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Academia and TRUMP: the shared politics of division



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By Adjunct Noise

The war on part-time professors is also a war on women and minorities . . . All three stem from a politics of division that won Donald Trump the presidency and academia a cheap labor source. Some of us part-timers fall into as many as four of these divisions at once: we are women, latinos, gay, whatever. If you are a part-timer, the next four years could get rough. Already,

we have incidences of racism on several campuses across the U.S. (Ferguson 2016, Goodman 2016, Guerra 2016, Heilweil 2016, Keith 2016, Lantern 2016, Shabad 2016, and Wootson, 2016). Presumably discrimination based on adjunct status will receive greater legitimacy as well. Already a Los Angeles high school teacher has been threatened with loss of academic freedom for comparing the rise of Trump to Hitler's rise in the Weimar Republic.

Each day leading up to the inauguration will be a reminder of what is to come, as President Obama becomes ever more of a lame duck, and Trump solidifies his role as Commander-in-Chief.

How did we get here? If one looks at our history, Donald Trump is but the latest to employ the politics of division that has been a long-standing practice in academia. Dividing educators follows in the footsteps of corporatized America and goes back to

the '70s. Back then, college administrators came up with the idea that by increasing the number of part-time professors, colleges could cut costs, maybe even reallocating these savings to students. But instead of saving money for students, state cutbacks and administrative bloat have kept the proportion of part-timers and college fees going up in lockstep.

So what did the politics of division look like from our end before Trump? Unlike our

Continued on Page 8

Contingent Faculty Bill of Rights

By Jack Longmate, M.Ed.

Job Security.

Job security shall be achieved by establishment of a defined probationary period which, when satisfied, confers reasonable protection for the employee that his or her job will continue; layoffs of employees who have satisfied the probationary period shall be subject to due process.

Tenure is one superior form of job security, but reasonable job security can be achieved without tenure by regarding

those who complete a probationary period as regular employees and regarding job security as normal and continuing employment condition, as it is for most public sector employment. While there is justification for tenure as an honor bestowed on deserving faculty, there's no justification for the gross inequities in compensation of the current tenured/contingent castes.

Seniority.

Seniority shall be accrued by contingent faculty members and used

as a factor in workload assignment and job protection.

Due Process.

Just and fair mechanisms must be established to enable unionized workers to hold their unions to account if they feel they haven't been represented appropriately by those charged with administering the Collective Bargaining Agreement or if they feel there's a conflict of interest between a union official/senior, tenured faculty who is, because of the nature of post-secondary work, often in a sub-administrative role in

relation to their contingent colleagues.

Academic Freedom Protection.

All higher education faculty must have academic freedom protection to properly perform their work as educators from their first class on their first day of employment—those first students of that faculty member deserve it. Academic freedom is a form of job security for the tenured and the contingent.

Right of First Refusal and Right of Accrual.

Continued on Page 7

Governor Brown to part-timers: negotiate!

By Robert Yoshioka and John Martin

The current legislative session yielded not one, but TWO Bills to address the sorry state of part time faculty hire and security of employment rights on a district-by-district basis. These bills are: AB 1690 (Medina), Community Colleges: Part-Time, Temporary Employees, and SB 1379 (Mendoza), Community Colleges: Part-Time, Temporary Employees.

According to the Legislative Council's Digest: "A.B. 1690...would require community college districts without a collective bargaining agreement with part-time, temporary faculty in effect as of January 1, 2017, to, on or after January 1, 2017, commence negotiations with the exclusive representatives for part-time, temporary faculty regarding certain terms and conditions...such as evaluation procedures, workload distribution and seniority rights."

S.B. 1379 (Mendoza) "would, instead, among other things, require that minimum standards be established for

the terms of reemployment preference for part-time, temporary faculty assignments, extend the time frame for compliance to July 1, 2017, and make compliance with the provision a condition of receiving funds allocated for the Student Success and Support Program in the annual budget Act."

At last! A piece of legislation that affects the lives of part time faculty specifically tied to a measure WITH penalties for non-compliance! Did we learn our legislative lessons well this time? Only time will tell... but we are hopeful...and unlike other well-meaning legislative resolutions in the past, this time out, we have a timetable, measurable and reportable milestones, and significant negative financial consequences to individual community college districts for not successfully negotiating minimum standards for terms of reemployment and preference for part-time temporary faculty rehire rights.

Continued on Page 5



"Dealt a weak hand."

Dennis Selder for CPFA Journal

IN THIS ISSUE	
ACADEMIA & TRUMP: THE SHARED POLITICS OF DIVISION .. 1	GIRD UP YOUR LOINS 5
CONTINGENT FACULTY BILL OF RIGHTS..... 1	DO'S AND DON'TS 6
GOVERNOR BROWN TO PART-TIMERS: NEGOTIATE! 1	HOW TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA 6
TRANSPARENT CALIFORNIA: YOU DEPARTMENT'S WAGES... 2	INTERVIEW WITH ACTIVIST ARNIE SCHOENBERG 7
REPORT FROM THE CHAIR 3	NEWS ALERT 7
GOALS OF THE CONTINGENT FACULTY MOVEMENT 4	EDUCATIONAL EROSION..... 8

Transparent California: Your Department's Wages

by Carol Green

Is there an ethical argument that can justify why one faculty member should make more than twice as much money as another faculty member for the same work? If such an argument exists, I couldn't find it on the website Transparent California, although I did find the chasm in wages.

Transparent California is a website the State of California created as a response to the doctrine of open government-- that the public will provide oversight when government actions are accessible. Guess what, transparency works! Suddenly we see the warts.

You can search California public employee salaries and pensions on this website, by name, city, country, or community college district.

Search here: <http://www.transparentcalifornia.com>

I visited this website and decided to research myself in relation to my department. I looked up the statistics for Total Pay and for Total Pay and Benefits for all the people in my department. There were twenty faculty members in all consisting of eleven adjunct faculty and nine full-time faculty members.

The results from crunching the numbers produced:



Nathan Bailey for CPFA Journal

	Adjunct	Full-time
Mean Total Pay	\$31,471	\$106,101
Standard Deviation	\$18,064	\$51,524
Mean Total Pay and Benifits	\$33,069	\$132,496
Standard Deviation	\$24,551	\$58,862

Half the disparity in wages is due to the limited number of classes adjuncts can teach. But this is just as bad as the wage disparity itself: Is it ethical to put a restriction on the number of hours that one faculty member can teach in one district, while another instructor in the same district is allowed to teach overload?

Real representation for part-time faculty



UPTE-CWA – over 15,000 members strong – represents part-time faculty at these community colleges:

Butte College
Part-Time Faculty Association (PFA-UPTE)
Contact: Stacey Burk, burkst@butte.edu

College of the Sequoias
Contact: Brice Nakamura, bricenaka@gmail.com

Mt. San Jacinto
Contact: Thom Milazzo, tmilazzo1@yahoo.com



*UPTE fights for
adjunct rights*

University Professional & Technical Employees
Communications Workers of America, Local 9119
510-704-UPTE ♦ www.upte.org



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REPORT FROM THE CHAIR



Legislation Negotiation

By John Martin

Since January of this year, CPFA has worked hard to ensure a bill (AB 1690) that, if adopted by the Governor, would have safeguarded job security for tens of thousands of California's part-time faculty in the community college system. After an unusual chain of events transpired, however, we were left with a significantly altered version of our original bill, SB 1379. While it clearly lacks the specific language

we were (and still are) fighting for – namely, rehire rights, and due process – SB 1379 includes an unexpected advantage: it mandates meaningful negotiations between local bargaining units and management concerning job security, the umbrella term covering our most pressing concerns. (See front page for more details.)

Without a doubt, SB 1379 represents a victory for us all. By mandating these negotiations, there has to be an agreement by July 1, 2017, if the districts want to receive any Student Success funding at all. The last time we had a victory of this magnitude was in 2007-08 when CPFA spearheaded AB 591 (Dymally), a bill that increased part-timers' teaching loads from 60% to 67% of that of full-timers. Of course, we had aimed for 100% parity in teaching loads, and anticipated having to settle for 80%, but strong opposition from various community college edu-unions kept the percentage lower than we all know we deserve. In any case, AB 591 was real progress in the right direction, and this year's achievement in Sacramento with SB 1379 is significant progress that we can all be proud of.

With the victory of SB 1379, I want to extend my heartfelt thanks to all those of you in CPFA who worked tirelessly to push AB 1690 and SB 1379 through the legislative process. We gathered close to a thousand signatures during our campaign prior to

the Governor's signature in late September. (Special thanks to UPTE-CWA local 9119 for significant help in this endeavor.)

While this battle was hard fought, it's important to note that our fight is not over. Negotiations will now take place in districts who still have too many part-time faculty with little to no job security, so we have to persevere to have our grievances addressed by July 1, 2017, or face the loss of all Student Success funding.

CPFA is already looking ahead and planning its legislative actions for early 2017. We know that just getting students into their instructors' offices for during paid office hours is a major step toward boosting student success rates. That's why we have decided to focus our attention and resources on the issue of office hours. From one budget year to the next, we all hold our breath until a final figure is determined for funding of part-time faculty office hours. The funding process is unpredictable and precarious. We need to focus on securing adequate funding of office hours specifically for part-time faculty.

Here are our priorities in a nutshell. The current language in the Ed Code concerning office hours is weak and susceptible to abuse from both management and full-time faculty alike. All too often, full-timers exercise the privilege of teaching more than the required number of courses for full-time status, known as overloads or "overtime" teaching. Also, this

year's budget is missing strong language concerning the allocation of funds for part-time faculty office hours. Our principle focus in the coming weeks, therefore, is going to be tightening the language used on both fronts.

We need your continued support!

Those who still need to update their membership and/or need to pay their \$40 dues can do so by going online to our website. Please update your membership as soon as possible, as our funding has a direct impact on the success of our campaign in Sacramento, the production of the biannual journal, and the organization of our annual conference. Thank you to all those who use the payroll deduction with your respective departments. (Payroll deductions only take \$4.00 per paycheck from you, but your four dollars go a long way to ensuring CPFA's smooth operations from month to month). If you think you might like to set one a payroll deduction with your district, please contact me (jmartin@cpfa.org) or Dennis Selder (membership@cpfa.org).

On a final note, please mark your calendars now for Saturday, April 29, 2017. CPFA will be holding its Bi-Annual Conference at Peralta College, Oakland. If you are willing and able to help out in anyway (e.g. conducting a workshop, being part of a panel, helping with logistics and promotion, etc.), please contact us.



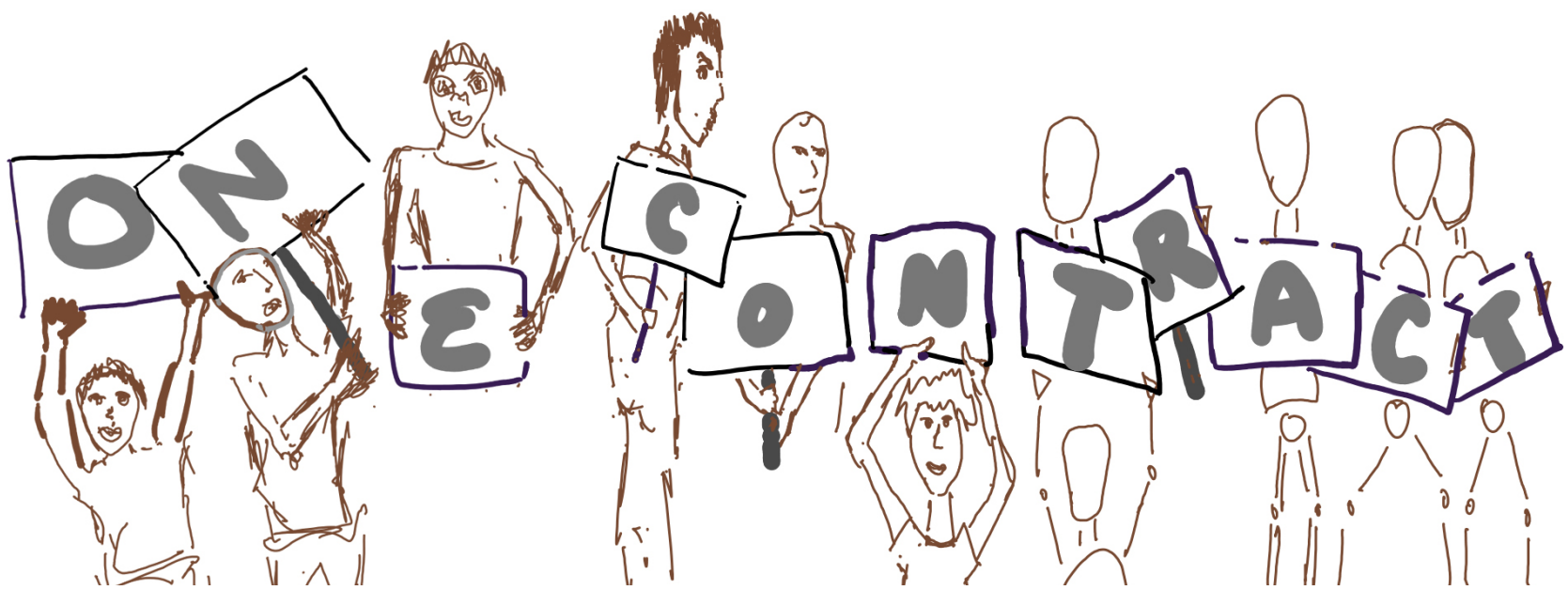
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Goals of the Contingent Faculty Movement

By Jack Longmate

This text is a condensed version of a presentation made at COCAL XII in Edmonton in August 2016. The PowerPoint version contains sources and is available by writing to jacklongmate@comcast.net.

How can the contingent faculty movement be made more effective?

Internally, the movement is beset by challenges, one being the perennial turnover of activists. The lack of job security and due process discourage activism among contingents, but perhaps more significant is the fact that over the last 45 years since contingency has become a fixture in higher education, little meaningful progress has been made in reversing the spread of contingency.

Externally, a chief challenge is the myth that, when it comes to non-tenure-track faculty, everything is “basically OK and nothing much needs to be done,” with some even claiming that contingent faculty are more satisfied with their jobs than tenured faculty.

In 2014, at COCAL XI in New York, Stanley Arnowitz asserted that “Unless and until faculty, including part-time faculty, hit the streets and occupy the classrooms, there won’t be any change of substance.” But before taking to the streets, it is vital that the movement adopt a common vision.

Equality not Equity

If there is a commonly shared goal, it is apt to be “Equity.” But the goal should be “Equality,” not equity. Equity is fairness among unequal parties, and the premise that contingent faculty are unequal should be challenged: contingents must

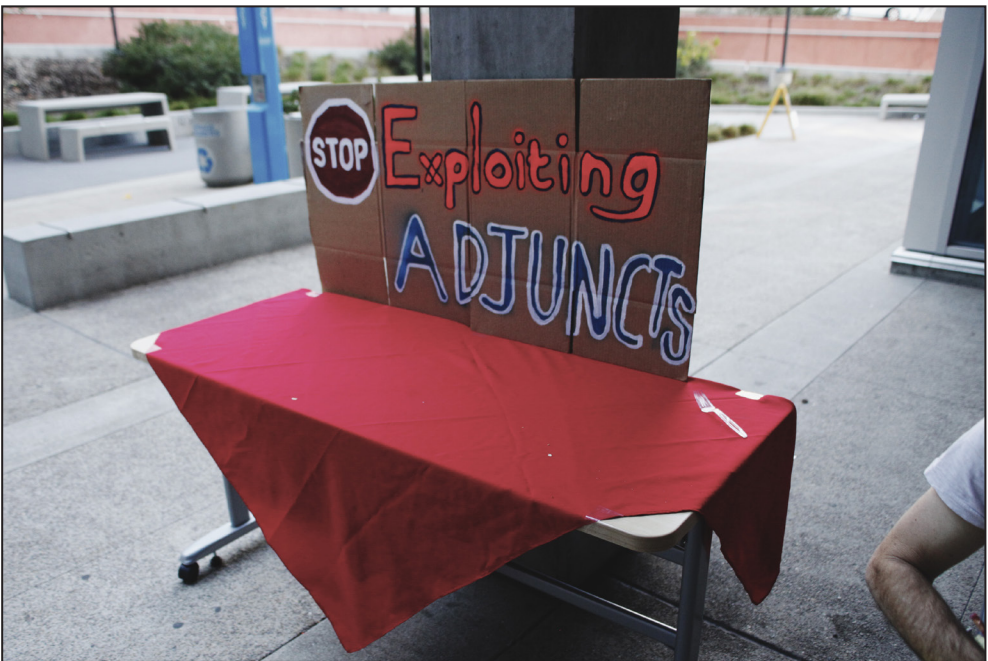
satisfy the same credential requirements, have the same tuition fees for their courses, and are required to award grades and credits as tenured faculty. Thus, considering the essence of the job, contingent faculty perform the same work as tenured faculty.

Equality implies eliminating contingency and a two-tiered system, which, to some, may seem radical. But two qualifications should be noted: (1) the elimination of the two-tiered system does not mean the elimination of tenure, and (2) not all current non-tenured faculty should become tenured. What it does mean is that contingent faculty should be granted job security.

For some, eliminating contingency is the paramount goal of the movement, while others regard such ideas “counterproductive,” which testifies to the divergence of vision and lack of homogeneity.

Attitudes about equality for contingent faculty can be plotted on a continuum. At the midpoint are Moderates who recognize the problem but see increasing the number of tenured-track faculty as the solution. On one extreme are the Egalitarians whose preferred solution is to improve the pay, job security, and other working conditions of contingents to match those of tenured faculty and who hold up the Vancouver Model to be emulated. The other end of the continuum are the Elitists who see contingent faculty as extras, hired to fill in when needed but not bona fide employees and thus feel little need to talk about working conditions or benefits. To elitists, the contingent faculty call for “equal pay for equal work” is offensive, as if asking for something they haven’t worked for and don’t deserve.

For the contingent faculty movement, the implication of these differing perspectives is



Nathan Bailey for CPFA Journal

significant: When a union, board of trustees, legislature, or accreditation commission, or other body is dominated by a Moderate or Elitist perspective, the potential for contingent equality is remote, even if that body contains a significant contingent presence. (Moderate bodies may tolerate or even actively welcome contingent faculty advocacy, particularly when an impression of inclusion legitimizes their claim of representation or aids in the recruitment of contingent membership.)

Among contingents, there is a temptation to see equality and the elimination of the two-tier system as too ambitious; safer, more conventional goals, like better pay, might seem more comfortable. But if the contingent faculty movement is about general improvements like higher wages, policy makers are apt to regard us no differently than any other self-interested group. On the other hand, with equality as our goal, we join Martin Luther King and others who have taken the moral high road. Equality does not mean that we reject improvements like better pay, but it does mean that such improvements are understood, both internally and externally, as steps toward the goal of equality, not as the ultimate goal.

Unions as Agents of Change

Unions are the proper agent to effect change. But with regard to unions, contingents must use discernment: if contingents blindly accept their unions’ goals without regard to their Moderate or Elitist perspective, we will be actualizing Einstein’s observation about “doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results.”

True unions should fight for equality for contingent faculty. As the exclusive collective bargaining agent, it is incumbent on any faculty union to represent the interests of all its members and to honor

their duty of fair representation (DFR).

Faculty senates, boards of trustees, and legislative bodies should also support equality for contingent faculty because it’s the right thing to do. Contingency, after all, violates the Article 23 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights in offering no just and favorable conditions of work, no protection against unemployment, no equal pay for equal work, nor just and favorable remuneration when contingents are provided a secondary pay scale and face a workload limit that prevents them from working full-time.

The Program for Change is a strategic plan that offers an approach to working for equality. It is based on Vancouver Community College in British Columbia, where equality and a single-faculty tier exists.

The Program for Change has over 30 goals, classified according to whether they involve costs or no costs/nominal one-time costs; most are no-cost goals.

Activism

Activists can work on what is achievable locally. As progress is made, it can stand as encouragement and create a sense of forward motion, which a successful movement needs.

A problem afflicting all endeavors is a lack of focus; just as the hunter who tries to pursue two rabbits at the same time is apt to get neither, trying to do a little bit of everything is apt to accomplish nothing. Focusing on equality would bring meaning and direction to the movement.

Those courageous enough to become activists must accept the fact that we represent more than ourselves and even our institutions but the wider movement against contingency. Drawing inspiration from leaders like Martin Luther King, may we all have the courage to fight for equality as has been achieved in Vancouver.



Cody Ulshoffer and adjunct Marv Sloben

George Tubon for CPFA Journal

Gird Your Loins

By Dennis Selder

Activism Works

What just happened? One moment, we’re getting out the wine and chocolate chip cookies, and the next we’re biting into the gooey chocolate, butter and gluten, but finding it tastes like chalk. A day later, we’re listening to a concession speech, and educators—not to mention the planet—are on notice.

So what’s the sane response, beyond moving to Canada? The answer is activism. The more serious the threat, the more is demanded of us in response.

But does activism actually do anything? Activists can work for years and have little to show for it. Nevertheless, I would argue that the answer is yes. Here’s why.

First off, activism is a form of power. Activism as power only comes into being when it is exercised. It works by making a claim to others in a way that shows one’s serious regard for the proposition.

A street march, for instance, shows that all the people marching are saying the same thing and really mean what they are saying. The show of commitment asks others to consider the statement and relate it to themselves. If they agree with the statement, it gives bystanders encouragement and invites them to share an adherence in belief to the statement. If they don’t believe in the statement, it forces them to think through why they don’t believe. Either way, the marchers win.

A street march also presumes that without wider capitulation, the protestors will follow up with further actions. The protestors are in effect promising disruption of existing power structures until a compromise is reached. The more people marching, the more serious the threat. Even though a protest march is only one form of activism, the mechanism by which it works is the same for activism generally.

Okay, so if you buy my argument, you agree with Dr. Martin Luther King that activism can do some good. But you may be thinking that it is better left to others. After all, as a vulnerable part-time instructor, you face special challenges being an activist. Just like in a war, there can be casualties, and you might be one. On the other hand, one can also be the casualty of a war as a

bystander. If you are committed and clear-eyed about your own values and ideals, it’s not a difficult choice.

Below I offer some tips to get you started.

Find Time

I lose money from work I’m not doing when I devote time to activism. Simply based on the time it takes, activism is a sacrifice. Acknowledging this reality from the get go helps.

Assess Your Values

Identify what you care most about. In my own case, with respect to my job, fairness

respond as a way of avoiding internalizing the cynicism in myself.

Communicate

Learn to pay attention to what others tell you and also speak your mind, or in the words of Emily Dickinson, “Tell all the truth but tell it slant.”

In the nineteenth century, advertisers presumed that individuals were rational, and so ads were informational in nature. Advertisers quickly started to get a more realistic view of human nature, and this has led to current advertising where “logos”—the power of reasoning and evidence—takes a back seat to emotion, desire, and strong identification with values.

teaching. It’s still an important part of critical pedagogy. If you aren’t educated about these ideas already, read up. Paolo Freire is widely applicable.

Overcome Worries about Losing Your Job

Many part-timers feel paralyzed politically because of deep and vague feelings of unease with respect to their jobs. If you fall into this category, here are some suggestions:

Read your contract. Find out what your current rights and responsibilities are.

Talk to your dean and chair about what their priorities are. Find out about teacher evaluations and the role they play in re-hiring decisions. I will go out on a limb here and say most chairs prefer us to be business-like and clear about our hired status, so speaking with them about this early is a good idea.

Make sure you understand the teacher evaluation process. Normally you can ask to see teacher evaluation forms and survey questions asked of students before you pass them out in classrooms.

Learning to be a good teacher takes years. Many times grad students get little or no training in pedagogy. If you have doubts about your effectiveness as an instructor, a good place to start is McKeachie’s Teaching Tips: Strategies, Research, and Theory for College and University Teachers.

Reach out to Others

Adjuncts are one vulnerable community, but there are plenty of others. Part of what we do to exercise our power is to establish alliances. Working in two areas—say finding a local Latino or environmental group to interact with—can be productive and interesting. Involving yourself in student clubs is a great idea. Today’s millennials outnumber baby boomers. The eighteen to twenty-nine year-olds can win the next election if they choose.

To conclude, the now is rough, but if we deepen our conviction and develop our solidarity with one another, we will get through it.



Flickr User “DonkeyHotey” CC BY-SA 2.0

It’s important to understand irrationality when dealing with others: neither you nor the person to whom you are speaking is likely to respond rationally to an argument. Pay attention to this and adjust your approach accordingly. Activism at its core is about collectively connecting statements to values and emotion.

Encourage Others to Find/Understand Their Power

We are educators. For a number of years, “empowering others” was an academic catchphrase related in a variety of ways to

turned out to be one of my key values. In observing this value flouted, I found the determination to take action on its behalf.

More specifically, it was the betrayal of fairness that particularly galled me, especially since it is critical to functioning classrooms and had often been preached to me as a student.

But outside the classroom, contract disparities between full-timers and part-timers derange the ideal and allow cynicism to take its place. Cynicism has a way of leaking out, influencing not just the educators, but also the students. When I saw this process at work, I was motivated to

Governor Brown... Continued from Page 1



Flickr User “Neon Tommy” via Wikimedia Commons CC BY-SA 2.0

There still remains much work to be done, on a district by district basis (see my other article on negotiation and “local control,”) but the general outlines of this state mandated program are clear for all to see. These measures are not designed to penalize or punish so-called “good” districts who already have in place basic “protections” and “assurances” built into their existing contracts, but rather, these measures are designed to establish a “floor” and “minimal protections,” for part time faculty who find themselves working in districts that do not have these basic tenants/protections in place to minimally safeguard part time faculty from intended and unintended abuse.

In practical terms, these Bills set forth a negotiating framework within which part

time faculty and their duly recognized “exclusive” representatives must be engaged by each district to set forth negotiated terms of employment that at least sets a viable baseline from which to work toward achieving Student Success.

Now that there are Bills in place, it becomes important for part-time faculty in all districts, but particularly in those districts that might be out of compliance, to begin the process of improving their minimal “protections,” in a timely fashion. Many must step up and agree to serve as “exclusive representative(s) for part time temporary faculty,” individuals who will stand up for part-time faculty rights even if you are a union member in good standing in “wall-to-wall,” unions.

Here at CPFA, we are in the process of

developing a review process that seeks to look at all districts and how they are proceeding to comply with the terms and conditions contained in both bills. As time is short, we are hoping to encourage a grassroots reporting program so that by July 1, 2017, all districts will have in place protections for part time faculty.

Finally, both these bills represent a significant change in the way that the CCC System treats its most prolific instructional category. Our next challenges revolve around “equal pay for equal work,” “removal of the cap employment,” “eliminating full time faculty teaching overloads,” and “decoupling tenure from due process.” We are on our way. Please join us, and in the process work to make your own lives more stable, richer and more professional.



Do’s and Dont’s for Campus Equity Week and National Adjunct Walk-Out Day events!

By David Milroy, Chair
San Diego Adjunct Faculty Association

Hopefully, some of you have been able to attend a CEW or NAWD event on your campus in the past few years. Sadly, they are few and far between, but their purpose of increasing awareness of contingent faculty issues to the administration, students, our unions, and the public is still a very important goal.

In spring 2015, the San Diego Adjunct Faculty Association, SDAFA, staged events on three community college campuses in San Diego County which brought up major issues facing our adjunct colleagues: Equal Pay, Fair treatment, and End Adjunct Exploitation.

Sadly, I have also, seen CEW events which do not fulfill the goals and mission of Campus Equity Week, so I thought I would put down some Do’s and Don’ts to help folks plan their upcoming events.

DO: Call for Adjunct Job Security

DON’T: Celebrate job security that looks good on paper, but is actually ineffective in helping good faculty keep their assignments and protecting them from the arbitrary decisions of mean Deans and Chairs.

DO: Call for Adjunct Pay Equity

DON’T: Celebrate adjunct salaries which are still at 40% of full-time salaries.

DO: Call for Health Benefits .

DON’T: Celebrate health care that is only available to a tiny percentage of your colleagues.

DO: Plan a rally to talk loudly about the injustices forced upon adjunct faculty

DON’T: Plan an Adjunct Faculty Campus Equity Week event and then spend 90% of your time talking about OTHER issues...like the \$15 per hour minimum wage....Walmart workers’ rights....unrelated elections or legislation, saving the rainforests, or the water shortage. These are all good issues, but they are not the reason for your event!

DO: Invite your adjunct faculty colleagues to speak out about their concerns and how they have been treated under your current contract and administration.

DON’T: Invite tenured faculty to speak on behalf of all adjuncts and brag about how much better things are than before, and don’t invite former adjuncts who now have tenure-track positions to tell how much better it is to be full-time!

DO: Make certain that all of your adjunct colleagues know about the event well in advance and that it is held at a time and place where adjunct and their students can easily attend to hear about adjunct issues.

DON’T: Hold a last minute event which is only attended by the tenured leadership in your union and groups of students who gathered to hear about “that other message”

With these guidelines in mind, I hope you plan to hold some CEW or NAWD events on your campus this year. You don’t need expensive banners...paint on cardboard works great to get our messages across. Just make certain that your event actually helps bring adjunct issues into the conversation and thoughts of your colleagues.....and that it is not just a glitzy celebration to gloss over the failures of your local union to reach a truly equitable agreement with your district. Good luck

How to negotiate with the State of California

By Robert Yoshioka

Is there a Problem Here?

You are a part-timer. As one of approximately forty-thousand teachers employed across California community colleges, your labor is being used to subsidize the salaries of not just full-time faculty but a hierarchy of administrators who use us as a cash cow. If you’re okay with that—with the guy in the classroom right next to yours making double for teaching a different section of the same class—or if you find yourself relatively free of financial stress or job insecurity, then read no further. If, on the other hand, you agree there is a problem, then read on! I hope to explain the rationale for CPFA’s actions and ones you can take as well. But for starters, let me begin by saying that it is the position of CPFA that the two-tiered employment system will always result in widespread discrimination and exploitation. Furthermore, CPFA argues that community college system’s redemption will come when the exploitation of unequal pay, across the board, is replaced by a single pay scale with full benefits, retirement and security of employment for all teachers regardless of course load.

What We’re Up Against

Local Control

Working at the local level is important, but it will never lead to reform of the two-tiered system, which is legalized through the state of California’s educational code. While there are many reasons to maintain the “local control” status quo mantra, this reliance on locally negotiated solutions to system-wide problems is not only extremely costly and inefficient, it has the net effect of keeping part-time faculty in thrall to 73 different “masters,” (the 73 “autonomous” community college districts) where a mandated system wide set of regulations would result in better student outcomes and more efficient utilization of resources.

Governor Brown, sadly, is a fan of local control, having bought into the fiction that the principle is responsive to local conditions and circumstances, when in fact, it’s really a way of avoiding responsibility for a state-wide solution.

Educating Legislators

Given our limited time and resources to address inequities at the local level, our better option is to work at the state level, which means going to Sacramento. One must keep in mind that this requires interacting with legislators, many of whom are new to education policy and its problems. Nevertheless, each new “crop” of legislators brings with him or her a “take” on how to identify and fix policies affecting part time faculty. Unfortunately, they usually are off the mark. Legislators who are newly elected have difficulty seeing through the rhetorical move put forth by the Edu-Unions, the Chancellor’s office, the League of California Community Colleges, and the Governor. What is that move? “The rule of local control.” So combatting this attitude is our main challenge.

Opposing Interests

In addition to the difficulty in communicating effectively with legislators, there are lobbyists who oppose our interests. We are the source of their revenue stream after all. A case in point is the League of California Community Colleges whose lobbyists respond to part-time faculty legislative initiatives by arguing that any programs not supported by them will end up costing the system “substantial” additional funds.” Many times they are right. But they could also be wrong. A lot of administrative costs are associated with—just for instance--managing eight hundred employees at a typical community college all of whom work part-time.

This argument about cost is also, by the way, the same claim that supports local control, as it gives local administrators more discretion in how we are exploited. CPFA is devising a series of standard preemptive responses that we deploy when we begin to discuss the “pros and cons” of each piece of legislation with lawmakers as part of our outreach and education program. We will deploy selective preemptive responses as needed in an attempt to point out the insubstantial nature of their concerns.

What Works

In Sacramento

We at CPFA—and we’re hoping you too-- can become skilled at “piggy backing” on meetings, seminars and hearings. For instance when there is a break in your meeting agendas, ask for time to convene a part time faculty session to address some of the issues that are being discussed..

Once in the door, we have a number of strategies. Shaming works for us! In some respects, being the “poor” relative in this legislative free for all has its advantages.

Another strategy is to share our stories. We have a compelling narrative that is gritty, hard-hitting, and real. We are our own best representatives. We cannot be seen as “just doing our job,” but rather, as constituents with a vested interest. As such we have a “leg up” on paid lobbyists and run-of-the-mill Sacramento gadfllys.

At Home

We visit our local legislators in their home districts, and you should too. Start petitions, delivering them directly to your legislators, utilize social media and attend “meet and greets,” to engage your legislator and continue to familiarize them with our issues. More importantly, vote in your local Edu-Union elections, demand fair and equitable representation in your locals, monitor your districts, and hold all your elected representatives responsible to YOU.

Contingent Faculty Bill of Rights...continued from Page 1

Part-time employees who have completed the probationary period shall be granted the right of first refusal, meaning the chance to accept additional work assignments before new employees are hired. Part-time employees who have completed the probationary period shall further have the right of accrual, meaning that they shall have assurances that the employer will offer them assignments at the same percent of full-time or greater until reaching 100 percent of full-time.

Removal of Workload Caps.

Part-time workers shall not be barred from working full-time by artificially imposed workload limits. (Where applicable, as workload caps imposed on part-time workers are loosened, enabling part-time employees to increase their workload to approach full-time, overtime/overloads offered as an elected option

to full-time workers shall be increasingly ramped down.)

Equal Pay.

The principle of “equal pay for equal work” shall be honored. All faculty shall be compensated according to a single salary schedule that recognizes length of service and professional development.

If the disparity in tenured and non-tenured compensation rates are so significant that equal pay cannot be implemented in a single budget year, a multi-year phased-in solution shall be permissible.

Protection against Unemployment.

Since the pattern of laying off contingent employees at the end of every term is no protection against unemployment, that practice shall be

minimized. When layoffs are necessary, it shall be the moral responsibility of employers to earnestly promote access to unemployment compensation for workers who are unemployed. Employers or their agents who do not make a good-faith effort to promote unemployment benefits to laid off employees or who misrepresent the employment status of employees, whether willfully or through error, to discourage unemployment claims shall be deemed guilty of unethical business practice and shall be answerable to all civil penalties.

Advancement.

Contingent and tenured faculty shall have equal access to advancement, including pay raises that recognize length of service and professional development, among other opportunities. ICESCR 7 (c) shall be upheld: “Equal opportunity for everyone

to be promoted in his employment to an appropriate higher level, subject to no considerations other than those of seniority and competence.”

Unions.

The right to form a union for the mutual protection of workers is affirmed by UDHR 23 (4). But a distinction must be made between the right to join a union and the failure of a union to defend the fiduciary interest of those it represents. A union has the obligation to honor its duty of fair representation, which means calling for equality in working conditions. When a union does not strive to defend equal working conditions for those for whom it represent or favors one class of union member over another class of union member, that union shall be considered complicit in a violation of Human Rights.

Interview with activist Arnie Schoenberg

By Dennis Selder

DS: How has your life changed since becoming an activist?

AS: I was an activist before I became a professor, so it just made sense to follow the old saying of “Think Globally, Act Locally.” I saw injustice and I’ve been organizing to try to fix it. I started in my union, thinking that would be the logical place, but I didn’t get very far. They had me marching and phone banking for every issue BESIDES adjuncts. It took me a few years to realize that a wall-to-wall union that includes chairs and is run by full-timers is always going to sell adjuncts out. So, now I’m doing what I can to democratize the union, and working with SDAFA and helping adjuncts where I can.

DS: How has SDAFA allowed you to pursue your goals?

AS: We are so isolated, it’s really alienating; it’s almost as bad as one of those work-at-home gigs. We don’t talk to each other, and when we do, half the time we’re made to fight with each other over who’s going get next semester’s classes, or who’s going to get the brass ring and get a full-time position. We make it so easy for them, the whole divide and conquer tactic of management, and the “company” unions, and the full-timers crying crocodile tears while cashing-in on our surplus labor.

We need a voice, not just to get our message out but to talk to each other.

DS: What is organizationally special about SDAFA?

AS: The fact that it covers the entire county is very powerful. It lets us learn from other districts and unions: we share problems and

solutions. There’s strength in numbers.

DS: What developments are exciting you right now in the part-time movement?

AS: I don’t know, I’m not sure there are any. I don’t think you can call grassroots organizing exciting. It’s a long march. I don’t think we’ll see results until a decade from now, but if you wait a decade to start organizing then you’re not going see results until TWO decades from now, you gotta start sometime.

But what the fuck, prove me wrong, if you want to call for a revolution, I’ll join in!

DS: What advice do you have for your fellow activists?

AS: Laurie Anderson and Lou Reed came up with these three rules to live by:

One: don’t be afraid of anyone.

Two: Get a really good bullshit detector.

Three: Be tender, like, be nice to people.

When I first heard those I was going through some of the worst bullshit that an adjunct activist could face, I had been backstabbed by my union leaders; I was totally isolated, and it made me afraid and angry. So I took these rules to heart, to see through the bullshit, the lies they tell us with straight faces, the dissimulations, the hypocrisies, the threats, but to be not afraid. It’s so hard. It helps to look at other political struggles and their consequences, like if you were fighting for pay-parity in Aleppo right now, you would look at our situations and realize we have nothing to be afraid of. I don’t mean to minimize our struggle – I take it very seriously, I just can’t take the fear seriously. I mean the worst thing that can happen to us is that we get fired, and we finally get off our asses and



Dennis Selder and Arnie Schoenberg

Nathan Bailey for CPFA Journal

find real jobs. We have nothing to lose but our Tentative Agreement Offers. Sorry, I don’t really have any original advice. Thinking of tenderness, reminds me of one of my favorite Che quotes: “Hay que endurecerse, pero sin perder la ternura jamás.” Like, we all need to take this more seriously, but not so seriously that we lose our tenderness. I keep

a strict firewall between the resentment I feel about the injustice that adjuncts face, and the tenderness I have towards my students who are trying to learn. Don’t get me wrong, I bring adjunct issues into the classroom from day one, but I just check the frustration and resentment at the door. I think that’s how I keep from burning out.

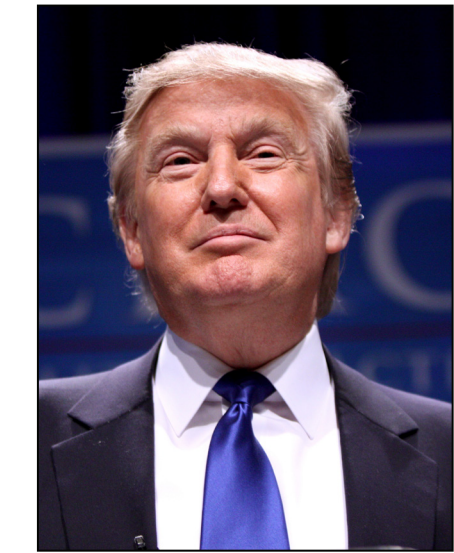
NEWS ALERTS

According to The Stand, a media source for the Washington State Labor Council, contingent Faculty in Saint Martin’s University in Lacey, Washington voted two to one to form a union. So far administrators refuse to recognize the union or negotiate and have turned to the National Labor Relations Board to see if they can avoid recognizing it. On November 29th about a 100 faculty walked out to protest administrative stonewalling.

November 29th marked the “National Day of Disruption,” so-coined to draw attention to workers across the country fighting for a \$15/ hour minimum wage. Protests took place everywhere and adjuncts participated. In Manhattan, home to Trump, twenty were arrested for their efforts.

Inside Higher Ed Scott Jaschik reporter notes “growing student protests” over Donald Trump’s election. There have been walkouts from high schools to community colleges to universities across the U.S. Many students are organizing for “anti-Trump Sanctuary Campus” status to resist white supremacists, Islamophobia, homophobia—you name it, the list goes on. At the same time, Jaschik reports on disturbing incidents of overt racist behavior across the country and on campuses as well.

Academia and Trump...Continued from Page 1



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Keith A. Almli via Wikimedia Commons
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full-time colleagues, we enjoy job insecurity, the lack of an office, constant driving from campus to campus with wear-and-tear on an old vehicle, unending student loan debt, . . . and we are paid at a quarter of what full-timers make for equivalent work (see “Your Department’s Wages on Transparent California” in this issue).

The politics of division always comes with its rationale. Whites are superior to minorities just as full-timers are superior to part-timers. Beyond this, there are the supporting technicalities: Full-timer justification for generous salaries and benefits is based on being able to put in a 100% workload that includes other ‘faculty duties,’ i.e, administrative work. Our limit has been set at 67% of a full workload which is an artificial imposition intended to save the districts’ money. And just like full-timers, we have administrative work also; we just don’t get paid for it. The most recent compliance with student learning outcomes is a case in point. I can honestly say that I know part-time professors who work close to 150% and don’t

get paid half of a typical full-time professor’s wages. There is also the argument that full-timers are more qualified by the interviewing process, but qualifications become a moot point when there are, in the given case, a hundred qualified professors vying for one job.

Apart from the institutionalized divisions, there are attitudes among faculty themselves. Some full-time professors practice the politics of division when they tacitly agree that it is acceptable for 70% of the faculty to take public assistance in the form of unemployment during non-semester months, that it is permissible for 70% to live with job insecurity, to grade and prepare lesson plans without compensation, to meet with faculty and administrators on their own dime.

So full-timers and the rest of us should not be surprised that Trump will soon be bending our ears on NPR every morning as we drive to work; the politics of division has come home to roost. When the common American points his or her finger at the

corporate executives and elite college professors, it was their indifference and enabling of the status quo that pushed the voter toward Trump; it was a failure to care much that caused the voter to ignore misogyny, racism, and bigotry, and pull the lever; it was the belief that privilege thinks it is justified that spurred voters on.

If it hasn’t been clear before, it should be eminently clear to all now that the politics of division is destructive. In my own classroom, I have had to defend Muslim students to Christian students by pointing out that there is active home-grown terrorism here in the U.S. It’s not from just “over there.” Timothy McVeigh? Ted Kaczynski? Certainly, the last few days and in the days ahead, will see more of this. As a part-time professor and member of a minority group, I have always strived to make my classroom a safe space. As an atheist, I respect every student and his or her religion as long as he or she comes to me with an open mind for learning. But under the leadership of Trump, we can expect to see the politics of division makes its presence felt more often inside our classrooms just as in our contracts. As for outside the classrooms, we part-time professors can’t make the campus a safe-space . . . because we are only partly on it . . . our presence is as tenuous as our shared office space. This is your domain, full-time professors. You, the 30% of the faculty, are now charged with protecting 100% of the campus.

But Trump and academia’s shared politics of division may go beyond what our students bring with them or how we part-timers are treated. The Trump administration is likely to pressure academia further toward for-profit models, such as DeVry, National University, and the University of Phoenix. Already, President-elect Trump, one of the founders of a now-defunct for-profit college and who recently settled a lawsuit against his for-profit for \$25 million, has called for an easing of the restrictions on these For-Profit Us where ideally an entire adjunct staff can be managed by a few prudent administrators.



Join California Part-Time Faculty
for a gathering of minds

CPFA’s
Annual Conference
April 29, 2017
9am - 4:30pm

Laney College
Oakland, CA

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To become a member, go to
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For sources and more from Adjunct Noise visit facebook.com/adjunct.noise.3

Book review
**Educational
Erosion**

By Niall Christie
Langara College, Vancouver, BC, Canada

A Review of *Equality for Contingent Faculty: Overcoming the Two-Tier System*, ed. Keith Hoeller (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014)

Keith Hoeller has assembled an informative, if rather depressing, collection of articles by expertsexploringthesituationofcontingent faculty in the U.S.A. He and his collaborators demonstrate that while in 1960, 75% of college courses in the U.S.A. were taught by tenured or tenure-track professors, today the situation has reversed, with almost 75% of such courses being taught by graduate students or adjunct and contingent faculty. Thus the vast majority of college teachers find themselves struggling to scrape by on pittance wages, with no benefits or job security. College and university administrations justify the cuts that have brought about this situation on the grounds of lack of government funding and the need to preserve institutional “flexibility,” but as a number of contributors show, such claims are decidedly questionable. It is striking that in some cases administrations actively discourage faculty from revealing the true situation at their institutions to the general public, who are hence left with the impression that American students are being taught by instructors who are secure, happy and comfortable in their jobs, rather than exploited and disenchanted; one can

easily imagine the potential impact on such institutions’ public images if the truth were to come to light.

What is perhaps most disturbing about this collection of articles is the number that attest to the active involvement of tenured faculty in the denial of rights to and exploitation of contingent faculty, preserving their own privileges at the expense of others. This enables administrations to use “divide and conquer” tactics to achieve their own goals at faculty expense. In some cases, it is clear that the eventual goal is the destruction of tenure itself, thus making tenured faculty complicit in their own eventual ruin. *Equality for Contingent Faculty* paints a disheartening picture, but rather than simply bemoaning the situation, a number of the contributors present potential solutions, including guides to union activism and other ways in which contingent faculty might improve their situations. Prominent in the discussion is the “Vancouver Model” presented by Frank Cosco, who details the much better, if not entirely perfect, position of faculty at Vancouver Community College. In the process he provides a model for American colleges to aspire to, along with information on how this model might be achieved.

So what can readers take from this book? In my opinion, this volume presents both words of warning about the ongoing demise of stable, fairly-compensated employment for faculty in North America, and also models for how the situation might be changed and the academic teaching career might evolve to take account of 21st-century contexts. As such, it provides valuable guidance and deserves to be on the shelf of every faculty union activist.

CPFA - California Part-time Faculty Association

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