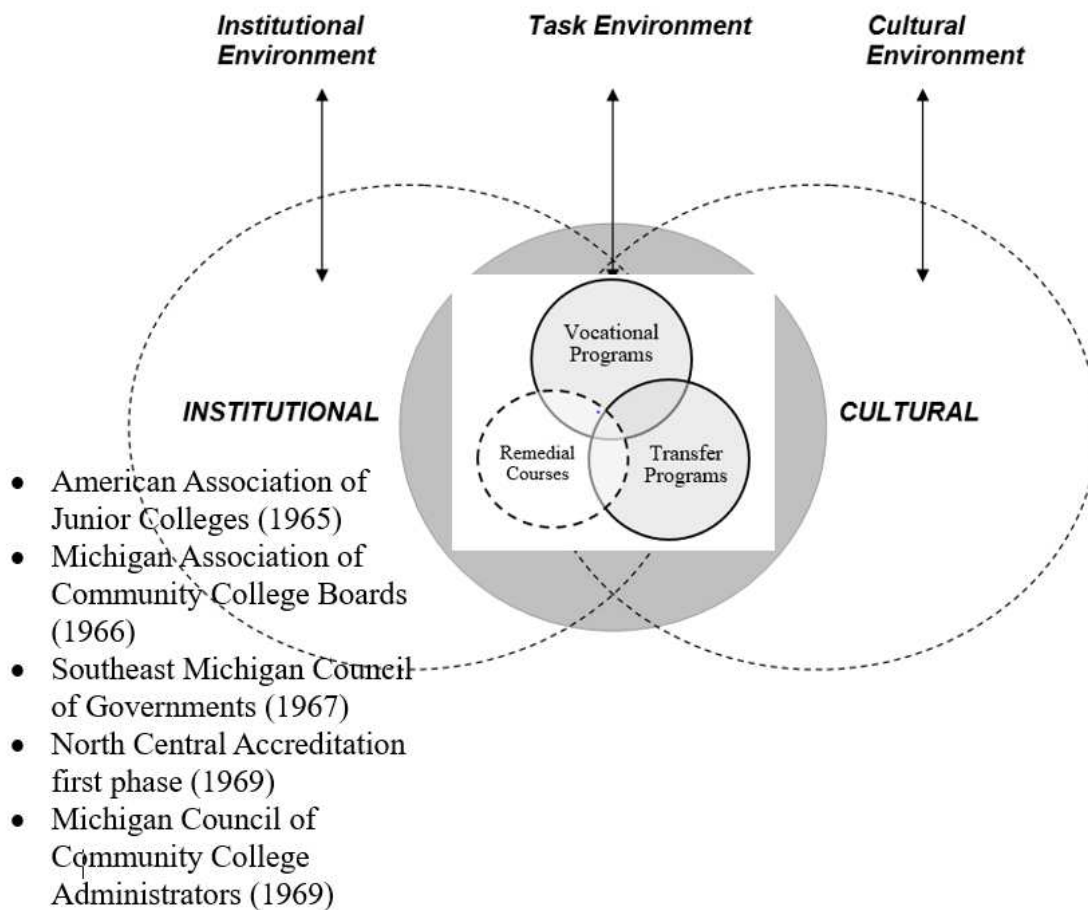


Figure 4.30. Institutional forces and connections (adapted from Muwonge, 2012).

The transfer programs needed the North Central Accreditation and the other organizations supported not only the vocational program development but the addition of pre-training or pre-college programming to make sure that students could be successful in the coursework for which they were receive a certificate or diploma. This pre-training or pre-college work, often called remedial work, would not be advertised as such but noted as part of the continuum of services offered to the community for those interested in programs at the community college. By not creating a separate “remedial” department, the college leaders did not have to share with the public that students, who had passed through the taxpayer-supported school system were again being supported for topics and skills they could have or should have learned before. Instead, these courses were framed as refresher courses, especially for those who had been out of school for some time.

The underlying and likely unspoken goal of membership in these organizations was to be able to preserve one’s own institution, and if helping other schools was a benefit to WCC, it could always be used to bolster public opinion. If nothing else, membership in these groups allowed representatives from WCC to be at the table to help with decisions. Without such connections, the school would have to be reactionary instead of proactive, not a good position for an institution working establishing itself firmly in the community.

Student/Faculty Issues

The good news for WCC in 1967 was the increasing number of students and the increase in the number of programs available. As exciting at this growth was, the Board of Trustees were stressed with the need for more classroom space and more teachers. Those teachers, many drawn from teaching programs or secondary programs, were able to join the faculty union that had been recognized by the WCC Board in February 1967 (Washtenaw Community College). Once the

negotiation teams from both sides were set, it took about three months to agree upon the first master contract for the faculty (Washtenaw Community College, June 13, 1967). Although the contract was good for two years, by April 1968, the faculty had concerns over salary and shared governance issues (Wallace, April 24, 1968; "WCC Faculty Seeks," 1968). After criticism by the Washtenaw Community College Educational Association (WCCEA) [faculty union] leadership of President Ponitz regarding shared governance, there had been some movement to work on committee representation. Ponitz insisted that the plans to develop a shared decision-making structure, the fourth plan for WCC in two years, would take time because there had been many changes to education and administration, and he did not want to strip any power away from the WCCEA when it came to negotiating (Wallace, April 24, 1968). Whether or not President Ponitz was sincere in his desire not to undermine the union, these statements would set a precedent with the public, many of whom were unionized, that he and his administration saw the union relationships as beneficial, a point of view that may have helped Ponitz when he was eventually censured by the WCCEA.

In 1968, President Encino of the WCCEA had put forth a plan to establish nine joint committees to make policies for areas like guidance and counseling, faculty evaluation, student affairs, and instructional services. Trustee Creal reportedly wondered how compatible it was for the faculty organization out for the benefit of the organization to have a role in decision-making (Wallace, April 24, 1968; "WCC Faculty Seeks," 1968). Nonetheless, Ponitz wanted to focus on the positives and trust that the WCCEA would work with him toward a better end. Unlike the issue of shared governance begun in 1967, additional issues of salary and personnel file access would not be sorted out between the administration and faculty. Instead, the WCCEA would file an unfair labor practice suit that would take months to decide in court, ultimately allowing the

WCCEA access to salary information for each member for negotiating purposes (“WCC Trustees OK,” 1969). These battles that started in 1968 between the WCCEA, President Ponitz, and the Board of Trustees would continue into 1969 as contract negotiations began and students voiced concerns about programming.

As for the students, their voices were really heard for the first time during the May 6, 1969, Board of Trustees Meeting, but theirs would not be the only voice. This meeting had to be moved to College Hall due to the over-capacity crowd that had come with recommendations from the student-faculty committee for a plan to fulfill the demands of the Black Student Union (Washtenaw Community College). On May 16, 1969, the *Ann Arbor News* reported “Teacher’s Group Censures Ponitz” (Wallace, 1969). The long-standing tensions between the faculty and administrators came to a head with a vote of no-confidence in Ponitz. The WCCEA president, Dallas Garrett, released a prepared statement noting Ponitz’s “inability to solve acute and aggravated problems on campus, chief among them being the problems of our black students in achieving their rightful place in the academic community.” Ponitz did defend his record saying that he had recruited black students, faculty, and administrators, accounting for 20% of the professional staff and 15 to 16% student body at any given time (Table 4.14; Wallace, 1969; Reynolds, 1974; “WCC Enrollment Up 18%,” 1974).

Table 4.14

Enrollment Trends 1967 and 1974

	Number of Students	Number of Black Students (15% average)	In-District Students	Out-of-District Students
1967	2,374	356	1960	593
1974	5,216	782	4200	932

In a meeting on May 10 between the Board and the WCCEA, the WCCEA president thought the union's efforts a failure as the trustee members present seemed more concerned about the way these issues reflected on the college than about the criticisms that might improve the college. Compounding issues, the Black Student Union president believed that the WCCEA was using the issues of the black students to leverage the WCCEA's demands ("Critics," 1969). In this case, the faculty was unable to convince the trustees that new leadership was needed. Up to this point, WCC staff and faculty had been hailed by the Board and the public as partners in community development and equality of education. For the faculty to present an opposing storyline, one so distinctly different from what people were used to, coupled with the accusations from the Black Student Union for using "their" issue with the college to advance the union's issues, there was little chance the union would prevail. However, the college leaders did need to diffuse the negativity surrounding all of the issues so it did not distract from future endeavors.

In an effort to move forward, the WCCEA again went to the trustees. Noting the support the trustees were giving Ponitz, on May 20, 1969, the WCCEA issued another statement requesting that the Board of Trustees hold an open meeting to review Ponitz's record in light of the Board's full support of Ponitz ("Critics," 1969). Trustee Forman said that there was no plan to have an open meeting and laid the blame on the ongoing negotiations as the cause for some of the friction, allowing the WCCEA president to concede defeat and take any complaints back to the privacy of negotiation ("Entire WCC Board," 1969). Privately, the administration and the faculty continued contract negotiations, finally reaching a second master agreement in November 1969 after many starts and stops along the way (Washtenaw Community College, November 18, 1969). Removing this issue from the public domain left room for the student issues.

The Board continued to deal with the concerns of the Black Student Union once the faculty was separated from the issues. At the board meeting on May 27, 1969, Dean Jones, an African-American, presented a progress report to the Trustees noting that the College leadership was looking for a coordinator for a Black Studies program and preparing a more formal recommendation for the president and Trustees (Washtenaw Community College). The concerns of the Black Student Union would continue to be part of the conversation after a request from them to the Board for the Black Studies program to be autonomous like other departments (Washtenaw Community College, February 24, 1970). Further progress on this issue was noted in the April 28, 1970, Board minutes recording Ponitz's comments as part of his recommendations to the Board: "Students have made real attempts to voice their concerns in a sincere manner. There have been vigorous exchanges—but this is part of the democratic process." Unlike the disagreements with the faculty that were dealt with privately, Ponitz used the public forum to bolster the reputation of WCC as a partner in the Civil Rights movement, helping all Americans to a better life, and again keeping to the premise for which the college was founded: access and opportunity.

Recapitulation

In the early days of Washtenaw Community College, there were just six men making the decisions that would impact many. As the number of decision makers grew, the need to manage the decisions became even more important as support had to be secured in order to move forward on a plan. In those early days, faculty member Edith Croake, hired in May 1967, recalled in a personal interview in December 2015 that many faculty saw student success at the heart of the college, and that through their work, they were strengthening the fabric of society. In many ways, she said, the faculty were in their own world as they clung to each other because that was

all they had at the time. Ultimately, the faculty, the students, the staff, the administrators, and the trustees persisted in their efforts to make Washtenaw Community College what they thought it should be, creating a natural ebb and flow of conflict that would follow as policy changes, national changes, institutional pressures, student-body changes, and best practices would shift the equilibrium of the institution.

Dr. David Ponitz would continue to lead WCC until 1975 before taking a job in Dayton, Ohio. From his arrival in 1965 to his departure in 1975, WCC was transformed through the hours of effort of the Board, the administration, the faculty and the staff from a paper college to a brick and mortar college serving a variety of needs for a vast number of constituents. The chaos and uncertainty of the early years as the school gained legitimacy through programming, faculty, and community relationships allowed WCC to continue to mold itself to the changing economic, social, and political forces like most schools in America. For WCC, many who witnessed WCC's founding and development look back on it fondly, like 1968 graduate Gary Owen in his June 5, 1971, speech at commencement: "This college is based on a premise that education should be available to all in our society, regardless of past accomplishments and economic standing. We all owe a certain debt of gratitude to those who have truly produced a miracle in an apple orchard."

Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of the study was to understand the institutional forces that constructed and shaped the function, nature of funding, and governance of Washtenaw Community College (WCC). Therefore, I studied the founding and development of WCC. To this end, an examination was undertaken of the historical development of higher education, including the forces surrounding the development of the junior/community college movement. This culminated in the study of the founding of Washtenaw Community College that can be traced to a suggestion by a school board member in the late 1950s and the development of the institution from a “paper” college to an institutional fixture in the county.

To more fully understand the underpinnings of Washtenaw Community College, it was necessary to understand the development of education, with a focus on higher education, in the United States and Michigan as well as the social and political changes that spurred the growth of the community college movement in the late 1950s and 1960s. Although this case study was historical in nature, the use of organizational-institutional analysis from the areas of sociology and political science guided the work. Using such a lens by which to view the phenomena, the norms, rules, beliefs, conflicts, and social structures were identified that were used to support, market, and define Washtenaw Community College as well as highlight the myths, isomorphic pressures, and legitimizing forces on the institution from conception to reality.

For this study, Chapter 1 focused on the introduction, purpose, background, and significance of the study. For Chapter 2, literature regarding organizational-institutional theory were discussed, culminating with the conceptual framework used for this study. Chapter 3 highlighted the methodology used for this investigation. In Part I of Chapter 4, I described the historical development of education in the United States that led to the development of the junior

college, ending with Michigan junior college development. Part II of Chapter 4 focused on the establishment of Washtenaw Community College until 1972 as the college moved settled into its role in the community and the first president of the college ended his tenure. Chapter 5, then, provides summary and conclusions about the findings and discusses the implications of the study for leaders in the community college, and this chapter suggests future research about the agency and construction of the community college. To serve as a guide, the following research questions were developed:

1. How did the junior/community college movement develop in the United States educational system?
2. What were the forces surrounding the founding and development of the junior/community college movement?
3. How was Washtenaw Community College founded and developed?
4. What were the forces surrounding the founding and development of Washtenaw Community College?

To answer each of the research questions, the findings were developed with a focus on Scott's (2014) work in organizational-institutional theory that considers how "institutions arise and achieve stability, legitimacy, and adherents" (p. 113). This process included the examination of the community college through the use of the Parsons-Thompson model. In considering Parsons' work, Scott (2014) notes that "schools, for example, receive legitimacy in a society to the extent that their goals are connected to wider cultural values, such as training and education, and to the degree that they conform in their structures and procedures to establish 'patterns of operation'" (p. 28). An overarching theme that came from this study was that instead of rising from public interest, evolving slowly over time or without a directed process as the creative

model describes (Scott, 2014), the junior college was created with intentionality and self-interest, using the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive structuring connected to the institutionalization of the school system. These institutional structures did not arise *de nova* nor emerge in an evitable onward-and-upward march having been percolated from the general community. They were imposed from outside by those who claimed by nature of their status to do what was best for the community and more importantly serve their own ends. As was the case with other social enterprises, the schooling leaders needed to only convince the working class that it was in their best interest to go along. Therefore, in the case of Washtenaw Community College, the findings demonstrate an agent-based model of organizational construction of a multi-core school through the use of regulative and normative features to influence the public, who actually had little control over what is claimed by the community as “its” college.

Findings

Question 1: How did the junior/community college movement develop in the United States educational system? The first goal of the study was to look at the process by which the junior college, later called the community college, developed in terms of its function, funding streams, and governance.

Function. Education in the United States has been framed as a democratizing agent through the expansion of access and opportunity, but its roots are deeply connected to socializing young people to the societal norms to maintain social stability. From the start of the common school movement, the goals of those in power were to ensure that the children of a region were inculcated with the values of the White Europeans who had come to form a new nation, so the function of the schools became management of this instruction. In the 1600s, this meant learning to read by using the Bible and living by the interpretations of the scripture that influenced local

law. As the country grew and the population became more diverse, the need to educate the children came not only from a desire to make sure they would become good Christians, but to make sure that those with differing backgrounds learned their place in the fabric of society, diffusing conflicts between those in power and those new to the area that may emerge as new values were introduced into a community.

As part of the newly-founded America, education was left to the states to set up, which meant variance across the country relative to each area. However, educational leaders in response to the pressure of changing demographics, used the normative and cultural-cognitive nature of the common school system, with “trained” teachers, to ensure that the populace had the basic skills needed to be proper citizens. Although non-denominational, the schools were premised on White Protestant values of hard work and honesty, reflecting both the normative and cultural-cognitive values of those in power. By the end of the 1700s, education was being considered not only a necessity to living in a democracy as new members were socialized to the community, but schooling was presented as a path for social mobility in order to compete in the capitalistic society, an argument used to justify the expansion of publicly-funded education for more members of the community. While the common school movement was slowly evolving, private universities continued to serve the sons of the elite, training ministers and public servants who would manage the new country. With the work of Jefferson to create a public university in Virginia, the private universities faced an expanding higher education market as publicly-funded schools at all levels were becoming more common and even expected in the new territories.

When considering the function or purpose of the early schools, whom they served defined the function of schools at this time as defined by the normative and regulative elements imposed by those in power. For the colonial colleges, their function was to prepare ministers and civic

leaders, drawing from the wealthy White males who could afford tutors or academy training. Lower class White males, on the other hand, were tracked to vocations where they served as apprentices. As the function of schools was defined in the coastal states, schools in the sparsely-populated territories took on the common school model developed on the East coast as this model was seen as useful or beneficial. Supporters of these schools defined schools as “the” way to socialize the masses in an efficient and effective format. However, the function of these schools was not to allow “all” citizens to improve their standing or move classes. Instead, it was a place where the general populace of a community was educated “enough” to participate in the civil functions of the community, and if some rose beyond their standing at birth, it would be used to illustrate the true opportunity for those willing to work hard enough, reinforcing the Protestant values.

Therefore, schools were premised on the shared Protestant values of the White settlers, using the schools as tools for assimilation, especially in the urban areas where the immigrant population was greater. Educational leaders in the newly-forming states looked to centralize control of education as the states’ constitutions were developed, looking to manage and make decisions about what was best for the public and how funds would be spent on such decisions. The Federal Government would eventually get involved in the support of state post-secondary schools with the creation of the Morrill Acts in the late 1800s. Instead of creating truly equal liberal arts/research institutions like Harvard, though, the land-grant colleges served to create a buffer for the elite universities, as those individuals—men, women, and minorities alike—attending the land-grant colleges were focusing on more “practical” professions. Consequently, as schools developed and used similar structures to manage the organization, the core functions of the varying schools differed as to meet the needs of the population as those leading the

educational movement deemed appropriate.

Funding and governance. Of course, as Jefferson learned in his work to establish a state school “system” that would set the standards of governance for the public schools, the public was not easily convinced to invest in this system financially, leaving many students without access to education because of their position in society. Subsequently, as universities and colleges continued to open, they remained for the elite; wealthy White males received private education through tutors and academies as the common school movement of the 1600 and 1700s created locally run and funded schools of variable worth for the benefit of the masses, but few saw a need or had the means to move through the system and into higher education.

Table 5.1 shows the basic structure of public education in the United States from the 1600s to the 1800s. For the 1600 and 1700s, White males of wealth were able to move freely through the system if desired. This system, while inculcating the general public into the ways of the community, allowed wealthy White males to continue in their leadership roles as trained in the academies and universities. For women and minority students, some education offered through the common was available, but moving up the educational ladder was not encouraged or needed as the class, race, and gender limited them. As the 1800s stretched on, more students were able to move through this system depending on funding, race, class, and education sought. However, as a greater number of students entered the system, each level served, in part, to screen students for the next level. Also, with more students, the system could not rely on the just the normative rules of those in power who had defined the system of education locally. Hence, there was greater centralized state control with regulations or laws framing the educational experience for those attending the public school system.

Table 5.1

Public Education in the United States.

1600s	1700s	1800s
Higher Education	Higher Education	Higher Education (start of Normal Schools)
Private Academics and Tutor	Academies	Academies and start of high schools
Start of Common School	Common School	Common schools shift to consolidated union schools

The Northwest Ordinances of 1784, 1785, and 1787 would begin the process of the educational guidance, support, and regulation from the Federal Government. Although each state could define what the educational offerings and governance would look like in each area, the national leaders required that townships offer the space for an educational facility and defined some funding for public schools through the collection of taxes. With the addition of public colleges after the Morrill Acts, secondary schooling became more prominent throughout the country as the colleges needed students, but funding remained an issue for secondary programs until the 1874 court decision in Michigan. This decision determined that communities could collect local taxes to fund public high schools, which at this time were college preparatory. The leaders used the normative and cultural-cognitive values of access and mobility to convince enough people that paying for other people's education was in the public's best interest. Consequently, publicly-funded institutions became the norm across the nation as state and local regulations reinforced the value stream that publicly-funded organizations were a public good.

As funding streams became steadier through centralized control, Michigan and other states began to consolidate school districts, removing direct local control, creating new levels of bureaucracy, often in opposition to local decisions. These changes were made by those leaders who believed they knew what was best in terms of educational programming. Again, the normative elements of what education “should be” were used to persuade the public to support programming that was to be a public good. Moreover, as educational access expanded, the expansion in the educational structures and offerings was often used to reinforce the democratic ideals that the public should support schools, so the “common man” could reach the American Dream by promoting the norm of meritocracy. Yet, the dichotomy was that with this supposed democratic equality through education, there remained economic and social inequalities connected to the job market and opportunity as the educational system served, in part, to reproduce the class system.

This can be seen most clearly in the multiple purposes of the urban high school of the nineteenth century. In this model, the college preparatory track still remained for the wealthy White males, but women, those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, or minorities were not offered the same opportunities. No longer did the local community have the share of control over who taught, who attended, and who ran the schools, but they were told that the schools served the best interest of the public, instead of focusing on how these schools were funded. This focus on the public good can be seen in the historical functions, funding, and governance in the educational system of the United States (Table 5.2). Schools reflected the social classes of the country, and in most cases solidified the student’s place, despite the talk of social mobility and access. Educational leaders would continue to use language of mobility and access to conjure support for the publicly-funded schools that would appear to serve their states’ or communities’

greater good. In fact, this was key in the development of the junior college.

Table 5.2

Historical Function, Funding, and Governance in Education.

Type of School	Function of Schools	Funding Streams	Governance of Schools
Common School	Training to be good Christians	Local funding	Local control of primary programs
Common School and Academies	Teach value of hard work and honesty	Tuition-based programs	Private academies with ties to local church
Academies and Early Secondary Programs	Prepare ministers and civic leaders	Extensions of secondary programs	University officials develop programs and rules
High School Programs and early Junior College	Track students to vocations	Sponsored by local tax dollars or university funds	University elite appoint or approve leaders

Development of higher education. For post-secondary education in the early 1800s, the chance to advance scholarship and create scientific studies fueled much of the growth of schools like University of Michigan, Illinois College, New York University, and University of Missouri. The University of Michigan president, Henry Tappan, had a great desire to offer “real scholarship” and create an educational system that would allow the University of Michigan to be “central to the life of the state” (Rudolph, 1990, p. 233), thus allowing University leaders to make decisions that were in the “best” interest of the public. This idea was similar to Jefferson’s work in developing the University of Virginia that opened in 1825 incorporating “larger social and political purposes to which he [Jefferson] pledged the university and the elementary and secondary institutions that were always a vital component of his conception of a complete system of education” (Wagoner, 2004, p. 127).

Many of these criticisms or concerns about publicly-supported education centered on

why the public should support the education of others. The argument, then, was that education would solve the ills of the society, keeping with the democratic ideals of America around opportunity and access, and would be most commonly and successfully used by leaders to promote changes to the educational system. For the wealthy and powerful during the late 1800s whose children could afford and had access to a more traditional university education on the East Coast where the elite were located, the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 encouraged the general population of White males to pursue more practical programs in agriculture and the mechanical arts, creating a “natural” ceiling for opportunity and growth for this group of people.

Like the early common schools that gained favor in the late 1700s and early 1800s, the expansion of publicly-funded programming in the late 1800s to include secondary and higher education was also gaining popularity among the public and served for many as a concrete example of opportunity and democracy in action. The growing stratification of the educational system allowed the more elite schools like University of Michigan to continue its selectivity in admissions, though. In essence, while it was more difficult for the public to see value in supporting students in a traditional college program, the inclusion of secondary and practical post-secondary programming made education on a whole seemingly more accessible. Leaders could frame this expansion as a public good, an ideal difficult with which to argue. In the 1900s some of the popularity of college certainly came from the fact that more students were completing secondary programs, and as secondary schools were finding their position in the hierarchy of education, normal schools, or teacher training schools for women primarily, were already in place to train teachers for the many public primary schools. The educational leaders were about to add another level to the system.

A new task environment. As the 1900s began, expansion of the school systems and

access to education perpetuated the organizational myth that school was designed for “everyone.” Like Jefferson’s early considerations of his two-track system for practical education versus traditional education, public schools at all levels had begun to track students into programs that were “appropriate” to class, gender, or race. Even as the federal government got involved with the formation and funding of the land-grant colleges, these new institutions were not meant to rival the public or private elite schools but provide an outlet for more Americans in areas like agriculture. Furthering the idea of stratification, the addition of the junior college to the post-secondary hierarchy would offer those of modest means or immigrants greater access to education that would serve to buffer both the universities and the labor market that could not or would not absorb the growing number of eligible adults.

Similar to the growth of the normal schools to manage the influx of women into higher education and the need for elementary teachers, the junior college was used to manage the growing student population interested in post-secondary education. For the early junior college, in particular, it was created or supported by some university educational leaders to relieve the university of the first two years of educating those students who may lack focus or ability as Harper had intended with Joliet Junior College. This would free up the elite institutions to work on sophisticated research that could result in accolades and funding from businesses and governments. When educational leaders in Chicago considered a junior college, some saw the decoupling of the freshman and sophomore years as relief from the growing number of students wanting access to the university, reducing the need to use resources on this group, instead focusing on research and professions of the more mature students. Again, elite institutions used to serving wealthy White males saw little desire to change their student population, but this did not alleviate the growing interest in post-secondary work by the public who was becoming

accustomed to local access and the dream of mobility.

In Figure 5.1, the idea behind Harper's support of the junior college created another level within the hierarchy that would essentially insulate the universities from the grind of teaching freshman and sophomore. He was intending to create a way for more students to enter post-secondary education, but many of those leaders of the junior college would not settle on just college transfer work. Instead, the junior college would eventually become a place that would accommodate a growing number of ill-prepared or undecided high school graduates seeking training for jobs that were considered semi-skilled or technical in nature to meet the growing economic demand for trained labor.

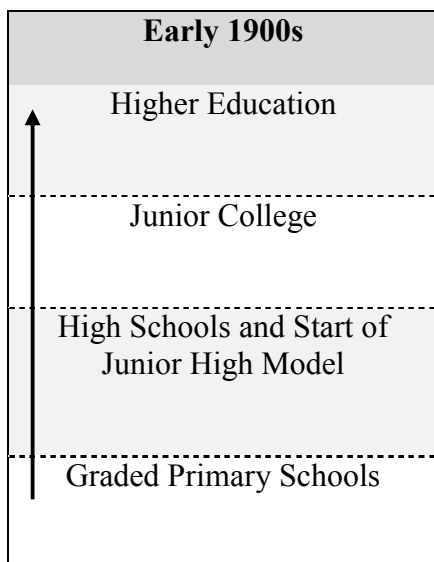


Figure 5.1. Harper's idea of public education in the early 1900s.

These competing functions resulted in conflict between the educational leaders of the junior college was evident in the early years of Joliet Junior College. Although Harper is credited with the first junior college, Joliet's school superintendent J. Stanley Brown's control over the school highlighted a more democratic reasoning for supporting these new institutions; the junior college could make education more accessible to the public, education that would allow workers to get better training for higher paying work. Brown found support for his ideas about how the

junior college could best serve the public in the likes of MacKenzie in Detroit and Davis in Grand Rapids. Both had framed their junior college programs first on transfer programs, adding training for local businesses to appease and convince the local communities to fund the schools and open post-secondary opportunities to more people.

With the junior college model expanding from just offering transfer programs to offering training programs, the expansion could be used by supporters of the movement and leaders as local access to post-secondary education and a way for students to move from the bottom to the top of the educational hierarchy; however, the reality was that many did not as funding and social support systems did not make this possible for most Americans, but it did create a path—this was the marketing tool. Other leaders saw the junior college as a way to create a path to being a more informed and productive community member through education, but not necessarily a university student, a path that mirrored the growth of both the common school and secondary programs.

Essentially, the competing functions of vocational versus transfer came out of this more stratified model created with Harper's endorsement of the junior college. Those with means would move from high school to the university, but for others, the junior college was seen as the only way to reach the university if one lacked money or influence, linking to the original protestant values embedded in the school system of hard work and perseverance. As the institutionalization of education in America was built on the norms of access and mobility, there was a culturally-embedded notion of public good, which would lead to education being regulated by the state. With this in mind, many of the junior colleges that opened across the nation had leaders who saw a two-year terminal program in either liberal arts or a vocation as a commendable goal for "those" people who were not white, wealthy males. Simultaneously, these

leaders recognized that not everyone was meant for the university and saw little wrong with allowing the universities to continue be the definition of scholarship and research, and allowing junior colleges to take on the role of sorting and selecting from within this population while meeting state and local training needs.

After WWI and as the country faced the deepening depression, business and educational leaders moved away from junior college serving strictly transfer students to vocational programming that would help manage local labor forces. However, despite the work by Eells and others, many students rejected the notion of these strict vocational programs; transfer options were still a desire as many Americans had accepted the value that education would create opportunity and social mobility. Considering this historical perspective, it shows that the junior college was designed in the best interest of the universities and businesses as it was a representation of the class system in the United States. Moreover, universities and state leaders legitimized the creation of the junior college and continued its growth throughout the 1900s, using federal and state regulations to create an appearance that the junior college model was most needed, appropriate, and efficient to serve the needs of the public. In the case of the junior college development, these colleges experienced what Selznick noted in his work studying the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA): “original structures and goals were transformed over time by the commitments of its [TVA] participants and the requirements imposed by powerful constituencies in its environment” (Scott, 2014, p. 25). In this case, the public and college leaders were brokering a deal around education, yet the public had little control or even knowledge over the process.

Question 2: What were the forces surrounding the founding and development of the junior/community college movement? The junior/community college movement would face

issues of conflicting control, competing functions, and conflicting governance structures.

Conflicting control. Traditionally, control over schools in the United States was managed locally or by a small group of learned men in the case of colleges, setting forth a standard and expectation of educational opportunity based on class, gender, and race. In the early school system, control was still very much localized despite the Federal Government's actions to create educational space in the Northwest Ordinance. Local control was going to shift, though, in the 1800s. Advocates like Mann, Barnard, and Pierce in upper levels of state governments expanded the oversight and tax collections for schools, creating new questions over the purpose of schools and whom they should serve as the isomorphic pressures created an ever-more similar structure from state to state. These isomorphic pressures were framed as "best practices" as these practices represented the expectations, values, and standards of those in power. By legitimizing these practices in the schools, regulation at both the state and federal levels would support these values, creating similar expectations on the role and function of schools throughout the nation while reinforcing the norms and values of related to access and mobility. The eventual growth of the junior college served to deal with rising conflicts between the educational leaders over how to best manage freshman and sophomores, while protecting the selectivity of the university.

Specifically related to schools, Meyer, Scott, and Deal's (1980) early claims about schools is that "educational organizations arise to bring the process of education under a socially standardized set of institutional categories, not necessarily to rationalize the 'production process' involved in carrying on this work" (p. 7). What this means is that standardizing institutional categories was not done to necessarily make schools "better" but to make the process more efficient and create more uniform outcomes. Further, for schools, it is essential for them to conform to the institutional rules like categorizing and credentialing teachers, choosing

curriculum, and maintaining facilities rather than ensuring that teaching and learning are coordinated efficiently (Meyer, 1975; Meyer et al., 1980). The junior college leaders worked to make their structures both familiar and standard, while balancing between the demands of the secondary schools and universities.

Competing functions. The junior college, as was endorsed by Harper, was designed to both bridge and buffer the university, but this primary function to produce transfer students was not to be the only function. The leaders within the junior college movement had to deal with the question of whether to add vocational training to what was originally defined as a preparatory school. With the rise of the chambers of commerce promoting business interests and the economic instability of the Great Depression, development of vocational programs to be managed at the junior college level was framed by junior college leaders as the way to differentiate post-secondary programs and create a niche only the junior college could fill: trainers for local businesses and trainers for semi-professionals. Consequently, the junior colleges would move from preparatory schools to become a multi-core institution, eventually settling on a bit of preparatory and vocational tracks. The transformation to a comprehensive community college that would be a bit of everything for everyone would not fully occur happen until after WWII.

Unlike after WWI where the Federal Government did not plan for enough ways for returning veterans to rejoin civilian life, the Federal Government's introduction of the GI Bill following WWII made "college life" a reality for many men who had never intended on going to college. Additionally, the National Defense Education Act of 1958 increased access through student loans. This increased access resulted in conflicts between leaders and the public about who would educate the masses and how that would be funded, with the community college being

named as both the most apt and cost-effective model. This model would not disrupt the current higher education offerings, but it would divert students from a direct path to the university to the junior/community college, which in many cases served as a buffer not a bridge to higher education as represented in Figure 5.2, especially as programs for remediation or adult education were added in the 1960s. In essence, transforming the junior college to the multi-core institution would be used to organize out a large number of the population. This would protect the universities but be done by focusing on terminal programming and industry training in direct service to the local communities.

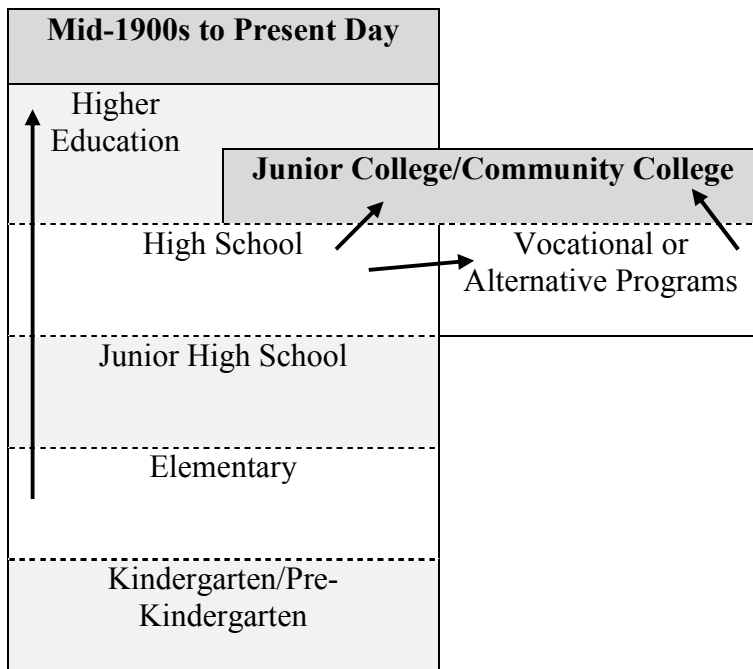


Figure 5.2. Public education from mid-1900s to present day.

With the influx and variety of students entering the post-secondary system, it meant the need for more teachers and more space, but many university leaders were not willing to dilute their brand to serve the masses or take on industry training that was expanding to the post-secondary levels. For the university, their core function was not that of training but of research and scholarship, operating in a far different task environment than the junior college. The junior

college, though, was positioned to serve industry needs as it transformed to the “community college,” using local tax dollars with the expectation that it would be open to the community. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the junior college, for all intents and purposes, transformed into the comprehensive community college designed to (a) train, (b) transfer, or (c) remediate students. Therefore, the public accepted the training function as long as there was also a path for transfer to a four-year program. Work connected to remediation was kept private so as not to increase the chance the public would question why their funds would go to support the “re-learning” of material taught in high school. With these functions beginning to solidify across the nation, the funding streams for community colleges reinforced the role of these institutions as they were supported through state aid, local taxes, and tuition dollars.

This transformation of the original junior college that served the universities to the community college that served the community and was funded by the people of the community meant that that the population of an area would have access to training from which local industry would draw. Although touted as a bridge to the post-secondary world, the community college would also be a strong buffer. The community college would effectively stop many students from moving to the university as programming was terminal in some cases or students were “cooled out” from the post-secondary stream. To combat the terminal versus transfer concerns, the governing bodies marketed the terminal programs, job placement, or business partnerships as the primary evidence of success of these schools as they were in service to the communities for which they served, while celebrating the few who moved to four-year schools.

Conflicting governance. When junior colleges first opened, there were a variety of educational leaders managing the schools. In some case, although mandated by a university, the management was done by local K-12 leaders. With K-12 leaders at the helm, many reached out

to local communities to encourage attendance and in doing so, brought the community into the college. To truly distinguish the junior college from the universities from which they may have been born or had transfer agreements with, the name had to change. If the state and local leaders wanted the public to fund these multi-core post-secondary schools, the name of it had to connect more fully with the community as did the management of the schools. The state legislatures and proponents of the community college used the name change to “community college” to convince the public of the service the college offered to the communities and that these schools would be managed locally, or have local representatives. As the leaders had done with the common school and secondary programming, they were looking to make the public believe that these schools were the responsibility of the community and in service to the community.

Important to understand is that the leaders needed to deflect from questions about funding and focus more on the public good. Had leaders identified the terminal nature of most programming, the true opportunity for transfer, or the goals of industry to have publicly-funded training grounds, the community college would not have garnered such popularity or support as the public embraced the vocational training while continuing to believe the myths of access and mobility through transfer programming. Instead, demands for post-secondary access and training were exploited by the leaders who were able to manipulate and recommend regulations and policies in support of community colleges, placing great value on community college’s work and role in the post-secondary world. Using the language of “community college” diffused many of the questions surrounding who should be taught, what should be taught, and who should pay as this local institution would help local people achieve their American Dream. Getting the public’s backing was crucial as the state and educational leaders could not propose new programs that might lead people to believe the four-year institutions were just protecting their programs from

the general public instead of creating access and opportunity through expanding educational programs.

In essence, the founding and development of junior college movement came from concerns of the university leaders as the original university structure of selectivity was threatened as more students from diverse backgrounds expected admission into the post-secondary world and the need to decouple itself from the teaching of freshmen and sophomores. This junior college/comprehensive community college was not a brainchild of the community members looking to increase access to education but of those involved in post-secondary work at the universities who sought to buffer the university and later the business community that saw the community college as publicly-funding training grounds. These issues set forth the design of the junior college and its transformation, serving a variety of stakeholders. One, the purpose of the junior college was to relieve elite universities of educating freshmen and sophomores and focus on research and professional education. Two, the junior college and the new community college would screen and filter—buffer and bridge—students into four-year schools while also cooling out those students not “ready” for the university or offer remediation of skills. Also, for the high school leaders, they were looking for vocational programming to organize out those students who did not follow the college preparatory track. Three, the community college was used to build local economies with training programs for vocational and technical skills, thus allowing industry to control the labor market.

Researchers consider these deeply ingrained rationalized formal structures that are actually a reflection of the created social reality. They contend that these myths or rationalized institutional elements appear as “professions, programs, and technologies” (Meyer & Rowan, 1991, p. 44). Examples of these myths are the degrees needed to teach; the appointment of a

board and president; and the need for the school to organize like a school with teachers, counselors, or deans. More specifically, the original junior college was set up initially as a feeder school in many cases and then became a buffer for elite universities, but the community college became the second-chance institution as well as a buffer for the universities. In an even larger scope, the expansion of education, from the common school of the colonial days to the university, has been connected with the democratic ideals that the nation touts as American. Indeed, these myths influence how institutions develop and organize and would be evident in the founding and development of Washtenaw Community College.

Question 3: How was Washtenaw Community College founded and developed?

Many junior colleges evolved as university leaders were looking to decouple from the teaching of freshman and sophomores or as colleges developed in regions with little access to higher education. However, Washtenaw Community College was created in a county full of educational opportunities, making its founding and development unique. Using existing laws like ACT 259 of 1955 that set funding, governance, and the “community college” moniker, along with State reports authorized by the legislation [1958 Russell Report], those championing WCC would have justification to appeal to the community members to generate support for funding the school through the passage of a county millage. Employing the expectations of educational access and opportunity, county leaders from business and education and those working for county leaders like University of Michigan’s Raymond Young highlighted the vocational programming that would serve the community. For some this would mean access to jobs, and for others it would be access to higher education, transfer or not, emphasizing that “everyone” could participate. Defining what should be taught, what would be the purpose of school, who would get to decide, and who would pay for it was done long before the community would vote on this initiative.

Therefore, Washtenaw Community College was created through agent-based institutional construction where leaders defined the new school's core functions, funding streams, and governance systems through a campaign led by local leaders who tightly controlled the message so that there could be no significant opposition.

A community in need of a college? Starting in the late 1940s, Michigan state and Washtenaw county leaders began to evaluate the educational systems as state leaders stressed that the schools were facing more students, inadequate facilities, and ill-defined curriculum through the use of area studies. These area studies were completed by local educational officials using state guidelines published in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Throughout the 1950s, Michigan state leaders further defined the nature of problem they saw and asserted such in these studies. Leaders wrote of the growing number of students, the children of the baby boomers, who would need jobs and schools to attend, and reported as much in varying state, regional, and local reports about education, expressing some fear of how this increasing number would impact the already stressed educational system. The four-year universities like University of Michigan wanted to maintain their top-tier status and were not interested in serving this growing number of students by adding or changing programs for students who did not match the selective admissions process. At the same time, industry leaders and University of Michigan leaders, led by President Harlan Hatcher, also saw the need for more skilled and semi-skilled employees for the growing technical work in and around the county as UM was working to create a research center like that being created in North Carolina, and the auto industry, GM and Ford, needed more technically-trained employees in their many factories.

After these many state-sponsored surveys and reports, the junior college/community college was named as the critical tool in the post-secondary planning in the state for training

purposes as well as a transfer institution, reducing the burden on the four-year schools that had little desire to become less selective in their admission's standards or dilute their primary function of preparing professionals. The state leaders' desires to have a place for students who wished to enter the post-secondary world for industry training or a transfer degree that would not put undue stress on the university was exacerbated with the launch of Sputnik. Suddenly, the United States was no longer the land with the best and the brightest, so to counter this, post-secondary education was going to be the savior, and the leaders could encourage the creation of the community college to manage these new students and new training programs. Consequently, for Washtenaw County, in particular, there was little need for the community college until the 1960s. With the number of post-secondary schools in the county, there was an appearance of access and limited demand from the public for expanded offerings. This need in the county, then, was driven by the fact that despite the educational opportunities already established in the county, there was no means to train semi-skilled/technical workers for the local industry and UM. Therefore, business and educational leaders, based on the needs of their task environments, had to convince the public through a long controlled process so as to reduce dissent and secure funding. In the end, a community college would serve a training need and protect the core functions of the four-year schools of the area from having to manage new functions.

Important to the institutional construction of the Washtenaw Community College was the organizational field in which it existed as shown in Figure 5.3. The organizational populations of the schools systems, governmental units, business units, and higher education are all represented. The area within the dashed box represents the organizational field or the "those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resources,

and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products...to the totality of relevant actors” (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991, p. 64-65).

Although many different groups would participate in the creation of Washtenaw Community College, the University of Michigan leaders and individuals connected to the UM and Ann Arbor would play the most vital role in the creation as these groups were also looking to manage each of their task environments. Therefore, Washtenaw Community College would be added to the higher education population with the specific functions of vocational training and transfer courses, adding remedial courses as the need presented itself.

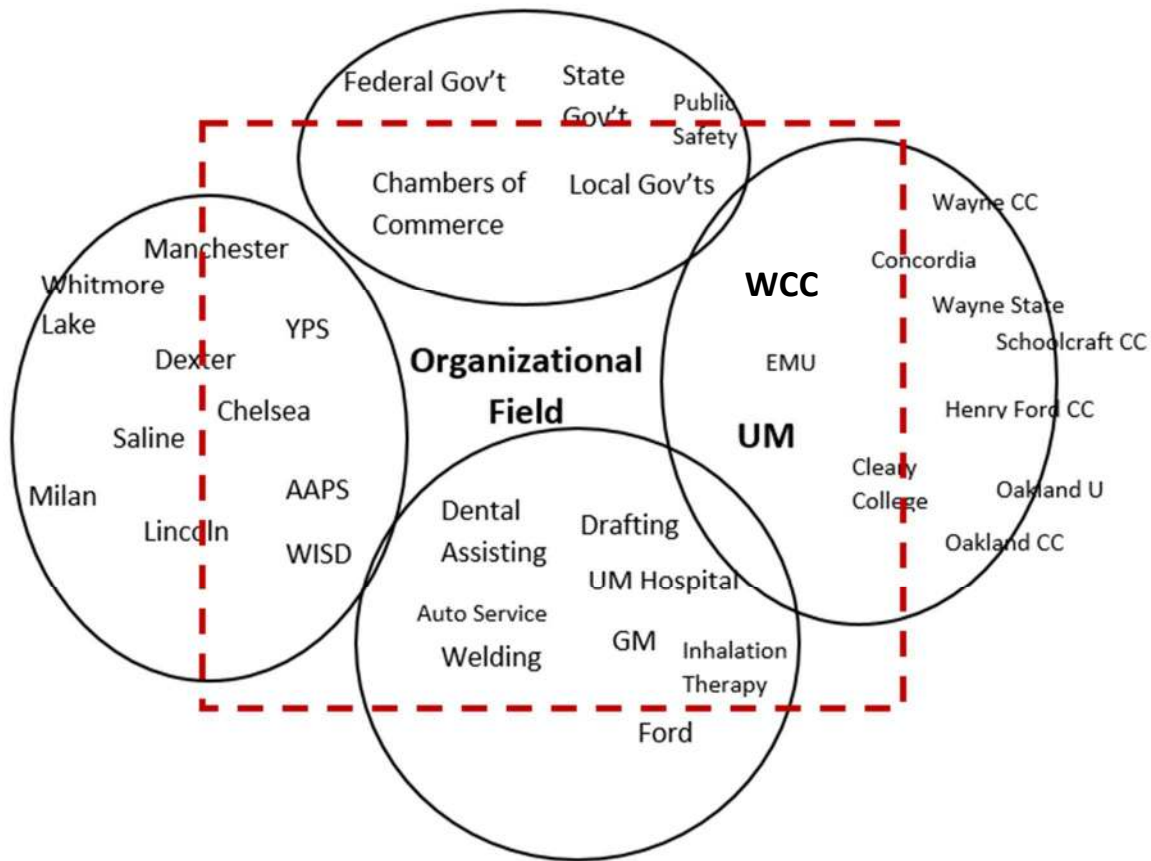


Figure 5.3. Organizational field for Washtenaw Community College.

When Ann Arbor Public School (AAPS) Board chair, Harlan Bloomer, introduced the idea of supporting a community college in Washtenaw County in 1959, there was already a plan

in mind. Ann Arbor, through the agents of the school board, University of Michigan, and its chamber of commerce, had the people and resources to make this school a reality, but the AAPS board also realized that sponsoring a school that focused on industry training or second-chance education would be a hard sell to the public who would not want to increase taxes to support what businesses could manage in their own in-house training. Thus, using the strength of the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, the business leaders in the area were given the opportunity to define if and how they would use a county training ground that would be publicly-funded but able to serve the needs of the business community. In fact Bill Bott (1981), director of the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce during the time of WCC's construction noted clearly why a community college was needed in the county: "Because the employers in the Ann Arbor area—much as they might themselves have been graduates of the U of M—or some other university—couldn't find high tech people, vocational type people. Nobody was training people." Further,...this institution would "teach you other kinds of things that made you a fuller person and a better employee, student, a better parent, and better citizen." Again, the vocational function would override the transfer function.

For the University of Michigan leaders from President Hatcher to associate professor of technical education Norman Harris, this new school would prepare employees to work at the UM as technicians and support staff. Consequently, there would be a strong drive on the part of these parties to create specific programs to match their needs, and this would be done by being involved in advisory committees. Additionally, a county-based school that had transfer courses would generate more tax dollars and be better equipped to serve a larger and more diverse constituency not being served by the existing county offerings. In these early meetings between the AAPS and the Chamber representatives, graduates or employees of the University of

Michigan, set forth the primary functions of both vocational and transfer programs. As the basic funding structures were already solidified to follow the K-12 system of state and local funding streams, the leaders could add a tuition funding stream like other county community colleges had done based on the Act of 1955.

The question, then, was how to sell the idea to the county. The University of Michigan, with its standing in the state and across the nation, had the means to propel this idea forward using the expertise of Dr. Raymond Young. Young had a playbook for the creation of junior/community colleges as he would become known as the “Johnny Appleseed” of community colleges. He had already written extensively and helped create colleges in other states, so once he was employed by the UM in 1959, his expertise in this area was at the ready. Young saw that to establish a college that would be accepted publicly there needed to be a community effort and buy-in to avoid dissent. Focusing on the community effort allowed for the creation or designation of the task environment in which the school would operate, so that by the time the millage was called for, the community leaders had clearly stated the purpose and how to reach the outcomes of creating semi-professionals or transfer students.

Using funding systems that combined the familiarity of the public K-12 system with the tuition-based university programs, those interested in the community college only had to define its role in the community. Using both vocational and transfer programming, a multi-core approach allowed for the marketing of a school that would serve those needs not being met by the large universities already in the county, especially as the county businesses stressed the needed for a better trained workforce. Even during the early days when WCC was just an idea, there was a great deal of organization behind the project. Moreover, unlike other counties looking to open a community college who solicited support from the University of Michigan

leaders, within the county, Young limited naming UM as directly supporting the initiative, opting to have the Citizens' Committee to be the face of the campaign. This was done to make it appear as if this college was for the county at-large and not a UM or Ann Arbor extension as that could hurt the funding chances beyond Ann Arbor.

As the initiative started, Young, representatives from the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, and leaders from Ann Arbor Public Schools, through the Citizens' Committee, worked to guide the committee's efforts to educate and convince the Washtenaw County public as to why the community college was needed and the best option for the growth of the county. This model was time-consuming and involved tapping the skills of many community leaders, but without such help and support from local leaders in business, civic, and educational areas, the chance that the community college would be supported in the county was threatened. It was through Young's work managing the findings of the Citizens' Committee, who had been hand-pick by the county Board of Education and the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, that the initiative moved forward. With the strength and support of the influential leaders in the county in place, Raymond Young publicly announced the working committee in 1961, two years after the process had begun. This was the right time to begin to ask the county at-large for funding and support for the new school.

Institutional entrepreneurship. Another way to consider the influence over the founding of WCC is by using the definition of institutional entrepreneurship, which "refers to 'activities of actors who have an interest in particular institutional arrangements and leverage resources to create new institutions or transform existing ones'" (Maguire, Hardy, & Lawrence qtd in Scott, 2014, p. 117). The founding of Washtenaw Community College can be traced to a number of important participants and groups. The UM and local business leaders from GM, Ford, local

hospitals, especially those through the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, had an interest in developing the skilled and semi-skilled workers needed by expanding industry around Ann Arbor. Also, UM hospital and the growing research park would need support staffing for the growing campus and research enterprises. Local school districts like Ann Arbor Public Schools and the County intermediate school district were looking to expanded vocational programs through the community college and have a place to refer students not destined for a four-year school right out of high school. For the public who would fund the school, the leaders built on the myth that many working class residents believed that access to post-secondary work would mean opportunity and agreed with community professionals that a community college was in the best interest of the public for economic and safety reasons. Further, a community college would provide an alternative to an expensive expansion of four-year colleges while protecting university selectivity. Therefore, the leadership of the UM played gatekeeper to this community college initiative through Young's management either out front or more often than not in the background in order to ultimately protect its core technologies of engineering, technology, and medical programming.

Unlike a cressive or natural model of development where institutions begin with an idea that once accepted establishes its legitimacy and eventual sedimentation, Washtenaw Community College was not the result of a public outcry for a community college. Instead, using the Act of 1955, educational reports sponsored by state leaders, business support coordinated through the local chambers, and financial resources or consultants from the University of Michigan, these leaders defined their business needs first and then sold WCC to the public as the best way to meet the needs for a trained labor force that the leaders saw for the community with a training ground and transfer school. This process followed an agent-based approach, where

actors worked with intentionality to construct Washtenaw Community College as a vocational school with some transfer coursework. The UM, as the most powerful force in the process, had consultants, funds, and state and business connections to set up a structure to introduce the idea to the public and develop support, making it seem as if the process was publicly-driven. Because of the political and economic efforts of the actors to engage the community in surveying and generating interest for the founding of WCC, the institution was able to move through the process of institutionalization, from innovation to sedimentation, using Scott's (2015) three pillars to interact and reinforce one another. Therefore, as familiar values and structures were employed during the creation and development of WCC, the institution was quickly able to develop its niche as trainers for the county with little community pressure to do otherwise.

Keeping the agent-based model in mind where there is intentionality of action, the regulative pillar was used as a first step as there were many policies that influenced the eventual founding and development of the school. From 1949 to the early 1960s, the State of Michigan and other government-sponsored groups used the process of surveying and codifying the results to make a case for community colleges in Michigan, hence articulating the "need." With the publication of one report, it became a source for the next report, and so in some ways, leaders were creating their own facts. Consequently, by the time the Citizens' Committee guided by Young published the 1963 report about the possibility of a community college in the county, the steps to authorize such a school were codified. It was through the use of these reports that legislative bodies created new legislation concerning the funding, governance, and naming of the community college in the Act of 1955. Citing the legislation and new standards in place across the state, leaders made the argument for moving the community college forward, and as it fit into the accepted framework of the government, there was little pushback to the new ideas as those

with the most powerful voices—the Ann Arbor elite—were in support of the project.

As Scott (2014) noted, “Institutions have many fathers and mothers, only some of which recognize and acknowledge their parental role” (p.119). The idea of roles, then, can be considered on a continuum whereby regulative actions are the most concrete and seen as most rational and cultural-cognitive as most ephemeral. Those educational leaders involved in the founding and development of WCC might see the agent-based construction, whereas the public or those loosely-connected with the process see the creation of the school as much more naturalistic. Looking at the founding and development of WCC, the state laws defining the community college and giving boundaries to their creations allowed the leaders to use these rules to make the moral imperative of educational access much more potent. As the laws were in place and the county had the financial means to support the institution, denying post-secondary access to more people was not a viable option in a time of the Civil Rights Movement. Taking this further to the cognitive-cultural pillar, there was a common meaning around education and access that was expected and then taken-for-granted, appealing to the values of meritocracy and the American Dream.

Defining the organization. After years of conversation, surveys, and campaigning, a community college in Washtenaw County was approved by the county voters and a “need” was recognized. Quickly, the new Board of Trustees, all connected to Ann Arbor and UM though business or as college employees, worked to make good on the “mandate” by the county to create this new school. Trustee Wenrich, Director of Vocational Education, at UM was most vocal in making sure that the school be framed around vocational education. Also, as there were essentially six men and a group of UM/Ann Arbor consultants meeting to plan the new school, his voice in matters held much power. The governance system would follow other post-

secondary schools with a president and deans, while allowing for fluid partnership with local businesses whose leaders could influence the schools offerings. Funded through a combination of K-12 model and higher education tuition methods, this “public good” was for private benefit of businesses and individuals.

In a mere 18 months after the millage approval, Washtenaw Community College leaders established locations, wrote a curriculum that mirrored other community colleges in the Metro Detroit area, and hired teachers from the K-12 system, industry, and recently graduated master’s students to apply their vision, and with this WCC opened on its temporary campus to over 1,200 students, over twice as many as was expected in Fall 1966. Using these organizational structures familiar to the public, WCC gained legitimacy within the community and began to deliver on its promise of post-secondary training and transfer classes as it sold access to jobs while a larger percentage of the population saw it as access to higher education.

Marketed as the primary draw to the college was the vocational programming that was designed by representatives from local business and industry to make students workforce-ready as they were not coming out of high school properly trained according to business leaders. Some community professionals argued that there was a need for people to have a “second chance” at joining the educated citizenry of Washtenaw County, or in other words, hold a job and stay out of trouble. Although WCC was marketed primarily as a vocational training ground so as not to duplicate services of the four-year schools, the transfer or liberal arts programs that mimicked the typical freshman and sophomore years at a four-year school received an equal number of students, even without the publicity. Students also enrolled in these courses more than vocational courses, generating the most credit hours and the most revenue (Table 5.3). However, the WCC administrators and Board of Trustees were deliberate in their actions to avoid the perception of

duplication of services in the area of liberal arts and work to “complement the existing educational structure in the area,” as UM President Harlan Hatcher had insisted upon in June 1964 (Hatcher, 1964, Box 39). Therefore, vocational work remained the primary focus in marketing, highlighting the school-industry partnerships that came up throughout the years.

Table 5.3

1972 Enrollment Study

	Number of Students	Percentage of Student Body	Credit Hours	Percentage of Credit Hours
Occupational Programs	2,173	51.8%	11,516	36%
General Education	1,885	44.9%	20,061	62.7%

When the WCC leaders would present information to the public, the percentage of student body involved in the separate programs—52% vocational and 45% general education—reinforced the role of the community college, despite the fact that credit hours from the general education classes created greater tuition revenue (Table 5.3). Another reason not to highlight the general education courses was that very few students actually transferred to the local four-year schools as only 5% and 7% of the freshman classes of 1966 and 1967 graduated with a degree or certificate within two years so transfer rates were likely just as low. Put in further context, the WCC Institutional Research Department (2014) reported in *Historical Success Outcomes* between 2007 and 2013, 1% of students graduated with a degree or certificate and transferred to a four-year school, 15% transferred before graduating, and 25% earned a degree or certificate and/or transferred within two years. Consequently, for the leaders of WCC it was worth noting graduation increases and percentage of student body enrolled in programs as a way to demonstrate commitment to its mission and its success to the public and continue to derive legitimacy for the school. In the end, with emphasis on the value-added to the community

through this college, it allowed supporters to tout the moral imperative of access and mobility instead of how the school would be funded.

Question 4: What were the forces surrounding the founding and development of Washtenaw Community College? For Washtenaw Community College would need to establish its core functions, manage its enrollment, internal conflict, and growth.

Establishing the core functions. To establish the core functions of Washtenaw Community College—training or transferring of students—it was important for the leaders to consider resources within the task environment; this would include how to staff the school, market programs, engage business and industry, manage community expectations, and serve students. As Thompson (2014) noted of Dill’s 1958 work, the task environment “denotes those parts of the environment which are ‘relevant or potentially relevant to goal setting and goal attainment’” (p. 27). To set and implement these goals, the elected Board of Trustees and college president would be the ones to create the initial plans for the college as they managed the resources and expectations from those who had supported the bid for the college and expected a return on their investment. Therefore, programs and committees to serve the business needs of Ann Arbor and UM leaders would be vital.

Washtenaw Community College, through the extensive campaign prior to the millage approval, was given space to manage itself during the early years when the foundation of the institution was simply the Board and President, quickly reaching a level of sedimentation and legitimacy as they made decisions that would impact the life of the institution. They managed the emerging school, connecting with local leaders at community meetings and remaining committed to building a school that would serve the local industry and offer transfer programs. Discussed by the Board at the first meetings was the role of the school and how to market and serve the multi-

cores of vocational and transfer programming. For example, the Board had to decide on a location that would serve the multiple production functions. Although gifted with some land north of Ann Arbor, the Board and later President Ponitz wanted to have a campus that would be easily accessible by car, bus, or by foot. This implied that the school would have to be close to population centers of Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, where the infrastructure was the best. In late 1965, the Board and President announced that the permanent campus would be in Ann Arbor on an apple orchard—a point that would feed the county narrative of a college for the community blooming in the apple orchard—right at the border with Ypsilanti. An Ann Arbor address would allow Ann Arbor to claim WCC as its own and use the reputation of UM to legitimize the new school, yet it would be far enough from Ann Arbor Public Schools and its direct influence while being near the students in Ypsilanti. This location would minimize chances of conflict over whom it would serve and appeal to the county-wide support and not seem as an annex of Ann Arbor Public Schools.

To capitalize on the community momentum and avoid pressures from the community now funding this school, the newly-forming administration and Board wanted to open a temporary campus as soon as possible since waiting for a permanent campus would take far too long. Additionally, there was greater urgency since community colleges in neighboring counties were turning away students due to high volume. Also, any delay might give the public reason to question why they had proffered support, and while the millage vote was irreversible, future funding and ease of operations was paramount to the life and legitimacy of WCC. Given this, President Ponitz announced that WCC would open on the former Willow Run Village in fall 1966, while some programs like automotive or health-related training programs would be held in Ann Arbor. For the health programs, particularly, the support from UM was evident in that the

program for inhalation therapy was held on the University of Michigan campus. This created greater legitimacy and a direct line of entry for students graduating with the technical training or degrees.

In order to structure the many vocational programs, the leaders created advisory committees to serve a number of purposes. For those programs with advisory committees, the committees created a buffer from the public and a direct bridge to local industry in some cases. For example, Ann Arbor police and fire departments contracted with WCC to offer liberal arts courses for those employees moving to management positions. GM donated equipment in return for training and placement of new or existing employees. Having such relationships allowed the leaders of WCC and committee members to easily and quietly manage the work, allowing conflicts that might occur to be kept private, either within the committee or within the school. Therefore, when programs could no longer place students, find enough students, or offer enough training as the market contracted or grew, representatives from these groups could work with the school to determine appropriate steps. Being able to privatize issues within programs or even with instructors allowed the college leadership to go public with information when they wanted and about what they wanted; they controlled the conversation so that what the public heard or what was even reported to the Board of Trustees could be framed to feed the narrative that the college was meeting its promise to partner with industry and train students, controlling the normative elements of the task environment.

Managing enrollment conflicts. Using the summer of 1966 to renovate the Willow Run Village facilities leased from Ypsilanti, WCC opened to 1,200 students in the fall of 1966, when only 500 had originally been expected. For many community members and the WCC leadership, the greater than expected number of students provided evidence that many more students might

be interested in post-secondary work throughout the county. These students had a pick of twenty-six vocational programs similar to other community colleges along with specific programs with local advisory committees. In addition to the vocational courses, there were general education courses that were said to transfer, although articulation agreements were years off.

The trustees, especially Wenrich from UM, were stalwart in their desire to maintain a 50/50 split between vocational and transfer numbers so as to avoid duplication of programs at four-year schools and live up to the promises made to serve local business during the campaign. The Board would even go as far as to restrict out-of-county students from general education classes until the vocational programs had reached their maximums. The college leaders would continue to highlight these programs in their attempts to be true to the role of trainers for local business and industry in these early years, even being honored by the local businesses with luncheons or dinners to publicize the partnerships. Because the leaders of WCC had been able to clearly articulate the main purposes of the school—vocational with transfer options—and why it would be worth the money, they avoided conflicts with general public over the new school, moving forward unfettered.

These industry-based relationships had an interesting impact on the college's growth. Although a publicly-funded school with trustees drawn directly from the county which provided funding, the Board and the administrators were more concerned about managing the relationships with the businesses instead of the public since early publicity was tied to the local partnerships. Some of this indebtedness from the WCC leaders came from the support offered by businesses during WCC's founding, but the leaders also recognized that local industry leaders held greater influence over the public who worked for or with the businesses that had connections with the school. For example, with five advisory committee members representing

GM Hydra-Matic for two training programs at the College, employee groups would hear positives about the school-business partnerships and would create additional legitimacy for its service to the community as this information was shared outside of the workplace. Also, there were enough programs available to reinforce the purpose of the school as a training ground for semi-professional or technical jobs, which could be accessed by working class residents of varying ages, genders, and ethnicities, while the transfer option remained a common desire for students, especially for Black students. Table 5.4 illustrates the percentage of Black students in 1967 and 1974, averaging 15%. To contrast, the University of Michigan had a Black student population of only 1% in 1966 (White, 1969). As this was a time for desegregation in the county, specifically Ann Arbor, serving this group of students was valuable to the college to reinforce to the county that all of the residents had access to post-secondary work, again adding to the legitimacy of the school.

Table 5.4

Enrollment Trends 1967 and 1974

	Number of Students	Number of Black Students (15% average)	In-District Students	Out-of-District Students
1967	2,374	356	1960	593
1974	5,216	782	4200	932

In essence, leaders had to balance their demand for vocational programming with the community's demand for access to transfer programming, a conflict that became public with the Board of Trustees and evident in the restriction of students into transfer programs until vocational programs were filled. In having the transfer component, though, WCC offered access and mobility for minority groups as the Civil Rights Movement was making gains. The post-

secondary offerings at WCC could be celebrated through the efforts of those associated with WCC.

Managing internal conflict. Once the school opened, managing the conflicts within the institution as it created a more complex organizational structure was of great concern to the leaders. This was important in that there was little pressure from the public, which could be attributed to the solid support during its founding and the early years of controlling the messaging to the public about the school's roles. As much of conflict originated from within the school, this meant that many of the issues remained private and handled internally, to the benefit of the administration and the school's reputation. Having been able to privatize its conflicts well in the early years, when issues did go public, as in the case of WCCEAs [faculty union] censure of President Ponitz, the administration could easily convince the public that the issues were "normal" and of little concern as they were related to union matters, diffusing the concerns with the public quickly. One conflict that was not wholly privatized was the concerns of the Black Student Union members, who were able to force the leaders to acknowledge their concerns publicly. However, the leadership was able to use this public event to demonstrate compassion and a "desire" to remedy the situation. These actions reaffirmed to the public that Washtenaw Community College was, indeed, a college for the community, serving all of the county residents.

WCC leadership also worked to develop relationships with local government officials, legislatures, and national bodies that controlled the allocation of resources like state funding or accreditation as any changes in funding would create new conflicts in how the college would function. WCC administrators and board members used their connections with the governing and educational elite by being more than participants at large. President Ponitz held an executive

position on the Michigan Community College President's Association. Not only would he advocate on behalf of all community colleges in the state, but he was able to keep WCC well-funded and connected to the decision-making process as the regional and state level. This meant that when President Ponitz had to request capital outlay funds or state grants, he had a working relationship with those in state government who controlled the allocations. When his work with the group was reported to the public, it also served to legitimize the school further. Since WCC leaders were able to set up basic operations, begin serving the community, create a new campus, and continue to build its curriculum with little public concern, WCC moved with speed from its founding to its role as a post-secondary option for many county residents who could not or would not have been able to attend the local four-year institutions. In fact, WCC's position in the county continues to be marked by having the school framed so positively in the early years, likely due in part to the leaders' ability to privatize much of its conflict and deal with a number of competing forces.

Managing growth. With the founding and development of WCC, the pressure of maintaining a multi-core function was reminiscent of the struggle Koos and Eells spoke of in the 1930s. There was great emphasis on creating vocational training, making terminal training attractive, yet many of the students still wanted the option—the illusion of hope—to go on to a four-year degree as this was still the “path” to the American Dream. Moreover, the idea of increasing access fed into the democratizing myth as evidenced by the greater number of credit hours generated by general education courses than vocational courses. Despite marketing set up to highlight the vocational programs, the general education program enrollment funded much of the college, so the internal conflicts between the core functions were inevitable. However, familiar school organizational structures and union contracts helped to minimize and privatize

the conflicts between those working for the benefit of either core. For example, the teacher's union was actually used to privatize issues as the union and the school were bound to the accepted protocols, even having one pay scale for all faculty, regardless of degree and courses taught. In this way, vocational and general education instructors worked together to agree on pay and labor related items, instead of against one another as parts of competing cores. Also, President Ponitz insisted on having teachers from different areas in same office areas to avoid silos or exacerbating the differences that might come from working on different parts of the campus and with different students. This attempt to organize the faculty was to reinforce the idea that WCC would be for "everyone," each area complementing the others. Additionally, having three unions representing the different staff and faculty group on campus in a heavily unionized area of the state also offered stability to the workforce just as it had in the local school districts and regional industry. With the familiar structures in place, WCC leaders were able to balance the multiple production functions and forces without having its issues in the public domain. Although there were two distinct cores, the administration worked to create one WCC.

During the early years, one function of WCC that did not receive much discussion by the administration, Board, or public was the addition of pre-training or pre-college programming, often called remedial or developmental education. When WCC opened, there were math and English courses offered for those who needed to "brush-up" on skills, but there were not mandates to take these courses. However, as some of the vocational programs had students who lacked some basic skills to be successful in the courses, remedial or pre-training courses became part of the intake program to ready the students. To temper the potential conflicts that could occur when the public learned of pre-college course work being run by the school, the pre-training programs were connected to apprentice programs where there were additional funding

streams for this support. This allowed the administration to tout its support for training “all” students without committing to the fact that remediation was part of the curriculum and being subsidized, in part, by the public.

As WCC took shape and managed the forces within its environment, more structures were in place to solidify the cores of the institution, which now included remediation. Figure 5.4 shows the task environment with the primary core functions of vocational and transfer programs for students, along with remedial course work. Both vocational and transfer students would come in as inputs. As outputs, though, more students, either vocational or transfer oriented, would end up as terminal students. Although many of the students had aspirations to transfer at some point, only a few earned the credits, had the skills, and the initiative to move apply to a four-year school. The president, his administration, and the Board of Trustees would manage the institution to serve the functions and offer the public information so as to impress on them that the school was, indeed, fulfilling its promise to be a vocational school for the county. As WCC moved from its founding and into its development, the distinct roles of administrator, faculty, or staff settled into predictable patterns and routines. It was this stability that allowed the institution to quickly and without great difficulty or setbacks settle into the educational hierarchy of Washtenaw County.

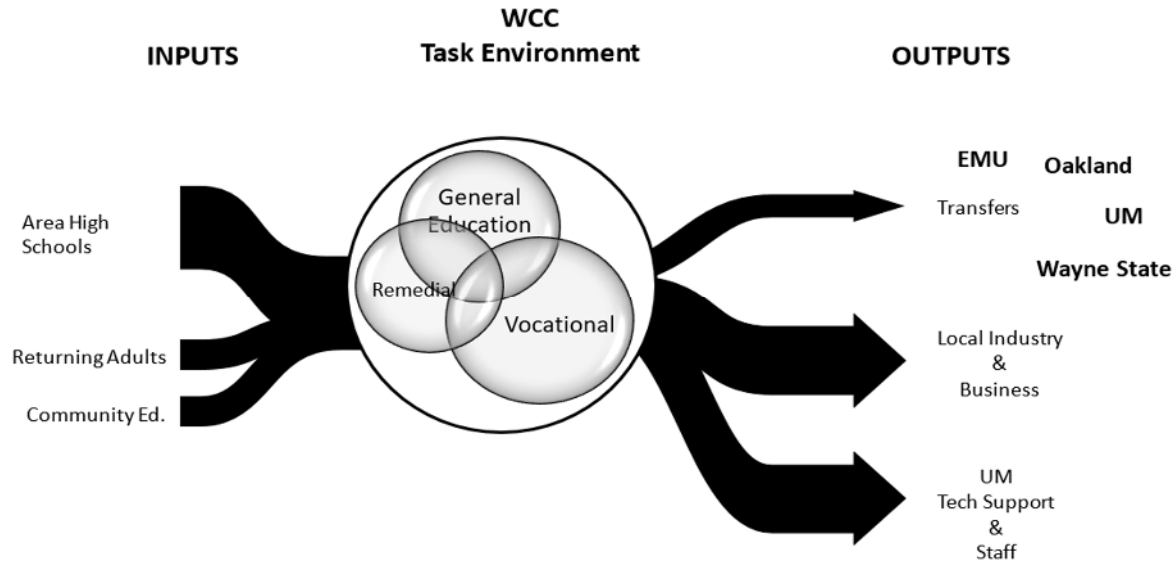


Figure 5.4. WCC task environment.

As the opening of Washtenaw Community College took just 18 months after it was authorized by the public, it was hailed an amazing feat in that it could open with so many vocational programs and general education classes. With the support of UM, the leaders had little to impede them as they made decisions in those early days. It was as if the long process to establish the college had made it such a part of the local consciousness that whatever the decisions were, they were accepted, especially if UM faculty and leaders supported the initiatives. Figure 5.5 shows the Levels of Organizational Activities for WCC as the institution took shape and served those populations not destined for four-year schools, but destined to join the county labor force.

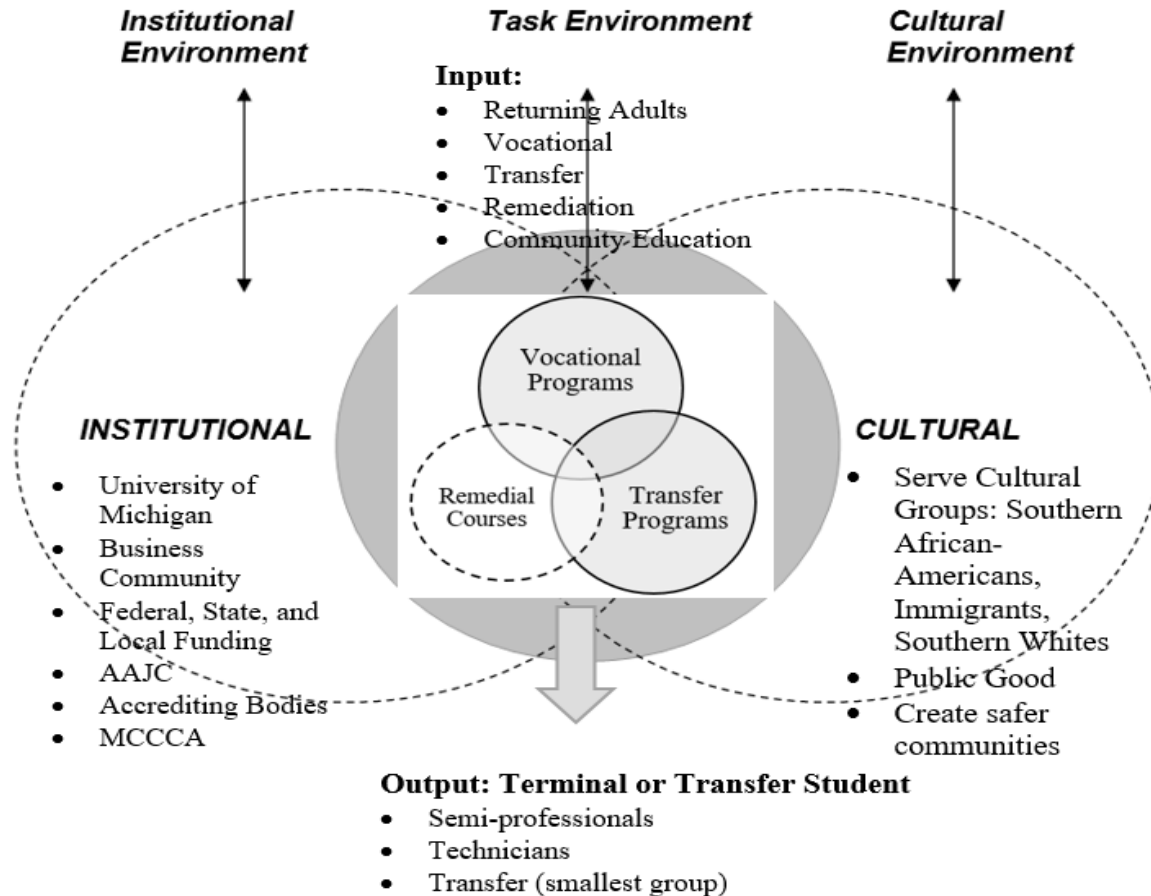


Figure 5.5. Levels of organizational activities for WCC (adapted from Muwonge, 2012).

Once classes started and faculty and staff began to define their roles more distinctly in this ever-complex organization, conflicts and outside forces began to become part of the organizational make-up, yet the leaders were able to privatize many of the issues and eventually become known as “the miracle in the apple orchard.”

Recapitulation

The junior college movement emerged through mixed needs to both buffer and bridge the university. With the early junior college, the primary goal was transfer and getting students ready for a university without the universities dedicating funds and time to the work. However, the junior college quickly added vocational training and other community services to its operations

to appease the community in which it was located. This move to a more comprehensive community college model with the dual core of vocational and transfer programs, created additional stratification in the post-secondary world. Thus, the community college became a “holding” area for many students. These students were involved in post-secondary programming, not impeding on the workforce, businesses used these new schools as training grounds through partnerships that were praised and sought after, and there was a hope of transfer for students. As these new community colleges were marketed as a public good, they received steady funding from state allocations, local taxes, and tuition, using both the K-12 model and high education to frame out the funding of the schools.

In other words, leaders in government, industry, business, and education used the concept of the community college to create an institution that sought to be something for everyone. The community college growth in the 1950s and 60s built on the ideas that the community college was a malleable institution that could be imbued with legitimacy from sponsoring universities, public schools, production industry, technical industry, medical fields, labor unions, and community leaders. With multiple production functions drawn from multiple value streams, the community college leaders were faced with competing cores to manage as college became part of the social, political, and economic conversations throughout the nation.

For many of the university elites, they saw the rising number of people of color, people of lower socioeconomic status, and women entering the system as a threat to the selective nature of their schools. Thus, an alternative route was created for those not “fit” for the university. For the state of Michigan, the educational reports published in Michigan, with each quoting previous reports, used the concept of the community college to be the best hope to contend with the demands on education, while reducing the cost of education and meeting the demands of

business and industry. The use of “democracy’s college” and mobility would be used to sell the expansion of community college.

By the time the community college in Washtenaw County was considered, the comprehensive community college model was being overlaid with the university structures of presidents, deans, and instructors, while using a K-12 model for election of trustees and funding. This school would be for the minorities, women, and others in the area who could not or would not qualify to attend the university. With the support and legitimacy offered through the both the secondary schools and the universities, the role of the community college could be used to convince the public the community college was the best option.

For WCC, in particular, it was not unique in the state in terms of development. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, there was a window of opportunity created through legislation, social changes, economic changes, and global pressures that allowed for the growth of these schools. What was unique for WCC was that it was framed on the fact that in a county full of educational opportunities, many were left out of the educational system after graduation from high school, but this was not an issue until the late 1950s and early 1960s when the “need” was recognized by educational and business leaders. Therefore, if UM or other businesses wanted to grow their private brand, they needed trained and educated employees, and it was more cost-effective to have a publicly-funded institution designed to serve these needs.

Uniquely WCC. It is the mixture of what is unique and what is generic about WCC that makes this study worthwhile. WCC was uniquely placed in the most educated and progressive area in the state. As many people in the county were involved in education, WCC adopted a structure similar to both the secondary and post-secondary institutions in the area. For funding, the college used local taxes in addition to state funds and tuition, functioning much like the local

school districts, right down to elected trustees. For its curriculum, although marketed to the vocational needs of local businesses, WCC leaders followed semester and course schedules that mimicked the local universities. Community colleges, and WCC in particular, can be analyzed through mimetic isomorphism in that the new institutions modeled themselves after similar organizations that had legitimacy. Although a new structure, the similarities and familiarity allowed WCC to move quickly from a paper institution to an accepted fixture in the county.

For the early WCC leaders, the decisions, although plentiful and difficult, were met with little resistance from the public. Although most certainly chaotic at times, the early years of the college had legitimacy through its programming, faculty, and community relationships both in county and out of the county. These relationships allowed the leaders of the college to make decisions that would keep it viable in the changing economic, social, and political forces. For faculty at WCC, they felt as if they were part of the “strengthening” of the American society, appealing to the democratic ideals that had been used throughout the centuries in this country to gain acceptance of publicly-supported education that is both restrictive and open.

In his 1971 commencement speech, Gary Owen, one of the 1968 graduates, said that “This college is based on a premise that education should be available to all in our society, regardless of past accomplishments and economic standing. We all owe a certain debt of gratitude to those who have truly produced all a miracle in an apple orchard” (“WCC Graduates,” 1971). Of course, these sentiments are true, but what is also true is that, ultimately, WCC moved toward greater complexity and differentiated roles to protect the core—teaching students and serving local business and industry expectations. However, to be clear, the institution was not a grassroots endeavor by the community with an interest to create opportunities for the county residents; it was an institution that was created with intentionality

and purpose through the use of the regulative and normative powers of those in leadership positions, offered to the public as an avenue for social and economic mobility. Washtenaw Community College would be structured with multiple production functions, some symbolic and others representing specific stakeholder values, primarily to balance between the needs of local industry leaders and the needs of the University of Michigan leaders. The task environment in which the institution was created and operated, then, was constrained by institutional and cultural pressures but at the same time reinforced the idea of education as a democratizing agent, which the public found easy to support.

With this, I have some truths I need to keep in mind as an educational leader. First, I need to understand the true function of an institution. As the junior college was predicated on transfer courses and the comprehensive community college on offering a buffet of options, an educational leader must understand these variabilities. For WCC, the leaders sold the idea of a vocational school to the public that could also serve some transfer needs. Understanding this premise allowed the leaders to focus on the primary role of trainer to local industry, business, and universities. These community institutions then expected or relied on WCC as a central location to seek out training partnerships. In return, WCC would respond with speed to create services for these entities garnering positive publicity about the value-added partnerships through this publicly-supported school. Obviously, each community college will have variations that will impact decision making and planning for the institution at it is situated in its task environment,

Throughout this process, I have also come to understand how an institution is shaped by the organizational field in which it operates. As community colleges in the state of Michigan all operate as independent entities, unlike state systems like North Carolina, Florida, or California, the organizational field of the school impacts the funding, governance, and function of the

school. For WCC, established post-secondary schools limited how the transfer option could be marketed so as not to duplicate services of other institutions, preserving each task environment. Local institutional leaders from Ann Arbor Public Schools, University of Michigan, and the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce were able to impose their will on the school by first managing the creation of the school through consultants and resources that were at the ready. After the successful passage of the millage, trustees and administration with close ties to Ann Arbor and University of Michigan could further impose curriculum, support staff, and resources to influence how the institution would be organized and run. Understanding this organizational field can help a leader see more clearly who or what group he or she must take into account and determine the consequences of decisions made on those part of the organizational field. Yes, this can be limiting to a leader, but to deal with the pressures leadership brings, it requires honest evaluation of the populations that impact and make up the task environment.

Finally, I need to understand the myths surrounding and perpetuated by an institution so that I can make sound decisions. Admittedly, the myth of the “miracle in the apple orchard” made me feel good—that I was offering a chance to those who had limited chances. Although there is truth in the myth, there is also the reality that there is much that happens “beyond the apple orchard.” The goal then is to step outside of what is on the surface and explore the relationships between the many parts of an institution. These relationships are those between and with faculty, staff, and students, the relationships with those in the organizational field, the history of activities, looking to what has worked or has not worked, or asking why the results turned out as they did. To allow one’s self to be enveloped by the any institutional myth may not allow a leader to properly balance the many forces shaping the institution.

Study Limitations and Future Implications

Study limitations. In considering the limitations of this study, most obviously my position as a WCC employee holds sway. As a full-time faculty member at Washtenaw Community College, my bias can impact the findings for this study. No matter the level of control over the data that I use, my experiences color how I connect to and report on this work. Certainly, my committee has helped me to manage my bias throughout the study; nonetheless, any bias must still be considered when reviewing the study. Also, this study only follows the institution through 1972 as the focus was on the founding and early development. As the school has been open for over fifty years, there are many other facets of the institution to study. Another limitation is that this study is of a single unit: WCC. The institution is unique in its community, proximity to other post-secondary schools, and its location in the nation. As a single case study, the findings may not be generalizable to other similar institutions, yet the research methods are generalizable and could be applied to the study of other institutions, influencing future studies in the area of community colleges.

Future research. In the pursuit of understanding the institutional forces that constructed and shaped the function, nature of funding, and governance of Washtenaw Community College (WCC) through the founding and development of WCC, this study has demonstrated that junior colleges/community colleges were not developed solely to create a greater social mobility or access to elite universities. Instead, the junior/community college model represents the deeply embedded social class system while at the same time creating the appearance of democratization in action. This is not to say that individuals are not able to use the community college to catapult themselves over the invisible barriers, but the message that community colleges can and will transform the educational landscape for the masses, opening doors otherwise left closed, is not

entirely true. Through the historical analysis of the organizational and institutionalized underpinnings, the form and function of a community college can more easily be understood, and these underlying assumptions and beliefs gave rise to current structures and activities. Therefore, there are a number of questions that could help guide future studies:

1. As Michigan is unique in that each community college operates as an independent unit, not tied to a state-system, in what ways do state-controlled community college systems differ from independently-controlled schools in different parts of the country?
2. How do federal, state, and local policies about community colleges shape community college functions?
3. What are the impacts of state mandates for free community college: student, institution, community, or system?

Seeking the answers to these questions can help leaders of the community college better understand the institutional framework they operate within and allow these leaders to make informed decisions, taking into account the institutional complexities of each institution.

Final Thoughts

Throughout the course of this study, I have learned just as much about myself as I have the school I have worked at for nearly fifteen years. As a leader within the community college, I see the importance and value of understanding the historical underpinnings from which an institution rises. Naively and happily, I accepted the idea of the community college as “Democracy’s College” and that WCC, in particular was a “miracle in the apple orchard,” and I was part of this great initiative. Although I still have a sense that both of these myths are true and very real to many people, I can also see the underlying structures that indicate other forces.

Institutions and those in them act as they have been designed and influenced to act. This is not to say that there is something sinister behind the make-up and actions of institutions and their members, but that for WCC, the school was carefully created to serve the needs of those who were in power and thought to know best. As a leader, I must be able to understand what “baggage” comes with each part of a school as actions and reactions are likely based on the structures, values, and taken-for-granted aspects of the school that many people do not look for or see as they move day-to-day. It is this ability to look “behind the curtain” and consider the factors that will allow me to be a more thoughtful and informed leader in a community college.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Staff Study No. 1 by S. V. Martorana

Martorana, S.V. (1957, June). *Staff study no. 1: The survey of higher education in Michigan*. Prepared for the Michigan Legislative Study Committee on Higher Education.

Leading the research on the community college was Sebastian Martorana. He was a noted specialist for community and junior colleges on staff of US Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and had directed a number of studies across the United States. He had also been an administrator at Ferris Institute at Big Rapids (Ferris University). The goal of Martorana's work, published as a separate survey to the Russell study in 1957, was to understand the relationship of the educational services provided by the community college. He noted that like other states, the role of the community college and how the role is carried out varies state-to-state and institution-to-institution. Some of this incongruence came from a clear definition of the institution and a "lack of general understanding of the social, economic, and cultural phenomena which have caused them to come into existence. In part, the differences of opinion stem from differences in educational points of view held by persons of varying backgrounds of experiences and training and hold different positions of responsibility in education or other fields of work" (p.1).

For some, the community college was an expression of the area it represents, separate from the secondary schools, and should be seen as part of post-secondary programming. For Michigan community colleges in the 1950s, Martorana concluded that they were accepted by the general public and were working to accomplish the five functions that are often assigned to these institutions: "(a) providing general education for all students; (b) offering transfer and college-parallel courses in pre-professional fields and in the arts and science; (c) providing organized occupational programs for students who will seek to enter employment immediately after leaving the local college; (d) offering adult and community-service programs of a wide variety; and (e)

providing a full program of student personnel and counseling services for the students enrolled” (p. 3). Community colleges were also adding and graduating students in occupational programs at a faster rate than other institutions. Martorana estimated that nearly one-third of the college-aged students would attend a community college 1970, far out-pacing the traditional colleges and universities, all done at a cheaper rate. A concern though was the physical plant of many of the community colleges. Many were using spaces in the high school, and although this structure could be advantageous if planned well, most community colleges have done this out of necessity and expediency, not thoughtful planning.

The full Russell Report contained the highlights of Martorana’s work and that of the other twelve sub-committees. As the Martorana’s survey was published with great detail, Russell summarized and highlighted what he believed to be the cogent pieces of information. Russell (1958) noted that the community colleges were to be locally controlled, public two-year institutions. He did not frame the community college to be only seen as a cheaper option but a model that could be used to make post-secondary education accessible for those around the state. The community college was a five-fold model that could get more people in college and create what the state would want to stress: an educated populace providing for 1. General education 2. Transfer 3. Occupational training 4. Adult/community service 5. Personnel and student services. Russell wrote that the community colleges would and should be the chief source of semiprofessionals and technicians for the State, and the Michigan community colleges generally fit the national trends. He further recommended that legislative work needed to be done so that each post-secondary institution was clearly defined and fulfilled a particular function, warning of the “ill-conceived function[s] that can be performed more effectively and economically by another” (Russell, 1958, p. 99). Russell stressed that the community colleges should be set up to

maintain that role of serving the community directly and not morph into a four-year institution, which meant that there would be a need to limit competition and define the roles of each post-secondary institution.

Although Russell did not promote the change to a state-system for the community college, he did recommend that each new community college should be approved by the State superintendent of public instruction but the oversight would remain with that of the local governing board. This goes with the same idea that the development of community college should be done on a local level, not a state mandate. Without overdoing the praise for the University of Michigan, Russell did see that the UM independence from the state had led to the development of a modern educational institution of the university type, with services heavily centered on a high quality programs for graduate and advanced professionals. This also meant a relatively limited entering freshman class of highly selected students. For Russell and his teams, they saw that as long as other opportunities were available in Michigan for the students who did not qualify for entrance to the University of Michigan (or other universities), the idea of a selective enrollment at the freshman level was defensible.

Russell did acknowledge that the people of Michigan owe a great debt to those who had guided the destinies of the University of Michigan to become one of the outstanding educational institutions of the country and of the world, ending with “No change should be contemplated in the policy of maintaining the chief emphasis on graduate and professional study and research at the University of Michigan” (Russell, 1958, p. 144). As for other schools, Russell’s teams reported that Eastern Michigan College should have funding in order to “admit all students who have reasonably good prospects of success in college...[EMU] should not be an institution of highly selective character, such as might be appropriate in the University of Michigan or

ultimately in Wayne State University” (Russell, 1958, p. 146). Further, “The community colleges should remain as institutions that offer not more than two years of preparation beyond high school. In this area these institutions have carved out a unique place and function in the American educational system” (Russell, 1958, p. 148). In the end, Russell saw that funding higher education must not be the job of educators. This job was for concerned citizens who recognized the benefits of post-secondary education, and therefore, had to see education a public good, noting that with the launch of Sputnik, the need for education was vital to the national welfare and survival.

Appendix B: Sample of Local Headlines

Local Headlines Related to Washtenaw Community College 1960-1970

January 1960	
<i>The Michigan Daily</i>	“Group to Discuss Community College
December 1961	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Will Survey Need For Community College Here”
March 1962	
<i>Saline Reporter</i>	“Four Named to College Survey Group”
May 1962	
<i>The Chelsea News</i>	“Progress Report Issued on Community College Survey”
June 1962	
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“Community College Status Told”
September 1962	
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“Favors Vocational School”
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Community College at Earliest Date: School Drop-Out Problem Will Get Worse Here, Committee Says”
<i>The Saline Reporter</i>	“College Survey Group to Mail Questionnaire”
September 1963	
<i>The Michigan Daily</i>	“Citizen’s Group Studies College Possibilities”
October 1963	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Washtenaw Community College Plans Launched”
November 1963	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“From Our Point of View: Community College Idea Will Take Some Selling”
December 1963	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“County Bid Advanced
February 1964	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Bill Would Aid Junior college Via Electricity Tax”
	“Community College Is Job Training key, ‘U’ Man Says”
April 1964	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“C of C Members Told Community College Needed – And Soon”
June 1964	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Information Drive Set On Community College”
	“Prof. Harris Views Technical Education In Junior Colleges”
August 1964	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Tax Allocation Board Hears Bids Of Schools, Townships For Millage”
	“Community College Plan To Be Aired At C of C Annual Meeting”
	“Council Takes A Look At Some City Problems”
	“Millage And Building Requests Face Area Electors”
September 1964	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“January Vote Planned on Community College”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“Community College Heads Named”
October 1964	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Community College Eyed”
	“Candidate And College Plan”
<i>Chelsea Standard</i>	“Community College Area Leaders Plan Campaign”
<i>The Michigan Daily</i>	“Local College Proposed”
	“Washtenaw Citizens Should Support Community College”

<i>Manchester Enterprise</i>	“Need for Community College Explained”
	“Exceeds Estimates Early: College Enrollment Increases Staggering”
	“Junior College Called Hope of Teen Jobless”
	“War Baby Crop Near Crest: Next Year Crucial for College Seats”
	“Industry Now Emphasizing Special Employee Training”
November 1964	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i> (11/1-11/15)	“Community Colleges Lauded”
	“Community College Petitions Circulated”
	“Ask Jan. 19 Community College Vote”
	“Ann Arbor C of C Backs Community College Plan”
	“Community College Plan to be Outlined Nov. 18”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i> (11/1-11/15)	“Creation of Community College Urged”
	“Community College Petitions Request Election in January”
	“Community College Meet Set Nov. 18”
<i>Ad-Visor</i> (11/1-11/15)	“Community College Forum Set Nov. 18”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i> (11/1-11/15)	“Jan. 15 Election Sought: County College Vote Drive Started”
	“College Forum Scheduled”
	“Union Endorses Community College”
	“Education Tester Predicts Free Colleges in the 1970s”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i> (11/16-11/30)	“Community College Vote Set for Jan. 15”
	“Community College Drive Financed by Contributions”
<i>The Michigan Daily</i> (11/16-11/30)	“City to Vote on Scheme for College”
<i>Manchester Enterprise</i> (11/16-11/30)	“Date for College Vote Moved Up”
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i> (11/16-11/30)	“Name Panelists to Discuss College Plans”
	“Election Date for Community College Changed”
	“Community College Drive Backers Donate \$12,960”
	“Area Petitions Filed for County College”
	“Area College Need Explained”
	“College Election Petitions Filed”
	“DAR at Ypsilanti Backs New College”
	“Deadline Set for Proposed College Posts”
	“First Petitions Filed for Trustee of Proposed Community College”
	“AFL-CIO Council Backs New College”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i> (11/16-11/30)	“Washtenaw College Forum Set”
	“County College Vote Set Jan. 15”
	“Club Votes to Support College Plan”
	“Petitions Filed for New College”
	“Panel Talk Slated on College”
	“First Person Files for College Trustee”
	“Union Council Backs College”

<i>Saline Reporter (11/16-11/30)</i>	“Donations Support Drive for Vote on Community College”
	“Community College Vote Set Jan. 15”
December 1964	
<i>The Ann Arbor News (12/1-12/15)</i>	“Council OK’s Resolution Supporting New College”
	“Registrations Made for College Election”
	“Two More File Petitions for New College Posts”
	“EMU Faculty Backs College”
	“Federal Aid Offered to State Colleges”
	“Two More in Race for College Trustees”
	“Endorsements of College Announced”
	“College Board Race Now Has 13 Candidates”
	“Three More in College Race”
	“Race for College Board Now Has 26 Candidates”
	“Two More Seek Posts On New College Board”
	“College Plan Endorsed By Young GOP”
<i>The Dexter Leader (12/1-12/15)</i>	“Paul Bosel Seeks Election to Community Board”
	“Washtenaw AFL-CIO Group Endorses Community College”
	“Registration Deadline Is Dec. 16 for Vote on Community College”
	“Kiwanis Club Will Meet at U-M Hospital”
	“Jaycees Favor ‘Yes’ Community College Vote”
	“County College Bid Advanced”
	“Supervisors Endorse College Unanimously”
<i>Saline Reporter (12/1-12/15)</i>	“C-C Backs Grossman for Trustee Post”
	“Mary Wood Candidate for Trustee”
	“Editorial: Two Candidates...and a College”
	AD: Notice of Special Election
<i>Manchester Enterprise (12/1-12/15)</i>	“County AFL-CIO Backs Community College”
<i>Lincoln Community News (12/1-12/15)</i>	“Community College Vote Set January 15”
<i>AATA Chalkboard (12/1-12/15)</i>	Editorial: “The Community College”
<i>Ypsilanti Press (12/1-12/15)</i>	“College Vote Signup Set”
	“Dexter Man Files for College Post”
	“EMU Faculty Backs College Vote”
	“AAUW Endorses College Vote”
	“Colleges to Discuss U.S. Grants”
	“Four More File Petitions for Junior College Board”
	“Tomorrow is Voter Deadline”
	“27 Now Seeking College Seats”
	“6 File Petitions for College Seats”
<i>Saline Reporter (12/16-12/31)</i>	“Named Director of GOP Club Endorsed Proposed Community College”
<i>Manchester Enterprise</i>	“Candidate for Community College Board (Vogel)”

(12/16-12/31)	
<i>The Dexter Leader</i> (12/15-12/31)	“38 Candidates Enter Race for Community College Posts”
	“PTA Speaker Will Discuss Community College Function”
	“Community College Trustee Candidates from Many Fields”
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i> (12/15-12/31)	“HRC Backs Bid for New College”
	“Eight More File in College Trustees Race; Total Now 34”
	“17 of 38 Trustee Candidates Connected with Education”
	“Last Four to File Bring College Race Total to 38”
	“School Funds Ground Rules Laid”
	“Manufacturers’ Unit Backs College Idea”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i> (12/15-12/31)	“38 Candidates File for College”
	“Community College Drive Raises Important Questions”
	“College Could Use School, Locate Classes by Need”
<i>Saline Reporter</i>	AD: Special Election Notice
January 1965	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i> (1/1-1/15)	“AAUW Branch Endorses College”
	“More Groups Back College Proposal”
	“Community College Patterns across State Shown”
	“College Trustee Hopefuls Campaign”
	“Some Questions on College”
	“College ‘Gap’ Hurts Hopeful Students”
	“College, Millage, Trustees On Tomorrow’s Ballot”
	“Mayor Candidates Endorse Idea of County Community College”
	“Candidates Appearing Tonight”
	“Religion, Race Body Backs College Bid”
	“Readers Viewpoint: Know Value of College”
	“Voters’ Verdict Near in Case of New College”
	“Many College Candidates Appear Highly Qualified”
	“Says College Greatly Needed” (Letter to Editor)
	“College Candidate Talk Draws Audience of 185”
	“Confusion on College’s Role”
	“Has Candidate Choices” (Letter to Editor)
	“Community College Candidates Answer Questions”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i> (1/1-1/15)	“Vote Slated Friday on New Washtenaw Community College”
	“PTA Speaker Explains Need for New Community College”
<i>The Michigan Daily</i> (1/1-1/15)	“City Votes for Junior College Plan Jan. 15”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i> (1/1-1/15)	“College Gets GOP Backing”
	“Ypsilanti Backs Vote on College: Vocational-tech School Urged”
	“All Vote Proposals Vital if College is to Pass”
	“2 Meetings Set Tonight on College”
	“Candidates Speak to Big Crowd”
	“‘Resolution’ against College”

	“Saturday is Absent Ballot Deadline”
	“Your Community College Trustee Candidates Forum”
	“College Aid Thanks Press”
	“Light College Vote Seen”
	Editorial: “County Community College Approval Urged Tomorrow”
	“4 Groups Back College”
	“College Campaign Stepped Up”
	“Community College: A Fact”
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i> (1/16-1/31)	“College Election Turnouts Light”
	“Voters Approve Community College: Two Propositions Pass By Substantial Margins”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i> (1/16-1/31)	“Voters Okay Community College Plan”
<i>The Michigan Daily</i> (1/16-1/31)	“County Voters to Decide Community Fate”
<i>Unknown</i>	“In Election for Trustee Positions”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i> (1/16-1/31)	“Vote Totals for College Candidates”
February 1965	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Community College Trustees Pick Officers, Eye Site Offer”
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“County College board Turns to Question of Site Choice”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“Romney Seeking 788 ½ Million”
	“College Trustees Meet Tonight”
	“‘Paper College’ Draws Interest”
	“To Avoid Conflict: New College to Confer with Cleary”
	“U-M, MSU Are and Should Remain ‘National’ Colleges”
	“‘Take Time’ says Prof: College Warned on Site Selection”
March 1965	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“County College Board Considers Staggered Opening”
	“Community College Board Seeks Site Study by County Planners”
	“College Trustees Dwell on Definition of Role”
	“College Adopts Semester Plan”
	“College Trustees Weigh Planning of Curricula”
	“County College Narrowed”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“For County College: C-C Opposes Summer Tax Plan” [Chamber of Commerce]
	“New College Site Choice Narrowed”
	“State-wide College Expansion Asked”
	“Sweeping Study Presented: Big Higher Education Boost Asked”
	“Study Eyed on County College Site”
	“County Colleges Winning Spot”
	“Legal in Cities? College to Get Summer Tax Report”
	“New College Board Eyes New Members”
April 1965	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“College ‘Open Meetings’ Bylaw Could Be Improved”
	“School is Named Washtenaw Community College”
	“College Tax Plan Ok’d”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“Dexter Sites Considered for College”

<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“College Bond Bill Snags”
	“Ypsi Will Pay College Tax July 1”
	“College Changes Its Name”
June 1965	
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“Community College Adopts \$920,691 First Year Budget”
July 1965	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Out-of-Stater Offered College Presidency”
	“College Trustee Considering Various Sites”
<i>The Michigan Daily</i>	“Community College Plans Advancing ‘Very Well’”
July 1965	
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“New College President Contract Ok’d”
September 1965	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“New College President Outlines Goal”
November 1965	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“College Site Choice Set Next Month”
	“Trustees Pick Architect for Community College”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“Press Photo of reception for Dr. Ponitz”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“Community College Head to be Feted”
December 1965	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Board Picks 235 Acres in Ann Arbor Township”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“Kiwanis Club to Join C of C in Reception”
	“Report from Lansing State Rep Thomas G. Sharpe: 1965 Legislative Review – Education”
	“New Community College President Welcomed Tuesday”
	“Site Chosen for Washtenaw Community College Campus”
January 1966	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Administrators Appointed to Community College”
	“College Foundation Studied by Trustees”
	“College Trustees Eye Appointees”
	“Progress Made on Task of Creating Area College”
	“Community College Trustees Meet: Board Quarrels over Methods of Record-Keeping”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“College Hires 2 More”
	“College Eyes Training for ‘N’ Technicians”
February 1966	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Tuition Fees Established For Community College”
	“Board Approves Scholarship Plan”
	“County Seeks Area-Zoning Pact Near New College”
	“High-rise Zones May Enrich New College”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“Community Colleges Plan ‘Selling’ Program”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“Local College Best Hope for Many Grads”
March 1966	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Dean, Assistant to President Hired for Community College”
	“Early Support Given Community College”
	“College considers Summer Tax Again”
	“Prosperity Hinders College’s Hunt for Quarters”
	“College Restricts Offerings”
	“Community College Names Another Dean”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“Detroit Educator Hired for Vocational Program”

April 1966	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“College to Begin Taking Applications on Monday”
	“County College Board Approves Two Budgets”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“College Aid Bill Introduced”
	College Sets Hearing on New Budget
	College Adopts \$4 Million Budget
	Fund Cut Worries Community College
May 1966	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	College Quarters Action Planned
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	500 Students Will Soon Enliven Former Willow Village Area
	“Staffing of WCC Now about 90 Per Cent Completed”
June 1966	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“College Trustees Name 14 to Faculty Positions”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“College Applies for Accreditation”
	“School Renovation to Finish July 15”
	“Well-paying Jobs is goal of 27 Community College Courses”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“Grad for Class of '66 Set Next Thursday: WCC President Ponitz Will Give Address”
	“DHS Graduates Challenged to do Something”
July 1966	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	County College Enrolls 117 So Far
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	Second College Need Predicted
	Business Will Advise College
	College Trustees OK General Fund Report
	“Community College Work Authorized”
August 1966	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“750 to Enroll in New College”
	“WCC Board Meeting Tonight”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“College Okays Bids, Votes to ___”
	“Extra Classes, Pay Proposal Shelved”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“Kiwans Told about WCC Status”
September 1966	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“College’s Trade Program Set”
	“Enrollment Totals 1,250 for Community College”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“County College’s Goal: Flexibility to Meet Area’s Need”
	“‘Surplus’ School Now College”
	“New College to Begin Thursday”
	“WCC Trustees Table Plan for Transition to Wayne”
	“College Trustees to Seek re-Election”
	“___ for WCC Seat”
	“___ 35 Per cent from Ypsi at WCC”
	“Ann Arbor Man Files for WCC”
	“___ Backs Aid to WCC”
	“College President to Address BPW”
	“Ponitz Tells BPW: County Growth Means More Students”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“53% of 1966 Grads Attending College”
	AD: After Dinner Education
<i>Saline Reporter</i>	“Samborn Seeks Trustee Post”

October 1966	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“College Degrees Urged for City Police: Plan Linked to Pay Hike”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“WCC Trustees Okay Technical Study Funds”
	“WCC Anticipates 16,000 Students, 3rd Campus in 1980”
	“Community College Continues to Add to Staff”
November 1966	
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“WCC Elects Ypsilantians”
	“WCC Expects to Hike Budget by \$200,000”
	“Perigo to Coach at WCC”
	“2 Mild Upsets Seen for WCC Trustees”
	“WCC Trades Registration to Continue”
	“Local Tax Discouraged: Community College Aid to Increase”
	“WCC Serves Area Industry as well as Students’ Needs”
	“Community Colleges Form Association”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“Election Slated for Next Tuesday, Polls Open at 7”
<i>Saline Reporter</i>	“Board Endorses Vocational Program”
January 1967	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“City Gives Policeman College Study Funds”
April 1967	
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“12 Seniors Awarded Scholarships”
August 1967	
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“WCC Applicants Exceed Last Year’s Enrollment”
<i>Saline Reporter</i>	“Washtenaw County Board of Supervisor’s Report”
September 1967	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Estimates Reduced for College Plan”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“WCC’s Enrollment Slated to Double”
October 1967	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“County training School’s cost Placed at \$850,000”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“State Board Wants 2nd Campus”
	“Livingston Proposal: Board Shuns Joint College Plan”
January 1968	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“County Study Nears Completion on Vocational-Technical Education”
February 1968	
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“Hydra-matic Gives WCC Equipment”
March 1968	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“College Starts ‘High Risk’ Plan”
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“Fireman Program Set up at College”
April 1968	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“WCC Faculty Making Demands”
	“College Board Briefs”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“Federal Education Grants to District colleges Exceed \$1.5 Million”
June 1968	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“47 graduate at WCC Ceremony”
August 1968	
<i>Ypsilanti Press</i>	“2,000 Expected at WCC: Growth is Keynote of 2 Year Community College”
October 1968	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“College Event is Ceremonial”
	“City Board Endorses Job School”

<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“County Superintendents OK Plan for Vo-Ed”
	“School Board Urges Support for Vo-Ed Plan”
	“Candidates by the Dozen”
November 1968	
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“WCC Branch Plan Proposed to Some Areas”
	“UM, EMU Heads Join Group Pushing for Vo-Tech Center”
December 1968	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“From Our Point of View: County Vo-Ed Program Deserves Big Yes”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“Vote Slated Wednesday on Vo-Tech Issue”
<i>Saline Reporter</i>	“Jaycee’s Endorse Vo-Ed Plan”
January 1969	
<i>Saline Reporter</i>	“Ponitz to Speak to PTO Session”
February 1969	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Ardis to Head Trustees”
March 1969	
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“Dexter Girl Enters WCC Beauty Contest”
May 1969	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Job ‘Step-Up’ Program Begins”
	“Teacher’s Group Censures Ponitz”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“WCC Surveying Area for Interest in Local Classes”
June 1969	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Disputed College Plan Adopted”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“Four Area Residents Earn WCC Degrees”
	“Four Area Men Cited for Aid to WCC”
September 1969	
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	AD: College Classes in Dexter
	AD: A Career For You
October 1969	
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	“From the Superintendent’s Desk: Another Attempt to Fill Vo-tech Educational Needs”
January 1970	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Community College Study Anxiously Being Awaited”
June 1970	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Community College Feels Economic Pinch, Too”
July 1970	
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	AD: We Train the BEST Auto Body Repairmen in Michigan at WCC
	AD: After Dinner Education at Chelsea
August 1970	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“WCC Millage Request May Be on November 3 Ballot”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	AD: “Consider Your Future”
September 1970	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“WCC to Seek 1 Extra Mill”
<i>The Dexter Leader</i>	AD: Education Available at WCC
October 1970	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Local Officials See Income Tax Need”
	“From Our Point of View: Yes Vote on Millage is Vital to College”
November 1970	
<i>The Ann Arbor News</i>	“Voters OK Mill for WCC”

Appendix C: UHSRC Determination

RESEARCH @ EMU

UHSRC Determination: **EXEMPT**

DATE: **March 30, 2016**

TO: **Julie Kissel, PhD
Department of Leadership and Counseling
Eastern Michigan University**

Re: **UHSRC: # 825462-1
Category: Exempt category 4
Approval Date: March 30, 2016**

Title: **Washtenaw Community College: A Historical Analysis**

Your research project, entitled **Washtenaw Community College: A Historical Analysis**, has been determined **Exempt** in accordance with federal regulation 45 CFR 46.102. UHSRC policy states that you, as the Principal Investigator, are responsible for protecting the rights and welfare of your research subjects and conducting your research as described in your protocol.

Renewals: Exempt protocols do not need to be renewed. When the project is completed, please submit the **Human Subjects Study Completion Form** (access through IRBNet on the UHSRC website).

Modifications: You may make minor changes (e.g., study staff changes, sample size changes, contact information changes, etc.) without submitting for review. However, if you plan to make changes that alter study design or any study instruments, you must submit a **Human Subjects Approval Request Form** and obtain approval prior to implementation. The form is available through IRBNet on the UHSRC website.

Problems: All major deviations from the reviewed protocol, unanticipated problems, adverse events, subject complaints, or other problems that may increase the risk to human subjects or change the category of review must be reported to the UHSRC via an **Event Report** form, available through IRBNet on the UHSRC website

Follow-up: If your Exempt project is not completed and closed after **three years**, the UHSRC office will contact you regarding the status of the project.

Please use the UHSRC number listed above on any forms submitted that relate to this project, or on any correspondence with the UHSRC office.

Good luck in your research. If we can be of further assistance, please contact us at 734-487-3090 or via e-mail at human.subjects@emich.edu. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Beth Kubitskey
Chair
College of Education Human Subjects Review Committee