Working Paper

INTEGRATING STUDENT SERVICES WITH INSTRUCTION: Chaffey College's Long Journey to Success

Dr. Robert Gabriner
Research and Planning Group (RPG-G)
Graduate School of Education
San Francisco State University

W. Norton Grubb
Professor and David Gardner Chair in Higher Education
University of California, Berkeley

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Dr. Robert Gabriner
Research and Planning Group (RP-G)
Graduate College of Education
San Francisco State University

Dr. W. Norton Grubb
School of Education
University of California Berkeley

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Chaffey College, a three campus college with approximately 20,000 students located California's Inland Empire, has become the destination of many community college practitioners from around the country.[i] The reason why? Over the past ten years, the college has become nationally-known as an institution with a "risk tolerant change-oriented culture" and a signature set of student support programs that produce impressive performance outcomes for Chaffey students. The visitors want to understand how Chaffey does it.

We were two of those visitors who came to talk to the faculty and the administration about Chaffey's success story. And we were not disappointed: we learned a great deal which we will summarize in this article. Our primary concern, in visiting 14 California colleges including Chaffey and numerous other colleges for specific innovations, has been to examine the quality of instruction in basic skills. But colleges have increasingly turned to student support services to enhance the success of their developmental programs. According to lore, Chaffey promised to have a broader variety of services, including those for faculty as well as students, than most colleges; and contrary to the pattern of separation and even hostility between instruction and student support, Chaffey had apparently developed a model of integrating student support and developmental education that we needed to understand. Even though our analysis focuses on various support services, the Chaffey story is really one of developing a broad structure necessary for success both specifically in developmental education and more generally for all students.

Our starting point is not the present but the past, because the history of Chaffey provides the answer to the central question: Why Chaffey? Why did Chaffey emerge as an exemplar of what a community college can do right? And, why has it been so difficult to replicate the Chaffey story in other colleges? What did Chaffey do to enable and then sustain a transformation that supports student success?

The Long View

Chaffey faculty and staff date the beginnings of "Chaffey's transformation" to the period 1999 - 2000 when California's Partnership for Excellence (PFE) program distributed supplemental funds to the California community colleges as a reward for improving student outcomes. The full story, however, began in the early 1990s with the construction of the institutional foundations for Chaffey's transformation. That is why Laura Hope, Dean of Instructional Support and one of the founders of the 1999 - 2000 transformation initiative, describes the Chaffey model as an institutional and philosophical change since the 1990s rather than simply the addition of more support programs with PFE funding: the type of transformation that Chaffey undertook in 1999 - 2000 could not have happened without the organizational and philosophical work in the 1990s.

Don Berz, the Vice Superintendent of Chaffey from 1989 to 2004, was instrumental in these changes. Berz grew up in the Peralta Community College District where he spent his first twenty years as a faculty member, dean, college president, district Vice Chancellor, and finally Interim Chancellor. In the 1980s, Peralta acquired a reputation as a contentious, tough, and somewhat dysfunctional community college

district caused, in part, by decreasing funding as a result of Prop 13 and aggravated by an administrative and Board leadership that sought to resolve problems by laying off tenured and part time faculty. Nothing worked quite right in Peralta: collective bargaining relations; shared governance; administrative leadership. Berz, like many others who went through Peralta, says that Peralta was a "defining experience" in his career, and he brought many lessons with him when he got the job at Chaffey. Chaffey resembled Peralta in the 1980s, characterized by contentious relations with the union and the academic senate, and aggravated by an "out of control" board trying to micromanage the college and by weak administrators. Berz was tapped for the Vice Superintendency because he came with clear views of what not to do and a vision of what could be done. During the period 1989 to 1999 he was given the running room to change Chaffey.

Berz put in place the enabling factors that set the stage for the "Chaffey transformation." He brought in training on a win-win approach to collective bargaining and established collaborative relations with the unions; built a meaningful collaborative system of shared governance; established a Policy and Budget Development Committee with representation from all college constituencies, which in turn made all major budget and policy recommendations to the Superintendent/President and the Board. Berz also hired a new group of administrators who were not just managers, but also leaders oriented to issues of pedagogy and instruction and committed to collaborative leadership with the faculty. He also had a strong belief in succession-building and encouraged faculty leadership in

transformational roles. He developed an expectation, through the position of a coordinator, that administrators and faculty would become working teams.

As contention abated and trust among the various college groups began to grow, Berz directly addressed the quality of academic and student services. This step relied upon an organizational strategy called the "Abilene paradox" in which a group of people collectively decide on a course of action that is contrary to the preferences of any of the individuals in the group[ii]. As Laura Hope recalls, "we knew were broken and we needed a do-over" and consequently, Berz proposed that a group of community college practitioners from other colleges examine Chaffey and produce a report about those problems. They finished their work in 1999, and confirmed what insiders had already acknowledged — that the basic skills department and its courses needed to be radically changed. Then Berz, with the support of the Superintendent and Board, proposed a process to address improving student achievement and success. Unlike most other California community colleges, Chaffey's executive leadership did not distribute PFE funds to various programs immediately, but banked them and accumulated a total of $5 to $6 million. Berz proposed that all of the PFE funds should be strategically invested in a plan developed by the faculty/staff and driven by a comprehensive vision to improve student learning and student success — rather than spending these funds, as so many colleges have, on small changes and little programs. And so a task force of approximately thirty-five faculty, administrators and staff spent the 1999 - 2000 academic year reviewing data, reading the visiting team report, interviewing faculty in other colleges, and developing the plan that ultimately became the "Chaffey

Transformation Plan." As Laura Hope notes, the development and implementation of the plan would not have been possible without a great deal of trust among all the parties, and the trust would not have been possible without the enabling processes in the 1990s:

> One of the key elements of this task force is that we were the decision-makers. Don invested this group with the planning, evaluation, and implementation responsibility. If the people in that group decided that it was good for students, then it became policy. We did not have to seek "permission" outside of that room, beyond occasional consultation with Don. The Task Force met every Friday all day long, and the larger group divided into smaller work groups to accomplish various tasks throughout the week that would be vetted or refined by the larger group throughout the process. Once we developed a plan, the Governing Board adopted the Transformation Agenda, and the President adopted the goals of the plan as part of his personal goals, which then influenced his own evaluation. This was critical for the development of trust and fostering a belief that whatever we did or changed would last and that it was embraced by the entire institution.

To ensure the sustainability of the plan and to eliminate cynicism about a "here today/gone tomorrow" grant mentality, Berz and the executive leadership permanently allocated all the PFE funds supporting the plan into the base budget of the college. Following the executive leadership, the college's governing board adopted the budget and consequently, made a permanent budget commitment to the Chaffey plan. So, when visiting practitioners marvel at the Chaffey programs and infrastructure and they say "we can't afford to do this; how can Chaffey afford it?" Chaffey people respond that all of the institutional features are part of the base college budget, because the Chaffey leadership and its faculty took the long view twelve years ago and invested strategically in key programs supported by the faculty.

The Chaffey Plan

The original Chaffey transformation plan took over a year to construct by a task force numbering thirty five to forty people; fifteen members of the task force comprised the steering committee, which did most of the drafting. Since the process was iterative and collaborative, most Chaffey faculty supported the recommendations especially because the executive leadership declared there would be no faculty layoffs and the plan would be funded with PFE dollars that would ultimately be folded into the district's budget base.

What did the Chaffey Plan do? Throughout the 1990s, the college had had two parallel basic skills programs, one contained within a basic skills department with its own support labs, and the other embedded in the math and English Departments. Students were confronted with a confusing array of choices, many of which did not lead anywhere. Student data from the Chaffey IR office confirmed that students were failing and dropping out in very high numbers. So there was plenty of evidence about the problem, but the alternatives were not there until the 1999 - 2000 plan.

The plan called for a major reorganization of the delivery of basic skills with the goal of substantially increasing the rates of student success. During this period, the faculty dismantled Chaffey's Basic Skills Department, restructured, modified or deleted 75 courses, abandoned the term "basic skills" and replaced it with "foundation skills". Students would no longer have to choose between two parallel basic skills programs: there would be one of set of courses offered through the math, English and ESL departments. Another major breakthrough was the agreement among faculties from all special programs, including Extended Opportunity Programs and Services (EOPS) and

Disabled Students Programs and Services (DSPS), to merge their student support labs with the success centers, thereby eliminating redundancies in the delivery of support services. The department faculties agreed to re-write their course outlines. In the case of the English department, the faculty also re-visited its approach to teaching, moving away from the old sentence-paragraph-essay format toward one based on different types of readings including more non-fiction (since most students will encounter non-fiction in subsequent college courses). However, one of the on-going problems with Chaffey's rebuilt structure is that reading and English remained separate disciplines. Despite the philosophical and practical integration of the skills by the English Department, reading is taught separately at Chaffey.

The centerpiece of the plan was the establishment of new Student Success Centers. The Chaffey centers, unlike those in many other colleges, were constructed in close collaboration with faculties in the departments, especially math, English and ESL. The Success Centers were seen as extensions of the classroom, using activities developed by classroom faculty though implemented by well-trained staff comprised mostly of students with bachelor's degrees and some faculty. The centers used a monitoring system to oversee the progress of each student. Reporting lines between center staff and faculty were also developed.

One additional dimension was crucial: the Success Centers were intended for all Chaffey students, not just basic skills students. The faculty felt that the addition of well-constructed cognitive activities coordinated with classroom faculty would be a boon for everyone. Furthermore, defining the centers for all students removed the stigma of

"special needs" for basic skills students and ended the segregation of basic skills students within the campus. Philosophically, it was important that every Center serve students at all levels. The Centers were devised on the premise that all learning is developmental and that effective support is an integral part of the learning process, not a safety net after a student experiences failure and needs help. Ultimately, Chaffey created four centers at the main campus, and added centers to the new campuses at Fontana and Chino when they developed later in the decade. The four centers included an Interdisciplinary Writing Success Center, a Math Success Center, a Reading/Multidisciplinary Success Center, and a Language Success Center that includes foreign languages plus ESL (English as a Second Language). These support services are duplicated in all-in-one services at the other campuses. The College has also developed a Success Center in the California Institution in Chino — the only college level learning center in a prison setting in California. Finally, on the theory that faculty as well as students need supports for their success, a Faculty Success Center was established in 2009. .

As implementation of the Chaffey plan progressed over the years, faculty and staff received regular reports on student outcomes, and they were encouraged by what they were reading. The most recent 2009 - 10 data from the Chaffey Institutional Research (IR) office provides a snapshot of why:

- Success rates by course in basic skills courses increased steadily to 68.1% in 2009/10 from 30-35% in the early 1990s;

- Success rates for students in basic skills courses that accessed the centers were 72.8% compared to 53.5% among students who did not go to centers.
- Numbers of transferring students who completed at least one pre-collegiate course increased from 10% of total in 2000 to almost 28% in 2010.
- Two thirds of Chaffey's honor students (800) started in a foundation skill area.

The numbers of Chaffey students accessing all the success centers has continually increased over the last decade from 28.5% to 55.9% of all students, reflecting a significant shift in student behavior with benefits for many student populations, especially students of color. And student satisfaction among the users of success centers was at 97% in spring 2009. Similar numbers are reported when examining transfer courses, and in special populations like EOPS and DIPS.

How Chaffey Works

Chaffey's organizational structure has some distinctive features that reflect its philosophy and student success agenda. The reporting lines for both the academic and student services operations go to one vice president rather than the traditional two VPs, and consequently there are many mechanisms to keep the academic and student services leadership working closely with each other. Both the President, Dr. Henry Shannon, and the Vice-President, Sherrie Guerrero, have publically stated expectations that faculty and deans lead and contribute. They trust and expect the structures at the College to produce results, but in turn they expect accountability as well.

There is also a Dean of Instructional Support, Laura Hope, who oversees all the student success centers and the library — a position we don't often see in other colleges. She also serves as a keeper of the Chaffey vision as one of the few remaining leaders from the 1999 - 2000 transformation plan. Hope co-chairs (with two others) the Enrollment and Success Management Committee, which is responsible for monitoring the entire student success program, identifying problems, and coming up with innovations. Like many Chaffey committees of the past ten years, this committee is comprised of 40 faculty, staff and administrators, and it has been quite productive. The committee is credited with establishing the Early Assessment Program (EAP) with local high schools to get students to judge their college readiness.[iii] Entering students can take a three-week brush-up math course before the ACCUPLACER, since many of them have not taken any math since their junior year. The Enrollment and Success Management Committee is also creating a completion agenda, and exploring what will count as markers toward completion.

This group has also been the impetus for changing add and drop deadlines, in keeping with data suggesting that forcing an early commitment to courses improves success. It is also the thrust behind the acceleration movement at Chaffey. In the spring of 2011, the College offered approximately 50 accelerated classes, and in the fall and spring of 2011-12, the College is offering approximately 75 each term. This decision was based in efforts from a Task Force created from Enrollment and Success Management, very much like the Basic Skills Transformation. In addition, Enrollment and Success Management was responsible for the vision behind the College's Title V Hispanic

Serving Institutions (HSI) grant, and this group continues to provide oversight for the activities for institutional improvement written into the grant.

All of these projects and activities are described by Chaffey people in particular ways. Laura Hope notes that,

> We place a very high premium on "languaging" our changes because they often influence the culture. That is why we deliberately named our first phase of change our "transformation," and we abandoned "basic skills" as a term for our students. We openly discussed the moral imperative we had to be better, and the term "moral imperative" stuck with us ever since. We also are deliberate about naming EVERYTHING! We also have a local "vocabulary." For instance, our Vice President Sherrie Guerrero is fond of saying "Go big or go home," and in committees, we sometimes say to each other that it is time to "Stare down the fear." In keeping with that, Sherrie, Henry [Shannon, College President], and I talked quite a bit about what words to use to describe the phase we are in right now. We have begun to use "Completion Counts: Exceeding Expectations." The term "exceeding expectations" is probably the most important part to us because it reflects our moral imperative. We are all committed to exceeding our own expectations. The term implies that we are always striving to be better for ourselves and for students. The term obviously implies students too, in that we want them to be more than even they expected. In short, words are a big part of our story, and we talk about our words together.

Student Success Centers

The centerpiece of Chaffey's infrastructure is the Student Success Centers. There are four centers at the Rancho Cucamonga campus while the smaller Chino and Fontana centers have one each. All of them follow a common format, though they may not be at the same stage of development. The Writing Success Center was the first, and is the best developed; the math Success Center was "late to the table", as two math instructors acknowledged, and is only now developing some of the activities that have become common in the Writing Success Center. According to the IR office, 55% of students attend at least one success center every semester; 35% are in 2 or more; 45% go

twice a week or more. In some cases instructors direct students to attend some of these activities, for example requiring 15 hours of supplemental learning of some kind; in other cases students come on their own when they feel the need or when instructors recommend further development of specific skills. A recent IR study found that once students have a Success Center requirement, their Success Center participation increases by approximately 20%, even in subsequent semesters when they no longer have requirements.

The materials of the Success Centers are full of pointers about "how to be a college student", a crucial and multi-faceted capacity that community college students often lack.[iv] For example, the math Success Center provides "suggestions for success" that exhort students to devote a minimum of 8 hours per week to homework, arrive at class on time, ask questions, seek help promptly, and "don't be content just to know how to do problems, but seek to understand the underlying concepts".

Each Center provides four kinds of specific services, and an intake person in every Success Center can direct students to the right services:

Tutoring takes about 30% of the time of Centers. Drop-in tutoring is available, but the Centers are trying to move to scheduled tutoring sessions where students sign up at least the day before with tutors for half hour time slots; this is intended to foster deeper investigation of the problems students have, as well as the establishment of more substantial relations between students and tutors. The tutors themselves are either second-year Chaffey students (called Apprenticeship II) or students with BA/BS degrees (Apprenticeship IV).

Faculty-led Workshops number about 300 per semester in each Center. Typically they cover a wide range of subjects, from small sub-skills (incomplete sentences and sentence fragments, punctuation, factoring review, logarithmic equations) to larger and more conceptual material (organizing writing, complex numbers, applications of problems using percent). They are relatively brief, 1 hour long. They are always initiated by faculty and taught by faculty, including adjunct faculty, on the theory that all student support is instructional and should be directed by faculty, and should have some connection to conventional classes. Sometimes the subjects are issues on which students need reinforcement; sometimes they are topics faculty cannot get around to teaching. In effect they allow for the teaching of modules, much shorter than semester-length classes, about specific skills.

Learning Groups follow the CRLA (College Reading and Learning Association) model;[v] they are designed by faculty with topics suggested by both Success Center staff and faculty. Usually, they are one-hour sessions led by Apprenticeship IV students. Topics might include academic writing style; eliminating wordiness; accent reduction for ESL students; using the ruler to learn fractions; the logic of the scientific method, the use of active and passive voice. The groups typically include 3 – 5 students, while workshops are larger.

Directed Learning Activities (DLAs) are one-on-one sessions, typically with a Learning Apprentice, on specific subjects and following a format devised by a faculty member. The topics tend not to be individual sub-skills, but are more focused on learning processes and meta-cognitive approaches to learning — in contrast to

conventional tutoring which is usually "product focused", or emphasizes correcting a specific paper or problem set. Students are given a packet of materials, which they work through; at the end there is a review session with the Learning Apprentice. Examples of topics might include think-aloud procedures, to diagnose what difficulties students are having; identification of reasons students are unable to follow the instructor in the classroom; evaluating the credibility of sources (including websites); the scientific method; and even a linked writing class for an auto repair course, developed by bringing together a CTE instructor and an English instructor. There are also topics that involve issues of confidence and student identity, like a student's sense of self as a writer. These topics again address the affective dimensions of being students — getting students to see themselves as students and writers, not as failures. Like the other activities, the DLA must be connected back to classroom goals and values. There are many English DLAs, but only one for math — a unit on measurement, using rulers. There's also a DLA being developed on word problems.

The personnel of the Centers include

- regular faculty, who teach workshops and develop DLAs;
- instructional specialists with faculty status associated with each of the Centers, who work closely with regular classroom faculty;
- Learning Apprentices, who remain at Chaffey for long periods of time (in contrast to peer tutors, for example, who leave when they graduate). One group of Learning Apprentices has Associate Degrees; another group has BA or BS degrees.

Apprentices often want to go into K-12 teaching, and this is one way to establish experience and credentials.

Supplemental Instruction

In contrast to the four activities of the Student Success centers, which are focused on different disciplines, Supplemental Instruction focuses on specific *courses* — specifically, those 22 courses that have the lowest pass rates including some introductory courses, several general education courses, and three basic skills courses. The SI coordinators are students with BA or BS degrees who direct SI for each specific course. SI follows the "Kansas model", from the University of Kansas at Missouri Center for Academic Development, which stresses that SI should be attractive to high performing students as well as those who are behind. The idea, based on the work of Dr. Uri Treisman of the Dana Center at the University of Texas, is to get groups of students talking about the course material, problems sets, and tests. The SI leader, who attends all classes, does not provide answers, but leads discussions, providing hints when students are stuck. The materials also clarify that SI is not conventional tutoring, homework question/answer session, another lecture, or a place students go when they miss class; it has its own pedagogy and purpose. For students using SI, course success rates increase as students take more SI ranging from 54.5% among those who attend no SI sessions to 88.7% for students attending 11 or more sessions.

A manual for SI leaders has been developed by Laura Hope and Robin Witt, the coordinator of SI, to introduce SI leaders to the variety of students' learning styles including a social styles inventory; a section on cultural proficiency; varieties of

approaches to listening; and directions on conducting SI sessions. In general, the SI Coordinator views Supplemental Instruction as a methodical approach, rather than a place for quick answers; the Success Centers, in contrast, provide a greater variety of tutoring-related activities, with an emphasis on longer sessions.

Two students reflecting on their experiences as both tutors and SI leaders found they share a similar approach: "the tutor (or SI leader) does not ever lecture or simply impart knowledge to the students. We guide students using the Socratic method to extract pre-existing knowledge from the students and use it as the foundation for new ideas." The difference between the one-on-one tutoring and SI approach is that "students get results from one another [in SI] that a tutor might have to explicate in a tutoring session." So, unlike the simple provision of correct answers that we have seen in a great deal of peer tutoring, the emphasis at Chaffey is on leading students to discover answers for themselves and with peers.

The Faculty Success Center

After the student Success Centers had been in place about 8 years, faculty began to understand that providing centers for students but not for faculty made little sense. Around the same time the current president/superintendent, Dr. Henry Shannon, arrived at Chaffey, and he spent a great deal of time examining the success centers and talking with faculty. He developed a proposal to extend the scope of success centers to include all college faculty, to be called a Faculty Success Center that would focus on supporting faculty around teaching and learning issues. Dr. Shannon's emphasis on faculty development coincided with the college's self-assessment as part of the Basic

Skills Initiative. Dr. Sherrie Guerrero was the Chair of the Student Success Committee, which took the lead in developing the Faculty Success Center as a result of the reflection prompted by the "poppy copy" assessment. After a review and approval by the faculty, the College in 2009 invested in a permanent faculty center to support professional learning opportunities for all Chaffey faculty. The Center is headed by a full-time faculty member who has built a diverse array of activities including workshops on the psychological impact of growing up in poverty; critical thinking strategies for ESL students; teaching students how to learn; introductions to SI and health services; using technology; and many other topics and workshops that faculty request. Adjuncts are also paid to attend these workshops. The Faculty Success Center has also started a voluntary program of classroom observations and feedback for interested faculty, for which almost one quarter of the faculty have signed up — an effort to move teaching from a private to a more public effort. The Center also features a two week summer institute for 50 part-time and full-time faculty focusing on an innovative practice or project, where instructors publish their findings in a campus journal. This activity is designed to reinforce the role of instructors as researchers and innovators.

In addition, the Center offers special teaching/learning workshops for faculty who have received critical evaluations from either their tenure review committees or student evaluations. The faculty center also serves as a common venue for faculty discussions about potential innovations, or to recruit faculty to innovations. For example, we observed a two-hour discussion on acceleration, where faculty who had

been involved in acceleration pilot projects spoke with interested faculty about what the innovation entailed. In this sense any innovation undertaken at Chaffey becomes a visible part of public life, discussed by the entire college, rather than remaining the private responsibility of a few innovators. Center data show that 75% of the Chaffey faculty accessed the center over the academic year and a smaller number use the Center during the summer for special programs.

Centers like the faculty Success Center, focusing on teaching and learning issues for faculty rather than students, are one of the most powerful and flexible ways for colleges to enhance the quality of instruction.[vi] At Chaffey College one of the hopes of the Center is that, both through specific workshops and discussions with other faculty, instructors will develop more constructivist and student-centered approaches to pedagogy, in place of "remedial pedagogy". These efforts complement those of the English faculty to redesign courses to move away from the sentence-paragraph-essay approach to the teaching of writing, of the math department to stress " understanding the underlying concepts", and of tutors to move to more constructivist methods of helping students develop their own approaches rather than simply providing them answers.

The Early Alert System

Early Alert is the product of a one year joint instructional and student service faculty planning process involving over forty faculty from a variety of disciplines and services. The process, the same as the one used to develop the original Chaffey plan in 1999 - 2000, included an extensive use of surveys to assess faculty views on two major

questions about individual student progress: what are the major problems students are experiencing; and what types of outside interventions would be most useful to resolve those problems? The plan called for development of an electronic form easily accessible by classroom faculty with ten student problem options to check off and a text box to provide additional specific information. The plan also identified specific interventions developed by classroom instructors, in collaboration with the counseling division that could be applied to help students get back on track. The Early Alert system borrowed an idea from the success centers in recruiting a group of counselor apprentices, students with bachelor's degrees interested in going into the counseling profession, to deliver the interventions. Each counselor apprentice is trained by a counselor and provided with a script for contacting the early alert student with a phone call upon receiving the electronic form from the classroom instructor. The turnaround time for Early Alert takes place within the semester in order to ensure that the Early Alert student can successfully complete the course — unlike many systems which track incompletes and low grades, and therefore cannot provide students with information until after the semester is over. The Early Alert system is built upon the idea that a tight linkage between the classroom and the outside intervention will ensure an alignment between what the instructor wants and the support work that the counselor apprentice provides to the student.

Opening Doors

Opening Doors is a support system for students on probation, integrating counseling, a student success course, and Directed Learning Activities at the Success

Centers. According to program director Ricardo Diaz, the Opening Doors system enables counselors to identify specific challenges facing students and then apply the appropriate directed learning activities used in the Success Centers. Now six years old, the Opening Doors program has a 43% success rate of removing students from probation.

The Role of Institutional Research

Chaffey has one of the largest institutional research offices among the California community colleges with a total of four full-time researchers serving a college of 20,000 students. The IR office was a key participant in the early investigation of the college in 1999 – 2000, providing longitudinal data showing how many students were failing the developmental education sequences and dropping out. The IR department has continued to provide research and assessment support for faculty and administrative initiatives, and its director is included in virtually all significant projects and issues affecting the college. The IR office also provides accountability reporting, apportionment reports and student enrollments; institutional planning; learning outcomes; and responses to individual instructor requests. The research staff is called in whenever innovations are being considered, and they evaluate all innovations.

The IR staff is currently working with faculty on new approaches measuring student progress and success with both cognitive and affective variables including a scale of self-regulated learning behavior, a scale on instrumentality (the extent to which any activity is instrumental to getting a degree), and some measure of learning to learn or the learning strategies that can be applied to any discipline. The IR office is also

piloting the "hope scale" which addresses various dimensions of student perceptions about their directions and their futures. In this way IR is moving past conventional measures of success — courses and sequences completed — to measures that provide better understanding of what and how students are learning.

Chaffey IR has also created special data bases related to student use of the success centers enabling faculty to track the frequency, duration and type of services used by specific students. In addition, Chaffey has created a data "warehouse" accessible to all administrators and faculty where they can examine student data by course and program. This is exceedingly user-friendly for standard tables, so it is easy for instructors to carry out their own research.

Conclusion: Lessons Learned from Chaffey

Taking the long view. When talking to Chaffey people, they will tell you transformation takes a long time; as the president remarked, "we're a work in progress." Many people date the beginnings to the transformation plan developed by the faculty in 1999 - 2000, but actually the planning activities and the resultant changes could not have happened without the foundation of trust building in the 1990s**:** cooperative agreements related to collective bargaining and shared governance; and the hiring of a new collaborative administrative team committed to teaching, learning and student success. So the Chaffey story is actually twenty years old and still in progress. And progress does continue: The Faculty Success Center is only two years old, and the math Success Center has only begun to develop the activities that have been part of other Centers for a decade.

An Inclusive Process. Chaffey people learned they could work with large representative committees (35 - 40 people), always with a member of the research office present, and get a lot done, especially if the planning horizon was long enough. Consequently, almost every major innovation includes a representative planning process with a timeline that allows for discussion and consensus building. In addition, adjunct faculty are encouraged to participate in all activities alongside full-time faculty, and are paid for doing so.

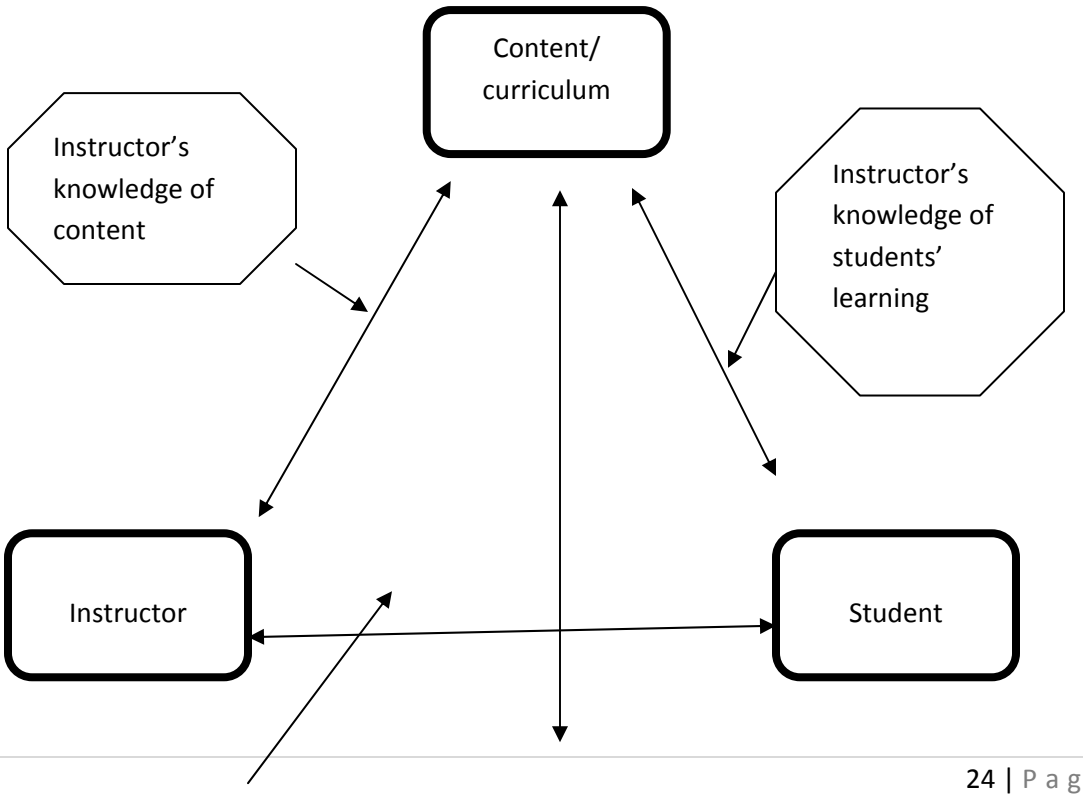
Integration of services is more effective and more efficient. Support services are an integral part of instruction, rather than having support services staff who develop their own content. Under these circumstances, the instructional triangle of instructor, student, and content, presented in Working Paper 2, is really an instructional quadrangle like that in Figure 1, adding support services with their own strong connections to students, classroom faculty, and classroom content. In this way, student services and instruction are inextricably linked.

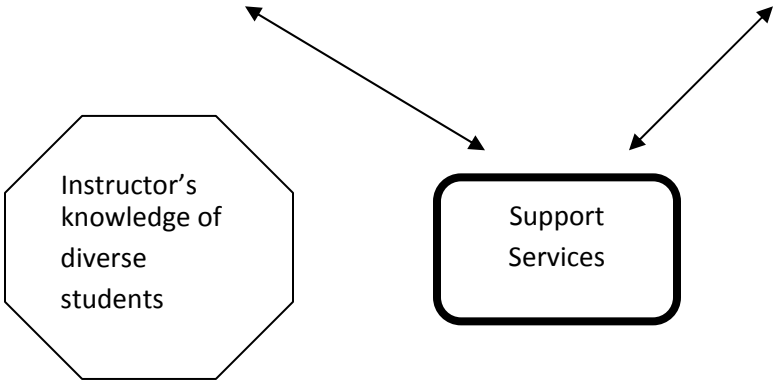
All services for all students. Chaffey has sought to erase traditional dividing lines between basic skills students, usually viewed as deficient in one or more college skills, and the rest of the college population. Consequently, the student success centers and most other practices like Supplemental Instruction serve all students; the philosophy is that seeking support "is what all successful students do," not something required only of basic skills students. The goal is to reduce segregation among student populations by ability or level of preparedness, and therefore reduce stigma. In the analysis developed by Claude Steele, students labeled "basic skills" may feel negatively

stereotyped, and if students feel threatened by a stereotype that by itself leads to lower performance.[vii] Many of the actions at Chaffey are designed to minimize stereotype threat and thereby increase the performance of students.

Transparency for Students: We heard no complaints about students not knowing where to go for support services. At the beginning of the semester, instructional assistants go to many classes to explain the student success centers.

Figure 1: The Instructional Quadrangle




Instructor's knowledge of diverse students
Support Services

Instructors are responsible for alerting students to Success Centers and to Supplemental Instruction; some courses have requirements for certain hours of SI or work in Success Centers. The centralization of many services in Success Centers helps the transparency, and intake work in each Center can help students find their way to specific services. . It also helps that all centers now follow the same philosophy, with common training and common activities.

Constructivist pedagogy. All support services use student-centered or constructivist pedagogies, in which students develop their own understandings with the help of peers and the guidance of instructors, rather than having information and procedures given to them by faculty and tutors.

Non-cognitive strategies are important. It's important to confront not only the cognitive dimensions of learning, but also the non-cognitive and social/emotional dimensions — such as seeing oneself as a successful student, in the process of development as all students are, rather than failures

Leadership is critical. Leadership is critical, especially leadership from the faculty and the deans at the middle level of the institution. Much of what has happened at Chaffey is the result of leadership from faculty members, with and without formal titles, and some administrative deans. Executive level leadership has also played a critical role by using scarce funds to support strategic initiatives that can impact the most students, rather than small scale boutique programs.

Avoiding "Programmitis." Chaffey has consistently used new funding for substantial changes, like the Student Success Centers — not for "little programs" that benefit only a few students and engage only a few faculty.

Funding: At first glance, the system of student support at Chaffey seems expensive, with four Student Support Centers, a Faculty Support Center, different types of tutors and apprentices, with training for all these individuals. However, although we did not audit spending on student services, college personnel insist that they do not have additional funds for student support that other colleges do not have — and indeed their discussions were remarkably free of references to foundation or government grants for any of these services. (As Hope explains, external funds create a "grant mentality", where there is a burst of energy when a college gets grants but then cynicism about reform when they disappear and reform vanishes.) Instead, services seem to be funded by using existing resources more intelligently and less wastefully. In the first place, funding from large state grants — first the Partnership for Excellence funds, and the Basic Skills Initiative — were spent on large initiatives, rather than being focused on little programs that wind up reaching very few students. Second, the wasteful duplication apparent in other college programs – e.g., tutoring provided in reading and writing and math centers and by EOPS and DSPS — is replaced by the four Student Success Centers.

Third, some of the services provided aren't very expensive, though they may play a large role in improvement. For example, workshops are largely run by faculty without additional funding; learning apprentices and counseling apprentices do some

of the work done by staff and faculty in other college. The Faculty Success Center employs only one director and one secretary, and some of its work is accomplished by convening faculty, not paying for additional personnel (apparently the cost is about $100,00 per year). A more careful analysis of funding would require more accounting work, but probably wouldn't improve on these conclusions.

Moving away from the laissez-faire college. In several ways Chaffey is trying to move away from the laissez-faire college, a college in which students and faculty are allowed to do pretty much what they want. The college is enforcing the limit on students taking any course more than three times; it is trying to replace walk-in tutoring with scheduled tutoring where relationships can be developed better and tutoring can move beyond finding the right answer. Some courses have clear requirements for students to work in either Supplemental Instruction or the student success centers; faculty in general are expected to contribute to workshops, rather than viewing this as a voluntary contribution. The college also moving to require students to drop courses by the end of the first week, rather than the end of the third week; when they must be committed to a course earlier, this appears to contribute to success. All of these place new expectations on both students and faculty. As Vice President Sherrie Guerrero notes, "You're expected to contribute."

Parallels with other innovations in basic skills. In comparing the Chaffey innovations in student services and basic skills with other innovations we have explored (in Working Paper 3), a number of similarities emerge. Most lasting and widespread innovations have started with a recognition of serious problems in basic

skills, as was true of Chaffey. Reforms have taken a long time — at least a decade, and more like 15 – 20 years in the case of Chaffey — and relatively continuous improvement rather than efforts that stop and start. Reforms have also required a deep sense of trust and responsibility among a group of participants as a prerequisite for reform — what the K-12 world calls internal accountability.[viii] Chaffey, like the department-wide innovations we have seen, has also invested in large-scale change, rather than little initiatives by individual faculty: the emphasis throughout has been on large institutional changes, designed for all students and all faculty, that have the potential for reaching all members of the college community.

Above all, the changes at Chaffey illustrate the importance of innovation from the middle. The crucial initiatives have come from faculty leaders and middle-level administrators, epitomized by the large 40-member committees Chaffey has convened, including the Enrollment and Success Management Committee. To be sure, some of the initial support came from an executive-level administrator, Don Berz, but all the details of the Chaffey plan were developed by middle-level faculty and administrators. In the end, the accomplishments of Chaffey College is the story of vision, persistence, trust, and collegial accomplishments.

ENDNOTES

[i] Chaffey College has three campuses serving nine cities and enrolling approximately 20,000 students. The faculty includes 220 full time and 500 part-time instructors. In the rest of our research we have used pseudonyms that colleges we examined might remain anonymous. However, so much of the Chaffey story is well known, and anonymity would have been virtually impossible. We therefore received permission from the President of the College, Dr. Henry Shannon, to identify the college and some of its administrators in this report.

[ii] The Abilene paradox was introduced by management expert Jerry B. Harvey in his article *The Abilene Paradox: The Management of Agreement*. The name of the phenomenon comes from an anecdote in the article which Harvey uses to elucidate the paradox:

On a hot afternoon visiting in Coleman, Texas, the family is comfortably playing dominoes on a porch, until the father-in-law suggests that they take a trip to Abilene [53 miles north] for dinner. The wife says, "Sounds like a great idea." The husband, despite having reservations because the drive is long and hot, thinks that his preferences must be out-of-step with the group and says, "Sounds good to me. I just hope your mother wants to go." The mother-in-law then says, "Of course I want to go. I haven't been to Abilene in a long time." The drive *is* hot, dusty, and long. When they arrive at the cafeteria, the food is as bad as the drive. They arrive back home four hours later, exhausted.

One of them dishonestly says, "It was a great trip, wasn't it?" The mother-in-law says that, actually, she would rather have stayed home, but went along since the other three were so enthusiastic. The husband says, "I wasn't delighted to be doing what we were doing. I only went to satisfy the rest of you." The wife says, "I just went along to keep you happy. I would have had to be crazy to want to go out in the heat like that." The father-in-law then says that he only suggested it because he thought the others might be bored.

The group sits back, perplexed that they together decided to take a trip which none of them wanted. They each would have preferred to sit comfortably, but did not admit to it when they still had time to enjoy the afternoon.

[iii] The EAP was devised by the California State University System, to alert high school juniors to possible deficiencies in math and reading. CSU has also developed remedial courses that high school seniors can take, hopefully to avoid the need for developmental coursework at the postsecondary level.

[iv] In Working Paper 5 on student issues we will examine the dominant comment of faculty about students: "They don't know how to be college students". Knowing how to be a college student involves many capacities and perspectives, but the crucial issue is whether colleges are aware of the need and take steps to remedy these deficiencies.
[v] The CRLA model is one that professionalizes tutoring by providing training and then a credentialing system; see www.crla.net/ittpc/index.htm.
[vi] See W. Norton Grubb and Associates, *Honored But Invisible: Teaching in Community Colleges*. New York and London: Routledge, 1999, Ch. 8.
[vii] See Claude Steele, *Whistling Vivaldi and Other Clues to How Stereotypes Affect Us*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2010.
[viii] On internal accountability in K-12, see Martin Carnoy, Richard Elmore, and Leslie Siskin, editors, *The New Accountability: High Schools and High-Stakes Testing*. New York: Routledge, 2003. On the importance of trust see Anthony Bryk and Barbara Schneider, *Trust in Schools: A Core Resource for Improvement*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002.