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ORGANIZATIONAL PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE:
A CASE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY COLLEGE

by

Paula L. Welmers

Dissertation

Submitted to the Department of Leadership and Counseling

Eastern Michigan University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

October, 2002

Ypsilanti, Michigan

APPROVAL

ORGANIZATIONAL PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE:
A CASE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY COLLEGE

by

Paula L. Welmers

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My sons, Coe and Jordan, have become so familiar with their mother in this role that they cannot remember a time when she did not spend her summer days in her study. I extend my love and thanks to “the boys” for being such troopers.

Finally, to the special close friends and family members who have listened to my halting attempts at concept building and have had the good grace to show unflagging interest, I can’t express enough appreciation. I owe you.

ABSTRACT

This longitudinal case study examined the origins, growth, and development of one community college in Michigan, North Central Michigan College (NCMC). The purpose of the study was to understand organizational persistence and change through learning how one organization formed and developed over time.

Five eras between 1958 and 1995 were described, and a conceptual frame considered three levels of organizational responsibility: national, state, and local environments; core technology activities; and leadership activities. Core technology activities were further analyzed using eight indicators of centrality and marginality: a) policy, b) number and type of employees, c) dedicated facilities; d) funding source, e) location of program, f) output; g) prestige, and h) legitimacy.

The interpretive approach was followed to examine organizational core values. Data collected included various historical documents, interviews, and participant observations. Findings indicated that during the founding era, the unique resort culture and economy in which the College exists set the stage for the development of its core technologies. The founders idealized North Central as a “real college” emphasizing a transfer/liberal arts curriculum. A strong resort-services core was also developed to provide educated employees for medical and business services in the resort economy. These two cores promoted the founding core values and had centrality in the organization.

The ensuing eras revealed the continuation of centrality of the two founding core technologies. Several other cores were developed; however, organizational

commitment was low, and they were kept marginal, on the periphery of College operations.

The study concluded that North Central developed an identity based upon its founding core values. Its identity as a liberal arts transfer institution persisted throughout the study and drove decision-making behavior, causing the College to forego developing in ways contrary to its values. It showed that this educational organization was value- rather than market-driven.

Implications for future research, as well as for educational leadership, included using the indicators of centrality and marginality to gauge organizational commitment; using autopoiesis and resource dependency theories to explain persistence and change; and investigating the relationship between organizational core values, financial behavior, and policy- and decision-making.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This longitudinal field research examined the origins, growth and development of one community college in Michigan, North Central Michigan College (NCMC) over a thirty-seven year period. The purpose of such a study was to understand organizational persistence and change through learning how one organization formed and developed over time.

Background of the Study

Organizational Population

In order to best understand organizational change and persistence in a single case, it is important to learn about community colleges as organizational populations. A distinctly American phenomenon, community colleges began as “junior colleges” at the beginning of the 20th century. Cohen and Brawer (1996) classified over half as being private with small enrollments; in 1921-22, sixty-six percent (66%) of the 207 two-year colleges were private, hosting an average of 60 students (pp. 14-15). Michigan established its first junior college, Grand Rapids Junior College, in 1914. The junior college’s mission was to furnish a liberal arts curriculum identical to lower division courses found at the universities.

After World War II, the *junior college* name increasingly changed to *community college* as more communities in the nation began to build their own educational institutions. This was a reflection of the Truman Commission of 1948’s call for a national “network of public, community-based colleges to serve local needs” (Phillippe & Patton, 2000, pg. 5). Cohen and Brawer (1996) defined location as the pivotal access point for community colleges: “More than any other single

factor, access depends on proximity” (p. 16), and by the mid 1990s the number of public community colleges reached 1,082, a density that allowed 90-95% of a state’s population to live within a reasonable commuting distance (p. 17). Another important access feature of the community college was its “open admissions” policy, allowing youths and adults to pursue higher education without reference to past academic experiences and performance.

Curricular expansion in the 1950s and 1960s grew out of an emphasis to provide students a “rich and satisfying life” that “involves earning a living” (Gleazer, 1994, p. 19). Therefore, career education (combining terms such as occupational, technical, professional, and vocational) became an increasing part of community college offerings in addition to the liberal arts. During this period, some small, private four-year colleges converted to public community colleges, and various kinds of technical institutes were also subsumed into this fast-growing organizational population. Public institutions comprised the majority of two-year institutions with community service taking its place alongside educational leadership, and cultural and recreational activities.

The late 1970s brought a decline in population growth, including a fall-off in high school graduation rates. To offset falling enrollment, community colleges actively recruited an increasingly diverse student population. These new, often older, students came for a multitude of educational and training reasons and were increasingly in need of developmental education and services to help them succeed (Garland and Grace, 1993). The addition of the word *comprehensive* was added to the missions of many community colleges, reflecting a commitment to this wider student

base. This comprehensiveness included community development, economic development, and developmental (remedial) education, in addition to liberal arts transfer and career curricula. Cohen and Brawer (1996) defined the community college as “any institution accredited to award the associate of arts or the associate of science as its highest degree” (p. 5). Ratcliff (1994) countered that community colleges “are those institutions that provide general and liberal education, career and vocational education, and adult and continuing education” (p. 4), not to be confused with other forms of two-year colleges that do not adhere to all the facets of education quoted above. Within this study, the term *community college* was defined using both Cohen and Brawer and Ratcliff: any institution accredited to award the associate of arts or the associate of science as its highest degree and that provides general and liberal education, career and vocational education, and adult and continuing education.

Streams of Influence: Environment Pressures

Bogue (1950) discussed the concept of community colleges as social phenomena, or a *movement*, in addition to being educational organizations. There were many streams of influence, or social mandates, that contributed to the formation of the community college movement, and authors differed over the categorization of those influences. The streams of influence offer another lens from which to consider organizational persistence and change in community colleges and the pressures they have placed upon contemporary community college missions. These streams include (Cohen & Brawer, 1996; Dougherty, 1994; Fields, 1962; Gleazer, 1994; Ratcliff, 1994) the following:

1. Democratic extension of education for all combined with local community boosterism; parents and students willing to support a college close to home as a means to complete the freshman and sophomore years and then transfer to the four-year institution to obtain the baccalaureate.
2. Threat of diversion of institutional resources away from scholarship and research by overwhelming numbers of freshman students seeking entry to the university; community colleges' offer of a way to cultivate the American democratic ideal without compromising elite scholarship based on a European model of higher education.
3. Increased graduation rates from public secondary education with an emphasis on advanced education for professions; public educators found an avenue for their own career advancement through the new teaching and administration positions created by the development of local colleges.
4. National focus on vocational and technical (career) training as the economy became increasingly industrial; incentives to develop local businesses employing a trained workforce coincide with the continuing education movement.
5. Political initiatives at the state and national level to win favor with business and industry; solutions for social ills found through training and education for economic and social development.

These competing elements have combined to create an organization distinct within higher education, whose qualities include access--it is located within commuting distance to almost every citizen and boasts an open admissions policy--and affordability--at a modest if not quite free cost. Its curricula provide for job training as well as university-level coursework, along with developmental and lower level academic coursework for the academically unprepared. Finally, this organization serves as a mechanism through which the government funnels job-training funds so that the local economy can thrive.

The implication is that these streams continue to vie with each other for leadership attention within the public community college organization. It is a political process. Elements of each of these streams have become incorporated into the modern comprehensive community college mission and operational goals; however, the liberal arts transfer mission has proven to be the most persistent quality of the community college. As pointed out by Lorenzo (1994): "Historically . . . the only mission component to be present in each phase of community college development was the transfer preparation function" (p. 114).

The name changes and the changes in focus, curricula and student body have marked twentieth-century community college development. A review of the history of the community college shows, however, that despite national recommendations and trends, each organization was and continues to be embedded in and dependent on its immediate environment for its identity and programming concerns. As that environment changes, so then might the organization be expected to change. In doing so, community colleges may strongly reflect regional differences among themselves.

Gleazer, Jr. (1994), in a long article on community college evolution, wrote “It is not surprising to find in community college history a discernible search for institutional freedom to determine its program and to look to the community as the arbiter of the suitability of its programs rather than the universities” (p. 19).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to learn about organizational persistence and change through learning how one community college was formed and developed over time. The nature of the community college organization made an especially compelling research subject because of the many competing expectations placed upon it from its various environments. The study was designed to show, through the use of empirical evidence, what actions and directions North Central Michigan College leadership took as it encountered changing environments and changing political pressures both inside and outside the organization.

Research Setting

The research setting for this single case study was North Central Michigan College, a community college located in Petoskey, Michigan. A popular resort community and tourist destination since the late 1870s, Petoskey is the county seat of Emmet county and is located on the shores of Lake Michigan in the northernmost tip of Michigan’s lower peninsula. The community college was founded in 1958 and occupies 305 acres within the city limits.

North Central Michigan College (NCMC) is a relatively small community college, and within the thirty-seven years incorporated in this study (1958-1995), its total credit-generating student enrollment grew to 2032. Emmet County, with a

population of 31,437 according to 2000 census figures, is the College's sole tax base. However, NCMC considers its service region to include the surrounding counties of Charlevoix, Cheboygan, Otsego, and parts of Antrim. The College has, since its earliest years, offered evening classes in cities throughout its service region, concentrating on Gaylord, in Otsego county, and Cheboygan, in Cheboygan county.

Significance of the Study

Educational leadership is constantly faced with change and reform; publisher offerings are replete with texts on the subject. Many of the texts take existing organization theory and apply it to the changes and challenges facing educators. This study, through a careful telling of one community college's story based on empirical evidence, demonstrated that educational organizations are value driven in their decision-making and interaction with their relevant environments. Its significance lies in the comparison of organizational theory with organizational practice.

Definition of Relevant Terms

- Centrality** a term that places a core technology of high importance to the organization by characteristics such as high status and prestige, strong budgetary support and priority, and assigned full-time administrators and faculty, and are the last cores to be curtailed during tight fiscal times (Clark, 1968).
- Community College** “any institution accredited to award the associate of arts or the associate of science as its highest degree” (Cohen & Brawer,

1996, p. 5) and “that provide(s) general and liberal education, career and vocational education, and adult and continuing education” (Ratcliff, 1994, p. 4).

- Core Technology or “technical core” (Thompson, 1967), or “core activity,” is the primary technical function of an organization, e.g., in this case study, the core technologies of NCMC reside primarily in its curricular areas of Transfer/Liberal Arts, Resort Services, and Vocational.
- Identity the characteristics of the college organization that have become institutionalized and symbolized over time.
- Interpretive Communities members of a community who “use the same or similar cognitive mechanisms, engage in the same or similar acts, and use the same or similar language to talk about thought and action” (Yanow, 2000, p.10).
- Marginality a term that places a core technology in a low, peripheral status, characterized by little prestige or power, low priority in the budget and must frequently pay its own way, insecurity over future organizational commitment, no assigned full-time administrators or faculty, and abandonment when retrenchments are in order (Clark, 1968).

Open Door Admissions	a policy that admits high school students under certain criteria, high school graduates or holders of the GED, and adults 18 years and older, without using past academic performance or college entrance placement testing as a criterion for admission.
Organizational Domain	the points at which the organization is dependent on inputs from the environment (Thompson, 1967, p. 27).
Organizational Population	“those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products” (Dimaggio & Powell, as cited in Scott, 1995, p. 56).
Relevant Environment	those parts of the environment that are relevant or potentially relevant to goal setting and goal attainment (Thompson, 1967, p. 27).

Research Design

This research employed a longitudinal single case study design with within-case sampling that was purposive in its selection. Five eras emerged from the early collection and analysis of data: the Era of Foundation, from 1958 to 1965; the Era of Formalization, from 1965 to 1975; the Era of Uncertainty, from 1975 to 1984; the Era of Realignment, from 1984 to 1988; and the Era of Succession, from 1988 to 1995. The conceptual framework came from Parsons (1960) and Thompson (1967), who constructed three levels of responsibility within an organization:

1. The core technology level, incorporating the activities, products and services of the organization
2. The managerial level, whereby leadership mediates between its core technologies and its relevant environments
3. The relevant (task) environment level, consisting of those environments in which the organization is dependent for input and output of its product and services.

Within each of the five eras studied, data were collected in the three organizational levels. Much of the data was historical documents found in enrollment reports, catalogs, class schedules, self-study reports, minutes of the Board of Trustees, and the like. Interviews were conducted with the president, Robert B. Graham, former Dean of Instruction, Arthur V. Francis, and former Dean of Occupational Studies, Barbara K. Kurtz (see Appendix A for Human Subjects Consent form). The interviews served not only to “triangulate” data from document sources, but also to “flesh out” empirical evidence and point toward additional data collection.

Data concerning the core technologies were “nested” within eight indicators of centrality and marginality (Clark, 1968; Robledo, 1978). The indicators of centrality and marginality were used as devices to help compare and contrast the College’s organizational value of and commitment to any one core activity relative to others. Those eight indicators included

1. Strength of policy
2. Number and type of employees dedicated to its tasks
 - a. administration

- b. faculty
 - c. students
3. Kinds of dedicated facilities
 4. Source and degree of funding
 5. Location of program within the organization
 - a. time
 - b. place
 6. Output
 7. Prestige
 8. Legitimacy

The research was recursive, or iterative, in nature in that analysis often prompted the need for more or different data to be collected, which in turn affected the analysis, which came about largely through the process of writing.

The researcher was the chief instrument and notetaking and writing were her methods of analysis. This research study was both exploratory and purposive.

Summary

A brief review of the development of the community college movement (Bogue, 1950) in the United States revealed a dynamic organizational field whereby numerous expectations from many different factions competed with one another for leadership attention and resource allocation. All community colleges, as a group, have incorporated the social phenomena elements, accessibility, and affordability, often affirming them in mission statements as they define themselves as comprehensive

community colleges. Within the group called community colleges, unique identities and cultures exist and are reflective of their relevant environments.

This longitudinal case study sought to understand organizational persistence and change through learning how one community college was formed and developed over time. It divided thirty-seven years of organizational operation into five separate eras and utilizing a conceptual frame that conceived of three levels of organizational responsibility (Parsons, 1960; Thompson, 1967), collected data from national, state, and local environments, core technology activities, and leadership activities. Core technology activities were further analyzed using eight indicators of centrality and marginality (Clark, 1968; Robledo, 1978).

Chapter 2 presents the research methodology and literature relative to this study. Chapters 3 and 4 present the data analysis from the five eras studied. Chapter 5 concludes with a summary of the study, explores theoretical concepts, and poses implications for future research and educational leadership.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter includes a description and explanation of the research questions, the research tradition, the organizing conceptual framework, and the research design of the study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to learn about organizational persistence and change through learning how one community college was formed and developed over time. Community college organizations make especially compelling research subjects because of the many competing expectations placed upon them from their various environments. The study was designed to show, through the use of empirical evidence, what actions and directions North Central Michigan College leadership took as it encountered changing environments and changing political pressures both inside and outside the organization.

Research Questions

1. What were the founding core values of NCMC?
2. Have those values changed over time?
3. What are and have been the core technologies of NCMC?
4. Have those core technologies changed over time?
5. What are and have been the characteristics of the student population of NCMC?
6. Has the student population changed over time?
7. What is the relevant environment of NCMC?
8. Has the relevant environment changed over time?
9. What is the leadership structure at NCMC?

10. How has that leadership changed over time?
11. What has been the relationship between NCMC leadership, its core values and activities, the student population, and its relevant environment?
12. Has that relationship changed over time?

Research Tradition

Theoretical Framework

This research study utilized interpretive methodology. This methodology provided a way to understand what interpretive communities existed within North Central Michigan College and its various environments. These interpretive communities included students as a whole with subcategories for different ages, genders, and academic pursuits; college leaders including Board of Trustees members; and regional, state, and national communities. North Central Michigan College's technical core, primarily its curricula, provided tangible means for studying what the organization valued.

Interpretive research methodology has its basis in nineteenth-century German neo-Kantian philosophy as well as through the phenomenologists, hermeneutical scholars (named for Hermes, the Greek mythological character whose role was interpreter of messages), and critical theorists of twentieth-century Europe who maintained

1. that understanding the human social world required more than a value-free, factual assessment based on the five senses;
2. that facts could not be separated from knowledge of values, not only of the observed but also the a priori knowledge of the observer;

3. that language organized perceived physical stimuli into sense making that was individual, subject to prior knowledge and cultural background. (Yanow, 2000, p. 7).

In the United States in the years directly preceding and after World War II, interpretive methodology had particular impact on the fields of anthropology and sociology as an alternative to traditional positivist methods of research. Symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology are two research traditions that developed utilizing interviewing, observing, and participating in another's culture to understand behavior from the subject's own frame of reference.

Interpretive methodology strives to define how groups of people share commonalities and thus interact with their environment. Members of a community "use the same or similar cognitive mechanisms, engage in the same or similar acts, and use the same or similar language to talk about thought and action" (Yanow, 2000, p.10). The shared thoughts and meanings, language, and behaviors define an interpretive community. Interpretive methodology strives to understand human behavior, thus organizational behavior, by first understanding its definitions and the processes by which the definitions were formed.

. . . people act, not on the basis of predetermined responses to predefined objects but rather as interpreting, defining, symbolic animals whose behavior can only be understood by having the researcher enter into the defining process through such methods as participant observation. (Bogdan & Biklin, 1992, p. 36)

Interpretivists hold that identity, whether it is of an individual or an organization, is partially a social construction, the definition evolving through a process of interaction with the environment. Part of the evolving environmental exchanges come from other individuals within and outside of the organization, as well as from sweeping social legislation or economic variations. These social interactions, be they in group meetings or one-on-one conversations, mold organizational behavior. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) wrote that

People in a given situation often develop common definitions (or “shared perspectives” in the symbolic interactionist language) since they regularly interact and share experiences, problems, and background: but consensus is not inevitable. (p. 36)

Whereas it can be said that all researchers utilize interpretation as a means for explanation, the interpretive tradition holds that the “prime interpreter is presumed to be the informant, not the researcher” (Gioia, 1998, p. 27). Therefore, on a first-order level, interpretive research attempts to represent the actual words and meanings of the informant; on a second-order level, it attempts “to build a grounded, theoretical explanation for the patterns observed” in informants’ words and symbols (Gioia, 1998, p. 27).

Interpretive methodology generally proceeds in an inductive manner, using a narrative form of writing. Telling the “story” in a readable manner, using rich detail, and producing informative insights are part of the interpretive tradition (Gioia, 1998).

Research Design

Selection

A single case study design was selected for this research on organizational persistence and change. One community college in northern Michigan served as the particular subject.

The real business of case study is particularization, not generalization. We take a particular case and come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different from others but what it is, what it does. There is emphasis on uniqueness, and that implies knowledge of others that the case is different from, but the first emphasis is on understanding the case itself. (Stake, 1995, p. 8)

The case study treatment lends itself well to interpretive methodology because both have an emphasis on in-depth knowledge of a particular subject, participant observation, and “telling the story”. A case study is defined by selection: “a case is a number of units—one—studied, whether the unit is a formal organization, a psychotic child, a community, or an encounter group” (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993, p. 32). The emphasis of this study was on learning about organizational persistence and change through an understanding of the formation, growth, and development of North Central Michigan College. Stake (1995, p. 3) defined “instrumental case study” as the study of a particular case to develop an understanding of broader principles or theories.

This research was a longitudinal, field study that examined the developing organizational identity, growth of core technologies, and patterns of interaction over

time between the College and its relevant environments. The study encompassed 37 years, from the College's founding in 1958 until 1995, and incorporated five separate "eras."

Sampling Procedure within the Case

Sampling for this study began with selection. LeCompte, Preissle, and Tesch (1993) differentiated between data sampling and data selection. Sampling "denotes extracting systematically from a larger group some smaller portion of that group so as to represent adequately the larger group," whereas selection denotes "smaller subsets from a population (that) may be chosen nonprobabilistically" (p. 60). This study of organizational persistence and change in a community college relied upon selection of specific data rather than sampling, a process that carried over to interviews.

The selection of data was also determined by theory. Miles and Huberman noted that field study samples "tend to be purposive, rather than random" (1994, p. 27), especially if the study is "theory-driven." The conceptual framework for this study came from resource dependency theory. Therefore, the choices of data and informants reflected this framework and were selected from each era in order to achieve a continuous and well-rounded treatment of the story.

Because of its longitudinal nature, this study demonstrated "within-case sampling" procedures. Initially, the researcher simply gathered as much historical data as existed, making decisions about data that were dependably consistent throughout the years. Later, however, the researcher employed a "funneling process" (Erickson, 1986) that narrowed the selection of data to a specific number of reliable elements. As eras emerged, each had similar data collected, so that sampling was

nested within the era. An example of this was determining the number of full-time versus part-time faculty devoted to the Transfer/Liberal Arts curriculum within the total number of full and part-time faculty employed during each specific era of the College's history.

Finally, there was an "iterative" or "recursive" quality to the research in this study that was in keeping with interpretive methodology (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Yanow, 2000.) "Recursive analytic strategies frequently cause changes in direction of and questions addressed in the typical ethnographic research report . . . new questions are formulated and initial ones may be found inadequate, erroneous, or nonsensical, given feedback from the field" (Deyhle, Hess, Jr., & LeCompte, 1992, p. 634). As data were collected, they were organized and analyzed. At different times, this analysis called for a reorganization of thinking about and quantifying some of the data. An example came when the researcher understood that a separate core technology needed to be developed to accommodate curriculum generally thought to be vocational in nature, yet which at North Central Michigan College held a special meaning; the "Resort Services" core was developed to represent education for careers linked directly to the resort economy of northern Michigan. This led to a total reorganization of charts, tables, analysis, and summaries.

Toward the end of data analysis for this study, the researcher decided that another means of comparison was needed to understand organizational values and the treatment of various core technologies. It was at this latter stage that she

incorporated and modified indicators of “centrality” and “marginality” (Clark, 1968; Robledo, 1978) and thus was sent back out into the field for further data collection.

Instrumentation

In the field study research employed in this work, the researcher was the primary instrument. Miles and Huberman (1994) commented that the aim of a research study is to go “beyond the superficial or the merely salient, becoming ‘empirically literate’” (p. 38). To achieve this required that the researcher have a familiarity with the phenomenon and setting under study, strong conceptual interests, a multidisciplinary focus, and people-oriented investigative skills. Happily, these criteria matched qualities of the researcher in that she had been an employee of North Central Michigan College since 1975 and so had much familiarity with the subject; she had a strong conceptual framework going into the data collection process; she had completed diverse readings in change theory encompassing several areas of the social sciences; and, as a licensed professional counselor, she relied heavily upon her ability to communicate with people.

In addition to the researcher as the chief instrument, the instrumentation process included (a) collecting data, (b) organizing data, (c) quantifying numerical data, and (d) planning who to interview. Extensive notetaking served as the chief mode of instrumentation, and interviews were audiotaped and translated verbatim.

The longitudinal case study of North Central Michigan College was grounded in theory. The researcher knew what data should be collected, was guided by instruments used in a prior study at another Michigan community college (Taylor, 2001), and knew which persons to interview. That said, this longitudinal case study,

as a single case study, was simple enough to forgo questionnaires, tests, or observation schedules. It strived to know well the particularities of North Central Michigan College rather than universal truths. Therefore, this study had elements of both an exploratory and a confirmatory research study.

Data

Documents

Because of the historical, archival nature of the study, preliminary action involved finding what data existed on a consistent basis. Once the researcher obtained a big-picture understanding of the available data, research questions were developed that went along with the guiding conceptual framework, including core technologies, environmental influences, and leadership activities.

Looking through historical documents can be analogous in sequence to participant observation, where observation goes from descriptive to focused and finally to selective observation (Spradley, 1980). This study on organization persistence and change required the quantification of certain kinds of numerical data—how many programs, how many courses, the change in student enrollment numbers over time—and so hand-drawn charts were initially created on the following:

1. Number of faculty per NCMC catalog with subcategories for full-time status, part-time status, and academic area
2. Fall student enrollment by headcounts with subcategories for full-time and part-time students, and their age and gender
3. Fall enrollment credit hours

4. Number and types of degrees offered per NCMC catalog
5. Number and types of programs offered per NCMC catalog
6. Number of graduates per degree and program
7. Course sections offered on the Fall class schedule with subcategories for daytime, evening on-campus, and evening off-campus course offerings and by academic core
8. Population growth in NCMC's four-county service district
9. Unemployment rates in NCMC's four-county service district
10. Labor market information about NCMC's four-county service district

The researcher used these official statistics and quantitative data to suggest patterns and trends, as well as descriptive statistics to obtain a better understanding of regional population, labor sectors, and unemployment.

Augmenting the quantification of students, programs, and the like, was a careful reading and notetaking of Board of Trustees minutes, NCMC self-study reports from 1967, 1971, 1974, 1985, and 1995, a written history of the first 25 years of the College, and national and state legislation that affected higher education. Bogdan and Biklin (1992) maintained that official documents represent the biases of the promoters, not necessarily the truth. This admonition helped to filter information gathered through certain official documents, in particular the context under which the various self-studies for accreditation purposes were written. That said, internal documents did “flesh out” the numerical data: they disclosed “information about the official chain of command and internal rules and regulations . . .” while providing

“clues about leadership style and potential insights about what organizational members value” (Bogdan & Biklen, p. 136).

A next step in the design was defining the study’s boundaries. Iannacone (echoed by Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Miles & Huberman, 1994; and Wolcott, 1992), stated that the researcher, in comparison with a practitioner, should concentrate on the depth rather than on breadth of the topic, delimiting findings to guard against overgeneralizations (1975, p. 12). This study of organizational persistence and change at North Central Michigan College not only provided a single, in-depth case but also allowed, over time, the emergence of repetition of phenomena. The historical research orientation resulted in a retroductive rather than a predictive analysis: “a retrospective gathering of events into an account that makes the ending reasonable and believable . . . more than a mere chronicling . . . (i)t configures the events in such a way that their part in the whole story become clear” (Polkinghorne, as cited in Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 147).

Interviews

Interviews were conducted with three former leaders of North Central Michigan College. Each interview lasted one hour or longer, was audiotaped, and began with general, open-ended questions. More specific questions were asked (a) as follow-up to topics raised by the interviewee and (b) reflective of each individual’s areas of responsibility while at North Central. Each interview began with a variation of the question “What do you feel is the identity of North Central Michigan College?”

President Robert B. Graham, former business manager and vice-president of North Central Michigan College from 1968 to 2001, was interviewed during the last

week of his employment in June 2001. Graham was interviewed because of his lengthy tenure and historical perspective; extensive knowledge of personalities, politics, and legislation; and strong leadership influence on the organization.

Arthur V. Francis, former Dean of Instruction and twenty-year employee of North Central Michigan College, was interviewed in November of 2001. Francis had originally joined NCMC after working for the occupational and career education division within the Department of Education, of the state of Michigan. He had been hired as the first Dean of Occupational Education at NCMC in 1972 and was instrumental in designing, implementing, and managing every occupationally oriented course and program offered at NCMC.

Barbara K. Kurtz, former Dean of Occupation Studies, was interviewed in February of 2002. She began her employment at NCMC in 1974 as a full-time nursing faculty member. Her progressive administrative positions at the College included Director of Nursing, Director of Allied Health, Dean of Educational Services, and Dean of Occupational Studies. During her tenure at NCMC, Kurtz wrote grants that helped the College become more comprehensive in its mission, including the creation of the Developmental Studies core. Kurtz served for years as an evaluator for the North Central Accreditation association and as such traveled to many different community colleges in the region.

This researcher feels the interviews she conducted were invaluable to the development of this study. They served as a way to triangulate information from official documents and helped her to understand the language and meaning used to construct NCMC's interpretive community. The interviewees led the researcher to

new topics and helped determine whether her interpretations, assumptions, and observations were leading to a proper understanding. See Appendix A for the Human Subjects Consent form used in this study.

Observational and Ethnographic Material

Two years of data collection, writing, and analysis heightened the researcher's awareness of North Central Michigan College's rituals and tacit understandings expressed during all-College meetings, through information published in the in-house newsletter, and from policy passed and not passed through committee meetings. Observation was made easier by the researcher's membership on two important committees: Strategic Planning and Curriculum Review.

Organizing Conceptual Framework

For a year prior to writing the proposal for this study, the researcher read about various change theories from a variety of social science fields. Those social science theories included resource dependency theory, dialectical theory, cybernetics, autopoiesis, institutional theory, and theory of logical types.

Resource Dependency Theory

A conceptual frame was chosen that was based on the ideas of Parsons (1960) and Thompson (1967) representing resource dependency theory. Parsons first suggested that within every formal organization there exist three levels: (a) a technical level, where reside the functions associated with effective performance of the organization; (b) a managerial level, where reside the mediating services of the organization, brokering between the technical functions and the resources necessary to carrying out the technical functions; and (c) an institutional level, where resides the

“higher-level support which makes the implementation of the organization’s goals possible” (Thompson, p. 11).

Thompson then adapted Parsons’s three levels into his ideas on how a total organization interacts with the external environment and how it functions internally. Parsons’s concept of a technical level was understood by Thompson as the “organizational domain,” where the organization chooses in which core activities they will and will not participate. The choice of domain determines and influences its interactions with its environment and also delineates one organization from another similar organization:

. . . the organization’s domain identifies the points at which the organization is dependent on inputs from the environment. The composition of that environment, the location within it of capacities, in turn determines upon whom the organization is dependent. (Thompson, pp. 27-28)

Additionally, Thompson expanded Parson’s third, institutional level to denote the organization’s external “task environment.” The concept of task environment narrowed the total external environment to only those elements that were directly pertinent or relevant to its operation:

. . . we can adopt the concept of task environment . . . to denote those parts of the environment which are “relevant or potentially relevant to goal setting and goal attainment.” . . . we have a useful concept to work with . . . more delimited in scope. We are now working with those organizations in the environment which make a difference to the organization in question. (Thompson, pp. 27-28)

Furthermore, Thompson indicated that within the organizational task environment, four influences existed:

(1) customers (both distributors and users); (2) suppliers of materials, labor, capital, equipment, and work space; (3) competitors for both markets and resources; and (4) regulatory groups, including governmental agencies, unions and interfirm associations. (Thompson, pp. 27-28)

Thompson also expanded Parsons's concepts on organization and the loci of control: an open system of logic whereby the organization is dependent on its environment for survival and hence is controlled by the nature of that environment; a closed system of logic whereby the organization endeavors to control uncertainty and hence the level dependency on its environment. Thompson proposed that a rational organization would try to seal off its inner, or technical, core, from outside, environmental control yet still by necessity of survival mediate with that environment for goods and services. In other words, it would attempt to be closed at the inner core and open at the outer core, all being mediated by the middle core.

Thompson's (1967) propositions that speak to this research study's conceptual frame include the following:

- Under norms of rationality, organizations seek to seal off their core technologies from environmental influences.
- Under norms of rationality, organizations seek to anticipate and adapt to environmental changes which cannot be buffered or leveled.
- Under norms of rationality, organizations seek to minimize the power of task-environment elements over them by maintaining alternatives.

- The organization facing many constraints and unable to achieve power in other sectors of its task environment will seek to enlarge the task environment.
- Under norms of rationality, organizations seek to place their boundaries around those activities which if left to the task environment would be crucial contingencies.
- Organizations employing mediating technologies and subject to rationality norms seek to expand their domains by increasing the populations served.
- When the organization cannot hope to show improvement on all relevant dimensions, it seeks to hold constant on some and show improvement on those of interest to task-environment elements on which the organization is most dependent.

Figure 1 portrays how this conceptual framework looks. In this study of organizational persistence and change using North Central Michigan College as a case study, the researcher used the inner circle to indicate the core technologies in NCMC's domain. Those core technologies include the academic curriculum and other activities such as contractual services that exemplify the products of the College. The middle circle indicates the managerial level, including policy and decisions the College leadership implemented to mediate with its environment while protecting its core technologies. The outer circle represents the relevant task environment in which the College is nested, including its immediate community, its four-county service region, the state of Michigan, and the nation.

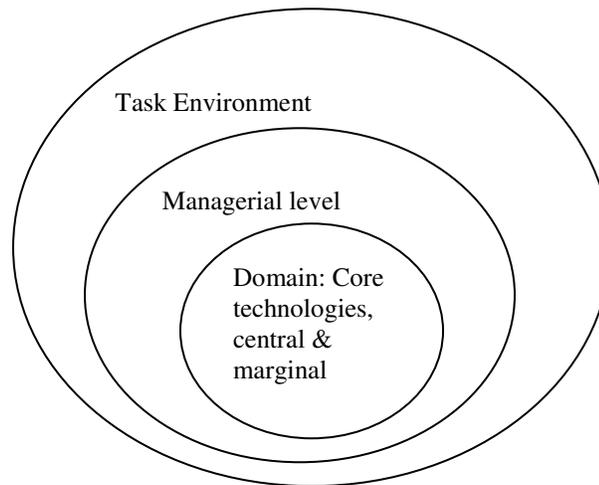


Figure 1. Conceptual model for a study of organizational persistence and change.

As shown by the nature of the research questions, the data collection and analysis centered on those elements that would best describe the core technologies, including academic programs, faculty, students, facilities, and financial support. It also centered on leadership actions as they pertained to relevant changes in the immediate and service region environments, as well on as actions pertaining to relevant state and federal policy and legislation. Each of the five eras studied required data collection and analysis to support the three levels of North Central Michigan College organization.

Centrality and Marginality

Additionally, the core technologies were further analyzed by indicators of

centrality and marginality to gauge their relative importance to the organization. Robledo (1978), building on concepts from Clark (1968), proposed a series of indicators from which to gauge a program or educational unit's importance to its parent organization. A program that was core to the organization, valued, and supported, was termed *central*; its position in the organization was one of *centrality*. A program operating from an opposite position was termed *marginal* and its position connoted *marginality*. The concept of marginality was further described and defined as programs that

. . . typically have low status and little power and, in consequence are insecure . . . they are at the margin; they have low priority in the budget and frequently must pay their own way; central administrators forget they exist as attention goes to basic functions; and, when retrenchments are in order, the unimportant programs are severely curtailed. (Clark, 1968, pp. 148-149)

Indicators of marginality versus centrality, as conceived by Clark and refined by Robledo, were devised to explain the development of a small unit within a larger university system as it moves from marginality to centrality. As a unit changed in any or all of the indicators, its status moved on a continuum from marginal to transitional to central in importance to the overall organization. Those indicators included

1. constitutional status
2. unit administration
3. facilities and fixed capital
4. economy pressure group
5. justifying program

6. less/more state aid
7. program housing
8. location of new activities
9. changing core technology
10. impact on other units

Eight Indicators of Centrality and Marginality

Robledo's generalized concepts provide a means to understand organizational bias toward academic program development at North Central Michigan College. The concepts also provide a way to understand organizational change in its core technologies. This study used and expanded Robledo's indicators of centrality and marginality to understand the relative value of NCMC programs to the organization as a whole. Those eight indicators are

1. Strength of policy
2. Number and type of employees dedicated to its tasks
 - a. administration
 - b. faculty
 - c. students
3. Kinds of dedicated facilities
4. Source and degree of funding
5. Location of program within the organization
 - a. time
 - b. place
6. Output

7. Prestige

8. Legitimacy

These indicators can be likened to “organizational commitment” factors signifying organizational decisions regarding resources to devote to a program; it is these eight indicators that will be used to show the relative centrality/strength of the academic core during this era.

Analysis and Display

What we are seeking in graphic and tabular displays of information is the clear portrayal of complexity. Not the complication of the simple; rather the task of the designer is to give visual access to the subtle and the difficult—that is, the revelation of the complex. (Tufte, as cited in Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 243)

Very early on in the data collection process including numerous compilations of counts and numbers, the process of sense making required the placement of data into tables and charts. As previously stated, the researcher followed a recursive, iterative process of gathering data, quantifying and organizing it into categories, displaying data through tables, charts, and graphs, writing summaries of the data, and then finding that it was necessary to continue data collection either in more depth or in an additional direction.

One of the earliest determinations was deciding on the temporal boundaries of the eras studied from the data collected. The researcher spent hours in a rocking chair gazing at and comparing multiple wall charts of data, looking for points along a forty-year timeline where obvious organizational change or lack of change occurred within

multiple variables. Initially, long, horizontal sheets of paper chronicled timelines for the decades of the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Following the example of Grun (1982), who used a horizontal timeline to link people and events, each year on NCMC's timeline bore "sticky" notes placed under the appropriate year, marking activity such as Board of Trustees policy and change, personnel changes including faculty, pieces of legislation passed, student enrollment, financial information, and campus facility changes. An initial narrative by decade was written that eventually led to the identification of five eras: a founding era, 1958-1965; an era of formalization of the College as an organization, 1965-1975; an era of environmental uncertainty causing challenges and changes, 1975-1984; a brief era of realignment of College core activities and values, 1984-1988; and finally, an era of succession, as a new president began his leadership, 1988-1995.

The various categories of activities identified on the horizontal timeline were then grouped according to the conceptual frame: environmental activities, leadership activities, and core activities. Data displays were reconfigured according to the newly articulated eras under study, which in turn led to new writing and analysis based, era by era, on the three major levels of the conceptual frame.

Once each era incorporated three different "chapters" for the three conceptual levels, an analysis to combine them into one large, coherent piece commenced. It was then that indicators of centrality and marginality were employed to help compare the different core technologies to one another through time. Summaries at the end of each conceptual level enabled the researcher to discover new connections within and between eras. "Writing, in short, does not come after analysis; it *is* analysis,

happening as the writer thinks through the meaning of data in the display. Writing is thinking, not the report of thought” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 101).

The most profound discovery was learning that assumptions and conclusions from earlier attempts at writing “the story” did not hold up to the empirical evidence displayed in later tables and graphs. In its place, however, the researcher learned first-hand that *cause* and *effect* are at times difficult to name because many events are circular rather than linear. Once linear cause-and-effect reasoning was relinquished, a deeper, richer meaning linking an event to its rightful place in NCMC’s history emerged. It allowed this researcher to understand the interrelatedness of theory and data, the scientific venture of a concept looking for a reliable referent (Iannaconne, 1975). They aren’t two separate compartments; rather, the data (facts) became discovered after the researcher had already gone through several levels of analysis and interpretation through writing: “facts are events to which we have given meaning” (VanMaanen, as cited in Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 145).

It would not have been possible for this researcher to come to the explanations she did without the use of tables and charts. They were tools enabling the researcher to break down chunks of information into small, comparable pieces, and when that happened, a more truthful telling of the North Central Michigan College story was possible. Displays helped to stimulate thinking. It is hoped that the data displays used in this study provide not only additional information to the reader, but also stimulate other explanations and discoveries. “Tables are for communication, not data storage” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 100).

Validity and Reliability

Eisenhart and Howe (1992, pp. 657-663) presented five standards from which to judge validity in qualitative research. Elements of these standards were discussed by Bogdan and Biklen (1992), Deyhle et al. (1992), Peshkin (1993), and Simmons (1988). Each point was addressed in this study of organizational persistence and change.

1. A fit between research questions, data collection procedures, and analysis techniques; research questions rather than researcher convenience and preferences should drive study design. In this study, a strong conceptual framework drove the research questions. Data were collected, coded, and placed into data displays, and analyzed according to the three levels of organizational responsibility.
2. Effective application of specific data collection and analysis techniques—research should adhere to its disciplinary contexts. The interpretive methodology employed in this longitudinal case study guided the analysis based upon patterns of meaning, particularly that of organizational identity. Patterns were grounded in empirical evidence.
3. Alertness to prior knowledge whereby the subjectivity of the researcher should be made explicit as well as the theoretical assumptions and goals that have helped develop the study. This issue is addressed in the following section; however, the researcher took pains to link explanation to empirical evidence.

4. a) External value constraints whereby the results should be in language understood by its community and be useful to its stakeholders. It is hoped that this research will be scrutinized by North Central Michigan College and its stakeholders and therefore be of practical as well as theoretical utility. The interpretive methodological tradition of “telling the story” put this study’s writing in narrative form.
b) Internal value constraints whereby the way the research is conducted should be as important as its results. The data collected for this research study came, with the exception of the three interviews, from information available to the general public in the “public domain.”
5. Comprehensiveness whereby the overall study should incorporate all the above elements, balancing the overall technical quality with its value and importance. It is hoped that the results of this study are beneficial on two levels, the theoretical level and the practical level. They combine and build upon organization theory and at the same time build upon the body of knowledge about community colleges, North Central Michigan College in particular.

The issue of reliability is closely related to data analysis as well as to data collection. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) noted that “Qualitative researchers tend to view reliability as a fit between what they record as data and what actually occurs in the setting under study, rather than the literal consistency across different observations”

(p. 48). Again, analysis for this study was based upon empirical data, those facts given meaning by the guiding conceptual framework.

Triangulation was a method of analysis used during the data collection of this study. The most common way triangulation was employed by this researcher was by using empirical data to verify official documents, such as self-studies or Board of Trustees minutes, or historical documents, such as the book on the first twenty-five years of North Central Michigan College, and then comparing them with verbal accounts from the interviews: accuracy based upon the “convergence of data gathered by different methods” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 97).

Research Relationship and Self-Monitoring

This researcher has been an employee of North Central Michigan College from 1975 until the present time in the position of counselor. Throughout the decades, she has known all but the earliest of founders, has represented the College to the public in recruitment efforts and in community presentations, has had much involvement in curriculum building, and has served on important college-wide committees that make recommendations on policy and procedures to the president and administrative council. The researcher is also a member of the faculty bargaining unit, a position that at times has placed her in an adversarial relationship with members of the College administration. Quite clearly, the researcher did not approach this research from a “clean slate,” unbiased position. She was an “insider” with value-laden biases that skewed her memories of the past and created a lens from which to interpret the data.

Various researchers have enumerated the benefits of being familiar with the research subject: it opens doors to collecting data, cuts time in determining where to look for data, allows access to informants, and allows one to feel comfortable as a participant as well as an observer. The down side to researching in one's own backyard is also evident, distilling down to a single word: truth.

On one level is personal truth. The truth is many times a matter of personal perception. Peshkin (1988) and Simmons (1988) both warned about the perils of subjectivity, and early on in the data collection and analysis, those warnings made this researcher stop and do some soul-searching about her motives and biases. Simmons (1988) demonstrated her frustration over siding with first one and then the other "faction" in a historical research project until it occurred to her that the truth had elements of both points of view. When the researcher is part of that history, however, it is more difficult to come to terms with the truth exhibited by the "other" side. This researcher had long-harbored feelings of dislike for the first NCMC president, some of which was rekindled through reading historical Board of Trustees minutes. What saved her was the focus on "what" rather than "why" in data collection: the empirical data had no personal or political bias. By the time it came to writing the final summaries and linking facts to concepts, the explanations for the College's behavior revealed themselves to be much more closely tied to organizational or systemic theory than to individual behavior traits of a former president. As Bogdan & Biklen (1992) stated regarding truth and the writing of conclusions that do not jibe with personal views, ". . . the most important trademark of a researcher should be his or her devotion to reporting what the data reveal" (p.

54). Having frequent conversations with the researcher's doctoral chairperson was the way this researcher continually monitored her research biases and the "truth". These conversations were a time for reviewing the progression of written summaries and coaxing out meanings from the empirical evidence.

The researcher was also concerned throughout the analysis of data over the reactions of others, specifically her colleagues at North Central Michigan College, and how they would receive the researcher's explanations. Again, Simmons (1988) expressed similar concerns and termed this "epistemological paranoia," the fear that one's connections and conclusions would be incorrect and embarrassing: ". . . I knew that many of the people who had lived this history would eventually read my account, and I worried both that they might be hurt, embarrassed, or angry and that they would make fun of my 'erroneous' conclusions" (p. 302). As the research came to an end, however, the researcher relied upon a multidisciplinary approach to interpretation. This approach not only allowed her to explain the "what" of empirical evidence through multiple lenses but also assured her that other approaches, seeking different kinds of data, would bring forth another way to "tell the story," one that was equally valid.

A big-picture issue is that of "social truth." Could an "insider" provide the necessary objectivity to tell a true story? Oromaner (1994) cited Merton's ideas on insider-outsider foci of interest as a compelling argument. He argued that an insider will have different interests and come from a different sociology of knowledge than someone from outside the community college organization: "Individual and group biases are to be explained not on the basis of conscious distortions or conspiracies,

but rather on the basis of the fact that common educational and work experiences lead to common viewpoints” (Oromaner, p. 490). The differences in interests expressed by the insider-versus-outsider viewpoint lead to different foci and thus to different research questions:

Unlike the stringent version of the doctrine which maintains that Insiders and Outsiders must arrive at different (and presumably incompatible) findings and interpretations even when they do examine the same problems, this weaker version argues only that they will not deal with the same questions and so will simply talk past one another. (Merton as cited in Oromaner, p. 492)

Neither the insider nor the outsider viewpoint, then, has a monopoly on social truth. They simply approach the research from different points of inquiry, similar to a multidisciplinary approach to research. Both viewpoints might be considered together, a form of triangulation, for the reader to obtain a well-rounded grasp of the subject.

CHAPTER 3: DATA AND FINDINGS

ERA OF FOUNDATION: EARLY YEARS, 1958 - 1965

To understand the College, one must understand its community setting, the people it serves, and the socio-economic structure of the locality (North Central Michigan College, 1967, p. 3).

North Central Michigan College (NCMC) was founded in 1958 and opened its doors to students in the fall semester of 1959. Located in Petoskey, the county seat of Emmet County, its setting is on the shores of Lake Michigan at the northwestern tip of Michigan's Lower Peninsula. Over 250 miles from Detroit and 185 from Grand Rapids, its distance from urban hubs of population was tangible in the middle part of the 20th century.

The Region and its Economy

Arbre Croche

Emmet County, like much of the state of Michigan, was blessed with vast hardwood forests. It also possessed significant access to water: sixty-eight miles of Lake Michigan shoreline as well as seven miles of inland waterways. The region's aboriginal people, Woodland Indians forming the Ottawa (Odawa) and Chippewa (Ojibwe) tribes, used the waterways to migrate between seasonal campgrounds with "Arbre Croche," a region encompassing much of the Emmet county shoreline of Lake Michigan, as their summer home. According to Blackbird (1887), they planted simple crops in the spring and then trapped for furs to trade during the rest of the warm, summer season.

French fur traders introduced Jesuit missionaries to the region in the mid-seventeenth century, establishing mission sites along Lake Michigan. It was a territory claimed by both French and British voyagers and one that was fought over by the armies of both nations. Protestant missionaries established church sites during the early 1800s, complementing the earlier Roman Catholic sites; the region was populated largely by Indian settlements and missions. It was not until 1875, after the Civil War, that the face of Emmet County changed.

Homesteaders and Lumberjacks

Prior to 1875, land purchase in western Emmet County was restricted by Indian treaty limitations (Killmer, 1971, p. 11). With treaty limitations lifted, homesteaders flocked to the area to stake land claims:

The Grand Rapids and Indiana railroad came into Petoskey in the fall of 1873. Almost the entire county was then embraced in an Indian reservation, preventing the purchase of public lands by the whites, until 1875, when the reservation was thrown open to settlement, and a sudden influx of settlers commenced. In 1870 the population of the county was 1,211—in 1874 it was 1,272—an increase of only 61. In 1880 the population had increased to 6,639, an appreciable gain. Things had begun to move. (Halstead, 1914, p. 10)

Homesteaders could claim 80 acres, and war veterans were entitled to homestead 160 (Morley, 1981, p. 16). The new settlers planted winter wheat, potatoes, hay, and feed grains. Dairy herds and apple and cherry orchards were also developed. Average soil conditions and a short growing season, however, did not

make for ideal farming. The ideal industry was in the cutting of the great forests, and lumbering thrived from the 1870s until the early 1900s.

Lake Michigan provided a highway for the transport of goods, and a series of railroads crisscrossed the region, primarily to aid the logging efforts. The county's towns and villages grew from the needs of the lumber industry during the late 1800s and early 20th century. By 1935, however, all the large sawmills were out of business or had left the region. Lumberjacks reluctant to leave the area became farmers, as the harvesting of the region's great forests opened land for farming and fruit orchards (Killmer, 1971). Slowly, farming itself dwindled, so that by 1960, at the time NCMC was hosting its second year of operation, only about 5% of the labor force was involved in agriculture. Although no longer dominant, the rural, self-sustaining, independent culture of the early homesteaders and lumbermen can still be found in northern Michigan and the service region of North Central Michigan College.

The Resort Culture

In the late 1870s the first of a growing number of passenger trains brought people to the cool summer shorelines: "One of the interesting and unusual aspects of the Petoskey and area situation in 1875 was the fact that tourists flocked in elbow to elbow with the settlers" (*Where Michigan Began*, 1941, p. 72). The cities of Petoskey and Harbor Springs, seated across from one another on Lake Michigan's Little Traverse Bay, were the primary destination points in Emmet County for this summer visitor population. A new economy would develop over the years to supply services to summer visitors: shopping, restaurants, lodging, banking, and health services.

Although surely there were citizens of modest means who traveled north for relaxation, the majority of these early patrons represented a wealthy, leisure class of people. Many of the early visitors purchased lakefront land along with other family members or with others from social, church, or business relationships. The exclusive resort associations of Wequetonsing and Harbor Point, located close to Harbor Springs along Little Traverse Bay, were founded in 1877 and 1878, respectively. By 1906, an area map showcased prominent resort hotels for visitor planning (Morley, 1981, p. 22). Thus, the services that were developed for these nonresident land owners, or resorters, were of an upper-class, elite quality and have continued on to the present day. Remnants of the old hotels and resort communities, as well as turn-of-the-century downtown commercial districts, still resonate in Petoskey and Harbor Springs.

The Bay View Association

Petoskey is home to a unique resort community, the Bay View Association, founded in 1876. Termed an “ideal Victorian community” and a “major monument of American religious, cultural, social and educational ideals embodied in an artistically shaped community plan” (State of Michigan, 2001), Bay View began as a Methodist campground. From 1885 through 1915 it was adapted into an independent Chautauqua based upon J. H. Vincent’s Chautauqua (1888), “originally a normal school for Sunday school teachers,” (Mezack III, 1994, p. 151) which had evolved into a program for youths as well as adults with an emphasis on literary and scientific circles.

In the beginning, Bay View members, often clergy and educators, did not command the personal wealth of many of the resorters. What they lacked in affluence was compensated by their education and cultural tastes. Throughout its long history, Bay View members brought prominent religious, literary, musical, and academic figures to the region for its eight-week summer program. A conservatory of music was established in the late 1800s, creating concerts and musical theatre productions each summer. Albion and Alma Colleges, private, Protestant liberal arts colleges in Michigan, have operated summer credit-generating coursework from the “campus” of Bay View from 1917 through to the present. The presence of Bay View made Petoskey a mecca for regional culture and the arts, at least during the summer months; it established in the minds of residents the potential benefits of a local year-round higher education facility. The Puritan ethic of this Methodist community, along with its highbrow standards of culture and the arts, blended well with the upper-class attitudes of the other resort population and contributed to the select image emulated by the year-round townspeople.

Four-Season Tourism

With hospitality services in place to complement the region’s natural beauty, tourism was heavily touted to a post-World War II generation of families. Although Emmet County’s population was 15,904 in 1960 (see Table 3), the region began to attract 2-3 times its population during summer months. Documents from the 1960s and 1970s recall the tourist slogans to promote northern Michigan as a vacation destination area that were prevalent during that time: “Michigan’s Water-Winter Wonderland” (North Central Michigan College, 1967, p. 3), and “the playground of

Michigan” (Killmer, 1971, p. 35). Traditionally, the months of July and August attracted the largest number of vacationing visitors; however, North Central’s development coincided with and was the result of the development of the region’s downhill ski resort industry, primarily Boyne Resorts USA, with sites in both Emmet and neighboring Charlevoix counties. Championship golf courses on these and other nearby sites also had their beginnings in the 1960s.

The “four-season” resort industry boosted the income of the local population that had been dependent on seasonal, lower paying service-industry occupations (North Central Michigan College, 1967, p. 6). That the four-season resort economy coincided with North Central’s development reveals the interdependence of community prosperity with educational aspirations. Businesses catering to the seasonal resort population as well as a four-season tourist economy continue to be strong influences in the economy and lifestyle of Emmet County. Whereas all of northern Michigan hosts both kinds of visitors, a 1958 comparison of retail sales volume for Emmet County and two neighboring counties, Charlevoix and Cheboygan counties, showed Emmet capturing 43.1%, Cheboygan with 34.1%, and Charlevoix with 22.8% of the retail sales volume. Within Emmet County, the city of Petoskey commanded 79% of those sales (Killmer, 1971.) Petoskey was and continues to be the beneficiary of this surge in summertime population; it distinguishes itself from neighboring rural towns and villages with its upscale boutiques and shops for an important resort population.

Resorter versus Tourist

There is a distinction between resorters and tourists: resort families own property and invest in the organizations and infrastructure of the region; tourists, locally known as “fudgies” for their fondness for locally produced fudge, add much-needed dollars to the local economy but can be characterized as more transitory in the length and frequency of their visits. Tourists tend to be far less wealthy than resorters and interested in outdoor family fun rather than pursuing the arts and cultural pastimes. Although a sweeping generalization, it is a common practice to mock tourists for the noisy, gawking way they navigate the unfamiliar shops and terrain of Petoskey and to try to emulate the resort crowd for the elite, unperturbed way in which they command services and exude power in their adopted hometown.

The Medical Community

Another significant influence in Petoskey’s economic and social development was the Burns Clinic, a medical center staffed by professionals representing many specialty areas. Widely known and attracting patients throughout the Midwest, the Clinic specialists had two hospital facilities, Little Traverse and Lockwood-MacDonald (later to be incorporated into Northern Michigan Hospitals), from which to operate. Between the 1960s and the 1970s, the number of Burns Clinic employees would grow from around 500 to 1200, making the Clinic the area’s largest employer (North Central Michigan College, 1967, p. 6; North Central Michigan College, 1974, p. 5). It is safe to assume that the medical community developed in Petoskey was a direct product of the resort community; prominent leaders of the resort community sat

on the boards of the Clinic as well as of the local hospitals and helped to guide the medical community's growth and prestige.

Local Poverty

Hidden from sight during the 1960s, as well as today, was the poverty that existed among those rural residents not associated with the upper sectors of the service economy. Three economic sectors accounted for more than 60% of the employed people in Emmet County: manufacturing (12.2%), wholesale and retail trade (27.7%), and services (23.8%) (Killmer, 1971, p. 27). The majority of employment, however, was low-paying and seasonal; in 1967, 74% of Emmet county's households had incomes under \$8,000 a year, whereas in the rest of Michigan the median was \$9,885 and the nation's average was \$8,532 (Killmer, 1971, p. 31).

With the exception of two cement plants, regional factories and plants required primarily unskilled labor, their production limited to small component parts that could be easily transported to larger assembly plants elsewhere in Michigan. Although poverty was not divided along gender lines, it was more difficult for women to command a wage that was self-supporting. A North Central Michigan College study specifically noted that "(f)or the women, such employment does not offer a primary income but simply enables them to add to the major family income (1967, p. 3).

A College in Petoskey

It is easy to understand the enormous benefit North Central Michigan College promised to the Petoskey region. The average Emmet County resident, with a lower-

than-state-average income, found it difficult to send family members away from home to continue their education. Nonetheless, regional income had risen with the four-season resort and tourism business, and more regional students were graduating from high school and seeking a college education. These were among the factors that prompted over 120 concerned citizens of Emmet County, in 1950, to spend several months researching and identifying county needs for a local college, analyzing their financial capabilities and an appropriate location. With the help of educators from both in- and out-of-state colleges and universities, a referendum vote was put to the citizens of the county, and it passed by a considerable majority. According to Vratanina (1992), informational sessions held around Emmet County prior to the referendum included the following questions and answers:

What are the main functions of a community college?

1. To prepare students to transfer to higher institutions.
2. To prepare those students for employment who are not expecting to transfer.
3. To emphasize guidance and counseling services along educational, vocational, and personal lines.
4. To provide opportunities for older youth and adults in the county (and out) to continue education (cultural and vocational) and to enjoy the activities related thereto.
5. To render special services to the community.

What are the curricula under consideration?

Liberal arts, pre-scientific, pre-engineering, medical technology,

business and secretarial. (p. 16.)

These answers indicate the original educational direction of the College as idealized by its community founders. The founding Board of Trustees members included Dr. Dean C. Burns of Petoskey, founder of the Burns Clinic; C. Lester Johnson of Petoskey, regional manager of the Bell Telephone Company; Ed Cadwell, of Levering, owner of the Levering Telephone Company; K.C. Festerling of Petoskey, Michigan State University County Extension Agent; Eder C. Mathews of Harbor Springs, owner of an insurance company and a landscape nursery; and Raymond T. Conley of Petoskey, a banker (Vratanina, 1992, p. 26). Of the six men who were founding Board members, four remained on the Board throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s. Continuity in Board leadership was also provided by Dr. Burns, who presided as chairman from 1958 until his death in 1978. All prominent and respected men in the community, the aforementioned represented the banking, business, agricultural, and medical interests of Emmet County for decades.

Summary

To understand the core values of North Central Michigan College requires an understanding of the socioeconomic environment of its region. The region historically began with the Woodland Indians who traversed its waterways, later accommodating the French and English fur traders, military men, and clergy. A farming and lumber economic base developed after 1875; cultural remnants of hardy, outdoor self-sufficiency were still in existence. At the same time, the region was “discovered” by an educated, wealthy class of people who came for the weather and natural beauty. They later purchased tracks of land alongside the water to develop camps and

associations, where families would stay for the entire summer. A strong resort culture flourished, and businesses and services developed to cater to summer visitors, especially in Petoskey and in Harbor Springs. One of these groups was the Bay View Association, which provided a model for the kind of intellectual pursuits enjoyed by educated people. The resort population influenced the development of the Burns Clinic Medical Center, which brought a high-status, well-educated permanent population to the area. The Clinic, in turn, generated an increasing number of jobs to augment medical services, becoming an important, high-profile regional employer.

The resort economy began as a source of seasonal employment only; this, coupled with the lack of a sizeable manufacturing sector, resulted in few semiskilled or year-round employment opportunities. The regional economy began to change beginning in the 1950s with the development of the downhill ski industry, making the region a four-season economy and boosting the income of residents. Collegiate education, in an area of disparity between the economic have and have-nots, was seen as a way to enable regional sons and daughters to achieve more success and prosperity. It pointed toward the university degree as the means to both realize the success enjoyed by and provide professional-level services to the affluent resort population as well as the medical and business community.

The founders of North Central Michigan College represented Emmet County and also represented the interests of the resort community. The original Board of Trustees was made up of men from the medical, financial, business, legal, and agricultural communities whose livelihoods were dependent, directly or indirectly, on the resort economy. It could be said that North Central Michigan College was

established for and by the resort community and those who serviced it. Reflective of this, the original curriculum was aimed toward the student who would pursue a university degree and follow a career in alignment with the model dictated by the cultural and medical leaders of the community. Strong continuity of Board leadership steered North Central Michigan College along this path for decades.

Early Growth

Centrality and Marginality

Robledo (1978), building on concepts from Clark (1968), proposed a series of indicators from which to gauge a program or educational unit's importance to its parent organization. A program that was core to the organization, valued, and supported, was termed *central*; its position in the organization was one of *centrality*. A program operating from an opposite position was termed *marginal*, and its position connoted *marginality*. The concept of marginality was further described and defined as programs that

. . . typically have low status and little power and, in consequence are insecure
. . . they are at the margin; they have low priority in the budget and frequently must pay their own way; central administrators forget they exist as attention goes to basic functions; and, when retrenchments are in order, the unimportant programs are severely curtailed. (Clark, 1968, pp. 148-149)

Indicators of marginality versus centrality, as conceived by Clark and refined by Robledo, were devised to explain the development of a small unit within a larger university system, as it moves from marginality to centrality. As a unit changed in any or all of the indicators, its status moved on a continuum from marginal to

transitional to central in importance to the overall organization. Those indicators included the following:

1. constitutional status
2. unit administration
3. facilities and fixed capital
4. economy pressure group
5. justifying program
6. less/more state aid
7. program housing
8. location of new activities
9. changing core technology
10. impact on other units

Eight Indicators of Centrality and Marginality

Robledo's generalized concepts provide a means to understand the organizational bias toward academic program development at North Central Michigan College. The concepts also provide a way to understand the organizational change in its core technologies. This study used and expanded Robledo's indicators of centrality and marginality to understand the relative value of NCMC programs to the organization as a whole. Those eight indicators are

1. strength of policy
2. number and type of employees dedicated to its tasks
 - a. administration
 - b. faculty

- c. students
 - 3. kinds of dedicated facilities
 - 4. source and degree of funding
 - 5. location of program within the organization
 - a. time
 - b. place
 - 6. output
 - 7. prestige
 - 8. legitimacy

These indicators can be likened to “organizational commitment” factors, signifying organizational decisions over resources to devote to a program; it is these eight indicators that will be used to show the relative centrality/strength of the academic core during this era.

The Transfer/Liberal Arts Program

Policy

The December 1964 edition of the North Central Michigan College catalog stated the following: “. . . (the College) offers the first two years of the liberal arts curriculum for those who want to proceed to four-year professional colleges and universities . . . (t)his program duplicates standards, procedures and requirements of four-year colleges and universities . . .” (North Central Michigan College, 1964, p. 8).

As stated in a status study prepared for initial North Central Accreditation, The primary objective of North Central Michigan College is ‘To provide freshman and sophomore programs in the Liberal Arts and Pre-professional

fields for the students who wish to pursue programs at transfer institutions.’ In other words, the foremost concern of this institution is with the transfer student, the student who enters this college with a definite intention of going on to a four-year institution and there obtaining an academic degree. (North Central Michigan College, 1967, p. 38)

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. Until the late 1960s, when a number of administrators/managers were appointed, the Board of Trustees formed the nucleus of leadership at North Central Michigan College. There was no titular “president” or “provost” to the College; the only full-time administrator was the Dean, Al Shankland, who had coordinated the original study to found the College. A former teacher from the Petoskey public school system, he was aided by people who taught part-time in addition to filling positions in records, student personnel administration, and faculty leadership. It was a very cross-functional, family-style form of administration.

Faculty. By 1965, all but two of the full-time faculty were selected to teach during the daytime in the transfer/liberal arts curricula. By today’s standards, the College was almost totally independent of part-time employees. Between 1960 and 1964, total faculty numbers grew by 190% (see Tables 1 and 2).

Students. Although total student headcount grew by 86% during this era, very little aggregate data survives about the students who attended North Central in the early years. Initially, full-time students made up between 70 and 75% of the student body; this was reduced to 65% by the end of the era as the total student enrollment slowly shifted toward part-time enrollment, as demonstrated in Figure 2. The fact that

Table 1

Era of Foundation Full-time Faculty by Core Activity

	Full-time transfer/liberal arts	Full-time resort services	Full-time vocational	Total Full-time
1960	2.5	1	0	3.5
1965	10.5	2	0	12.5
% change, 1960-1965	320%	100%	0	257%

Table 2

Era of Foundation Part-time Faculty by Core Activity

	Part-time transfer/liberal arts	Part-time resort services	Part-time vocational	Total Part- time
1960	1	0	0	1
1965	1	1	0	2
% change, 1960-1965	0	100%	0	100%

the majority of students at North Central during its early years were full-time implied a more traditional-aged college student. The 1967 “status” study written by College personnel for initial North Central accreditation indicated that 92% of the full-time

students were drawn from high schools within a 40-mile radius of Petoskey, which was considered the service district (North Central Michigan College, 1967).

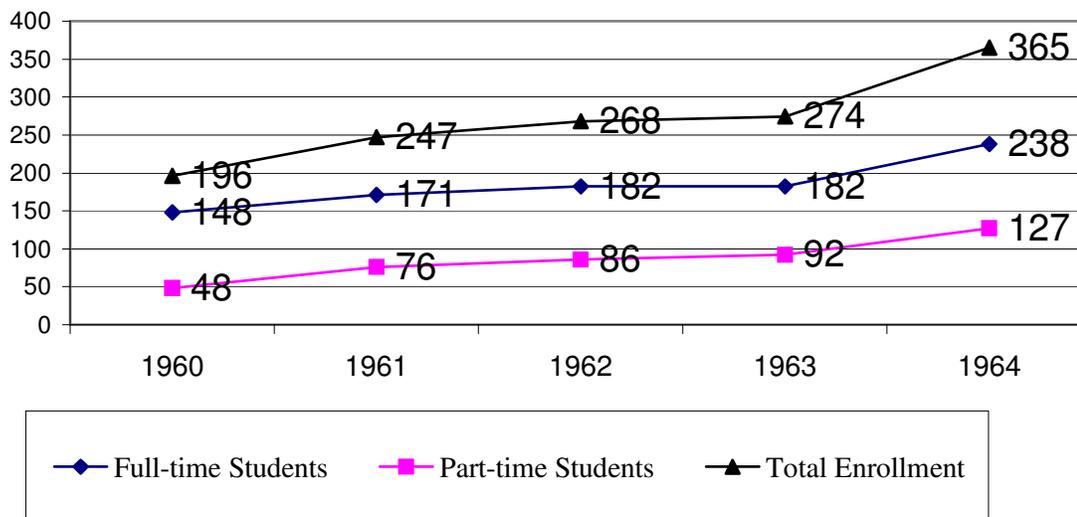


Figure 2. Total, full-time, and part-time fall student enrollment—Era of Formation.

Dedicated Facilities

When the College opened its doors in the fall of 1959, it was temporarily located in an old, two-story brick building that had formerly housed an elementary school. During the years 1963 through 1965, the Chemistry, Science, Library, and Heating Plant were built, see Appendix F for Campus Map. It was important early on to provide specific lab and classroom space from which to conduct science classes. There were dedicated facilities both on the new campus and in the old building for all academic curricula.

Source and Degree of Funding

Funding for the transfer/liberal arts curricula was a combination of state aid, local county taxes, and tuition. The county of Emmet was recognized as the only tax-bearing unit; a constant 1.75 mils per SEV was levied throughout all the timeframes in this study. The state of Michigan, however, considered a four-county area, including Emmet, Charlevoix, Cheboygan, and Otsego counties, as part of North Central Michigan College's district, a distinction that played considerable importance in the efforts that the Board made in keeping tuition and fees structures very close between in-district and out-district students. It was beneficial to the students but kept an important source of funding for the College at a low increment.

Location of Program

Time. The transfer/liberal arts core was conducted primarily during traditional daytime hours.

Place. Daytime courses were located only on campus in Petoskey.

Output

The transfer/liberal arts academic curricula clearly showed indicators of centrality. They were structured to lead to an associate degree. Those original degrees included the Associate of Arts (AA), the Associate of Science (AS), and the Associates of Engineering (AE), plus a Certificate of Completion for those who finished the required coursework but whose cumulative GPA fell below 2.0 on a 4.0 scale. They were all intended as university-transfer options. Every academic program listed in the era's catalogs, with the exception of Stenographic and Clerical and General Business, supported the transfer/liberal arts: Liberal Arts, Engineering,

Scientific, Teaching, Business (Pre), Paper Technology (articulated program with WMU), Medical Technology (articulated program between NCMC, Western Michigan University [WMU], and Burns Clinic/Little Traverse Hospital, where the junior year was at WMU, and the fourth-year internship was at the Burns Clinic).

Prestige

The Transfer/Liberal Arts core was in alignment with the concept of a real college. It provided the means to obtain a prestigious degree, the bachelor's degree.

Legitimacy

The coursework involved in the Transfer/Liberal Arts core has been the curricular mainstay of community colleges. "(T)he only mission component to be present in each phase of community college development was the transfer preparation function" (Lorenzo, 1994, p. 114).

Resort Services Core

Policy

From the December 1964 edition of the North Central Michigan College catalog came the following: ". . . North Central Michigan College offers terminal programs in the technical and vocational fields to meet the needs of the area.

Examples are Business and Commercial training" (p. 8).

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. Similar to the Transfer/Liberal Arts core, Resort Services had no specific dean.

Faculty. Resort Services employed two full-time faculty members.

Students. Five of the first six students to graduate from North Central Michigan College in 1960 were Associate of Commerce degree recipients. They were all women in the Stenographic and Clerical program, and each had transferred back to NCMC enough credits earned at other institutions to complete their degrees during the College's first year of operation (Vratanina, 1992).

Dedicated Facilities

Stenographic and Clerical, and General Business program courses were held in the original, old building during this era.

Source and Degree of Funding

The Resort Services programs were fully supported by tuition, local county taxes, and state aid.

Location of Program

Time. Resort Services programs were offered primarily during the daytime. Some specialty business courses may have been offered during the Evening College program, but no data could be found to support or refute this idea.

Place. Resort Services programs were located on campus in Petoskey.

Output

The Associate of Commerce (AC) degree was awarded to those who completed the General Business and the Stenographic and Clerical programs. During this era, General Business was alternately entitled "Pre-Business" with the implication that the freshman and sophomore years of a bachelor's degree in business could be eventually secured after attaining the Associate of Commerce (AC).

Prestige

Less prestigious than the Transfer/Liberal Arts core, the Resort Services programs still assured the student that a higher degree was possible at some future date. General Business and Stenographic and Clerical degree recipients were certified for immediate job entry at a level higher than those with just a high school education.

Legitimacy

Legitimacy was established in Board of Trustees policy during the founding of NCMC; business curricula offerings were found in community colleges nationwide.

The Evening College

In 1955, a joint venture between the Petoskey Board of Education and Central Michigan College created the “Petoskey Evening College.” The venture was a way to “test the waters” to see if interest in forming a community college existed (Vratanina, 1992). In a listing of “Sociological Factors” compiled by College founders as a document supporting the development of a community college district, it was noted that “eighty different students” had enrolled in the Evening College (Vratanina, p. 124). Classes were held on the premises of Petoskey Public Schools. North Central Michigan College took over responsibility for this program in 1959, and the slowly growing part-time college student population quite likely was attending during the evening.

The Evening College program was a marginal effort. Although the provision of continuing education (cultural and vocational) activities was recognized as a main function of a community college, the Board was not interested in providing noncredit

enrichment programs: “Non-credit enrichment programs were not offered by NCMC but were left with the adult education program at the Petoskey Public School This part of the operation of NCMC differed from that found at most community colleges in Michigan” (Vratanina, p. 31). The Evening College program was important only insofar as it provided education for transfer and resort services in a different timeframe, not because of a value to provide adult and continuing education. Shown by the following indicators, it was very low on centrality to the organization.

Policy

From the December 1964 edition of the North Central Michigan College catalog:

“An Evening College program is operated for those students who are working full time during the day and would like a part-time college program in the evening. The demand for Evening Classes determines the number of classes that will be offered at any one time, and over a period of years all classes offered during the day time will be offered at night” (p. 10).

Enrollment policy stated that courses would have to meet an enrollment standard so that tuition generated would offset the cost of offering the course without further subsidization from the College (North Central Michigan College, 1958-1974).

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. Similar to the Transfer/Liberal Arts core and the Resort Services core, there was no designated administrator assigned exclusively to the Evening College program.

Faculty. Unlike in the other cores, there were no full-time faculty members assigned to the Evening College.

Students. No data exists tracking students exclusively enrolled in the evening program, but it would have been rare for a student to be enrolled as a full-time student only during the evenings. Hence, part-time student enrollment numbers give an indicator of participation in the evening program. At the founding, the number of part-time students was only 24% of the total student enrollment, moving to 35% by the end of the era (see Figure 2).

Dedicated Facilities

There were no special facilities dedicated to the evening program because there were no programs or courses requiring special space. Most probably, classes were offered exclusively in the old, temporary building because the new campus provided space for science coursework only; science coursework was seldom offered during the evening, due to the time constraints of laboratory work.

Source and Degree of Funding

Organizational commitment to evening courses was different than that to daytime coursework: the "evening college," including any course offered on or off campus, was a "pay-as-you-go" operation (North Central Michigan College, 1958-74). This policy would have an important impact on the program development of programs offered solely in the evening.

Location of Program

Time. Courses were offered in the evenings after 5:00 p.m.

Place. The Evening College, as inherited by North Central Michigan College,

was originally conducted on the premises of Petoskey Public Schools. Board of Trustees minutes from this era hint at courses offered in Cheboygan during the evening; however, no corroborating data were found to confirm this. If it were true, then the evening program existed not only in Petoskey but also in the off-campus site of Cheboygan Area Schools.

Output

The Evening College program was touted as being comparable in nature to coursework offered during daytime hours; catalogs from the era also state that “(s)everal students have graduated from North Central Michigan College by attending evening classes only” (North Central Michigan College, 1963, p. 9). Without course schedules from the era, it is difficult to check the veracity of the statement. It is unlikely that lab science courses, required for degree completion, would have been offered with any variety or reliability in the evenings during this era. The enrollment policy also curbed degree completion by the cancellation of crucial coursework when class enrollments were small. A class schedule from 1982, twenty years beyond this era, indicated three evening science lab courses; however, two of the sections were prerequisite coursework for the later nursing and respiratory therapy programs. Early NCMC graduates often transferred in coursework from other colleges and perhaps in this way brought in science lab transfer credit, completing the remaining degree requirements in the Evening College program.

Prestige

Without a degree completion option, part-time students enrolled exclusively in the Evening College were taking courses for self-improvement or until enrollment during the daytime hours was possible.

Legitimacy

Legitimacy was established with Board of Trustees policy when it took over operation of the Evening College program from Petoskey Public Schools. The reluctance to offer adult education enrichment courses further reinforced Evening College courses as equal to the daytime offerings.

Summary

Of the number of possible directions for curricular development, the North Central Michigan College Board of Trustees chose to stay close to its founding purposes of providing freshman- and sophomore-level transfer coursework and support for the business and medical community. They hired a primarily liberal arts faculty; a clerical program was offered to support the growing services and businesses of the resort economy. According to Vratana (1992), the first Dean of Instruction at North Central, whose self-published book chronicles the College's first twenty-five years,

. . . people viewed the college as providing a stepping stone for students who were either planning to obtain higher education degrees, or to improve their skills in business, or to train so as to meet the needs of the medical facilities.

(p. 31)

The College's curricular choices were dictated by its core values, and those values were organized in from its founding. Those dominant values—to be a real college offering a transfer and liberal arts program and to be a provider for training medical and business personnel to support the resort-economy—dictated the shape and nature of the College's identity. It was on its way to becoming a real college, a legitimacy that required no explanation or defense of its existence. As Cohen and Brawer (1996) noted,

The prestige factor was important. Most of the new junior colleges were opened in cities and towns where no college had existed before. Citizens and educators alike wanted theirs to be a "real college." If it could not itself offer the bachelor's degree, it could at least provide the first two years of study leading toward one. In the eyes of the public, a college was not a manual-training shop. (p. 219)

The dominant value, to be a real college, was organized into the Transfer/Liberal Arts core through policy. It carried with it the prestige associated with a real college experience. It was the most supported and stable; the choice of new campus buildings and faculty assignments all reinforced liberal arts and sciences. A second value, to service the resort economy, resulted in the development of the Resort Services core with General Business and Stenographic-Clerical programs that also received organizational commitment through prominence in College literature and full-time faculty positions.

The indicators of centrality and marginality, from Clark (1968) and Robledo (1978), demonstrated that the Transfer/Liberal Arts and the Resort Services programs

were the academic core and had centrality. All full-time faculty positions were in these two cores. The Board contracted for and built a campus that allowed the liberal arts and sciences to be taught. A student population, the majority of whom were traditional-aged college students, was attracted to NCMC and eager to transfer to the university and complete the bachelor's degree. This dominant academic core was all taught during the daytime hours.

In contrast, the inherited Evening College program was marginalized as well as was the entire concept of part-time, adult education. It had a pay-as-you-go enrollment policy, did not possess assigned faculty or special programs, and did not provide an avenue for degree completion even though the nature of its program was legitimized by approximating the transfer program offered in the daytime. Evening students were older, part-time enrollees with few educational alternatives and unable to obtain a transfer degree: their impact on the organization was low.

In striving to become a real college, as defined by its founders, North Central's identity emerged as that of a small, liberal arts transfer organization. This identity seemed to garner instant success: the College grew quickly and beyond the initial idealization of its founders:

As organizations become infused with value, they are no longer regarded as expendable tools; they develop a concern for self-maintenance. By taking on a distinctive set of values, the organization acquires a character structure, an identity. Maintaining the organization is no longer simply an instrumental matter of survival but becomes a struggle to preserve a set of unique values. A

vital role of leadership . . . is to define and defend these values. (Scott, 1995, p. 19)

With its initial growth and success, the College took on a life of its own. It was leadership's task to make decisions that would protect and reinforce the organization, what Schattschneider called a "political bias":

By the time a group has developed the kind of interest that leads it to organize it may be assumed that it has also developed some kind of political bias because "organization is itself a mobilization of bias in preparation for action." (Schattschneider, 1960, p. 30)

The College organized its structure, faculty, student body, and curriculum to align with its founding values. Over 40 years later, the original intent of North Central Michigan College, to be a strong transfer/liberal arts institution, continues to be its primary identity.

Era of Formalization, Academic Years 1965-66 to 1974-75

The Era of Formalization was a time for shaping policy, introducing a leadership hierarchy, building a campus, and strengthening the core technologies of North Central Michigan College. It was preceded by early years of success, when student enrollment growth was unexpectedly strong, surprising the organization's founders. It reinforced their belief that the community needed accessibility to the kind of higher education commonly offered at the university, i.e., a transfer/liberal arts curriculum.

The Board of Trustees enlarged to seven members in 1966 with the addition of Paul Brown, a Petoskey lawyer and son of a long-time Michigan senator. Brown also sat on the Board for the University of Michigan (Vratanina, 1992, p. 26). Dr. Burns, founding Chairperson of the Board, continued on in this position throughout the Era of Formalization. Three additional Board seats remained from the College's founding. Represented on the all-male Board, as in the preceding era, were the business, medical, agricultural, legal and financial communities, all in service to the resort economy.

The national and state governments saw community colleges as a solution to a growing problem: a large baby boom population threatening to swell traditional public universities to overcapacity, coupled with a workplace that required a technically trained workforce. Key pieces of legislation were passed directly preceding and during the Era of Formalization that encouraged the construction and development of vocational-technical centers and programs at community colleges. This very basic conflict between the growing identity of North Central Michigan

College and resource streams available to build and sustain the national community college organizations provided an opportunity to observe the biases and decisions of the College's leadership through indicators of centrality and marginality in its academic curriculum.

Environmental Influences

The environment in which a community college resides presents social and financial constraints that in turn have an impact on the organization's core activities. Thompson (1967), in defining resource dependency theory, proposed that under norms of rationality, organizations seek to seal off their core technologies from environmental influences by anticipating and adapting to uncontrollable environmental changes (p. 20). Scott (1995), in his own research on organizational development, proposed that "organizations confronting more complex, fragmented environments—for example, multiple authorities and/or funding sources—would develop more complex and elaborated internal structures, holding constant the complexity of their work processes" (p. 117). The changes toward a more complex leadership hierarchy made the College ready to adapt as necessary to protect its core values and identity.

The College's environment is a multilevel concept. It includes the immediate environment, such as the community in which the College is located, and also the social/ideological, fiscal, and legislative elements of the region, state, and nation.

National Influences

During the early 1960s, the federal government, anticipating the training needs of the post-World War II baby boom generation (1946-1964) in conjunction

with a rapidly industrialized economy, created two powerful pieces of legislation. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 allocated federal grant money to the states to maintain, extend, and improve existing vocational education programs, including the development of new vocational education programs. “The Act also provided up to one half of the construction costs for an area vocational school facility,” a stipulation that included community college departments that trained students for immediate employment rather than for eventual transfer to obtain the baccalaureate degree (Taylor, 2001, p. 45). The second piece of legislation, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, authorized “assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher education in financing the construction, rehabilitation, or improvement of needed academic and related facilities in undergraduate and graduate institutions” (Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, as cited in Taylor, p. 45).

The passage of these two pieces of legislation greatly influenced community colleges toward developing vocational education. In recognizing the implications of the large baby boom population on higher educational facilities, the federal government encouraged immediate action to expand community college campuses, which in turn influenced the expansion of curricular offerings. The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 provided the “means to construct new campuses and enlarge existing facilities” (Vaughan, 1994, p. 34), while the Vocational Act of 1963 provided funding specifically for the development of curricula and programs in the vocational-technical fields.

State of Michigan Influences

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 passed 90% of its allocated monies on to the states for distribution. “The state of Michigan used the funding to support vocational education by maintaining programs, constructing facilities, and purchasing equipment for the secondary and post-secondary systems” (Taylor, 2001, p. 44). Likewise, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 provided 22% of the \$230,000,000 it had appropriated in fiscal years 1964 through 1966 to states for “providing academic facilities for public community colleges and public technical institutes” (Taylor, p. 45). The Michigan agency responsible for dispersing these federal funds, including funding for construction and equipment, was the Department of Education, Bureau of Higher Education. “During this period, capital outlay for the initial building program could be funded up to 100% in the state of Michigan (Cohen as cited in Taylor, 2001, p. 52).

Local Influences

Population Growth. The community influences the core activities by the nature of its economic base and the jobs that exist within it. Northwest lower Michigan, low on manufacturing and high on small businesses and service industries, was a study of economic contrasts: a large and predominantly low-income rural population versus a highly visible yet smaller and somewhat transient affluent population. Geographically isolated from traditional centers of higher education, the service region for North Central Michigan College was virtually a captive audience. As recently as 1993, Alfred and Carter, in an environmental assessment of the region, wrote that “(i)n many ways, NCMC is a ‘guaranteed community college,’” (p. 24)

referring to the lack of competition from other educational organizations, coupled with regional growth, that would always assure student numbers. In 1972, the number of students enrolling at North Central on a part-time basis caught up to and equaled full-time enrollment; henceforth, part-time enrollment would far outstrip full-time enrollment in growth of headcount numbers (see Figure 6). This is one factor that distinguishes the College's early years in the 1960s from its subsequent years of operation.

Table 3, showing the NCMC Service Region Population, 1960-80, from the Alfred and Carter study, demonstrates the region's large percentage growth in population as compared to that of the state of Michigan.

Table 3

North Central Michigan College Service Region Population, 1960-1980

County	1960	1970	1980	1960-80 % change
Emmet	15,904	18,331	22,992	45%
Charlevoix	13,427	16,541	19,970	49%
Cheboygan	14,550	16,573	20,649	42%
Otsego	7,545	10,422	14,993	99%
State of Michigan	7,823,194	8,881,826	9,262,078	18%

Note. From *Shaping the future: Educational plan 1993-2000* (p. 26), by R. L. Alfred and P. Carter, 1993, Petoskey, MI: Author.

During the Era of Formalization, the community and service district of North Central Michigan College was experiencing strong population growth. Otsego

County, with the city of Gaylord as the county seat, particularly experienced a tremendous increase in population.

Unemployment Rates. Table 4 indicates the average annual percent of unemployment for the four major counties in North Central Michigan College's service district (Charlevoix, Cheboygan, Emmet, and Otsego) for the latter part of the Era of Formalization. Unemployment rates calculate a region's economic health as well as indicate the number of persons who might be displaced and hence seeking further education or training. The unemployment rate during the end of this era was higher than the average rate of unemployment for the state of Michigan, as indicated in Table 4.

Table 4

Average Annual Percent Unemployment Per County/State

	Emmet	Charlevoix	Cheboygan	Otsego	Michigan
1970	11%	10%	19.40%	8.70%	6.70%
1972	9%	9.7%	16%	7.8%	7%
1974	10%	12.3%	17.7%	10.1%	7.4%

Note. From U.S. Census, MDCD Area Labor Statistics, Office of Labor Market Information, <http://www.michlmi.org>.

Labor Market Comparisons. The industries in which a region's population is employed and how the numbers of employees shift over time are indicators of the

region's employment needs. Employer needs often affect the kinds of programming sought by prospective employees through the regional community college. For the four major counties making up North Central Michigan College's service region, Charlevoix, Cheboygan, Emmet, and Otsego, the Era of Formalization showed a shift away from manufacturing and farming and a distinct growth in business services such as finance, insurance, and real estate (see Table 5).

The trade occupations in northern Michigan were in large part small, "Mom-and-Pop" operations during the Era of Formalization, especially in comparison with urban areas of Michigan. This provided an impediment to occupational programming and training for the trades, which relied in part on apprenticeship programs.

Back at that time, in order to operate an apprenticeship you had to have a journeyman (that apprentices) could work with. Well the company, in order to have a journeyman, it had to be a company that had some size, and had an experienced person who had the time (for mentoring) . . . a big player in apprenticeship programs was the unions. Unions had their own apprenticeship programs approved by the federal government and they went in and set up their own apprenticeship schools. In northwestern Michigan, what I found is that we were twenty years behind downstate. If anything they were anti-union and anti- apprenticeship programs—because they would have far rather indentured (apprentices)—so it was an uphill battle (A. V. Francis, interview, November 2001).

Table 5

Four-County Labor Market Comparisons by Sector for 1969 and 1975

Sector	1969	1975	% change
All wage & salary employment	20,048	23,178	16%
Farm proprietorship	773	745	-4%
Goods Producing Industries:			
Construction & Mining	2,073	2,570	24%
Manufacturing	4,888	4,398	-10%
Service Producing Industries:			
Trade	5,431	6,640	22%
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	1,127	1,849	64%
Services	5,433	6,901	27%
Government	3,735	4,546	22%

Note. From Regional Economic Information System, Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, University of Virginia Library, <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/reis/county.html>.

Petoskey and Harbor Springs Communities

Petoskey and Harbor Springs represented the largest cities in Emmet County as well as the interests most dominant on the NCMC Board of Trustees of this era. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the resort economy continued to grow and keep its place as the leading image of these communities. A historical publication from this time noted the following:

Souvenir-hunting tourists were still a dime a dozen (at the turn of the century) but the summer residents were looking for home furnishings, groceries and clothing. Petoskey was equal to the challenge and blossomed out with the proper shops to fit all needs. As a shopping center Petoskey had, and still has, no equal in the north” (Kilborn, 1966).

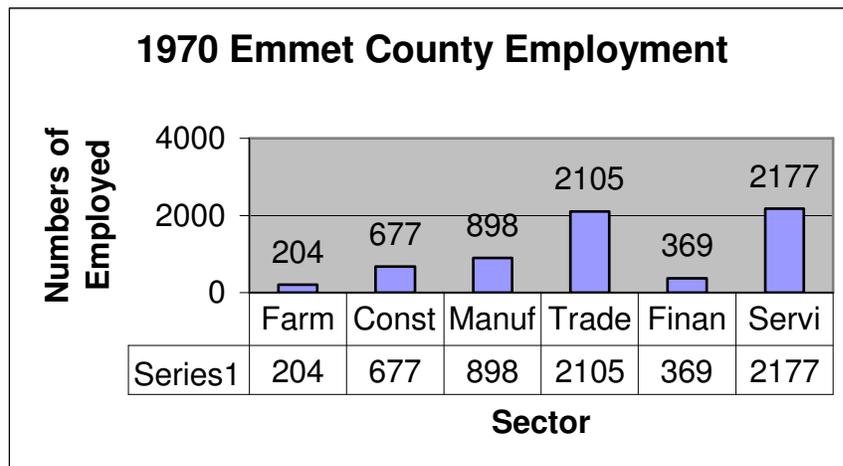


Figure 3. 1970 Emmet County employment.

Note. From Regional Economic Information System, Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, University of Virginia Library, <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/reis/county.html>.

County employment information is reflective of the labor environment of these two areas. Figure 3 isolates six employment sectors for 1970, midway through the Era of Formalization: farm proprietorship; construction; manufacturing; trade (retail and wholesale); financial (banking, insurance, real estate); and service (hotels and lodging, health, social service, personal service, private household service, business services, amusement and recreation, legal services, engineering and

management services, auto repair and miscellaneous repair services, and membership organizations). Clearly, services and trade provided employment for the largest numbers of persons in Emmet County.

Summary

The Era of Formalization, on a national level, was a culmination of larger numbers of people seeking education and federal legislation anticipating this demand. Two federal acts, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 and the Vocational Act of 1963 provided funds to colleges and universities to construct new campuses and enlarge existing facilities and to develop curricula and programs, specifically in the vocational-technical fields.

In Michigan, community colleges were the recipients of monies dispersed through the Department of Education and other agencies for maintaining vocational programs and for constructing and equipping buildings of a technical nature. Many community colleges were developed in Michigan through this era; capital outlay for initial projects was funded up to 100%.

During the Era of Formalization, the service region of North Central Michigan College differed from the rest of the state on several fronts: the population in its service region, particularly Otsego county, grew much faster than did the state average; unemployment was also larger than the state average, particularly in Cheboygan county; and the region was largely anti-union and anti-apprenticeship, making it difficult to rely upon traditional means to train young trade workers. A shift occurred in the regional employment sectors, away from manufacturing and farming, with distinct growth in business services such as finance, insurance, and real estate.

Emmet County, dominated by its two largest cities, Petoskey and Harbor Springs, had a predominance of its employees concentrated in the service sector and in the wholesale and retail trade sectors.

The immediate environment of North Central Michigan College during the Era of Formalization was not growing as quickly in the industrial and technical trades as it was in the retail/wholesale trade and service industries. The needs of these dominant employment markets were starting to be met by the programs from the Resort Services core. The true vocational-technical training, as defined by national and state governments, was not a visible part of the employment landscape during this era. Robert Graham, former NCMC president, emphasized the environment when clarifying the purpose of the College: “. . . we are a rural northern Michigan small college. That plays into everything we do.” (Interview, June 2001)

The Formalization of the Core Technologies

North Central Michigan College expanded the size of its curriculum and faculty to meet the needs of its growing student population as the campus expanded and shifted from an old elementary school building to a new campus a few blocks away. The student population changed from one where full-time enrolled students predominated to one where the majority took courses on a part-time basis. The College's total headcount enrollment grew by 153% between 1965 and 1974 and there were over 1000 students enrolled by the end of the era.

Thompson (1967) developed many propositions to explain how organizations attempt to survive in “indeterminate” and uncertain environments while protecting their core technologies from change. Organizational leadership is expected to operate

in a rational manner, which includes growing the organization toward its most crucial dependencies. The student population is one of the College's most crucial dependencies. During this era, the student population continued to change as part-time enrollment surpassed full-time enrollment, older students came to study business and nursing in particular, and growing regional populations presented a potential source of income.

The College met these changes by formalizing an administrative structure. Leadership within North Central Michigan College grew from a cross-functional, family-style form of administration where employees wore many hats and all but one of the administrators functioned as part-time faculty members, to a formalized hierarchy with several full-time administrators. Comparing organizational tables from 1965 to 1974 illustrates these changes. In 1965, Shankland's title was Dean of the College. He was aided by a part-time Assistant Dean for Academic Affairs and a part-time Registrar/ Director of Student Affairs. By 1967, the College leadership, having decided to apply for regional North Central Accreditation, began creating its administrative structure by naming Shankland as its first president and combining elements of the Assistant Dean and the Registrar and Director of Student Affairs positions into a full-time Dean of Instruction. A number of directorships, both full and part-time, were created. See Appendix C. This administrative hierarchy chart includes a Business Manager position that was not filled until 1968.

In comparison, the 1975 Table of Organization (see Appendix E) displays a more complex and formalized administrative hierarchy. In addition to the development of a number of directorships and support service positions in financial

aid, maintenance, and off-campus education, it included the addition of two more dean positions, Dean of Occupational Education and Dean of Students. By creating these two dean-level positions, the College leadership took steps toward (a) expanding its curricula into the job training arena, and (b) managing its growing student population.

Indicators of Centrality and Marginality

Information regarding program offerings during the Era of Formalization comes from North Central Michigan College catalog publications for the years 1965-67, 1967-69, 1969-70, 1970-72, 1972-74, and 1974-76. Class schedules do not exist from the Era of Formalization; therefore, it was impossible to tabulate changes in course offerings; instead, catalogs were used to obtain data on the number of courses listed in the different academic cores.

Analysis of academic programming using indicators of centrality and marginality helped to track change throughout the Era of Formalization. Four distinct academic program cores under which all North Central Michigan College curriculum fell included (a) the Transfer/Liberal Arts core; (b) the Resort Services core; (c) the Vocational core; and (d) the Off-Campus core.

Transfer/Liberal Arts Core

Policy/Constitution

No change in policy occurred during this era that involved the Transfer/Liberal Arts Core.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. The Dean of Instruction/Registrar was the sole administrator for the Transfer/Liberal Arts core.

Faculty. Full-time Transfer/Liberal Arts faculty positions grew 177% during this era, and by 1974 accounted for 62% of all full-time faculty positions. Part-time faculty positions grew at a faster rate: Transfer/Liberal Arts part-time faculty made up 29% of all part-time faculty positions in 1974 (see Tables 8 and 9).

Table 6

1967 Study of North Central Michigan College Student Program Choices

Program Area	# of Students	% of Total, N = 338
Transfer/Liberal Arts	222	66%
Resort Services	70	21%
Undecided	46	14%

Students. Student enrollment surveys conducted in 1967 and in 1974 show change in curriculum preferences during this era (see Tables 6 and 7). Interest in the Transfer/Liberal Arts core changed from 66% of the student population to 32% of the population. The actual number of students interested in the Transfer/Liberal Arts core remained steady with 222 in 1967 versus 235 in 1974; however, as the student population grew, it did so with students interested in core areas other than Transfer/Liberal Arts.

Table 7

Fall 1974 Study of North Central Michigan College Student Program Choices

	Daytime Students	Evening Students	Total
Transfer/Liberal Arts	159 (34%)	76 (29%)	235 (32%)
Resort Services	167 (36%)	72 (27%)	239 (33%)
Vocational	42 (9%)	44 (17%)	86 (12%)
Undecided & Other	94 (20%)	73 (28%)	167 (23%)
Total	462	265	727 (100%)

Note. N=727.

The Evening Students category includes Cheboygan Off-Campus students. From *A Self-evaluation of North Central Michigan College* (pp. 52-53), North Central Michigan College, December 1974, Petoskey, MI: Author.

In comparing daytime student preferences with evening student preferences, Table 7 reveals a stronger following of Transfer/Liberal Arts studies in the daytime students, 34% compared with 29%. Students enrolling in daytime courses were younger than evening students; 85% of daytime students were between the ages of 17 and 25 years old.

A final comparison of student change during this era involved the number of NCMC graduates who transferred to four-year institutions after completing degrees. The North Central Michigan College Self Study (1974, p. 50) documented that between the years of 1961 and 1974, the number of NCMC graduates transferring on, changed from 81% to 51%.

Dedicated Facilities

North Central Michigan College firmly established its major buildings on its new campus during the Era of Formalization. Initially, the sciences were the primary courses housed on the main campus, beginning with the Chemistry Building (building #5 in Appendix F). Buildings to support the Transfer/Liberal Arts constructed during this period included the Main Classroom Building (1), with 15 classrooms, 49 faculty offices, a three-room learning laboratory, and a 112-seat lecture room, and the Science Building (6), housing biology and physics classroom/labs.

Ancillary buildings that supported the student population, especially the more traditional-aged students, included a residence hall, library, and student center (buildings #11, 4, and 10, respectively). The decision to build a residence hall, unusual for a community college, was based on enrollment growth; two self-studies from 1967 and 1971 (North Central Michigan College, 1967, 1971) projected a campus master plan that would facilitate a student body of 1500 full-time students. Additionally, the 1967 status study indicated that 92% of the full-time students were drawn from high schools within a 40-mile radius of Petoskey considered the service district. A residence hall on campus was deemed necessary and desirable because the “college drew students from a wide area who might find commuting difficult, especially during the winter’s challenging weather” (Vratanina, 1992, p. 49). The residence hall, opened in 1968, originally boasted enough double-occupancy rooms to house 168 students.

Source & Degree of Funding

State aid, tuition, and local county taxes continued to be the sources of funding for the Transfer/Liberal Arts core. The Board of Trustees applied for financing both under Title I, Section 103, Public Law 88-204 of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 and to the Michigan Department of Public Instruction matching funds under the Vocational Education Act of 1963 (North Central Michigan College, 1958-1974). Financing for the construction of the Library, Chemistry, and Science buildings were in large part 50-50 state and local matching funds projects. The main classroom building was funded more than 50% by a bond; a federal grant and then smaller amounts of state and local monies furnished the rest. The residence hall was totally funded through revenue bonds; the Student Center, accommodating food services, a bookstore, and recreational areas, was funded by state building grants, local monies, donations, and a bond surplus from previous projects, in that order.

Location of Program

Time. All Transfer/Liberal Arts programs and degrees were obtainable during daytime hours. Select courses within this core were offered during evening hours.

Place. The Transfer/Liberal Arts core was located on campus in Petoskey. Select courses offered during the evening could be located in off-campus sites.

Output

At the beginning of the Era of Formalization, the Transfer/Liberal Arts core was the most central and most visible curriculum at North Central Michigan College. It had official sanction via the prominence of its program and degree offerings. Six of the eight programs described in the NCMC catalog were in the Transfer/Liberal Arts

category, as demonstrated by Appendix D: Liberal Arts, Engineering, Scientific, Teaching, Medical Technology, and Paper Technology.

No new programs were created within the Transfer/Liberal Arts curriculum during the era, but the number of courses developed to support these programs increased from 60 to 139. This 132% change was due to the addition of foreign languages, and classical studies in philosophy and religion, plus the separation of various social sciences subjects into individual departments.

The Era of Formalization began with four degrees, three supporting the Transfer/Liberal Arts curricula: Associate of Arts, Associate of Science, and Associate of Engineering. No change in Transfer/Liberal Arts degree types took place within this era.

Prestige

No changes occurred regarding the importance and regard held by the Transfer/Liberal Arts core.

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era..

Transfer/Liberal Arts Core Summary

During the Era of Formalization, North Central Michigan College was chiefly organized around the Transfer/Liberal Arts curriculum. The majority of its full-time faculty, six of its eight programs, three of its five degrees, and the bulk of its classroom space was devoted to an academic curriculum designed to help students transfer to a baccalaureate-degree-granting institution. While the number of students interested in the Transfer/Liberal Arts core remained the same during this era, its

percentage of the total student population fell from 66% to 32% as growth came from other curricular areas. The Transfer/Liberal Arts core was taught chiefly during the daytime in Petoskey.

Resort Services Core

Policy/Constitution

The NCMC Board of Trustees minutes from July of 1964 had indicated a resolution to develop a nursing program, and the first cohort class began in the Fall of 1966 (North Central Michigan College, 1958-74). Inhalation Therapy appeared in the 1969-70 edition of the North Central Michigan College catalog; Marketing appeared in the 1972-74 edition.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. The Resort Services curricula were considered vocational in nature and fell under the direction of the new full-time Dean of Occupational Education. A full-time, director-level position for nursing and a half-time, director-level position/half-time instructor for Inhalation Therapy supported the two medical services programs.

Faculty. Thirty-two percent (32%) of all full-time faculty were assigned to the Resort Services core by 1974. The Nursing program developed six full-time positions by the close of the era. One full-time faculty member each supported the General Business and the Stenographic and Clerical curricula. The Resort Services full and part-time faculty positions accounted for 23% of all faculty positions by 1974 (see Tables 8 and 9).

Students. Figure 4 shows enrollment headcount in the Fall semester of each year between 1965 and 1974, which grew steadily from 460 students to 1165, a 153% change. A breakdown of enrollment status between full-time and part-time students reveals that the part-time student headcount overcame the full-time student headcount in 1973, the same year that the total student headcount surpassed the 1000 mark. Full-time student enrollment showed growth from 349 students to 525 students, or 50%. Growth in the part-time student headcount during this era changed from 111 students to 640, or 477%.

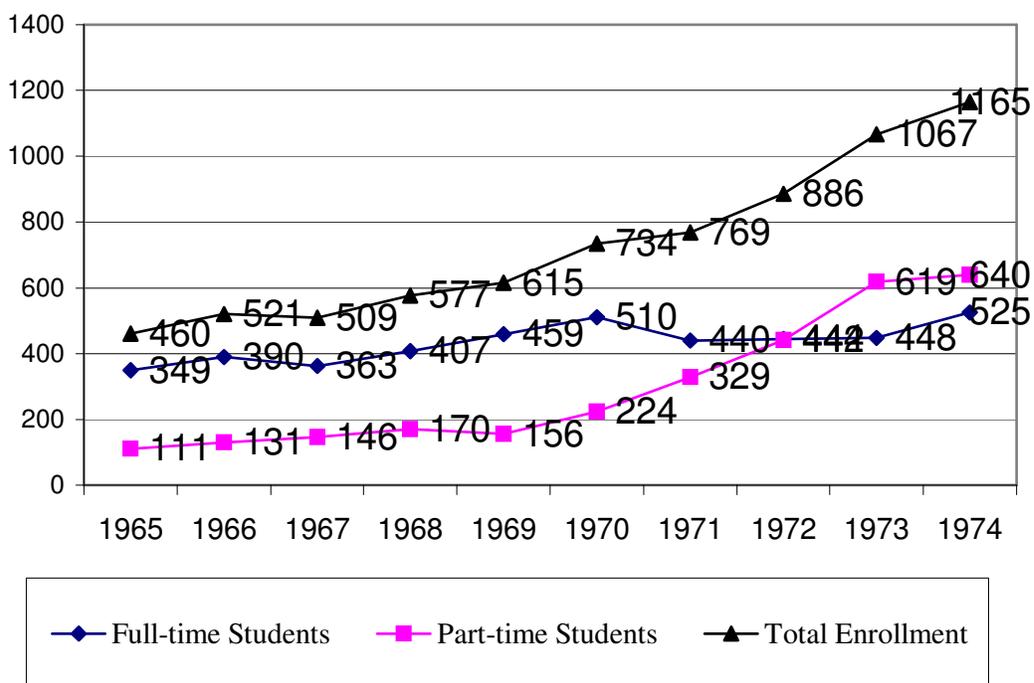


Figure 4. Total, full-time, and part-time fall student enrollment—Era of Formalization.

Student population program choice is portrayed in Tables 6 and 7. Those tables reveal that the percent of the total student population enrolling in Resort Services programs grew during this era from 21% to 33% and represented the largest percentage of daytime students, nudging out the Transfer/Liberal Arts core by a slim 1% in 1974.

Dedicated Facilities.

Resort Services programs enjoyed designated classrooms and labs on the new campus. Originally, the Stenographic and Clerical classes shared room space with liberal arts courses in the original temporary building. The opening of the Main Classroom Building (#1 in Appendix F) provided a three-room suite for Business studies, including accounting, business machines, and typing and dictation. The Science building (6) housed Nursing faculty offices as well as a nursing lab with an adjoining simulated nursing station. Inhalation Therapy utilized general-purpose classrooms together with specialized lab opportunities in the local hospital and provided its one full-time director/instructor with an office.

Source & Degree of Funding

In addition to the traditional sources of funding, the medical services curricula were funded with gifts from the medical community. A \$15,000 grant from the Burns Clinic Foundation in February of 1965 was instrumental in the formation of the nursing program.

Location of Program

Time. Some specialty courses within Business were developed, including courses entitled “Personal Income Tax,” and “Real Estate Law.” These courses imply

an effort to appeal to the working adult as well as to the traditional college student of the era. Courses of this nature were offered during the evening. Resort Services programs and degrees, however, were primarily daytime options. Medical services curricula were taught during daytime hours only.

Place. Specialty courses and select business courses may have been offered on off-campus sites. Medical services curricula conducted clinical instruction in Petoskey area hospitals.

Output

The Era of Formalization began with two programs, General Business and Stenographic and Clerical. A Marketing program, sometimes described as “distributive education,” was developed during this time. The General Business program was designed for both transfer and terminal students, whereas the Stenographic and Clerical and the Marketing programs were designed for job entry. Courses to support the three new programs within Resort Services swelled from 17 to 77, a 353% change, during this era.

In 1965, the Associate of Commerce was designated for the Stenographic and Clerical program as well as for the General Business transfer program. The Associate of Commerce was also designated for the new Marketing program. The Nursing program conferred the Associate of Science in Nursing, whereas Inhalation Therapy graduates were conferred the Associate of Applied Science degree.

Prestige

Vratanina wrote that “(t)he introduction of the nursing program in the fall of 1966 represented . . . the first to directly speak to one of the needs addressed in the

original findings prior to the establishment of the college, namely to supply trained personnel for the medical facilities in Petoskey” (1992, p. 37). Because of the importance placed on nursing personnel, those graduates and hence the nursing program were considered very special. Prestige factors for the remaining programs within Resort Services core remained constant.

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Resort Services Core Summary

During the Era of Formalization, the Resort Services core was headed by the Dean of Occupational Education. The Nursing and the Inhalation Therapy programs were developed and the existing Business curriculum added a Marketing program. These additions swelled the number of faculty positions, the number of courses, and the number of degrees associated with Resort Services.

Resort Services programs became the most sought-after core by NCMC students and could be attributed to the growth in the part-time student population. Resort Services employed full-time faculty members, and classroom and lab space were designated for instruction in these programs, primarily in the daytime on the campus of NCMC.

Vocational Core

Throughout the Era of Formalization, the College pursued enlarging the academic program and made decisions toward developing vocational curricula. In 1965, the Board commissioned the Bureau of Educational Research Services of Michigan State University’s College of Education to conduct an environmental scan

and occupational needs assessment for Emmet County plus the College's service district of Charlevoix, Cheboygan, Otsego, and parts of Antrim and Presque Isle Counties. Coinciding with state and national vocational-technical funding initiatives, it is reasonable to suspect that this environmental scan was made available to all community colleges for a nominal fee. The results of this survey gave the Board direction on how best to expand programming in the occupational curricula.

The study's recommendations were to expand vocational-technical education opportunities that would dovetail with current and upcoming vocational programs offered through the regional high school's vocational-technical centers. Those programs included Nursing, employment-bound Business programs, Drafting and Design Technology, Electronics Technology, Graphic Technology, Industrial Production Technology, and Distributive Education. "These recommendations would become the basis for the college to expand into the vocational-technical fields in order better to meet the needs of the four-plus counties which the college served" (Vratanina, 1992, p. 36).

Policy/Constitution

On May 8, 1963, the Board of Trustees resolved to go after vocational-technical training dollars and, at the same time, resolved to seek regional accreditation through North Central Accreditation (NCA) (North Central Michigan College, 1958-74).

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. The new Dean of Occupational Education, A. V. Francis, was hired from the Michigan Department of Education, where he had helped to develop vocational programming and apprenticeships around the state. From his perspective,

North Central was perceived by Lansing as being a financially well-founded community college. Fiscally, very responsible, academically, liberal arts-wise, very well structured, occupationally very weak. Of course it was the only community college in the state of Michigan that did not have a vocational dean. (A. V. Francis, interview, November 2001)

Faculty. Full and part-time Vocational faculty positions, like those in Resort Services, grew from the ground up during the Era of Formalization. Part-time Vocational faculty positions, to instruct the new Vocational curricula taking place at Petoskey High School's vocational facility, experienced the largest increase of any faculty category (see Tables 8 and 9).

The Board and administration decided to offer the majority of these new vocational programs with part-time faculty only, a decision based on financial exigency. It also allowed time to see which programs proved popular and therefore worthy of a full-time faculty commitment. Most part-time faculty were available only in the evening, their "regular" employment usually falling within daytime hours.

Students. Growth in the part-time student headcount during this era changed from 111 students to 640, or 477%. The rise in the part-time student population was a national community college phenomenon during the Era of Formalization, and it coincided with the rise in the average age of community college students: "As the age

of the students went up, the number of credit hours each student attempted went down” (Cohen & Brawer, 1996, p. 42). The growth in part-time enrollment for an older community college student population was attributed to the peak in the post-World War II baby boom generation as well as to the end of the Vietnam conflict that concluded compulsory full-time college attendance for males wishing to maintain draft-deferment status.

Student population statistics from this era revealed that 23% of those enrolling for evening courses only were between the ages of 17 and 20 years, whereas nearly one-third were over 30 years of age. Twelve percent (12%) of the student population enrolled in Vocational coursework in 1974, that is, 17% of all evening students.

Dedicated Facilities

The opening of the Main Classroom Building (Appendix F, building #1) provided a classroom/lab for the Drafting program. The Technical building (#3) was built in 1973 to house the Small Engines and Allied Equipment program, with office space for its one full-time faculty member. The Criminal Justice and Pilot Ground School programs utilized general-purpose classrooms and provided no office space for their part-time, evening instructors. There were no on-campus facilities for the remaining vocational programs.

Source & Degree of Funding

The Technical building was financed by state vocational monies and local taxes and was the only building constructed to specifically house a vocational program. Tuition, state aid, and county taxes provided funding for vocational courses. The large majority of vocational-technical programming took place during the

evening in part because NCMC employed only part-time instructors for the courses and in part because the College contracted with Petoskey High School to use its vocational lab space after 3:30 p.m. Evening courses were the inheritors of the original Evening College program enrollment policy. As dictated during an early Board of Trustees meeting, evening courses were designed to be financially self-supporting (North Central Michigan College, 1958-1974). This meant that a course would be offered only if it had enough student enrollment to meet its direct costs. Early on, that number was fifteen students, a sometimes impossible number to meet with a fledgling vocational or apprenticeship program:

We had a limit on the number of people in classes. Well, try to come up with 15 students in a related math class or a related blueprint class; (it) was almost impossible enrollment at that time. (A. V. Francis, interview, November 2001)

Funding for ancillary services in support of the vocational-technical core was marginal at best. In 1969, prior to the rapid development of vocational programming under Francis, Cooperative Education and Field Experience had been instituted to allow primarily vocational students the opportunity to explore career fields and gain job experience for credit. The individual who filled the “co-op” position was shared on a 60-40% basis with Petoskey High School. A related service, job placement, was not developed because

The nature of community colleges places a limit on the kinds of placement services available to students. For the most part, only those students enrolled in a specialized two-year or terminal program will have need of a placement service for a full-time job Nearly all North Central

Michigan College terminal students in the stenographic-clerical and general business programs are employed upon graduation or leave the program prematurely because of employment. These students usually find employment without contacting college personnel. (North Central Michigan College, 1967, p. 73)

Location of Program

Time. Vocational core programs were offered primarily after 5:00 p.m. with the exception of the Drafting program, which was scheduled entirely during daytime hours.

Place. In 1972, NCMC secured an agreement with Petoskey Public Schools for the use of its vocational-technical lab and classroom facilities, housing the following programs: Automotive Technology, Construction Technology, Electronics Technology, Manufacturing Technology, and Small Engines and Allied Equipment. Criminal Justice and Drafting were offered in Petoskey on campus.

Output

There were no vocational programs listed in the 1965 NCMC catalog. By the 1972-74 edition, however, eight new vocational program options were added to the curriculum. See Appendix D for the new program titles. The development of these new vocational programs implied the development of program specialty courses as well as support courses such as “technical math” and “cooperative education.” The number of Vocational courses developed was 65, a 650% change. Pilot Ground School, listed as a program in the NCMC catalogs, did not include a mechanism for obtaining a College certificate or degree and, in a sense, could also be noted as simply

a series of new course offerings. Anecdotal evidence exists through the 1974 North Central Michigan College self-study report of the development during this era of coursework of a continuing education nature, listing some of the following courses and workshops: Air Conditioning Service, Emergency Care, Powder Puff Mechanics, and Vibration Diagnosis Clinic (North Central Michigan College, 1974, p.66). By the end of the era in 1975, a new degree was developed, the Associate of Applied Science. It was designated for the newly developed vocational programs.

The NCMC catalogs of this era advertised that students could earn a certificate in a vocational core area by enrolling in a certain number of program requirements, fewer than the credits required to obtain a degree. The catalogs did not lay out specific course requirements to obtain a certificate; students were directed to consult with an advisor.

Prestige

The Vocational core inherited the Evening College enrollment policy as well as its marginality. Most of the Vocational programs were manual in nature, and although the College tried to distinguish between a technological program and a manual arts program, the students attracted to these programs were focused more on immediate job skills than on degree completion.

Legitimacy

Legitimacy was established by the importance placed on vocational training by the national and state lawmakers as well as by leaders in the national community college movement.

Vocational Core Summary

During the Era of Formalization, North Central Michigan College developed a Vocational core that held a marginal position within the organization. Although a Dean of Vocational Education was hired and eight subsequent programs were created, organizational commitment, as evidenced by the eight core indicators, was low. Only two full-time faculty positions were formed; part-time instructors taught the other programs. An Associate of Applied Science degree was created to accommodate the vocational programs, and eight whole departments of courses were created, including not only the major coursework but supplemental coursework as well. Only three of the eight new programs had designated classroom and lab space at the College; others were taught either in general classrooms or in specialized labs at the local high school, available during evening hours. Relegated to evening hours because of part-time faculty commitments and high school vocational lab availability, many new vocational courses were subject to evening class enrollment criteria, which put an added hardship on building vocational programming.

Courses more of a “special interest,” continuing education nature also were offered. These may have appealed to the growing part-time student enrollment. The part-time student population, a national trend, tended to be older and less inclined toward academic programs or degree completion.

Off-Campus Education Core Programming

During the Era of Formalization, North Central Michigan College increased its presence outside Petoskey by bringing coursework to two “centers” within its four-county service region. Evening classes had been offered in Cheboygan and Gaylord

since the 1960s, and centers in both of these cities implied a cooperative commitment to strengthen educational curricula offered off campus. Board of Trustees minutes from May of 1971 indicated problems with statewide districting of community college regions, and the Board instructed President Shankland to “secure Otsego county,” of which Gaylord was the county seat (North Central Michigan College, 1957-73). From the local service region demographics it is easy to understand why these two locations were important: Cheboygan, with its large unemployment rate, provided a population seeking retraining, and Gaylord, with its rapid growth, provided a sizeable interest base.

Policy/Constitution

In 1973 the College resolved to open extension centers in the neighboring cities of Cheboygan (Cheboygan county) and Gaylord (Otsego county), thereby extending its mission to provide education to a 4-5 county district.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. In 1974, a Director of Off-Campus Education and Coordinator of Special Projects position was created. According to the Organizational Chart published in the 1974 self-study, the Director reported to and served both the Dean of Instruction/Registrar and the Dean of Occupational Education (see Appendix E). This position was charged “with developing programs and courses and serving as liaison between public school, intermediate school districts, colleges and universities, governmental agencies, private industry,”(Vratanina, 1992, p. 41.)

Faculty. No full-time faculty was hired to support the off-campus curricula; part-time faculty, most often from Cheboygan and Gaylord, were used in their

respective communities. Present and former high school teachers from the locality were often contracted to teach academic subjects such as English and Math.

Students. No data could be found regarding the student population taking off-campus coursework. The best indicator of who they were lay in the courses developed to meet their needs: nontraditional, short-term, and practical.

Dedicated Facilities

North Central Michigan College classes were held in local public schools, and arrangements were made that waived a user, or rental, fee. No offices were used off campus by College personnel.

Source and Degree of Funding

Tuition, local county taxes, and state aid supported off-campus, non-Emmet County coursework. The evening enrollment policy, pay-as-you-go, was in effect for all off-campus courses: courses with insufficient enrollment were cancelled.

Location of Program

Time. Off-campus courses took place in the evening only.

Place. Courses took place in local high school facilities, not only in the two primary off-campus locations, Gaylord and Cheboygan, but also, as need arose, in various cities, such as St. Ignace, Indian River, and East Jordan.

Output

A large percentage of the off-campus courses were offered in workshop format, with no accruable college credits; others were useable as electives only. Rather than committing to coursework leading to an associate's degree or to eventual transfer to a university, the off-campus programming initially operated on a "one-

shot” basis, offering courses to meet professional licensing needs in specialized areas such as foster home managers, fork-lift operators, fire fighters, plumbers, property assessors, pilots, and Red Cross and emergency-care personnel (Vratanina, 1992, p. 41). Many personal interest and quickie technical courses were also offered, including air conditioning service, advanced first aid, disc brake clinic, fork-lift operation, powder-puff mechanics, property assessment, and wills and estate planning.

Prestige

During this era, off-campus courses were low-prestige, primarily one-shot efforts that had less to do with a collegiate education than they had to do with job certification.

Legitimacy

Legitimacy was established through the national community college movement to provide higher education within easy reach of every citizen. Off-campus programs, including adult and continuing education, were common and popular missions at many community colleges nationwide.

Off-Campus Education Core Summary

During the Era of Formalization, North Central Michigan College found success in offering a variety of courses at the off-campus sites of Gaylord and Cheboygan as well as other cities in the service region. A majority of the courses were of a personal-interest or “quickie” training nature, reminiscent of adult community education coursework. The College, however, chose not to take over the traditional adult education programs, leaving that to the local school districts. Similar

to vocational program development during the evening hours, off-campus course offerings were strictly pay-as-you-go with little organizational commitment beyond providing an instructor should the course carry sufficient enrollees. It was purely a contractual operation that allowed the College to protect and provide for the larger service region, garnering tuition dollars with little overhead and no commitment to provide continuing programming.

Discussion and Section Summary

The Era of Formalization was a time for growth and expansion of North Central Michigan College's academic core, human resources, campus, and student enrollment. True to institutional theory, the social conditions present at the time of the founding of the organization were imprinted on and persisted within the organization, and thus became institutionalized (Scott, 1995, p. 115). Utilizing eight indicators of centrality and marginality to evaluate relative importance to the organization, four core areas were analyzed: Transfer/Liberal Arts, Resort Services, Vocational, and Off-Campus. Those indicators revealed that decisions continued to be made that kept the Transfer/Liberal Arts as the dominant core and that faculty, programs, and space were principally allocated in that direction. Resort Services also continued to be a central core and flourished with the addition of the Nursing and Inhalation Therapy programs; these programs responded to a founding goal by providing potential employees to the resort economy. The Vocational core began during this era; because it lacked the prestige of a "real college" curriculum, organizational commitment seemed ambivalent. An Occupational dean position was created; however, the nurturing needed to empower new program development was lacking as location,

designated facilities, and part-time faculty limited vocational programs to a part-time, pay-as-you-go effort. Off-campus core activities were even more marginal. Servicing the region with educational opportunities was a legitimate community college function, but prestige and organizational commitment were low. The Off-Campus program lacked an education purpose outside of one-shot, personal-interest themes.

The College, while being careful not to erode its Transfer/Liberal Arts core, understood that growth would come from expanding its curriculum. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) noted that “the desire for stability may be one of the most important considerations in choosing the direction for growth . . . organizational size, in addition to providing stability, itself enhances the organization’s survival value” (p.138-9). Growth toward the Resort Services core (business, marketing, and the medical services) was a natural outcome of the immediate local environment, i.e., Burns Clinic and the growing business community represented on the Board of Trustees. Growth toward vocational curricula, an outcome of state and national resource dependency, would be implemented only on a pay-as-you-go basis with little organizational financial commitment involved.

On paper, it would appear that the College shifted its curriculum toward the vocational programs, enlarging that area from 0 to 8 programs. The indicators of centrality and marginality demonstrated, however, that the new vocational programs lacked substantial organizational commitment. The vocational programs seemed more symbolic of funding ideologies than actual organizational values.

The majority of full-time faculty positions continued to be vested in the Transfer/Liberal Arts core, with the largest growth of full-time faculty in the Resort

Services core, and largest growth of part-time faculty positions in the Vocational core. There were no full-time faculty positions designated for primarily evening or evening off-campus instruction. Part-time Vocational faculty positions contributed to part-time faculty positions outnumbering full-time faculty positions by the end of the era.

Table 8

Era of Formalization Full-time Faculty by Core Activity

Year	Transfer/Liberal Arts Full-time Faculty	Resort Services Full-time Faculty	Vocational Full-time Faculty	Total Full-time Faculty
1965	9		0	11
1974	19.5	10	2	31.5
% Change	117%	400%	200%	186%

Table 9

Era of Formalization Part-time Faculty by Core Activity

Year	Transfer/Liberal Arts Part-time Faculty	Resort Services Part-time Faculty	Vocational Part-time Faculty	Total Part-time Faculty
1965	2	0	0	2
1974	10	7	17	34
% Change	400%	700%	1700%	1600%

Decisions made by the Board of Trustees and the administration carried through with the core values conceived at NCMC's founding. Although federal and state money urged the development of vocational education instructional facilities and for developing vocational programs through legislation tied to building dollars, North Central Michigan College persisted in its development along the lines of a small, private college, complete with residence hall. Only one building was financed using funds that were designated for vocational programming.

The Board and the administration had given up a downtown building secured as a future art center in 1965, their attention going instead toward building a center campus and enlarging its academic program to include a variety of vocational programs. In this instance, the Board went with the prevailing resource streams and concentrated on developing the main campus, which included additional occupational training in the Resort Services core. In 1968, the Board came back to the fine arts concept by resolving to seek funding for a library–fine arts complex. Federal grant money to fund construction was not secured, however, and this project was shelved but not forgotten, and it was considered again in the 1980s.

By way of comparison, Taylor (2001) wrote about the development of another small, rural Michigan community college during this same timeframe. Taylor's community college, in response to tremendous community input, was conceived to be first and foremost a "center for area-wide vocational education" (2001, p. 59). True to its conception, the centerpiece in Taylor's community college campus was the large areas devoted to vocational-technical education. That North Central Michigan

College's leadership had a much different identity in mind was echoed by former Dean of Vocational Education, Barbara Kurtz:

When I think about NCMC and how it existed, evolved, and lived within its community, I really think of it initially as being isolated from the community in which it existed . . . initially we were a community college whose founding fathers had a vision that there should be a higher education opportunity in the community. This was a professional community, so the emphasis was on liberal arts programming and that the College didn't really reach out to the community and encourage its participation. (B. K. Kurtz, interview, February 2001).

The isolation former dean Kurtz referred to involved leadership decision-making biased toward developing a liberal arts transfer college, whereas national and state government saw in community colleges the utility to train a workforce, and thereby emphasized the building of vocational-technical structures and curricula. The four-county local population was continuing to grow and, by its unemployment rates, was unable to find a place for itself in the regional workplace. The number of regional unemployed persons suggests that a segment of the regional population was underserved by North Central in that they were not directly involved in the resort economy, held low-end positions in the resort economy, and/or were not striving to obtain a transfer/liberal arts education. The real college ideal held by NCMC's leadership was somewhat at odds with the realities of certain segments of its environment.

The difference between NCMC's leadership biases and the national and state ideological positions on funding for vocational-technical education would set the stage for future conflicts over resource allocation and core development. It would also build an attitude of self-reliance at NCMC whereby important funding opportunities would be ignored if the strings attached to such funding led in directions leadership did not wish to follow.

Era of Uncertainty: Academic Years 1975-76 to 1983-84

The Era of Uncertainty was one in which North Central Michigan College experienced financial insecurity and the attendant organizational feelings of fear, loss, and anxiety. The financial insecurity was generated not only by nationwide inflation, an energy crisis, and rising unemployment rates, but also via a statewide recession with declining or deferred state aid for operating expenses. NCMC instructional costs increased sharply as the result of a newly unionized faculty, whereas revenues slipped when the residence hall no longer appealed to the growing older, part-time student population.

During this era NCMC experienced large-scale programmatic failure affecting almost every vocational initiative begun in the early 1970s. Vocational programs, using Petoskey High School's vocational-technical facilities, were discontinued for a combination of reasons including high school faculty territorialism, regional fragmentation of job training resources, student disinterest in pursuing occupational degrees, and the marginality, or lack of organizational commitment. While NCMC had little material investment at stake to lose, the leadership felt the failure and reacted by (a) developing an overly cautious attitude toward government-financed programs that carried stipulations, especially when they involved permanent vocational programming accommodations, and (b) evolving a conviction that vocational education was a contrived mission, unwanted by the public.

The Environment

National Influences

Taylor (2001), in a study of a different Michigan community college, Mid Michigan Community College, during the mid 1970s to the early 1980s, showed that the U.S. economy experienced the following: serious inflation, rising unemployment rates, and an energy crisis. These factors led to, among other things, less building activity, decreasing car sales with a shift to fuel-efficient models, unsure consumer spending, and less capital investment (p. 84).

In an effort to stem unemployment, especially that of the chronically jobless, Congress passed the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973 with subsequent amendments. It was designed to help unemployed workers prepare for “nonsubsidized employment” through an “effective, planned delivery of manpower programs . . . closely linked with the labor market in which it operates and . . . coordinated with other federal, state, and local programs” (Taylor, p. 88). Built around the local labor market and local needs, CETA funding benefited community colleges by providing financial assistance to the unskilled and unemployed to attend through vocational education programs as well as specialized not-for-credit training. Community colleges also were able to subsidize the addition of new employees through CETA. For a detailed study on the ideological and legislative changes in the CETA program over its ten-year history, see Taylor (2001).

State of Michigan Influences

The state of Michigan experienced two recessions during the Era of Uncertainty, the first in 1974 and 1975 at the beginning of this era, and the second in

in 1979 to 1982. The first recession reverberated through the auto industry, affecting the manufacturing sector that represented 32% of the state labor force (Taylor 2001, p. 93).

The second recession also negatively affected the automotive industry through high oil prices and consumer preferences for smaller, more fuel-efficient, imported autos. It resulted in statewide high unemployment rates and welfare costs. The state, forced to employ various cost-saving measures to balance the state budget, reduced appropriations, capped student funding at community colleges, and withheld or delayed monthly state aide payments to colleges (Taylor, p. 96).

A further initiative that financially affected all public schools in Michigan, including community colleges, was the 1978 passage of the Headlee Amendment. It “affected Michigan community colleges primarily by tying the millage rate to the Consumer Price Index (CPI)” (Taylor, p. 98). In years when property taxes grew faster than the CPI, a county would regulate, by rollback, the revenue increase so that it was not greater than the CPI. Public-supported entities, such as a community college, would not receive their full county millage allotment during years when their district’s property taxes outstripped the CPI.

Local Service Region

Population Growth. During the Era of Uncertainty, the four-county service region of North Central Michigan College continued to experience larger growth in its population than did the rest of the state of Michigan. Table 10 identifies the percentage increase.

Unemployment Rates. Statewide unemployment was higher during the Era of Uncertainty, specifically the years 1980 through 1984, than at any other time during the thirty-seven years covered in this study. North Central Michigan College's four-county service region as a whole had unemployment rates that continued to top the statewide average. Emmet and Otsego counties were the exception, with the latter demonstrating a population growth that far surpassed the State at 44% between 1970 and 1980. Cheboygan County in particular bore the burden of a large unemployed population, almost doubling statewide rates (see Table 11).

Table 10

North Central Michigan College Service Region Population, 1970-1980

County	1970	1980	1970-80 % change
Emmet	18,331	22,992	25%
Charlevoix	16,541	19,970	21%
Cheboygan	16,573	20,649	25%
Otsego	10,422	14,993	44%
State of Michigan	8,881,826	9,262,078	4%

Note. From *Shaping the future: Educational plan 1993-2000* (p. 26), by R. L. Alfred and P. Carter, 1993, Petoskey, MI: Author.

Labor Market Comparisons. Table 12 tracks where North Central Michigan College's four-county service region found employment at the start and at the end of the Era of Uncertainty. During this era, the total number of persons in wage and salary employment grew by only 15%; trade employment, including wholesale and

retail, and manufacturing employment grew at a similar rate. There was a shift away from mining and construction, a large growth in jobs in the service sector, and an inexplicable shift toward farm proprietorship, perhaps explainable as a backlash against the urban manufacturing crisis.

Table 11

Average Annual Percent Unemployment Per County/State

	Emmet	Charlevoix	Cheboygan	Otsego	Michigan
1976	10.4%	13.2%	20.5%	9.8%	9.3%
1978	8.6%	10.1%	20.1%	7.3%	6.9%
1980	11.6%	14.3%	18.4%	8.2%	12.4%
1982	14.2%	18.4%	21.5%	13.4%	15.5%
1984	15.2%	15%	22.5%	12.8%	11.2%

Note. From U.S. Census, MDCD Area Labor Statistics, Office of Labor Market Information, at <http://www.michlmi.org>.

Petoskey and Harbor Springs Communities

Figure 5 compares various Emmet county employment sectors in the middle of the Era of Uncertainty, 1980, demonstrating the opportunities for local jobs during this economically depressed timeframe. Service-industry employment was the strongest sector, as it was throughout the service region (see Table 12).

Table 12

Four-County Labor Market Comparisons by Sector for 1975 and 1984

Sector	1975	1984	% change
All wage & salary employment	23,178	26,755	15%
Farm proprietorship	745	966	30%
Goods Producing Industries:			
Construction & Mining	2,570	1,995	-22%
Manufacturing	4,398	4,879	11%
Service Producing Industries:			
Trade	6,640	7,544	14%
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	1,849	2,287	24%
Services	6,901	9,789	42%
Government	4,546	4,796	5%

Note. From Regional Economic Information System, Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, University of Virginia Library, <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/reis/county.html>.

Comparison of the information from Figure 5 to that of same sectors for Emmet county ten years earlier (Figure 3) shows the following percentage growth: farm proprietorship, 30%; construction, 25%; manufacturing, 35%; trade (retail and wholesale), 26%; financial (banking, insurance, real estate), 118%; and service

(hotels and lodging, health, social service, personal service, private household service, business services, amusement and recreation, legal services, engineering and management services, auto repair and miscellaneous repair services, and membership organizations), 65%. In Emmet County, represented by the two largest cities, Petoskey and Harbor Springs, the service sector and the financial sector experienced the largest changes since 1970 of all sectors studied.

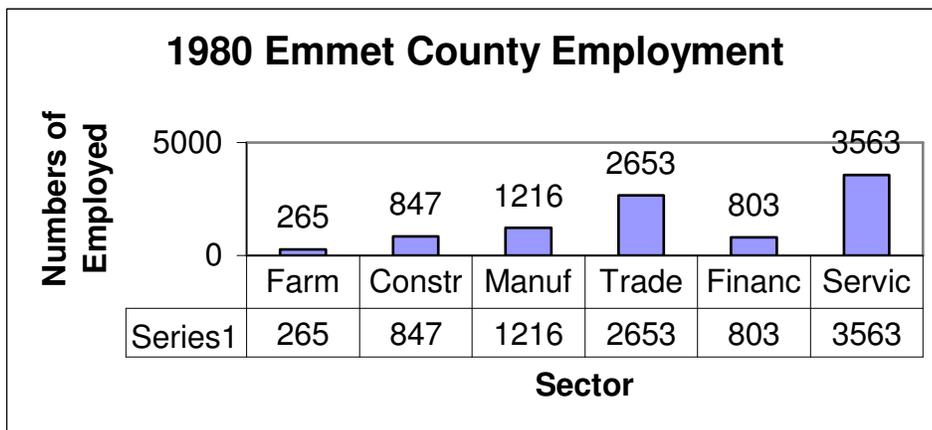


Figure 5. 1980 Emmet County employment.

Note. From Regional Economic Information System, Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, University of Virginia Library, <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/reis/county.html>.

Summary of Environmental Influences

During the Era of Uncertainty, the nation experienced serious inflation, an energy crisis, and rising unemployment rates. In an effort to stem unemployment, especially that of the chronically jobless, Congress passed the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973. Built around the local labor market

and local needs, CETA funding benefited community colleges by providing financial assistance to the unskilled and unemployed to attend through vocational education programs as well as specialized not-for-credit training. At the same time, the state experienced two recessions, which affected the manufacturing sector and particularly the automotive industry, bringing about high unemployment and high welfare costs. The state, forced to employ various cost-saving measures to balance its budget, reduced appropriations, capped student funding at community colleges, and withheld or delayed monthly state aid payments (Taylor, p. 96). The voters in the state also instituted the Headlee Amendment, which tied a county's millage rate to the consumer price index (CPI). It affected community colleges, in years when the CPI fell below millage rates, by limiting the amount of local resources available for operation.

During these difficult economic times, the population in the North Central Michigan College service region continued to grow much faster than the rest of the state. Total wage and salary employment for the same region, experiencing a 15% increase, did not keep up with this growth. Regional unemployment rates topped the state's average, mirroring national and state trends of a slowing economy and rising unemployment.

Uncertainty within the Core Technologies

During the Era of Uncertainty, there were a number of program changes employed by the College in an attempt to branch out and appeal to its community and student population. Despite some reorganization of duties and titles, no new faces appeared on President Shankland's administrative council; there was tremendous

continuity in leadership (see Appendix H). The Board of Trustees underwent a change of leadership during the Era of Uncertainty when, in 1978, Chairman Dean Burns died. Continuity of the dominant core values was preserved, however, as R. Conley, a banker and one of the founding Board members, became Chairman. Two women, both trained in the nursing profession, were elected to serve on the Board during this era.

Throughout the long Era of Uncertainty, the managerial activities chiefly focused on finding new ways to fund the College's programs in the light of the uncertain state and national economy, growing unemployment, and the ensuing delays in aid from the state. Board of Trustees minutes from this era refer to either declining or deferring state aid for operating expenses in December of 1975, May of 1980, December of 1980, September of 1981, January of 1982, September of 1982, and January of 1983.

Indicators of Centrality and Marginality

Eight indicators, including the allocation of personnel, the number and types of programs and degrees, and the way space was distributed are used to analyze the five core technologies of the community college: Transfer/Liberal Arts, Resort Services, Vocational, Off-Campus, and Special Projects. Information about program, course, and degree offerings come from the 1974-76, 1976-78, 1978-81, 1981-83, and 1983-85 editions of the NCMC catalog as well as Fall class schedules from 1982 onward.

*Transfer/Liberal Arts**Policy*

No change in policy occurred during this era.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. Instruction Dean and Registrar R. Vratana retired in 1984.

This position was combined with the Occupational Dean position so that one Instructional Dean led faculty and programming in the Transfer/Liberal Arts, Resort Services, and Vocational cores. The new Instructional Dean position was responsible for scheduling courses during the daytime only. The Dean of Off-Campus Education and Special Projects made decisions about evening and summer course scheduling. The Registrar portion of the position was shifted to the Dean of Students (see Appendix H).

Faculty. Transfer/Liberal Arts faculty positions were reduced by one position in both the full-time and the part-time categories. Table 13 portrays changes experienced in full-time faculty positions, showing the Transfer/Liberal Arts faculty with a 6% decline. A prolonged contract negotiation with administration, 1979-1981, ended in the unionization of full-time faculty. Not only were salaries and fringe benefits fixed over the life of the contract, but faculty achieved contractual language protecting them from layoff.

Students. Student enrollment patterns during this era failed to follow the upward path as in previous eras. The part-time enrollment “zig-zag” pattern, in particular, implied a one-time only, general-interest type of student enrollment rather than that of degree seekers (see Figure 6).

Fall headcounts compared with credit hours generated again echoed the up-and-down pattern of student enrollment. Enrollment growth could not be sustained from one academic year to the next (see Figure 7).

Table 13

Era of Uncertainty Full-time Faculty by Core Activity

Year	Liberal Arts Full-time Faculty	Resort Services Full-time Faculty	Vocational Full-time Faculty	Total Full-time Faculty
1975	17.5	11	2	30.5
1983	16.5	12.5	3	32
% Change	-6%	14%	50%	5%

Table 14

Era of Uncertainty Part-time Faculty by Core Activity

Year	Liberal Arts Part-time Faculty	Resort Services Part-time Faculty	Vocational Part-time Faculty	Total Part-time Faculty
1975	14	7	16	37
1983	13	24	20	57
% Change	-7%	243%	25%	54%

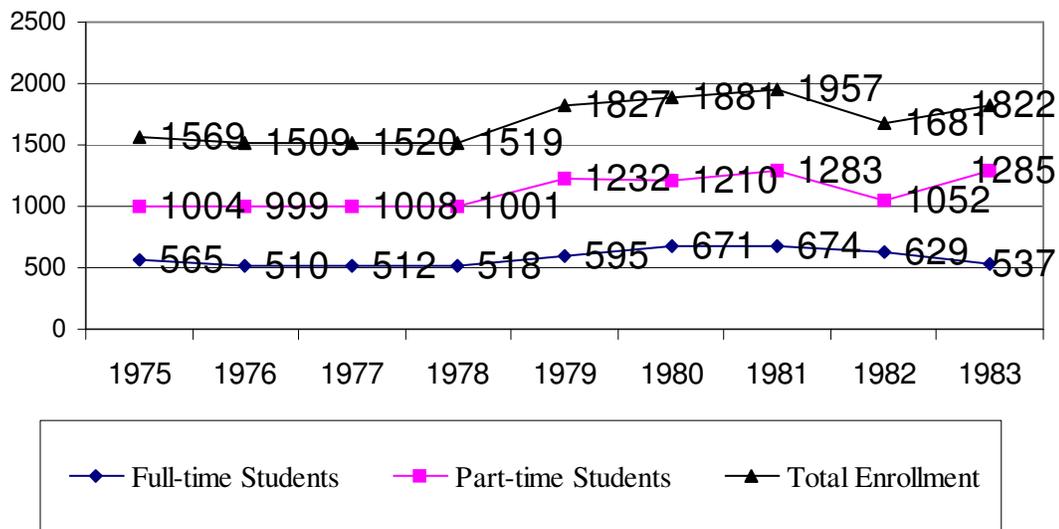


Figure 6. Total, full and part-time fall student enrollment—Era of Uncertainty.

The findings of a 1977 survey revealed that 42% of an incoming applicant group of 342 students preferred the Transfer/Liberal Arts core (Welmers, 1978). Four semesters later, in January of 1979, 27% of the original applicant group (N = 67) was enrolled full-time; the programs of study are shown in Table 15.

The Transfer/Liberal Arts core had been more popular with the more traditional-aged, daytime student. During this era, the number of traditional-aged students (15-21 years old) decreased as a percentage of the total enrollment, and an increase was seen in the 30-39 and 40-49-year-old categories (see Table 16).

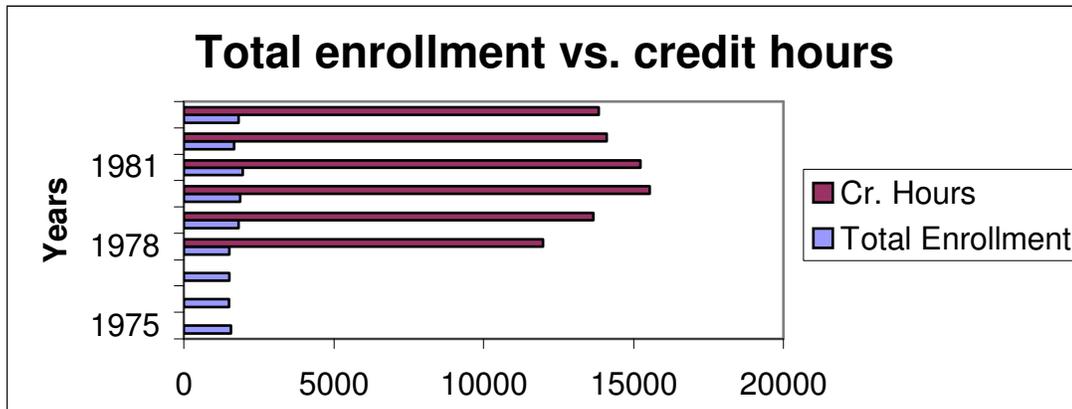


Figure 7. Total student enrollment vs. credit hours—Era of Uncertainty.

Table 15

Retention Data of January 1979 from Fall 1977 Applicant Group

Program of Choice	Percent of Responses (N = 67)
Transfer/Liberal Arts & Science/Undecided	35%
Resort Services: Business (36%), Medical Services–Nursing/pre & Respiratory Therapy/pre (15%)	51%
Vocational-technical	6%

It could be extrapolated from the survey and the enrollment data that the number of students attending NCMC for purposes of transferring to obtain a bachelor's degree declined as a percentage of the total student enrollment during this era. Furthermore, it would appear that students interested in obtaining a bachelor's

degree transferred out prior to completing their sophomore year at NCMC in a traditional, full-time manner.

Table 16

Student Population: Age Range Percentiles of Total Fall Enrollment

	15-21 yrs.	22-29 yrs.	30-39 yrs.	40-49 yrs.	50-59 yrs.	60+ yrs.
Fall 1978	40%	29%	20%	7%	3%	1%
Fall 1983	33%	29%	25%	9%	2%	1%

Dedicated Facilities

Transfer/Liberal Arts instruction during the Era of Uncertainty continued to center around three buildings (see Appendix F). The Chemistry building (5), the Science building (6), and the Main Classroom Building (1) housed all such courses as well as faculty offices. A large, undeveloped area in the Main Classroom Building evolved into a multipurpose art classroom/lab, whereas a photographic darkroom was created from storage space.

The Board continued to explore ways to bring a fine arts building to campus and repeatedly found that governmental funding was not available. A scaled-back version of the library and fine arts center, now a Library and Conference Center, finally met fundable criteria. The Board rushed to have it completed in time to celebrate NCMC's 25th anniversary, and the Library/Conference opened in 1984 at the end of the Era of Uncertainty.

Source and Degree of Funding

Funding exhibited no change with the exception of support to construct the elusive Library and Conference Center. Except for a \$100,000 state grant, the complex was financed with local monies including regular gifts earmarked for its construction from the Burns Clinic Foundation that spanned back over the previous decade (North Central Michigan College, 1979-86; Vratanina, 1992, p. 50).

Location of Program

Time. Courses building toward eventual transfer were offered during both the daytime and the evening. Degree completion was accomplished primarily through daytime enrollment. An increasing number of Transfer/Liberal Arts courses were offered in the evening, as scheduling was assigned to the Dean of Off-Campus Education and Special Projects.

Place. Courses building toward eventual transfer were offered on and off campus. Degree completion was accomplished on campus in Petoskey.

Outcome

During the Era of Uncertainty, two programs within the Transfer/Liberal Arts curriculum were added. A Teacher Assistant program was developed with an eye toward immediate job-entry skills while conveniently structured from coursework required for the first two years of a preteaching program. A 3 + 1 program in partnership with Lake Superior State University in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, was created in 1976. It allowed the transfer of 96 semester credit hours from NCMC, the freshman through junior years, to be applied toward a bachelor's degree with the senior year completed on the LSSU campus. The initial agreement was in Business

Management; however, during this era, that would expand to include degrees in Psychology and in Sociology.

A simple tabulation from catalog publications of the numbers of courses included under liberal arts departments during the Era of Uncertainty indicated the growth of existing departments, such as the Art Department, growing from 11 to 20 courses. The development of new departments, such as Spanish, Music, and Journalism helped increase Transfer/Liberal Arts courses from 139 to 204 throughout the era, a 47% change.

Prestige

No change in prestige occurred during this era..

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Transfer/Liberal Arts Core Summary

There was little change in the Transfer/Liberal Arts core during the Era of Uncertainty with the exception that students pursuing this core became a smaller percentage of the total student population. Both full- and part-time liberal arts faculty positions decreased, and although two program areas were added, they essentially utilized existing coursework, requiring little change in instructional responsibilities. The two 3 + 1 bachelor-degree options with Lake Superior State University provided a more tangible avenue for transfer and degree completion. New courses were added to the catalog, most notably in art, and space was created in the Main Classroom Building to accommodate an art studio. The concept of a fine arts center and library complex, a real college initiative, could not meet governmental funding criteria.

Leadership re-evaluated its position and opted for a fundable Library/Conference Center that opened at the end of the era.

Resort Services

Policy

Inhalation Therapy was changed to Respiratory Therapy, with accreditation by the Joint Commission of Respiratory Therapy Education of the American Medical Association.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. The Occupational Education Dean became the Instruction Dean, overseeing Resort Services and scheduling daytime courses. Two academic directors provided leadership in Nursing and Respiratory Therapy. The Dean of Off-Campus Education and Special Projects scheduled evening and summer Resort Services courses.

Faculty. The Era of Uncertainty saw a relatively large increase in the number of part-time faculty positions created in the Resort Services curricular areas, shown in Table 14. Some part-time Nursing positions were developed to supervise hospital clinical experiences; however, the majority of part-time growth was in the business areas, supporting the increase in courses on the evening schedule. At the same time, all full-time faculty became unionized with salaries and fringe benefits fixed over the life of the contract and contractual language protecting them from layoff.

Students. A tabulated survey (Welmers, 1978) indicated that Resort Services curricula were preferred by 45% of an incoming applicant group of 342 students.

Four semesters later, in January of 1979, 27% of the original applicant group (N = 67) was enrolled full-time. Table 15 shows these students' programs of study.

Enrollment data collected during registration revealed that the number of female students, as a part of the total enrollment, grew by 8% during this era (see Table 17). Coincident to this was a 7% decrease in students from the 15-21 years of age category and an increase of 5% and 2% in the respective age categories of 30-39 and 40-49 years old (see Table 16).

During this era, an older, female group of students enrolled at North Central Michigan College. The survey demonstrated that the Resort Services curricula were most frequently selected by students retained on a full-time basis. It could be implied that because the increase in overall students showed growth of an older, female population, those students would be more likely to pursue studies leading to employment in the immediate region. Resort Services included many occupational options for the local job market.

Table 17

NCMC Fall Headcount by Percent Female Students

Academic Year	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
%Female Students	56%	57%	59%	64%	64%	64%

Dedicated Facilities

No new instructional buildings were constructed during the Era of Uncertainty; however, space allocation changes occurred in existing buildings. A major change took place when the Nursing department moved from the Science Building (#6) to the lower level of the Main Classroom Building (#1) (see Appendix F). This relocation required eight faculty office spaces and a dedicated lab space for a simulated nursing station. Respiratory Therapy expanded to two faculty offices, a dedicated lab space, plus storage for large pieces of equipment, all within the Main Classroom Building. The Business department, including Secretarial Sciences, continued to commandeer three large-sized classrooms, along with faculty offices.

Source and Degree of Funding

Resort Services programs, because they led to employment, were classified as occupational. They were authorized programs for students funded through CETA and other job-training funds. Table 18 illustrates the number of CETA-funded students enrolled for four consecutive fall semesters and the average credit-hour load per student. Not all CETA-funded students were enrolled in Resort Services curricula; some may have been in Vocational core curricula. It does demonstrate, however, the full-time status of said students and the funds generated for tuition.

Location of Program

Time. The medical programs were offered only during daytime hours. Business programs were offered both daytime and in the evening. An increasing number of business courses were offered in the evening.

Place. The medical programs were offered in Petoskey, and clinical coursework was accomplished in hospital facilities. Business programs were offered both on campus and off campus. It was not possible to complete all coursework required for degrees by taking off-campus courses exclusively.

Table 18

CETA-Funded Students and Average Credit Hours Elected

	Fall 1980	Fall 1981	Fall 1982	Fall 1983
# of Students Completing	79	35	42	32
Semester				
Average Credit Hours Elected	16.5	16.1	15.8	15.2

Note. From *NCMC Self-Study, 1984-85*, (p. 165), North Central Michigan College, Petoskey, MI: Author.

Output

Completion of the Respiratory Therapy program was designated by the awarding of an Associate's of Respiratory Therapy (ART) degree, as recorded in the North Central Michigan College 1983-85 Catalog. While the medical programs continued on an even keel, change occurred in the business programs. A Banking and Finance program, in conjunction with the American Institute of Banking, was developed and provided advancement for area banking employees; key coursework was taught in the evening, often by area professionals in the banking and finance industry.

A cooperative agreement with Lake Superior State University (formerly Lake Superior State College) signed in 1976 created a baccalaureate degree program in business with the completion of three years of North Central Michigan College coursework and a final year of coursework on the campus of Lake Superior State University. It was called the 3 + 1 with LSSU in Business Administration.

The number of Resort Services courses found in the era's catalogs more than doubled, from 77 to 124, or a 61% change. In addition to new Banking and Finance courses were a number of special-interest courses, e.g., Management for Profit. Special-interest Business courses may have been created with input from the Dean of Off-Campus Education and Special Projects.

Prestige

Prestige continued to grow in the Resort Services core. Respiratory Therapy became more visible with its name and degree changes, and now included accreditation by the Joint Commission of Respiratory Therapy Education of the American Medical Association. There were selective admissions criteria for entry into both Nursing and Respiratory Therapy and a waiting list for entry into the former, increasing desirability. The banking and finance community was able to professionally train its workforce through the Banking and Finance degree, enhancing the mobility of those graduates. The flexibility of the bachelor's degree completion program with Lake Superior State University allowed a number of freshman–sophomore programs to come under a Business Management umbrella, enhancing the stature of the entire North Central Michigan College curriculum.

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Resort Services Summary

The Resort Services core increased its centrality to North Central Michigan College during the Era of Uncertainty. It expanded in part-time faculty, programs, and courses, largely due to the business programs and their applicability and portability to evening on- and off-campus sites, making it easier for the older, part-time student to start and continue his/her education. The option of a bachelor's degree that included three years of NCMC coursework expanded the prestige of this core area, as did the competition to become accepted to the two medical services programs. All full-time faculty and primary classrooms were now located in the Main Classroom Building, the hub of the campus. Resort Services programs met job-training criteria, allowing qualified students pursuing these programs to be eligible for CETA and Manpower tuition dollars. Because most government-funded training contracts required students to attend on a full-time basis, CETA-funded students may have contributed to the rise in full-time enrollment in Resort Services.

*Vocational Core**Policy*

No change in policy occurred during this era.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. The Vocational core was initially headed by the Dean of Occupational Education; by the end of the era, it fell under the Dean of Instruction, as did the Transfer/Liberal Arts and the Resort Services cores. The Dean of Instruction

was responsible for scheduling all daytime course offerings; the Dean of Off-Campus Education and Special Projects scheduled all evening and summer courses.

Faculty. Vocational faculty positions grew during the Era of Uncertainty, with an overall gain of 28%. Tables 13 and 14 put this growth in perspective with all other full- and part-time faculty positions. North Central Michigan College was slowly creating coursework in Data Processing, which accounted for the additional full-time faculty member and some of the part-time faculty growth. Full-time faculty became unionized with salaries and fringe benefits fixed over the life of the contract and contractual language protecting them from layoff.

Students. The number of vocational students was low; findings from a 1977 survey revealed that 9% of an applicant group of 342 students preferred Vocational core programs (Welmers, 1978). Four semesters later, in January of 1979, 27% of the original applicant group (N=67) was enrolled full-time in a program of study (see Table 15). The Vocational core lost numbers among students who continued to stay at NCMC in a traditional, full-time manner: 31 students began in 1977, and four full-time students remained in 1979. Degree-completion numbers were well below those of the other two academic cores. In May of 1984, 68 students graduated with Transfer/Liberal Arts degrees, and 91 graduated with Resort Services degrees, but only 9 graduated within the Vocational core. Lack of program completion was a national phenomenon; as noted by Cohen & Brawer (1996, p. 232), “program completion is an institutional artifact” in that “the degree is not as important as the skills that the applicant manifests. To the student who seeks a job in the field, completing the program becomes irrelevant as soon as a job is available.”

Dedicated Facilities

Programs and courses conducted at Petoskey High School were discontinued, leaving all vocational instruction on the main campus: Drafting, Small Engines, and Criminal Justice. Drafting had a dedicated classroom/lab in the Main Classroom Building equal in size to the Art department. The Technical Building (3) continued to house Small Engines; its lab space was also used to teach not-for-credit Machining.

Source and Degree of Funding

Community College Job Training and Retraining Investment Fund (JTRIF) monies, a Michigan initiative, helped to finance instructional computers, allowing NCMC to begin teaching data processing. CETA monies subsidized the tuition for students who qualified under appropriate guidelines.

Location of Program

Time. The Criminal Justice program was only offered in the evenings. The Drafting program was only offered in the daytime. The Small Engines program offered courses during both the day and the evening; however, key courses were only offered during the day. Courses of a vocational nature were offered both day and evening.

Place. Vocational degree programs were offered in Petoskey. Courses of a vocational nature were offered both on campus and off campus.

Output

During the Era of Uncertainty, North Central Michigan College discontinued several vocational programs in technological areas and renamed Small Engines Technology as Recreational Vehicles and Small Engines Technology. A new

program, Contracting with Business & Industry (CBI), which provided customized, on-the-job vocational training to individual students, was introduced. It led to a certificate and included concurrent College coursework. Appendix G displays the program changes made during this era.

Only three degree programs remained in the Vocational core, excluding the CBI certificate. The failure to cultivate the various technological curricula was a regional as well as a College issue. These issues included regional anti-unionism, lack of partnerships between area educational facilities and manpower programs to funnel funds into one large vocational center, and the College's marginalization of vocational training via part-time instructors and borrowed facilities. Dean Francis, speaking of problems associated with sustaining evening occupational courses, enumerated the pitfalls:

Of course then I ran into the problem of anybody I could use was part-time faculty. And you know the swamp you get into with that. Difference in pay, difference in responsibilities, lack of communication, lack of student contact, faculty who aren't around, all those kinds of things. Then the problems of who markets the programs? (Interview, November 2001).

Another factor was the kind of student attracted to vocational coursework. As noted in the *Number/Type of Employees* indicator above, many vocational students were not interested in pursuing an entire degree program. The College, however, labored under the idea that vocational-technical development needed to be packaged as an associate's degree program; students responded by not buying the package. North Central, acting from its need to be seen as a legitimate college, philosophically

aligned itself with a university ideal of educating technologists rather than training vocational students:

We used to have a saying in the educational circles that there's education and there's training. You educate human beings and you train animals. And people used to like to say that vocational education was training. Technical education was education . . . more closely allied to the university and the university engineering program . . . Well, Vratana and I agreed early on because the nature of North Central Michigan College, we did push the technology programs. We set up the programs where . . . they had to have their speaking skills, math skills, science skills, as well as their "hands-on" skills . . ." (A. V. Francis, interview, November 2001).

Students did not flock to the vocational programs as they had to the Transfer/Liberal Arts and the Resort Services curricula. Without the commitment to faculty or other constraints, it was easy for the College to "pull the plug" and discontinue the efforts of the evening technology programs held at the local high school. On the other hand, programs that had the benefit of full-time faculty and a facility, like Small Engines and Drafting, survived until another day.

A tabulation of occupational courses depicted in the catalogs from the Era of Uncertainty showed a growth from 65 to 131 courses, a 101% change. Despite the discontinuance of several programs, the number of course offerings in this area increased, especially during the daytime, as a result of the introduction of data processing courses in the 1983 class schedule; Data Processing would expand into a

program area during the next era. Horticultural, forestry and industrial arts courses were also offered as supplemental courses in the evenings.

Prestige

North Central Michigan College was not noted for its vocational programs. They continued to be low-profile options attracting few students, and fewer still who sought degrees.

We used to have a saying in the educational circles that there's education and there's training. You educate human beings and you train animals. And people used to like to say that vocational education was training (A. V. Francis, interview, November 2001).

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Vocational Core Summary

With the elimination of the majority of vocational programs during the Era of Uncertainty, the Vocational core was left with less than a handful of programs, which in turn attracted few students. Growth in Vocational faculty positions and evening coursework reflected a demand for computer instruction, made possible through a JTRIF grant. For most students, vocational coursework was utilized for specific skill development rather than for obtaining a certificate or degree.

Indicators of centrality and marginality continued to place the Vocational core on a marginal par compared with the other academic cores. The Vocational curriculum ran the risk of losing its connection to the other cores by providing one-

shot coursework; on the other hand, without stronger organizational commitment, it was not able to compete with Resort Services or Transfer/Liberal Arts.

Off-Campus Education Core

Policy

No change in policy occurred during this era.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. The Director of Off-Campus Education and Special Projects position became a Dean position, under which fell the course scheduling of all pay-as-you-go programs, including evening on-campus, evening off-campus, and summer courses. Dean C. Owens was innovative; his flair for promoting novelty, one-time-only courses in up to six off-campus locations during the evening hours was credited for helping increase enrollment during the Fall semester of 1975. Using nonunionized, part-time faculty, Owens kept his overhead at an optimal low. Other innovations, which met with mixed results, included offering weekend courses at the main campus in Petoskey (1977) and a three-week “mini” session between the Fall and Winter semesters (1981).

Faculty. No change occurred in the nonunionized, part-time faculty hired to teach off-campus coursework.

Students. Evening off-campus students continued to represent an older adult population that was taking personal-interest coursework or as many required courses as possible toward an eventual degree in the evenings close to home.

Dedicated Facilities

No changes in facilities occurred during this era.

Source and Degree of Funding

CETA-funded students no doubt enrolled in some coursework off-campus; however, they were required to enroll in specific courses on a full-time basis. This was not possible for the student enrolled exclusively at night to do, no matter the location. Subsidized student tuition funding therefore did not affect off-campus enrollment as strongly as it did on-campus students.

Location of Program

Time. No change in time for the Off-Campus core occurred during this era.

Place. No change in location occurred during this era.

Output

As the student markets became better known through scheduling trial and error, courses were more tailored to the needs of specific communities. Gaylord coursework focused less on personal interests and more on foundation courses for Resort Services programs. Cheboygan coursework continued to emphasize the manual trades with automotive, logging and sawmilling, and industrial arts courses (see Table 19).

Table 19

Fall 1982 Off-Campus Course Offerings

	Transfer/Liberal Arts	Resort Services	Vocational
Gaylord	17	8	1
Cheboygan	17	8	7

Prestige

Prestige may have been in transition. As the types of courses changed, e.g., the Gaylord campus's becoming more oriented toward foundation courses for Resort Services, the intent of the off-campus student also changed, perhaps allowing prestige to rise.

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Off-Campus Education Core Summary

The Off-Campus Core continued to serve an important segment of the North Central Michigan College service region during the Era of Uncertainty, bringing in much-needed tuition dollars without requiring overhead or substantial organizational commitment. After a decade of experience, off-campus courses began to reflect the particular communities they reached, but a commonality was that degree completion required daytime, on-campus attendance. Off-Campus courses, as well as the type of student they attracted, may have been in transition. They were still peripheral to the Petoskey main campus, but their prestige may have been rising. The Off-Campus core was caught in a tension between its successful origins of offering personal-interest courses that accommodated one-shot interests and the pull of legitimacy as defined by the core values of the Petoskey main campus:

The colleges found themselves navigating a tricky course between the “core” and the “periphery.” As they moved toward the core, opportunities diminished. With greater movement toward the periphery, support patterns

were left behind and resistance was encountered in the form of “tradition.”
(Gleazer, Jr., 1994, p. 24)

Special Projects Core

The “special projects” portion of the Off-Campus Education and Special Projects deanship referred to partnerships and contracts with the Michigan Department of Education as well as regional manpower consortiums. Partnerships were not new to NCMC, as noted by Vratana:

It was during the 1962 academic year that North Central Michigan College was asked by the Federal Government’s job-training agencies to establish non-degree programs. For this purpose, a 576 clock-hour stenographic-clerical program was developed, a nontransferable program, designed to develop or to improve basic clerical skills (1992, p. 35).

The emphasis and impact on the academic core as well as on the dean-level position created to coordinate these special projects and grant-funded programs was what made this core unique during the Era of Uncertainty.

Policy

In the December 1981 Board of Trustees minutes, President Shankland, commenting on then-Michigan governor Milliken’s 1982-83 appropriations for community colleges, said, “The community colleges pointed out that they could do the job to support the governor’s economic redevelopment plan for Michigan” (North Central Michigan College, 1979-86).

Number/ Type of Employees

Administration. President Shankland was the official representative for grants and partnerships. C. Owens, Dean of Off-Campus and Special Projects, administered the programs. A part-time, grant-funded cooperative education director coordinated off-campus manpower consortium training activities.

Faculty. No data were available, but part-time, nonunionized faculty were hired on a per-project basis.

Students. No data were available, but it could be inferred that people eligible for grant-funded training and retraining programs were often nontraditional-aged and without benefit of previous postsecondary training.

Dedicated Facilities

The College purchased a machine shop in Gaylord in 1980 for the purpose of providing not-for-credit machinist training, retaining it until 1995.

Source and Degree of Funding

All Special Project core programs were funded by government agencies and were intended to upgrade, train, or retrain people according to the needs of the regional employers.

Location of Program

Time. The Special Project core programs were offered primarily in the daytime to correspond with the traditional workday. These programs did not correspond to the academic-semester calendar system.

Place. Training took place at many sites: on the main campus in Petoskey, at an industrial site, at the machine shop in Gaylord.

Output

Special Project core programs were not-for-credit, did not conclude with a degree or certificate, and were based on clock-hour training rather than academic credit hours. No data were found on the majority of these programs; however, Board of Trustees minutes from 1980 indicated a partnership between the Michigan Department of Education and the Northeast Michigan manpower consortium to fund machinist training and from 1982, an agreement to provide CETA programs on campus in machining, institutional cooking, and clerical training.

Augmenting the manpower consortium partnerships enacted by the Dean of Off-Campus Education and Special Projects were other grant-funded projects:

1981—an on-campus Career Planning Center

1982—an on-campus daycare center in conjunction with the Women's Resource Center (WRC) with funds from the Michigan Department of Education

1982—the purchase of computers for on-campus instructional purposes

1983—the conversion of an on-campus classroom into a 21-station computer programming classroom via a Community College Job Training and

Retraining Investment Fund (JTRIF) grant

Prestige

Except for the few people directly involved with the program administration, the Special Projects core programs were invisible. They were low-prestige.

Legitimacy

Legitimacy was established by the national and state legislation that funded the Special Projects core.

Special Projects Summary

The Special Projects core was an important source of income for North Central Michigan College during this time of economic downturn. Coordinated by a dean and represented by the president, the CETA and other grant-funded training programs were invisible to most of the rest of the organization. The Special Projects programs were not-for-credit and did not lead to an academic degree or certificate; therefore, they were marginal in a way similar to the off-campus courses from the previous era: on the periphery and used to buffer the organization from negative changes to the dominant academic cores. However, grants provided an opportunity to institute auxiliary services and technology to the benefit of all NCMC students.

Discussion and Section Summary

The Era of Uncertainty was a period of adjustment by North Central Michigan College to the economic fluctuation and changes occurring in its various environments. The state, reflecting and magnifying national trends, experienced recessions and high unemployment and welfare costs and was unable to meet its financial obligations to the community colleges. At the same time, financial incentives from governmental programs and grants, such as CETA, were made available to community colleges to develop for-credit and not-for-credit short-term vocational training opportunities. It was a way for community colleges to develop additional programs while stimulating the economy and retraining the unemployed.

During this era, a regional need existed for employment training: NCMC's immediate service region population was growing much faster than the rest of the state; however, unemployment plagued the region in percentages also larger than state averages.

North Central Michigan College tried to weather this storm by holding true to its dominant academic cores, the Transfer/Liberal Arts and the Resort Services curricula. Indicators of centrality and marginality demonstrated that the College, without investing in additional full-time faculty, labored to appeal to a larger network of students by expanding programs and courses. An important 3 + 1 bachelor-degree completion opportunity with Lake Superior State University gave students a chance to compile junior-level transfer courses at NCMC in both the business and the liberal arts areas, adding to the prestige of these curricula.

The Resort Services core, with its diversified options in medical and business curricula, grew considerably. Coincident to this was an increase in the older, female segment of the student population. Attracted to jobs in the resort economy, the older students were also those most often eligible for CETA funding as a form of financial aid. A grant-funded daycare program, shared with the Women's Resource Center, and a grant-funded Career Planning and Placement Center were instituted during this era and reflected the need for support services to accommodate and retain this important segment of the student population.

The College's decision to eliminate a number of Vocational core programs taught at the local high school left only a few vocational programs in place. Vocational students, true to their nature, were more interested in skill development than they were in degree completion, which was exemplified by the surge of enrollees

in new computer-instruction coursework. The College nonetheless viewed its mission as education rather than training. Without additional funding to strengthen and increase the profile of vocational programs, NCMC's Vocational core continued to be viewed and used as a marginal academic core.

Promoting the Off-Campus and Special Projects director to a dean-level position accentuated the importance of the off-campus market to the overall financial survival of NCMC. The Off-Campus core was run literally on the periphery of the College and required little in the way of organizational overhead or commitment while buffering the dominant academic cores from the fluctuations in tuition and state aide. As the era progressed, programming became more sophisticated and market driven. Off-Campus courses began to reflect the specific needs of the communities in which they were offered.

The special projects portion of the Off-Campus Education and Special Projects dean's responsibilities seemed to be a variation on the theme of peripheral initiatives that brought in dollars to the College without significant organizational commitment or accommodation. The Special Projects core utilized CETA and other funds to develop not-for-credit, short-term training programs. Other grant monies, like the JTRIF grant, a state of Michigan initiative, allowed the College to develop data processing courses; auxiliary services were established with grants that targeted an older, job-oriented, adult student.

Mediation of the Environment

Exacerbating the financial difficulties of this era was a significant increase in personnel costs. The faculty unionized, causing the College to lose fiscal and program

flexibility, adding to the difficult financial environment. The overall change in faculty positions was 30%. The growth came predominantly in the part-time faculty category (see Table 20). The decision to develop temporary, not-for-credit training programs through the Special Projects core rather than investing in the Vocational core may have been provoked by the constraints of faculty unionization.

Table 20

North Central Michigan College Faculty Employment Status, 1975-83

Year	Full-time Faculty	Part-time Faculty	Total
1975	31.5	37	68.5
1983	32	57	89
% Change	2%	54%	30%

The College tried to offset increased costs in 1980 by raising tuition for the first time since 1975. Energy-saving initiatives were instituted, and funds were cut from travel, sabbaticals, maintenance, instructional supplies, and capital outlay. The Board of Trustees, during its November 1982 annual retreat, worried that the College, still operating on a deficit, could only squeeze so much from budgetary line items: unproductive programs and faculty and staff positions might have to be cut.

Adding to the mix of financial woes was the undependability of student tuition dollars. Student enrollment patterns during this era failed to follow the upward path, as in previous eras. The part-time enrollment zig-zag pattern, in particular, implied a one-time only, general-interest type of student enrollment rather than that of degree

seekers. The traditional-aged student for whom the College was primarily developed dropped as a percentage of the total enrollment, with full-time enrollment more likely from an older, female student pursuing a Resort Services program with the help of governmental financial assistance. It is interesting to speculate what enrollment figures would have reflected had NCMC cultivated for-credit Vocational programs during this era rather than, or in addition to, the Special Projects' not-for-credit programs.

It is important to note that other small, rural Michigan community colleges during the era used CETA and other government-subsidized monies to develop vocational programs and facilities. Taylor (2001, p. 135) provided great detail showing how one Michigan community college “grew in the direction of the vocational resources.”

Between 1975 and 1983, new associate degree vocational programs were developed in Medical Laboratory Technology, Radiography, Heating, Refrigeration and Air Conditioning, Law Enforcement, Automotive, Banking, Heavy Truck Maintenance, Industrial Technology/Machine Tool, Medical Laboratory, and Pharmacy Technology, as well as numerous certification programs were added New vocational facilities included an Automotive Technology Training Center (1976), the Allied Health Facilities (1976), a Climate Control Center (1979), and a Technical Trades Center (1983). (pp. 133-134).

North Central Michigan College's recent experiences with Vocational

core program failures not only reinforced leadership's belief that vocational programs did not meet people's educational needs but also caused the College to consider vocational education a mission manufactured by the national community college movement:

My impression, for the most part, is that two-year occupational programs at community colleges was [sic] something that back in the time when we thought we could manufacture a service, colleges did that, when they didn't want to be just the first two years of a four-year education. They wanted to be more comprehensive. With the exception of the nursing program and a few things like that, they manufactured a reason to be there, a service, (but) the need was not there. (R. B. Graham, interview, June 2001.)

This belief further led leadership to be wary of governmental incentives that would put the College in a financial bind from building vocational programs and staff that could not be self-supporting. Hence, the College increasingly placed an emphasis on being a cost-effective institution for the state to finance, eschewing "costly" programs and minimizing risk-taking.

This College, very much the management, our leadership, very much valued fiscal stability, fiscal soundness Not, and this is my perception, not because they were trying to be a "good deal" for the community and the population, but because that . . . fit the model or the role or the concept of the leadership at the time, that we were not going to be a costly school for the state. That's how that kept coming out, that we were a really marginally financed institution because we didn't want to have the state having to support

us in lots of ways, and we stayed fiscally very sound so that there was no question about that . . . we were managed by people who first were number counters, number crunchers, and secondly were educational providers. And so the numbers were the driver. (B. K. Kurtz, interview, February 2002)

CHAPTER 4: DATA AND FINDINGS

Era of Realignment: Academic Years 1984-85 to 1987-88

The Era of Realignment was a brief period of time when the College, having weathered the financial crises of the past decade, attempted to reassemble its academic programs in line with its founding core values, to be a provider of Transfer/Liberal arts coursework and to provide educational training for those who wished to take part in the resort economy of northern Michigan.

A profile of the Board of Trustees in 1985 showed a new group of people representing, nonetheless, the same local industries as in previous eras. The medical establishment continued to have influence; the Chair position was filled by a medical doctor affiliated with Burns Clinic. The current county farm-extension agent held a seat, along with two lawyers. Three women filled the remaining positions: two nursing professionals and one homemaker with extensive civic volunteer experience. By the end of the era, the woman with extensive volunteer experience, Ann Irish of Harbor Springs, would be the Board's newest chairperson.

By no means free of economic problems, the College eliminated a full-time faculty position along with a vocational program during this era and concentrated on adding computer technology to its academic offerings. Government grants earmarked for job training and vocational development aided in bringing computer technology to NCMC, both by equipping the traditional classroom and by financing a new, customized training arm of the College, the Institute for Business and Industry Training (IBIT).

National Influences

Ronald Reagan was the President of the United States between 1981 and 1989, encompassing the Era of Realignment at North Central Michigan College. Legislative enactments and their accompanying funds reflected a more Republican philosophy including a reliance on private industry and state authority as opposed to large federal government programs. Two new programs were created during Reagan's presidency that replaced former programs developed and amended during Democratic presidencies.

Job Training Partnership Act

During the Era of Realignment, the Job Training Partnership Act (US Act #97-300), known as JTPA, became effective in October of 1983 and replaced CETA, which was discontinued at that same time. JTPA shifted the focus of funding in the following ways: (a) it eliminated the underwriting of positions in both the private and the public sector; (b) it emphasized job training rather than education; 70% of its funds were dedicated to the former; (c) it focused 40% of its job-training dollars on programs for youth; and (d) it gave primary responsibility for development, management, and administration of training programs to state and local governments together with private industry councils (PIC), where 51% of the membership came from industry and 49% came from education (U.S. Department of Labor, n.d., www.doleta.gov/archives/jtpa.asp; Taylor, 2001).

Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 was replaced by the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act (Public Law 98-524) in 1984, at the beginning of the Era of

Realignment. Whereas this new act continued the emphasis of federal assistance for the development and support of vocational programs for all people, it also emphasized and extended its benefits to “the handicapped and disadvantaged, single parents, homemakers, and the incarcerated” (Taylor, 2001, p. 92).

Social Change

On a national level, the 1980s saw a shift in the type of students entering higher education:

The face of higher education is changing. More than half of college students are women, over 20 percent are members of underrepresented groups, nearly one-half of students attend part time, an increasing number have identified themselves as having a disability, and the median age of students is 28.

(Garland & Grace, 1993, p. 27)

Garland and Grace, also citing various studies from the late 1980s, indicated that students, although increasingly choosing academic programs “based on relative anticipated incomes,” were also choosing areas such as health careers and education. Those areas represented occupations that were “traditionally stable during economic fluctuations and allow more personal contributions to society’s welfare” (p. 35).

During this Era of Realignment, the community college student population continued its trend toward an older, female demographic. This student, from a “last to hire, first to fire” background, was looking for training leading to dependable jobs, ones that had direct links to improving social conditions.

State of Michigan Influences

During the Era of Realignment, the state of Michigan experienced a recovery from the economic recessions of the past era. It began to slowly build back its economy, which included a temporary increase in the state income tax instituted in 1983. Community colleges as well as other public institutions, however, did not experience cuts in state aid support as had occurred during the previous era.

Part of the economic recovery plan for the state of Michigan rested on the training and retraining of its workforce; a variety of programs were developed using federal, state, and local monies including (State of Michigan, 1984):

1. Michigan Opportunity and Skills Training (M.O.S.T.) program—administered by the Department of Social Services with federal and state funds earmarked to provide vocational and on-the-job training for general assistance recipients.
2. Governor’s Office for Job Training—administered by that office, with federal JTPA and U.S. Department of Labor discretionary funds earmarked to provide classroom and on-the-job training for workers dislocated as the result of industrial and manufacturing plant closings.
3. Trade Adjust Assistance (TAA)—administered by local Michigan Employment Security Commissions with federal funds earmarked to provide training to workers whose jobs had been eliminated due to import competition.
4. Community College Job Training and Retraining Investment Fund (JTRIF)—administered by community colleges with funds provided equally by the

state general fund and local sources that were earmarked for training adults to fulfill a specific local employment need with direct benefit to the state economy.

5. Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA)—administered by 26 service-delivery agencies throughout the state with funds from the federal government earmarked to provide occupational training in areas of local demand to persons economically disadvantaged or to those facing barriers to employment, e.g., veterans, offenders, displaced homemakers, teenage parents, handicapped, those with limited English language fluency, alcoholics, or addicts.

In addition to the above programs, federal Perkins funds were administered in the state of Michigan through the Department of Education. Specifically designated for education and training, these funds were assigned to community colleges, through financial aid grants, and to vocational education programs. Especially affected were students who were judged to be economically disadvantaged or faced employment barriers similar to those described in the state-administered JTPA program highlighted above.

Local Service Region Influences

Population Growth

During the Era of Realignment, the population of North Central Michigan College's service region grew much more slowly than it had for the previous decade, when the counties within the service region experienced a growth that was close to six times that of the state of Michigan. With the exception of Otsego County, the perennial leader in population growth and employment in North Central Michigan College's service district, population growth in the remaining counties had slowed

and became closer to that of the rest of the state. Cheboygan county, in particular, experienced a growth rate identical to the state's rate (see Table 21).

Table 21

North Central Michigan College Service Region Population, 1980-1990

County	1980	1990	1980-90 % change
Emmet	22,992	25,040	9%
Charlevoix	19,970	21,468	8%
Cheboygan	20,649	21,398	4%
Otsego	14,993	17,957	20%
State of Michigan	9,262,078	9,295,297	4%

Note. From *Shaping the future: Educational plan 1993-2000* (p. 26), by R. L. Alfred and P. Carter, 1993, Petoskey, MI: Author.

Unemployment Rate

Although the state of Michigan had begun to experience a recovery evident in its lower unemployment rates for the years 1986 and 1988, it took most of North Central Michigan College's service region until 1988 to reduce from double-digit unemployment. Table 22 illustrates average service region unemployment rates for this era. Again, the exception was in Cheboygan County, where slow population growth and slower recovery in the labor market indicated a depressed area.

Table 22

Average Annual Percent Unemployment Per County/State

	Emmet	Charlevoix	Cheboygan	Otsego	Michigan
1984	15.4%	5.1%	22.5%	12.8%	11.2%
1986	12.9%	11.7%	21.1%	10.2%	8.8%
1988	8.9%	8.6%	16.3%	6.9%	7.6%

Note. From U.S. Census, MDCD Area Labor Statistics, Office of Labor Market Information, <http://www.michlmi.org>.

Labor Market Comparisons

Within North Central Michigan College's four-county service region, all sectors of wage and salary employment grew fairly evenly, around 23-25% growth, during the Era of Realignment. The exception was in the 13% loss of farm proprietorship, that percentage seemingly to have transferred to the construction and mining industry, as presented in Table 23.

Petoskey and Harbor Springs Communities

A comparison of Emmet county employment trends from 1980 (see Figure 5) and 1986 (see Figure 8) reveals little change in all sectors except for Construction and for the large Services category. Services increased by 29%; Construction increased by 27%; Trade increased by 10%; and the Financial sector, which had grown so much between 1970 and 1980, increased only 2%. Both the Farm proprietorship and Manufacturing sectors have decreased since 1980, by 5% and 4%, respectively.

Table 23

Four-County Labor Market Comparisons by Sector for 1984 and 1988

Sector	1984	1988	% change
All wage & salary employment	26,755	32,903	23%
Farm proprietorship	966	839	-13%
Goods-producing Industries:			
Construction & Mining	1,995	2,819	41%
Manufacturing	4,879	5,955	22%
Service-producing Industries:			
Trade	7,544	9,207	22%
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	2,287	2,870	25%
Services	9,789	12,199	25%
Government	4,796	5,269	10%

Note. From Regional Economic Information System, Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, University of Virginia Library, <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/reis/county.html>.

The four-county labor market comparison from Table 23, although using a different period (1984 to 1988) than the six years (1980 to 1986) illustrated here, nonetheless shows a more even regional growth between sectors than found in Emmet county. In particular, Emmet County's employment sectors grew very slowly in Manufacturing and in Trade compared with those of the region. These various

employment figures could be interpreted as a period of struggle for the small business owner as well as manufacturing dependent on the automobile industry.

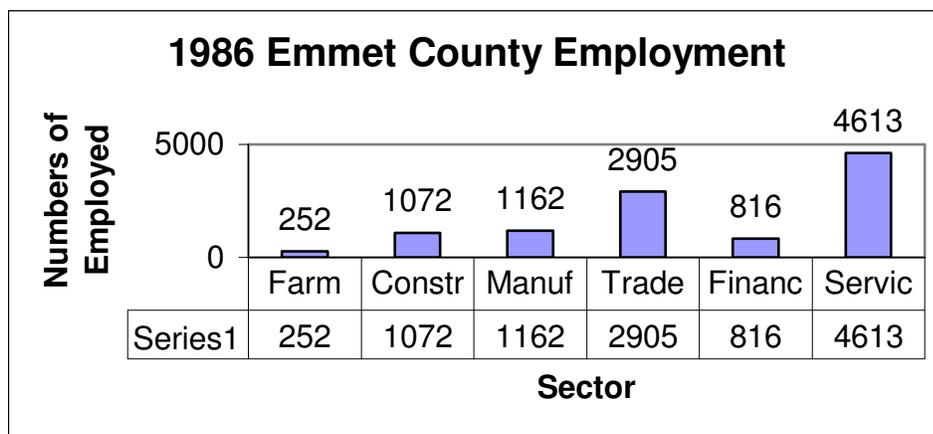


Figure 8. 1986 Emmet County employment.

Summary of Environmental Influences

New federal legislation was passed that replaced the CETA program and the Vocational Education Act of 1963: the Job Training Partnership Act (US Act #97-300), known as JTPA, and the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act (Public Law 98-524), respectively. Reflecting the Republican political ideologies of the era, these new acts emphasized job training rather than education, local private industry control of funding, and aid for those most likely to be on public assistance. At the same time, the type of student enrolled at community colleges nationally tended to be an older female student interested in occupations that were stable in difficult economic times, as well as ones that were people/service oriented.

Michigan experienced a recovery from its severe economic times; numerous funds and programs were developed to help the unemployed and underemployed train for new opportunities. Many of the training sites were at Michigan community colleges, the recipients of funds, such as the Job Training and Retraining Investment Fund (JTRIF), to help develop programs to meet local employment needs. Some of the monies behind these various programs were from federal sources, specifically Carl Perkins and JTPA funds.

During the Era of Realignment, the North Central Michigan College service region again demonstrated sluggishness in responding to economic events occurring in the more populous areas of the state. As the state began to experience economic recovery, as evidenced by dropping unemployment rates, the local service region was slow to respond. Otsego County continued to be an exception to this phenomenon, and it persisted in leading the region in population growth. The Petoskey and Harbor Springs communities, as reflected in Emmet County labor sector statistics, continued to grow in Service and Construction sectors employment but changed very little in other sectors, reflecting the slow regional recovery from economic recession.

Realignment of Core Activities: Indicators of Centrality and Marginality

During the Era of Realignment, spanning academic years 1984-85 through 1987-88, all programs and their supporting degrees were revamped while several short-term certificates were developed from existing courses. Data were drawn from Board of Trustees minutes, the 1984-86, 1986-87, and 1987-88 editions of the NCMC catalog, the 1986-87 edition of the NCMC Student Handbook, and class schedules from those respective years.

*Transfer/Liberal Arts Core**Policy/Constitution*

No change in policy occurred during this era.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. The Era of Realignment was the last period under the leadership of founding president Al Shankland, who died in June of 1988. The one major change in the administrative hierarchy was the creation of a vice-presidential position for the business manager. This change, shown in Appendix H, was a reflection of President Shankland's ill health and loss of influence with the Board throughout this era, as Business Manager Robert Graham became more responsible for the fiscal direction of the College.

There was no change in the Dean of Instruction position, responsible for scheduling all daytime Transfer/Liberal Arts courses. The Dean of Off-Campus and Special Projects, responsible for scheduling all evening, off-campus, and summer courses, changed in person, title, and substance of position during the Era of Realignment. In 1985, Dean of Off-Campus Education and Special Projects C. Owens resigned. His replacement came from the ranks of NCMC faculty in English and Marketing professor, R. Boldrey. By 1988, the position was retitled Dean of Continuing Education. Appendix H illustrates the changes in managerial positions during this era.

During Boldrey's deanship, less attention was given to promoting and experimenting with off-campus curricula; instead, off-campus course offerings became formulaic, with equal numbers of Transfer/Liberal Arts coursework required

for most degree programs appearing on the class schedules for both the Gaylord and Cheboygan sites.

Faculty. The growth of part-time faculty positions resulted in an overall 72% increase in total liberal arts faculty positions during the Era of Realignment. Tables 24 and 25 show full-time and part-time faculty positions by core activity for this era.

Students. During the Era of Realignment, the NCMC student population continued the trend begun during the 1970s of increased numbers of older, non-traditional students, with a corresponding decrease in traditional-aged students. This was consistent with national trends. No data were found that separated students into program of choice; however, Table 26 provides information based upon student self-disclosed program choice for the eras directly proceeding and following the Era of Realignment. It reveals continuity such that it could be assumed to be valid for student curricular preferences during this era also.

Table 24

Era of Realignment Full-time Faculty by Core Activity

Year	Transfer/Liberal Arts Full-time Faculty	Resort Services Full-time Faculty	Vocational Full-time Faculty	Total Full-time Faculty
1984	16.5	13.5	2	32
1987	16.5	12.5	1	30
% Change	0%	-7%	-50%	-6%

Table 25

Era of Realignment Part-time Faculty by Core Activity

Year	Transfer/Liberal Arts Part-time Faculty	Resort Services Part-time Faculty	Vocational Part-time Faculty	Total Part- time Faculty
1984	13	24	20	57
1987	29	38	11	78
% Change	123%	58%	-45%	37%

Table 26

Comparison of NCMC Student Program Choices, 1977 & 1993

	Transfer/Liberal Arts	Resort Services	Vocational
1977	42%	45%	9%
1993	40%	48%	12%

Total student enrollment numbers decreased, an overall loss of 4%, with a -5% decrease in part-time students. Full-time enrollment persisted at between 32% and 34% of the total enrollment throughout the era. Figure 9 illustrates the patterns of total, full-time, and part-time student enrollment during this era.

Figure 10 compares the number of total credit hours with the total headcount enrollment during the Era of Realignment. It reveals that the proportion of credit hours to student headcount changed very little during this era.

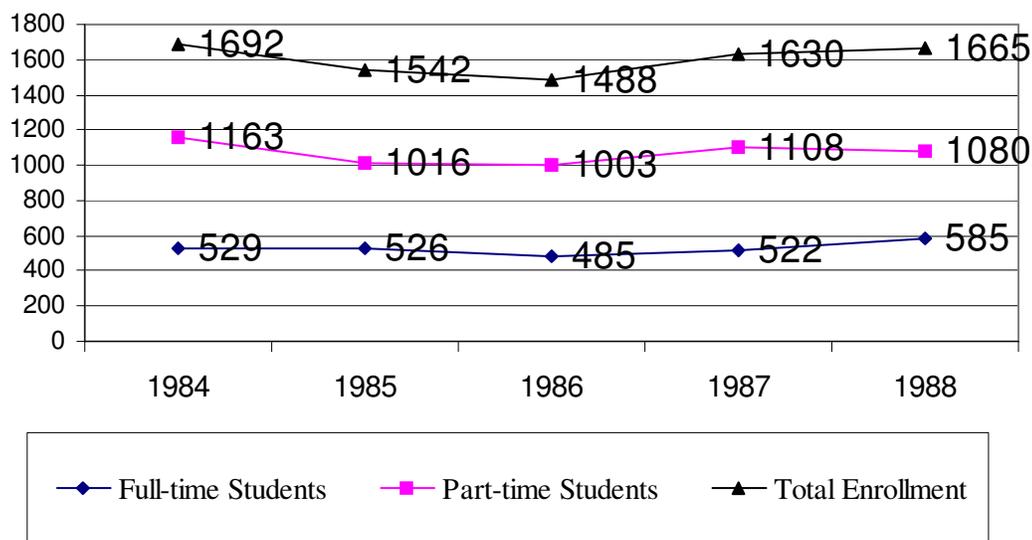


Figure 9. Total, full-time, and part-time fall student enrollment—Era of Realignment.

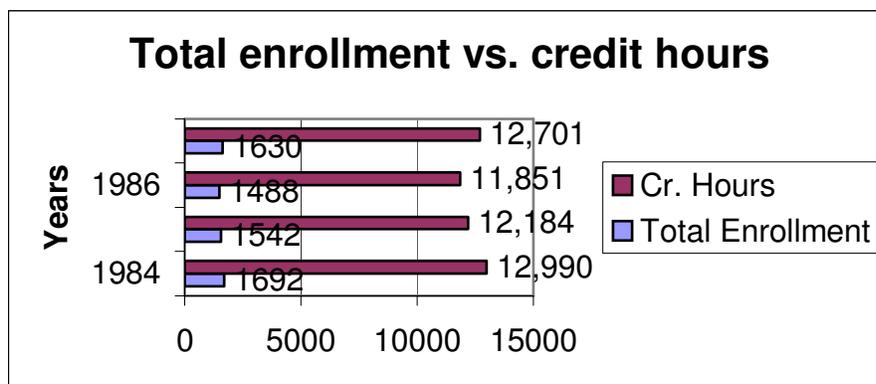


Figure 10. Total student enrollment versus total credit hours—Era of Realignment.

Dedicated Facilities

No significant changes in space utilization for Transfer/Liberal Arts instruction occurred during this era with the exception that a permanent office was

provided in the Main Classroom Building (1) for the coordinator of the 3 + 1 programs with Lake Superior State University

Source and degree of Funding

No change in funding occurred during this era.

Location of Program

Time. No change occurred in times that Transfer/Liberal Arts core courses were offered during this era.

Place. No change in location occurred during this era.

Output

Toward the end of the era, the College reviewed and redesigned all of its degrees and program structures (see Appendix I). The revised Transfer/Liberal Arts programs spread over 41 of the 56 pages devoted to the academic curriculum in the 1987-88 edition of the NCMC catalog. Those 41 pages demonstrated recommendations for transfer majors; a series of forty-one “emphases” were developed. The emphases did not purport to be special programs as much as they were to show a variety of transfer options with appropriate course selections. To that end, Engineering, Pre-Teaching, Teacher Assistant, Pre-Business, Medical Technology, and Paper Technology ceased to exist as discrete programs in favor of a variety of transfer options under the framework of a transfer degree. A new transfer option with Bay de Noc Community College in Escanaba, Michigan, enabled a student to transfer 30 credits of North Central Michigan College science and liberal arts coursework toward an associate’s degree specializing in wastewater treatment.

In the Transfer/Liberal Arts core, all transfer programs fell under either the Associate of Arts or the Associate of Science, thus eliminating the Associate of Engineering. Fewer courses were listed in the 1987-88 edition of the NCMC catalog than were listed in the beginning of the era. The number of courses dropped from 218 to 170, a 22% decrease. This negative development in liberal arts coursework was a distinct change from past eras.

At the same time, as seen in Table 27, the number of liberal arts courses offered on the class schedules for night on-campus students increased 30%, and the number offered off-campus decreased by 33%. The College chose to offer more Transfer/Liberal Arts courses during the evening on campus throughout the era.

Prestige

No change in prestige occurred during this era..

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era..

Transfer/Liberal Arts Core Summary

Within the Transfer/Liberal Arts curriculum, there were a number of restructuring changes made during the Era of Realignment, including the ending of the longtime Associate of Engineering degree. Gone also were the traditional program areas from the past 30 years, replaced with two degrees designed for transfer toward the baccalaureate. Forty-one emphases were developed to aid the student in choosing coursework within the liberal arts. These changes caused no new full-time faculty positions to be developed; however, part-time faculty positions grew 123% as an

increased number of liberal arts courses were offered during the evening hours on campus.

Table 27

NCCM Course Types by Time & Site: Fall Semester Class Schedules, 1984 and 1987

	1984	1987	% Change
Day			
Transfer/Liberal Arts	78	79	13%
Resort Services	33	37	12%
Vocational	25	12	-52%
Night On-Campus			
Transfer/Liberal Arts	33	43	30%
Resort Services	19	24	26%
Vocational	28	19	32%
Night Off-Campus			
Transfer/Liberal Arts	39	26	-8%
Resort Services	25	17	-32%
Vocational	15	0	-1500%

Resort Services Core

Policy/Constitution

No change in policy occurred during this era.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. The Era of Realignment was the last period under the leadership of founding president Al Shankland, who died in June of 1988. The one major change in the administrative hierarchy was the creation of a vice-presidential position for the business manager. This change was a reflection of President Shankland's ill health and loss of influence with the Board throughout this era, as Business Manager Robert Graham became more responsible for the fiscal direction of the College.

There was no change in the Dean of Instruction position, responsible for scheduling all daytime Resort Services Arts courses. The Dean of Off-Campus and Special Projects, responsible for scheduling all evening, off-campus, and summer courses, changed in person, title, and substance of position during the Era of Realignment. In 1985, Dean of Off-Campus Education and Special Projects C. Owens resigned. His replacement came from the ranks of NCMC faculty in English and Marketing professor R. Boldrey. By 1988, the position was retitled Dean of Continuing Education. During Boldrey's deanship, less attention was given to promoting and experimenting with off-campus curricula; instead, off-campus Business course offerings duplicated those offered on campus.

Faculty. The Resort Services area lost one full-time position while adding part-time faculty positions. Tables 24 and 25 reflect the changes in Resort Services faculty positions in comparison to those of the other cores' faculty.

Students. There was a continuation of the displacement of traditional-aged North Central Michigan College students as a proportion of the total student

enrollment by a growth in the number of students between the ages of 30 and 39 years old. The percentage of student enrollment distributed among five different age categories is displayed in Table 28. During the Era of Realignment, the 15-21-year-old and the 22-29-year-old age categories lost 5% and 2%, respectively, that 7% going to the 30-39-year-old age category. The percentage of females in the North Central Michigan College student population rose from 65% to 69% of the whole student body during this era.

Table 28

*Era of Realignment Student Population: Age Range Percentiles of Total Fall**Enrollment*

	15-21 yrs.	22-29 yrs.	30-39 yrs.	40-49 yrs.	50-59 yrs.	60+ yrs.
Fall 1984	35%	28%	21%	11%	2%	1%
Fall 1987	31%	27%	26%	13%	3%	1%

This trend began in the late 1970s, during the Era of Uncertainty, and was indicative of displaced workers and displaced homemakers financed to attend the College through various government sponsored training programs. As revealed in the previous era, the female student population continued to have a preference for health careers and office professions, the kind of employment available by completing programs within the Resort Services core.

Dedicated Facilities

A permanent office was established in the Main Classroom Building for the Lake Superior State University representative. This position provided services to students pursuing the 3 + 1 business and accounting baccalaureate completion programs.

Source and Degree of Funding

No change occurred in funding for the Resort Services core during this era. No data were available to document the number of students eligible for government-sponsored forms of financial aid who took courses in the Resort Services core. The 1986-87 edition of the NCMC Student Handbook, however, noted the existence of a 40-hour-per-week Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) coordinator on campus “to provide advising and consultation to JTPA-eligible students funded for one- or two-year courses of study at NCMC” (p. 3). This implied that there were enough JTPA-eligible students to justify the state-funded, full-time coordinator position.

Location of Program

Time. No changes occurred in the times that Resort Service core programs were offered during this era.

Place. The number of Resort Services courses offered in off-campus locations was curtailed during this era (see Table 27). More course sections were offered on campus, both day and evening.

Output

In 1985 competition for the shrunken pool of traditional-aged students had become more intense and sophisticated; proprietary colleges in the state were

growing in popularity due to attractive, up-to-date program offerings and guaranteed job-placement enticements. The proprietary colleges showing the most success were the business colleges, like Davenport College, that grew through corporate backing and by the incorporation of several small, urban business colleges around the state. Because business offerings were so successful at North Central, these proprietary colleges were perceived to be significant competition.

The College began to compare ways in which the competition was clustering business courses similar to its own into various kinds of certificate and associate's degrees. By emulation and without adding new courses to the curriculum, the College restructured its business programs, which resulted in its having twice the number of program offerings. An Accounting degree program was developed from existing coursework, the General Business generic program was replaced with a Business Management degree program, and Stenographic and Clerical was refurbished and modernized into a Secretarial and Administrative Services degree program.

A 1 + 1 Specialty program designed to accept students with vocational certification from nonaccredited sources, e.g., Cosmetology, appeared in the 1986-87 edition of the NCMC catalog. It allowed the transfer of up to 30 credits of specialty coursework toward an associate's degree emphasizing Small Business Management.

Additionally, eight certificates in Business were created, each consisting of ten courses, one-half the number of courses of the corresponding associate's degree. Students completing certificate programs had the choice of immediate job entry or continuing toward an associate's degree, a ladder approach to education. A new 3 +

1 degree in Accounting with Lake Superior State University rounded out the changes within Resort Services.

The number of Resort Services courses displayed in the NCMC catalog editions increased only slightly over the era, from 124 to 133, a 7% change. This demonstrated that despite program restructuring and the creation of numerous certificates, few new courses were developed. Change in the output of this core was more a matter of repackaging existing courses than of new course development.

The Associate of Commerce, Associate of Science in Nursing, and the Associate of Science in Respiratory Therapy were eliminated in favor of one Associate of Applied Science degree. This new Associate of Applied Science also certified the completion of all terminal, vocational programs. The new degree allowed for program specification, e.g., Associate of Applied Science “in Marketing.”

Prestige

Prestige increased through the updating and renaming of the stodgy Stenographic and Clerical program and through the specializations available in Accounting and in Business Management. Graduates earned degrees and certificates that appeared to be similar to those earned from a private business college.

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Resort Services Core Summary

The business division within the Resort Services core experienced many structural changes in the way degrees and programs were depicted. Those modifications were the result of changes in the environment, including increased

competition from proprietary institutions, as well as the demands from an increasing number of students who were funded through training and retraining programs.

Substantial changes in the types of courses offered, the location of those courses, and what faculty were utilized, however, changed very little during this era.

Vocational Core

Policy/Constitution

No change in policy occurred during this era.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. The Era of Realignment was the last period under the leadership of founding president Al Shankland, who died in June of 1988. The one major change in the administrative hierarchy was the creation of a vice-presidential position for the business manager. This change was a reflection of President Shankland's ill health and loss of influence with the Board throughout this era, as Business Manager Robert Graham became more responsible for the fiscal direction of the College.

There was no change in the Dean of Instruction position, responsible for scheduling all daytime Vocational courses. The Dean of Off-Campus and Special Projects, responsible for scheduling all evening, off-campus, and summer courses, changed in person, title, and substance of position during the Era of Realignment. In 1985, Dean of Off-Campus Education and Special Projects C. Owens resigned. His replacement came from the ranks of NCMC faculty in English and Marketing professor R. Boldrey. By 1988, the position was retitled Dean of Continuing Education. During Boldrey's deanship, less attention was given to promoting and

experimenting with off-campus curricula; Vocational core courses were eliminated altogether.

Faculty. Faculty positions within the Vocational area decreased during the Era of Realignment; both full-time and part-time positions lost numbers. Tables 24 and 25 show Vocational faculty changes in comparison to faculty changes in other core activities.

Students. Government-sponsored tuition reimbursement programs, e.g., JTPA, brought full-time students to the Drafting, Criminal Justice, Recreational Vehicles and Small Engines, and Business Computer Programming curricula. No data showing enrollment figures exist for these programs. The nature of the Vocational programs represented traditionally male-dominated professions, however, and because female students were the majority at NCMC during this era, Vocational core programs continued to be marginally attractive educational options to the bulk of the NCMC student population.

With the regional employment rate struggling to make an improvement and the increased numbers employed in the Construction and Mining category, males were more likely to be working than taking college classes: “Numerous community college leaders concur that the greatest single predictor of credit hour enrollments is the community employment rate. Where more people are working full-time and overtime the less time they have to commit to college studies” (Gleazer, Jr., 1980, p. 123).

Dedicated Facilities

The old library facility (building #4, Appendix F) became available for new instructional uses with the opening of the new Library/Conference Center in 1984. During the Era of Realignment, the facility was renovated through JTPA and other job-training funds. The 1984-85 self-study cited the following:

“. . . a needs analysis was initiated to determine the most beneficial use of this classroom facility. This assessment resulted in plans for the conversion of the 6,000 square foot area to an industrial technology instruction center. As such it will provide the required classroom and laboratory facilities for courses in hydraulics, pneumatics, electricity, and electronics.” (North Central Michigan College, 1985, p. 94)

With the discontinuance of the Recreational Vehicles and Small Engines program, the Technical Building (building #3, Appendix F) was no longer used for instruction. It became a warehouse for maintenance equipment and general storage.

Source and Degree of Funding

In 1985 the College decided to put a state Job Training and Retraining Investment Fund (JTRIF) grant, earmarked for vocational programming and for the development of customized training, into its building and site fund. By 1986, a capital outlay grant from the state had been secured to remodel the old library building; that grant, along with a grant from the state Department of Vocational Education and the JTRIF dollars, enabled the College to remodel and equip the new Technology building completely from outside sources (Vratanina, 1992; North Central Michigan College, 1979-86).

Operational funding was less secure. The Residence Hall, built with revenue bonds, was a drain on the entire College budget: the older student demographic meant that fewer students took advantage of living on campus. Instructional Dean Francis remarked that until 1988, the instructional budget was not sacrosanct and was at times raided to support other fiscal operations:

The dormitory was an excellent example. We were always getting socked by the dormitory. And I remember . . . one year when Al Shankland came into the administrative meeting and said, “Art, we’re going to take \$65K out of the instructional budget this year in order to cover the deficits of the dormitory. Well \$65K out of the academic budget was devastating—what it meant was no travel, no new books, no new projectors, and so forth. Well what does that do to a fledgling (Vocational program) area? It takes the wind out of its sails completely. (A. V. Francis interview, November 2001)

Location of Program

Time. No changes occurred in the times that programs were offered during this era.

Place. All Vocational core programs and courses were available on campus in Petoskey only.

Output

In 1985, the College discontinued the Recreational Vehicle and Small Engines program that had been developed in 1972 during the Era of Formalization. Citing lack of employment opportunities for graduates and lack of funding (North Central Michigan College, 1979-86), the Board found that Small Engines had failed to attract

enough students interested in pursuing the entire program rather than electing courses of interest.

A new Vocational program, Business Data Processing, appeared in the 1986-87 edition of the NCMC catalog. Coursework for this program had been slowly developing since the previous era. Two courses in accounting were required for this degree program to prepare students for data processing positions within the financial divisions of local businesses and industries. Despite its title, it was a technical computer science program.

Three new, short-term certificates, each consisting of ten courses, were created using existing North Central coursework but packaged into entry-level employment groupings: Law Enforcement Aid, Architectural Drawing, and Machine Drawing. All certificates served as the first “rung” in a ladder that could be used to obtain an associate’s degree.

During the Era of Realignment, there was no real growth in the number of courses developed in occupational departments, as depicted in that era’s catalogs. Vocational courses increased from 132 to 139, a 5% change.

Further evidence that the development of occupational program opportunities, from 4 in 1984 to 6 in 1988, was one of repackaging rather than of intense course development can be seen in Table 27. During the Era of Realignment, Vocational course offerings were reduced for on campus, both daytime and evening, and eliminated for off campus.

The number of degrees marking program completion was greatly reduced and streamlined during this era, despite the seemingly exponential growth. An Associate

of Applied Science degree was designated for all Vocational as well as Resort Services core programs. The new degree allowed for program specification, e.g., Associate of Applied Science “in Criminal Justice.”

Prestige

No change in prestige occurred during this era.

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Vocational Core Summary

The Era of Realignment showed a substitution of programs and facilities, rather than outright growth, in the Vocational core. The Small Engines program was eliminated, replaced by a new Business Data Processing program. An instructional classroom and lab space for vocational curricula was converted into a storage and maintenance facility; at the same time, the old Library was being converted into a new Technology building. Faculty positions were reduced, and despite repackaging existing courses and programs into certificates and Associate of Applied Science degrees, fewer vocational courses remained on the class schedules. The Vocational core continued to be a marginal function at North Central Michigan College.

Off-Campus Core

Policy

No change in policy occurred during this era.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. Dean of Off-Campus Education and Special Projects C. Owens resigned and was replaced by former English and Marketing instructor R.

Boldrey. Boldrey's title changed to Dean of Continuing Education. The Dean continued to be responsible for evening on-campus and off-campus, as well as summer, course scheduling.

Faculty. No change in faculty occurred during this era.

Students. The nature of the courses offered off campus changed to a more traditional fare, implying that the student population also changed to one that was more program or degree oriented and willing to complete their studies on campus in Petoskey.

Dedicated Facilities

No change in facilities occurred during this era.

Source and Degree of Funding

No change in funding occurred during this era.

Location of Program

Time. No change in the times when courses were offered occurred during this era.

Place. After Dean Owens's resignation, only Gaylord and Cheboygan were used as regular off-campus sites.

Output

The Off-Campus core ceased to be a distinct area with the change in deanships. Table 27 illustrates leadership decisions made by the Dean of Continuing Education in streamlining the off-campus programming. Off-campus course offerings were reduced or eliminated across the board within all cores. Courses that remained were (a) the Transfer/Liberal Arts general education core and (b) the Resort Services

core, i.e., prerequisite courses for the Nursing and Respiratory Therapy programs, and foundation courses included in various business degrees. The Transfer/Liberal Arts core and the Resort Services core therefore became one with the Off-Campus core, the latter having become co-opted as another venue for the same standard courses offered on campus day and evening.

Prestige

Off-Campus courses had been slowly in transition toward standardization since the latter part of the Era of Uncertainty. With the elimination of one-shot, personal-interest, and Vocational courses, the prestige of the Off-Campus core was coming in line with, and virtually indistinguishable from, the on-campus Transfer/Liberal Arts and the Resort Services cores.

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Off-Campus Education Core Summary

A change of leadership within this Off-Campus core signaled a change in its activities. While still physically on the periphery with no designated facilities, the Off-Campus core and the students it served began to reflect the dominant core values of North Central Michigan College: to provide coursework for eventual transfer to the baccalaureate-degree-granting institution and to provide coursework leading to an entry-level position in the resort economy.

Continuing Education Core

The core labeled *Special Projects* in the past era was renamed *Continuing Education* in the Era of Realignment. This was driven by the change in title of the

chief administrator for this core from Dean of Off-Campus Education and Special Projects to Dean of Continuing Education. Not only did this position change title and employee, but also—and most importantly—it changed in scope and focus. As the previous section on Off-Campus Education core demonstrated, the Off-Campus core ceased to be a distinct curricular area of North Central Michigan College, becoming instead simply another venue for offering Transfer/Liberal Arts and Resort Services courses. The special projects portion of the dean’s energies changed from the occasional opportunity to provide customized training to a major emphasis on procuring and administering contract services.

During the Era of Realignment, the new continuing education focus became more aligned with the concept of “community education” as defined by Cohen and Brawer (1996):

Community education . . . may take the form of classes for credit or not for credit, varying in duration from one hour to a weekend, several days, or an entire school term. Community education may be sponsored by the college, by some other agency using college facilities, or jointly by the college and some outside group. It may be provided on campus, off campus, or through television, the newspapers, or radio. (p. 275)

NCMC continued to eschew the traditional adult-education role, preferring the segment of community education that specifically emphasized the continuing education of adults for job-related purposes. Again, to borrow from Cohen and Brawer, “Continuing education (is) the learning effort undertaken by people whose

principal occupations are no longer as students, those who regard learning as a means of developing their potential or resolving their problems” (p. 280).

Policy

A goal stated in the North Central Michigan College catalog was “to provide program formats designed to respond to career goals of any person who desires to obtain further education” (1986-87 edition, p. 10).

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. The Dean of Continuing Education, R. Boldrey, served as the sole administrator. Boldrey’s energies focused on developing partnerships with the local Private Industry Council (PIC) and business and industry consortia, and securing training contracts through state-funded programs like M-Job designed to help in the training and retraining of unemployed and underemployed individuals.

A director was hired to run the Institute of Business and Industry Training (IBIT) in 1988. An indicator of an increasingly complex organization, director-level positions would become one of the fastest growing categories of employees throughout the 1980s and 1990s (see Appendices H and I). The new director positions, as well as the original two academic directors, were not in the faculty bargaining unit, a distinction that created a two-tiered level of professional positions. With the exception of IBIT, the director positions did not reflect new hires but were upgrades and title changes for current employees working current positions. During this era, changes in organizational leadership came more from substitutions of positions rather than in the development of new positions.

Faculty. The Continuing Education core used primarily nonunionized, temporary, or part-time faculty. There were occasions when full-time, unionized faculty were used on a pro-rata basis.

Students. Data were not found to document the number of students who were funded by various training partnerships during this era, except for those who went through the Institute of Business and Industry Training (IBIT). IBIT opened in academic year 1987-88, during which 255 people were serviced. As indicated by the program titles, topics were designed for people from a variety of businesses and industries, including public safety, health care, and manufacturing, as well as for people participating in grant-writing and stress-management seminars.

Dedicated Facilities

A suite of offices and a large classroom in the Science building (building #3, Appendix F), originally the site of the Nursing classroom/lab and offices, was renovated for IBIT at the end of this era.

Source and Degree of Funding

Cohen and Brawer (1996) noted that “the source of funds tends to divide community education from the other functions” (p. 281). NCMC’s Continuing Education core, like other community education programs around the nation, was self-supporting through categorical grants, governmental funds earmarked for designated groups, and other outside agencies. Board of Trustees minutes from this era reflected the following funding sources:

Michigan Department of Social Services

JTRIF

M-JOB Retraining Contracts

Private Industry Council (PIC)

Table 29 illustrates the quick growth of revenues and expenditures related to training, seminars, and services provided by IBIT during its first two years of operation.

The College, along with all community colleges in the state, was eligible for JTRIF dollars for several consecutive years. North Central Michigan College used \$60,000 in JTRIF funds to establish IBIT and equip its customized training classroom with computers (North Central Michigan College, 1986-90).

Table 29

Total Gross Revenues and Expenses of IBIT

Year	Revenues	Expenses	Net Profit
1987-88	\$ 44,251	\$ 36,097	\$ 8,154
1988-89	\$175,378	\$143,944	\$32,469

Note. From memo to NCMC committee writing 1995 NCA self-study from Dean of Business Services, G. Flewelling, 12-20-93.

Location of Program

Time. Continuing Education was market driven and so occurred day or evening at the convenience of the customer.

Place. Continuing Education was market driven and so took place at a location most convenient to the customer: on campus, off campus, or on site in business or industry settings.

Output

During the Era of Realignment, Board of Trustees' minutes revealed that the Continuing Education core provided Adult Foster Care training and training in basic electricity and electronics to a large paper industry in Cheboygan. IBIT, a self-supporting unit of the College, fulfilled a need for customized, onsite training for local businesses and industries. It was an example of contract services, defined by Cohen and Brawer (1996) as

. . . instruction that is provided for specific occupational purposes, usually outside the college-credit program. It falls into three categories: training designed specifically for the employees of certain companies; training for public-agency employees; and training for specific groups such as unemployed people or people on welfare. Funds for the contract training may come from the companies or public agencies that benefit or from state or federal funds. (p. 288)

IBIT also provided short-term, personal-interest computer training through six- and eight-week courses whose start and end dates did not coincide with the traditional academic semester. Using grant money to constantly update and keep current its instructional PC equipment, IBIT competed successfully with the academic computer courses and took the pressure off traditional, oversubscribed introductory computer classes. More importantly, IBIT filled the gap that traditional vocational-technical education had failed to capture. Short-term and specific, it not only had the cooperation of industry management so that people could be trained without choosing

between attending school and working, but it also was customized to the skill levels of the students and did not require additional coursework in liberal arts.

Prestige

Prestige was not an element of the Continuing Education core. Its not-for-credit, contractual-services basis was marginal, opposite to the centrality held by the important core values of the organization evidenced in the Transfer/Liberal Arts and the Resort Services cores.

Legitimacy

Legitimacy was established through the goals and objectives set forth by North Central Michigan College, as well as was its place as a common function within the community college movement: “Practically all the community colleges in the nation provide work force training” (Cohen & Brawer, 1996, p. 288).

Continuing Education Core Summary

During the Era of Realignment, the College gave more attention to the various funding opportunities available via governmental and private contract services as well as other outside agencies to provide continuing education to special segments of the regional population. A dean position was restructured to secure and maintain these partnerships; a contractual services division, the Institute of Business and Industry Training (IBIT), was developed to create the customized training specified by the funding agent. IBIT also offered not-for-credit, short-term computer training in its on-campus classroom equipped with state-of-the-art computers through grant dollars.

The Continuing Education core presented some challenges in an analysis of centrality and marginality. Its legitimacy within the community college movement

was solid, and NCMC's policy was vague enough to accommodate contractual services and customized training. It was provided a full-time administrator and a director for IBIT, a designated classroom, and funding to operate from a position of power and centrality.

Continuing Education's source of funding, as articulated by Cohen and Brawer (1996), did indeed separate it from the College's other core functions. Outside funding, a captive and/or externally directed and funded student population, contracted, part-time faculty, and low organizational overhead/commitment made it a pay-as-you-go core that was peripheral and marginal to the real college business carried on by the rest of the organization. At any time, the College could retreat from this core without adverse effects on the academic curricula. Therefore, the Continuing Education core had an academically marginal function but was a temporarily central resource stream.

Discussion and Section Summary

The four years encompassing the Era of Realignment was a time for regrouping and rearranging the personnel and the academic curricula at North Central Michigan College after the financial turmoil of the preceding decade. Without creating additional administrative or faculty positions and by updating programs without creating additional courses, the College continued to offer strong Transfer/Liberal Arts and Resort Services cores that continued a thirty-year curricular tradition of a real college and services to the resort economy. The Vocational core, always marginal, was whittled down to a handful of offerings in three program areas, with an old program replaced by a new Business Data Processing degree program.

The College turned away from the Off-Campus core as a means of meeting regional needs on the margin; instead, the growing funds for re-educating workers in new technology to help local business and industry provided the way to develop a contractual services/customized training division of the College, IBIT, as well as a number of other partnerships. The Continuing Education core thus evolved from an occasional “special projects” status, growing in scope and focus.

The College administration, suspicious of the strings attached to grant-funded programs, continued its reluctance to partake in many state-funded initiatives. Former Continuing Education Dean R. Boldrey wrote about NCMC’s disinclination to participate in M-JOBS:

. . . Governor Blanchard started a funding program at the (community colleges) to reimburse a set amount for each individual going through an approved job training program. (President) Shankland told me (to) ignore my letters from the Blanchard administration; (Vice-President and Business Manager) Bob Graham stated that it was a political issue and that I should not pursue the available dollars. At this point we had begun our first job training program with P & G (Proctor & Gamble) When P & G stated that they knew there were M-JOBS dollars available and we weren’t in the loop . . . (t)hey talked to the Governor’s Office which contacted Shankland and informed him that we were the only (community college) not using M-JOBS (Personal correspondence with Robert Boldrey, March, 2002)

Continuing Financial Struggles

Throughout the Era of Realignment, the College leadership juggled finances to keep the curricula intact. There was strong faculty unrest because sabbaticals were not funded due to financial constraints, energy conservation initiatives were increased, and programs that lost funding or became too costly were eliminated. An example of the former was the Career Information Center, begun with grant money during the Era of Experimentation in 1978 and closed in 1984 when outside funding ended. An example of the latter was the discontinuation in 1987 of the on-campus daycare operation in conjunction with the community's Women's Resource Center (WRC). Begun in 1978 with federal grant funding and henceforth supported by the WRC with rent-free space from the College, it became subject to a child sexual assault legal suit involving a part-time, community-service employee furnished by the Michigan Department of Social Services. The WRC found an off-campus facility and continued the daycare program without College partnership.

Entrepreneurial Initiatives

Without growth in the student population to bring in additional tuition dollars and additional state aid, the College looked to other financial opportunities to bolster its operations. The customized and contractual job training services developed through IBIT and the Continuing Education core were outgrowths of this need. The opening of the Library/Conference Center provided another opportunity. The College created a conference business, bringing in much-needed revenues for the residence hall and the food service division and helping to protect the academic and instructional budgets from being used to fund institutional shortfalls.

As a direct result of the no-growth in the traditional student population at NCMC, declining numbers of students chose to live in the on-campus residence hall. A private food service provider had operated the on-campus food service operation, (located in building #10 in Appendix F) and adjacent to the Residence Hall, until 1985. At that time, the College began to manage its own service, naming the food service manager the Director of Conference and Food Service. Conference and Food Service operated in conjunction with the newly opened Library/Conference Center and the Residence Hall:

As the Residence Hall population declined during the mid-80's, alternative uses for one wing of the Residence Hall were explored. As a result, the College began to promote the use of College facilities for conference use. This use included a full-service approach, supplying meals and banquets, housing accommodations, and meetings rooms. (North Central Michigan College, 1995, p. 92)

First and Second Order Change

Throughout the Era of Realignment, the College made changes to its exterior through the reassignment of personnel, rearrangement of programs and degrees, and reassessment of activities pursued on the margin. As the indicators of centrality and marginality demonstrated, these changes did not significantly alter the core values or primary intent of the organization. The modifications, in response to changing times and modified financial streams, were first-order changes in that they did not alter the structure of the organization. NCMC continued to operate through the influences of a

Board of Trustees and its original president who were wedded to being a low-cost facsimile of a small, private liberal arts college.

The hallmark of first-order change is that it involved commonsense actions to problems using the application of the “opposite” and liberal doses of “more of the same” (Watzlawick, Weakland, & Fisch, 1974; Barott & Raybould, 1998). A large problem during this era was declining student enrollment. A solution utilizing the application of the opposite was exemplified in the elimination of the broad extension of locations and personal-interest courses in the Off-Campus core for an application of the opposite—the tried and true Transfer/Liberal Arts and the Resort Services cores in two locales. An example of applying more of the same was the proliferation of Transfer/Liberal Arts emphases in the NCMC catalog, showcasing 73% of the catalog devoted to academics, in an effort to attract more traditional-aged, potential Transfer/Liberal Arts students.

A second-order change began to occur at the very end of this era with the development of customized and contractual services. To paraphrase Einstein (as cited in Wheatley, 1994), no problem can be solved at the level that created it. This has been referred to as a “second order” change process (Watzlawick, et al., 1974; Barott and Raybould, 1998). Second-order problems call for a change of rules and underlying assumptions. Many times the structure of the system is altered. Second-order solutions focus more on the “what” of the situation in the “here and now” than on the “why” of the problem.

In the development of the College’s customized and contractual services training division, the growing funds for reeducating workers in new technology to

help local business industry provided the means to develop IBIT, as well as a number of other partnerships. The Continuing Education core thus evolved from an occasional *special projects* status, growing in scope and focus. Low College overhead and peripheral placement in the organization were characteristics found previously in the original Evening College core, Vocational core programs operating from the local high school in the 1970s, and the Off-Campus core. The Continuing Education core seemed to echo this tradition; however, its source of funding provided the major difference. Rather than from student tuition dollars, Continuing Education's source of funding came directly from business and industry, as well as government programs, and therefore switched the focus from student-directed to funding that was organization directed. This change in focus in turn changed the nature of programming from personal interest to integrated training and from credit-generating for degree completion to competency based on clock hours of instruction. Therefore, the Continuing Education core was an academically marginal function but a temporarily central resource stream.

Era of Succession: Academic Years 1988-89 to 1994-95

The beginning of the Era of Succession found North Central Michigan College with a new president, the former vice-president and business manager, R. Graham. As the era progressed, there would be significant changes in the leadership configuration as funding mandates, as well as other environmental pressures, required a new level of service employees. The Board of Trustees continued to be remarkably stable during the Era of Succession. Five of the six Board of Trustees members carried over from 1984-85; missing from the Board, however, was a representative from the Burns Clinic medical community, for the first time since the College's establishment. Health and medicine were represented by two of the three women on the Board who were trained nursing professionals. Also absent was a member of the local banking establishment; instead, there were two lawyers, a businessman, the Emmet County Extension Agent, and a civic volunteer to round out the group.

The new president created three important college-wide committees during the Era of Succession: Strategic Planning, Curriculum Review, and Institutional Effectiveness. The planning and review process required more information about the service region and the College's effectiveness in relation to this environment. In 1992, a comprehensive curriculum/institutional review was begun through the Michigan Community College Consortium. This review, in large part an environmental scan, was completed in 1993, and its authors, Alfred and Carter, are quoted often within this section.

Historians and observers of the traditional baccalaureate-degree-granting institutions watched for the socio-political pendulum to swing between autonomy,

a.k.a. academic freedom, and accountability (Berdahl & McConnell, 1994).

Community colleges experience a corollary: accessibility versus accountability.

Accessibility signifies an increasingly far-flung net cast out over the community for potential students, whereas accountability forms the foundation of ancillary services, mandated and funded by the government via grants and federal student-aid packages.

This era revealed a growth in ancillary support services, from personnel to record-keeping computerization, to track and administer program funding to the new student body. It was a time when the pendulum swung both ways at once with accountability and accessibility each setting the institutional tone.

National Influences

The Era of Succession distinguished itself as a time when the federal government tied increasing measures of accountability to its funding to educational institutions. At the same time, it passed legislation that mandated changes in accommodations that encouraged the enrollment of underserved student populations.

Federal Financial Aid

Federal financial aid (Title IV) programs included College Work Study funds, loans, and grants such as the Pell Grant and the Supplemental Economic Opportunity Grant (SEOG). In 1990, Congress passed the Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act (Public Law 101-542) and the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act (Public Law 101-508), both with reporting mandates tying institutional federal financial aid eligibility with institutional public disclosure and support services.

“Lack of either reporting or procedural compliance from colleges that received Title

IV funds could result in the loss of institutional eligibility for federal financial aid” (Taylor, 2001, p. 139).

The Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act required institutions to report and make public their student graduation and transfer rates. It also mandated the formulation of a campus security policy along with an annual report of on-campus crime rates.

The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 included a number of provisions: (a) an ability-to-benefit provision that required students without a high school diploma to demonstrate “college readiness” on an approved standardized test; (b) a pro-rata refund policy provision requiring the development of specific tuition refund policies for specific categories of financial aid recipients using prescribed federal guidelines; and (c) provisions for institutional noncompliance including delayed Guaranteed Student Loan disbursement and eliminating student aid at colleges with high student-loan default rates (Taylor, 2001).

Perkins Vocational Funding

The Carl D. Perkins Vocational Funds, created during the Era of Realignment, continued to provide vocational funding for the purchase and maintenance of equipment and technology necessary in vocational programs, as well as provide professional development for faculty. Perkins monies “funded counseling and advising for students pursuing a vocational program, tutoring and various support services for special populations such as the learning disabled, handicapped, single parents, displaced homemakers, and the economically disadvantaged” (Taylor, 2001, p. 137).

Americans with Disabilities Act

In 1990, Congress passed the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). It was wide-ranging legislation intended to make American society more accessible to people with disabilities. Divided into five titles, it mandated that local, state, and federal governments and programs become accessible to disabled members of the public. It required businesses with fifteen or more employees make “reasonable accommodations” for disabled workers and that public accommodations such as restaurants and stores make “reasonable modifications” to ensure access for disabled members of the public (Pelka, 1997). The ADA compelled educational institutions to make reasonable modifications to existing buildings and reasonable accommodations for disabled students; it offered persons who had previously been unable to negotiate college campuses an enhanced opportunity to pursue higher education. In tandem with Perkins monies that funded the employment of support services for the handicapped, the ADA gave students with disabilities tools for success as well as an open door.

State of Michigan Influences

During the Era of Succession, state aid to public community colleges declined as a percentage of total institutional revenue. This signaled a shift in the three traditional sources of support: local property taxes, tuition, and state appropriations. Taylor (2001) found that between 1990-91 and 1994-95 state aid, as a percentage of general fund revenue to Michigan community colleges, decreased from 36.9% to 34.10%, whereas local property taxes moved from 27.20% to 30.70%. Tuition, as a percentage of general fund revenue, remained the same during this period.

Adding to this decrease in commitment from the state was an underfunded and underutilized formula for the distribution of appropriations to community colleges. This formula, called the Gast-Mathieu Fairness in Funding Formula, was enacted in 1984 by the state of Michigan, recognizing “differing operational costs for different institutions and (assigning) funds based on operational need” (Taylor, 2001, p. 145). Taylor wrote that “in actuality, the formula was tied to state revenue available for Michigan public community colleges and was not always the total means used to appropriate funding” (p. 145). Additionally, formula averages tended to be set by data provided by very large community colleges and afforded a possible bias toward them. The Gast-Mathieu formula was used by the state to distribute appropriations in 1988-89, 1992-93, 1993-94, and 1994-95, all but one of the academic years of the Era of Succession.

Tech-Prep

Tech-Prep, a state-funded initiative, was created to help K-12 and higher education, primarily community colleges, create articulations between career-technical programs, at the high school level and their corresponding programs at the community college. The tech-prep high school student, by following a carefully crafted vocational program of study throughout her four years, could obtain college-equivalent credit toward an associate’s degree in that same program of study, thereby eliminating duplication of coursework and unnecessary expense of time and money in higher education. It was a cooperative means for K-12 and higher education to partner for the seamless transition of vocational-technical students to explore, develop, and add mastery in their chosen field.

Special Project Programs

Two special programs funded by the state during the Era of Succession included the At-Risk Student appropriation of 1989-90 and the Tuition Incentive Program (TIP) appropriation of 1991-92. Both programs were aimed toward aiding students defined as high-risk to be successful in college. At-Risk Funds initially targeted support for remedial students and were distributed to the community colleges through appropriations based upon the previous year's enrollment in remedial coursework. TIP was intended for youths whose families were eligible for social services support; funds were distributed directly to qualified students as a form of financial aid.

During this era, community colleges continued to be eligible for state JTRIF funds supporting vocational education and customized training to meet local economy needs. Perkins Funds continued to be administered through the state Department of Education. Taylor (2001) wrote that, "depending on local efforts, college foundation and scholarship fund-raising garnered additional resources" (p. 142).

Local Service Region Influences

The rapidly increasing disparity of student skills and work force needs may be the most important single challenge facing business and industry in the North Central Michigan College service region from now to the turn of the century.

(Alfred & Carter, 1993, p. 27).

Population Growth

During the Era of Succession, population growth in the North Central Michigan College service region began to revive from the slow growth of the mid-

1980s. Although census figures are taken each decade and therefore include five years (1995-2000) not incorporated into this research, Table 30, highlighting population growth between 1990 and 2000, provides information pointing to regional growth at a much faster rate than that in the rest of the state.

Table 30

North Central Michigan College Service Region Population, 1990-2000

County	1990	2000	1990-2000 % change
Emmet	25,040	31,437	26%
Charlevoix	21,468	26,090	22%
Cheboygan	21,398	26,448	24%
Otsego	17,957	23,301	30%
State of Michigan	9,295,297	9,938,444	7%

Note. From *Shaping the Future: Educational Plan 1993-2000* (p. 26), by R. L. Alfred and P. Carter, 1993, Petoskey, MI: Author.

Unemployment Rates

During the Era of Succession, unemployment rates increased to double digits by 1992 in all counties but Otsego County and then slowly decreased through to 1996. The economic difficulties experienced throughout the state in the 1980s continued to reverberate a decade later. In northern Michigan there were numerous plant closings and layoffs. Although large layoffs did not occur within Emmet County, neighboring counties in the College's service region, with more manufacturing, like Cheboygan and Charlevoix counties, were strongly affected.

Teams of individuals representing the College's academic and noncredit contract services divisions, along with state branches of employment and human resource agencies, came to the plants to help workers assess their options and to choose retraining, college education, relocation, and so forth.

This explains why Cheboygan County, with the loss of the large Proctor and Gamble paper manufacturing plant, continued to be an area of depressed employment opportunities during this entire era, its rate of employment easily doubling that of the rest of the state. Neighboring Otsego County, as in previous eras, did not experience the high unemployment as did the surrounding counties (see Table 31).

Table 31

Average Annual Percent Unemployment Per County/State, 1988 – 1996

	Emmet	Charlevoix	Cheboygan	Otsego	Michigan
1988	8.9%	8.6%	16.3%	6.9%	7.6%
1990	9.7%	8.6%	12.3%	6.4%	7.6%
1992	12.8%	13.3%	13.8%	9.3%	8.9%
1994	11.2%	9.4%	11.4%	6.5%	5.9%
1996	9.5%	6.7%	11.2%	5.2%	4.9%

Note. From U.S. Census, MDCD Area Labor Statistics, Office of Labor Market Information, <http://www.michlmi.org>.

Labor Market Comparisons

Between 1988 and 1995, all wage and salary employment grew by 32% (see Table 32). Construction and Mining showed the strongest gain in employment; the

wholesale and retail Trade category came in a distant second. Almost no change in farm proprietorship was experienced during the Era of Succession. The business segments of finance, real estate, and insurance also grew more slowly than other market sectors.

Table 32

Four-County Labor Market Comparisons by Sector for 1988 and 1995

Sector	1988	1995	% change
All wage & salary employment	32,903	43,566	32%
Farm proprietorship	839	843	1%
Goods-producing Industries:			
Construction & Mining	2,819	5,624	100%
Manufacturing	5,955	7,778	31%
Service-producing Industries:			
Trade	9,207	13,177	43%
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	2,870	3,435	20%
Services	12,199	16,228	33%
Government	5,269	6,107	16%

Note. From Regional Economic Information System, Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce, Geospatial and statistical Data Center, University of Virginia Library, <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/reis/county.html>.

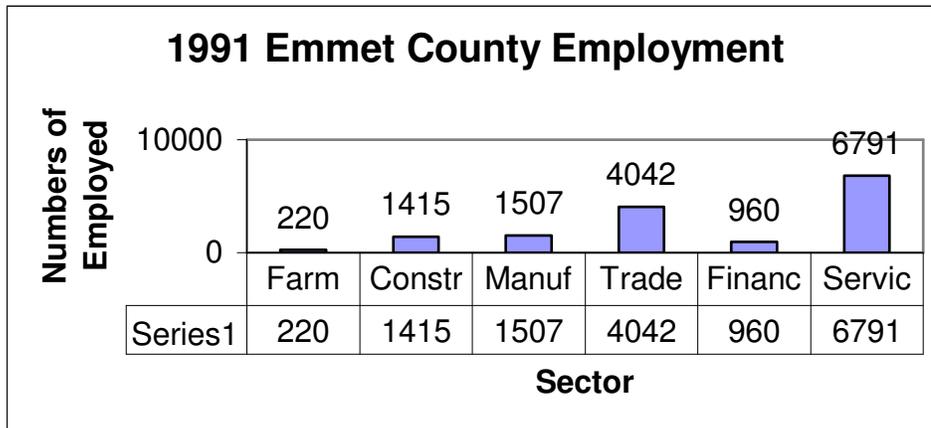


Figure 11. 1991 Emmet County employment sectors.

Note. From Regional Economic Information System, Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce, Geospatial and statistical Data Center, University of Virginia Library, <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/reis/county.html>.

Petoskey and Harbor Springs Communities

Petoskey and Harbor Springs continued to have the strongest and largest pockets of population in Emmet County. The county experienced resurgence in almost all employment sectors after 1986 (Figure 8). A comparison of data from Figure 8 and 1991 employment data in Figure 11 showed the following increases: farm proprietorship, -13%; construction, 32%; manufacturing, 30%; trade, including retail and wholesale, 39%; finance including real estate, banking, and insurance, 18%; and services, 47%. Emmet County enjoyed strong development of its trade and service economy during this era. When asked how the Petoskey area had changed from the 1970s through to the 1990s, the managing editor of the Petoskey newspaper, the *News-Review*, responded that change had been largely “quantitative, rather than qualitative” in nature (personal communication, Kendall Stanley, August 2002).

Summary of Environmental Influences

The Era of Succession was characterized by a series of legislation that increasingly tied accountability measures to federal funding for community colleges. Federal financial aid (Title IV) programs required compliance with reporting mandates and support services or faced institutional loss of financial aid eligibility. The Student Right-to-Know and the Campus Security Act also tied reporting mandates to federal aid. The Omnibus budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 included a number of provisions, including accountability measures ensuring that students were able to benefit from collegiate education. The Carl D. Perkins Vocational Funds continued to underwrite a variety of services for special populations, and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 ensured that community colleges make reasonable accommodations for disabled students.

During the Era of Succession, state financial support for community colleges declined as a percentage of total institutional revenue. The Gast-Mathieu Fairness in Funding Formula, enacted in 1984, also exacerbated declining state support through an underfunded and underutilized method for the distribution of appropriations to the community colleges.

Although JTRIF funds continued to support vocational education and customized training to meet local economy needs, newer legislation tended to focus on job training for youth. The Tech-Prep Program, Tuition Incentive Program (TIP), and At-Risk Program were incentive programs to guide youths into vocational education programs.

The North Central Michigan College service region experienced an uneven economic recovery with some counties suffering double-digit unemployment during the Era of Succession. The Construction and Mining segment of the labor market increased the number of employees by 100%, and the regional population continued to grow much faster than that of the rest of the state. The Petoskey and Harbor Springs communities, as reflected in Emmet county labor statistics, grew more in retail and wholesale trade and in services, and far less in construction, than did its surrounding region.

Indicators of Centrality and Marginality

During the Era of Succession, which included academic years 1988-89 through 1994-95, North Central Michigan College developed a new technology program, established more program partnerships with Lake Superior State University, increased the visibility of the Transfer/Liberal Arts core, and began offering developmental courses (see Appendix K). Data regarding this era came from the 1988-90, 1989-91, 1991-94 and the 1994-96 NCMC catalogs, self-study reports, and Board of Trustees minutes, as well as class schedules from those respective years.

Transfer/Liberal Arts Core

Policy

No change in policy occurred during this era.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. In 1992, veteran Dean of Instruction, A. Francis, retired, and his position was split into two: a dean of occupational studies and a dean of liberal arts studies. The Occupational Studies deanship was combined with the Dean of

Educational Services position. A year later, the College conducted a national search and filled the Dean of Liberal Arts Studies position with someone from outside the region. B. Cole was the first doctorate-level person to join the College as a full-time employee (see Appendix M).

The growth in midlevel management personnel was significant during the 1990s. Those specifically supporting the Transfer/Liberal Arts included Directors of Financial Aid, Learning Support Services, and Special Populations, who joined the existing Director of Library & Media Services, a position that incorporated supervision of the Distance Learning Center.

Faculty. Within Dean Cole's first year, he hired the first full-time doctorate-level faculty member, raising the bar on prestige and accomplishment at NCMC. Tables 33 and 34 highlight changes in liberal arts faculty positions, both part-time and full-time, during the Era of Succession. As in previous eras, growth came from part-time faculty:

. . . one of the things that happened . . . was that we started doing like most other colleges, in fact most businesses did, we started getting pretty big enrollment increases and we took care of that with the minimal expense of part-time people We didn't have much choice because we didn't have the money to do it any other way. So we did it with part-time people and it just stuck (R. B. Graham, interview, June 2001).

Table 33

Era of Succession Full-time Faculty by Core Activity

Year	Transfer/ Liberal Arts Full-time Faculty	Resort Services Full- time Faculty	Vocational Full-time Faculty	Total Full- time Faculty
1988	15.5	10.0	3.0	28.5
1994	16.5	8.5	3.0	28.0
% Change	6%	-15%	0%	-2%

Table 34

Era of Succession Part-time Faculty by Core Activity

Year	Transfer/Liber al Arts Part- time Faculty	Resort Services Part- time Faculty	Vocational Part-time Faculty	Total Part- time Faculty
1988	36	26	11	73
1994	56	37	17	110
% Change	56%	42%	55%	51%

Students. Between the fall of 1988 and the fall of 1994, the student headcount at North Central Michigan College grew by 25%. Part-time student enrollment mimicked total headcount enrollment in its steady growth, which peaked in 1992, reflecting a 35% increase in students. Full-time enrollment during this era also peaked in 1992 but did so only after a couple of years of negative growth followed by a jump

of almost 90 full-time students beginning with the fall of 1991. Through this era, full-time-student headcount grew by 5%. Figure 12 highlights these enrollment numbers.

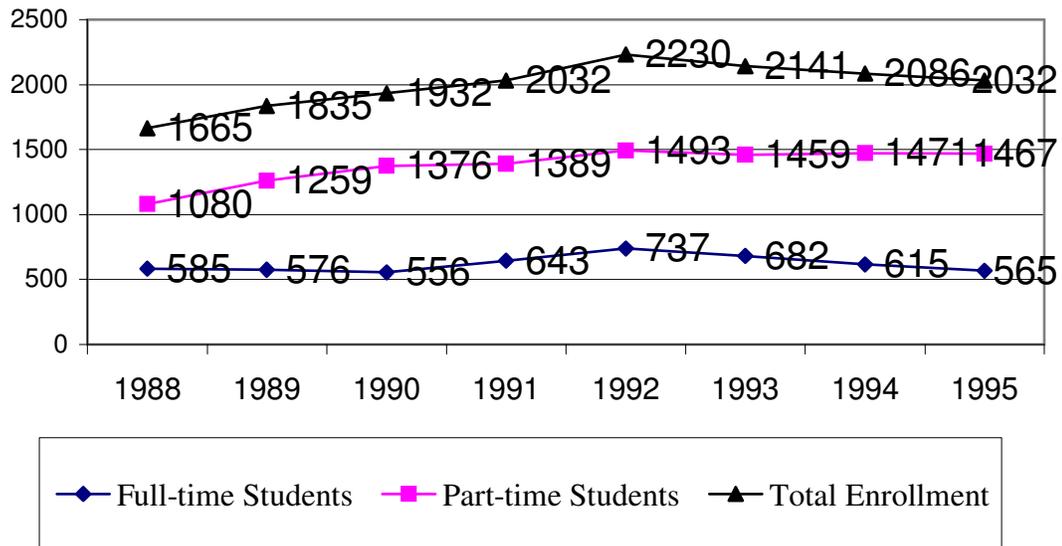


Figure 12. Total, full-time, and part-time fall student enrollment—Era of Succession.

Credit-hour change during the Era of Succession grew by 23% and followed total headcount growth patterns, as depicted in Figure 13. It also began to rise in 1991, peaked in 1992, and then receded beginning in 1993.

Student age demographics are displayed on Table 35. During this era, students in the 15-21-year-old category grew by 7%, the same percentage that shrunk from the 22-29-year-old and from the 30-39-year-old categories. The remaining age categories changed little during this era.

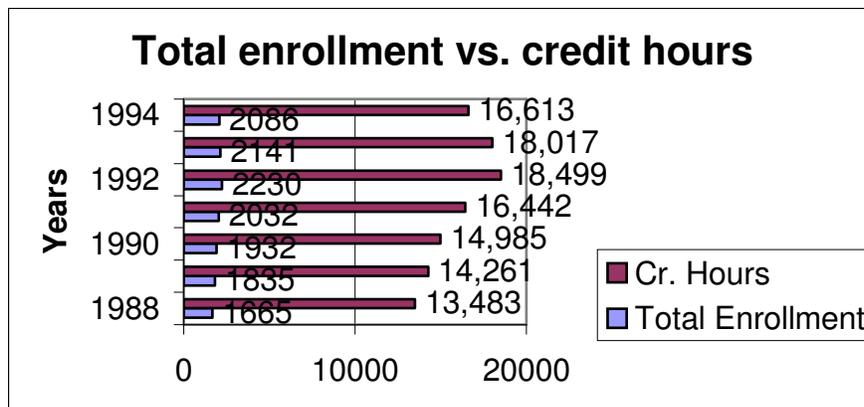


Figure 13. Comparison of total student enrollment with total credit hours—Era of Succession.

Table 35

Era of Succession Student Population: Age Range Percentiles of Total Fall Enrollment

	15-21 yrs.	22-29 yrs.	30-39 yrs.	40-49 yrs.	50-59 yrs.	60+ yrs.
Fall 1988	30%	26%	28%	11%	4%	1%
Fall 1994	37%	23%	23%	12%	3%	1%

A student self-reported survey was conducted during the academic year 1993-94 to discover student program or curricular preferences. The results are displayed in Table 36. The 40% of students on a Transfer/Liberal Arts program path were mostly interested in nonscientific curriculum areas (31%).

Table 36

NCCMC Student Self-Reported Program Area, July 1, 1993-June 30, 1994

Transfer/Liberal Arts	Resort Services	Vocational
Associate of Arts 507 students (31%)	All Business & Office Admin. 531 students (33%)	Engineering technology 45 students (3%)
Associate of Science 139 students (9%)	Nursing 259 students (16%)	Drafting 45 students (3%)
		Criminal Justice 67 students (4%)
		Business Computer Programming 38 students (2%)
Total: 646 students (40%)	Total: 790 students (48%)	Total: 195 students (12%)

Note. Unduplicated enrollment count (N = 1631).

From *Self-study Report* 1995 (p. 104), North Central Michigan College, Petoskey, MI: Author.

Dedicated Facilities

The former President's residence, (building #8 in Appendix F) was converted into the Distance Learning Center (DLC), a distance-learning building offering two-way interactive televised instruction. In 1989, the College offered its first interactive satellite course, televised in the newly retrofitted DLC. Throughout the 1990s this would be a key element in bringing advanced academic programming to northern Michigan.

Source and Degree of Funding

A Kellogg grant was utilized to renovate the building to house Distance Learning Center and to purchase the equipment and set up the operation. (Personal correspondence, R. Boldrey, March, 2002.)

Location of Program

Time. Weekend courses were introduced on the class schedule for Fall 1994.

Place. No change in location occurred during this era

Output

During the Era of Succession, no new liberal arts programming was developed. The number of courses listed under liberal arts departments decreased due to some “housecleaning,” as seldom-offered courses were deleted, with a -6% change as the number of courses decreased from 218 to 204 between the 1989-91 and the 1994-95 catalog editions. Four developmental courses were added under the Transfer/Liberal Arts divisions of English and Math.

Liberal Arts Dean Cole made a number of decisions in an effort to attract new “markets” to the College. He encouraged the liberal arts faculty to develop special-interest courses “to meet new and current needs and changing concerns of society” (North Central Michigan College, 1995, p. 105). Formerly a director of a regional university extension division, Cole hoped to appeal to people in the community who had never previously enrolled because the traditional collection of typical freshman-sophomore courses, such as *Western Civilization*, or *American Literature*, did not meet their needs. A sampling of course titles from class schedules of this time period demonstrated the specialty, nontraditional quality of the new courses: *American*

Literature between the Wars, Growing Old in a New Age, Introduction to Reality Therapy.

A tabulation of numbers of courses offered on class schedules during the Era of Succession is displayed in Table 37. Transfer/Liberal Arts courses made up a greater percentage of all daytime courses and of all off-campus courses on the 1994 class schedule than in 1988. It is evident that there was a strong emphasis placed on increasing the visibility and viability of the Transfer/Liberal Arts core at the off-campus sites.

Advanced Learning. The economic hardships and low numbers of traditional-aged college students in the 1980s and 1990s, pushed many four-year colleges and universities to develop satellite campuses in areas far flung from the traditional main campuses. In January of 1996, the Board of Trustees' minutes noted that six different universities on the campus of North Central Michigan College had taught thirty-one courses during 1995 (North Central Michigan College, 1990-2002). These courses represented opportunities for bachelor's and graduate degrees. A key element to the development and growth of these advanced degree-completion programs was the development of the Distance Learning Center (DLC).

Prestige

“Both the Associate of Arts and Associate of Science degrees create the ‘heart’ of the NCMC academic curriculum. They are both transfer degrees intended for the four-year degree-seeking student” (North Central Michigan College, 1995, p. 12).

Table 37

NCMC Course Types by Time & Site: Fall Semester Class Schedules, 1988 and 1994

	1988	1994	% Change
Day			
Transfer/Liberal Arts	82	110	34%
Resort Services	47	39	-17%
Vocational	15	26	74%
Night On-Campus			
Transfer/Liberal Arts	42	53	26%
Resort Services	24	32	33%
Vocational	17	17	0%
Night Off-Campus			
Transfer/Liberal Arts	26	47	81%
Resort Services	17	22	29%
Vocational	3	2	-33%

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Transfer/Liberal Arts Core Summary

During the Era of Succession, there was a slight shift back toward a younger student population base. The Transfer/Liberal Arts core held its strength and territory despite strong financial initiatives from outside sources to expand in the Resort Services, Vocational, and Developmental cores. The Gaylord and Cheboygan Off-

Campus sites became strong targets for Transfer/Liberal Arts courses, with a corresponding growth in part-time liberal arts faculty. No new programming was developed; however, a series of new Transfer/Liberal Arts courses were offered in an attempt to reach new markets. Transfer/Liberal Arts courses made up a greater percentage of all daytime courses and of all off-campus courses on the 1994 class schedule than they did on the 1988 schedule.

Several advanced learning opportunities were developed during this era through colleges and universities providing baccalaureate and graduate degree programs at NCMC. The technology offered through the Distance Learning Center (DLC) was key to this accomplishment. While advanced learning benefited students in all the cores, it was specifically targeted at those pursuing baccalaureate and graduate degrees. This push for increased extended-learning opportunities could be framed as yet another hallmark of accessibility: “Community colleges were created to help overcome barriers to access in higher education . . . community colleges are once again being called upon to remove a barrier to access—only this time it is access to upper division course work” (Lorenzo, 1994, p. 119).

Resort Services Core

Policy

No change in policy occurred during this era.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. Shortly after becoming president, B. Graham appointed the Director of Nursing and Allied Health, B. Kurtz, to a new Dean position, Educational Services. This position incorporated the former director duties plus focused on

writing grants and developing services mandated by governmental funding requirements and recommended by accreditation agencies. After the 1992 retirement of veteran Dean of Instruction A. Francis, his job was split between liberal arts and occupational programs. A Dean of Occupational Studies position, incorporating many of the duties of the Dean of Educational Services position, was offered to Kurtz. All occupational programs, including those within Resort Services, fell under the purview of Dean Kurtz.

A number of directorships were created during this timeframe. Those positions directly affecting the Resort Services core included the new positions of Director of Financial Aid, Director of Career & Employment Services, Director of Learning Support Services, and Director of Special Populations. Existing director-level positions included Director of Allied Health (formerly Nursing Education), and Director of Library & Media Services, a position that incorporated supervision of the Distance Learning Center.

Faculty. The reduction in the number of full-time faculty positions in Resort Services came from the elimination of the Respiratory Therapy program in 1990 (see Table 33). The growth in part-time faculty was in line with standard operating procedures (see Table 34).

Students. Board of Trustees minutes from April of 1992 reflected a report given by the Director of Financial Aid on local plant closings and their impact on dislocated workers who were funded by various federal and state monies to become retrained at NCMC (North Central Michigan College, 1990-2002). The increase in student headcount in the Fall of 1992 can be directly traced to this phenomenon.

During the Era of Succession, the student population grew unevenly, ending with a 25% larger enrollment. This increase reflected growth in the number of part-time students. Female students accounted for more than half the enrollment (see Table 38), and by the end of the era, the number of students between the ages of 15 and 21 years old had increased by 7%. A student self-reported survey was conducted during academic year 1993-94 to discover program or curricular preference. The results are displayed in Table 36. The Resort Services core curricula commanded half (48%) of the students surveyed.

Table 38

NCCMC Fall Headcount by Percent Female Students

Academic Year	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
% Female Students	70%	68%	67%	69%	68%	69%	68%

The curricular area showing the largest number of students was Business, which also accommodated the largest number of program choices: certificates and degrees in accounting, business management, banking and finance, marketing, and office administration. Students pursuing careers in office administration, either through a certificate or a degree, made up 46% of all business students. A closer look at these student preferences is presented in Table 39.

Table 39

*Office Administrative Services as a Student Self-Reported Program Area,
July 31, 1993-June 30, 1994*

Program Type	Student Enrollment
Certificate Programs	
Receptionist-typist	14
Medical transcriptionist	52
Word processing operator	25
Bookkeeping/office assistant	15
Subtotal, Certificate Programs	106 (44%)
Associate's Degree Programs	
Executive secretarial	14
Legal secretarial	30
Medical secretarial	45
Word processing secretarial	18
Bookkeeping/accounting secretarial	30
Subtotal, Associate's Degree Programs	137 (56%)

Note. Unduplicated Enrollment Count (N = 243) represents 46% of the students preferring a Business Curriculum, and 15% of Total Enrollment. From *Self-study Report 1995 9P. 104*), North Central Michigan College, Petoskey, MI: Author.

Dedicated Facilities

During the Era of Succession, the Respiratory Therapy program was phased out and those offices and classroom were converted to other uses within the organization: two faculty offices became Developmental Studies staff offices; the classroom converted back into a general classroom. Hospitality Management coursework, new during this era, was conducted in general classrooms; no offices were designated to its adjunct faculty. A small classroom in the Main Classroom Building, (building #1, Appendix F) was converted into a Career Planning and Placement office during this era, providing job and career information to all students, most specifically to students in the Resort Services and the Vocational cores.

The conversion of the former President's residence, building #8, into the Distance Learning Center, offering two-way interactive televised instruction, affected Resort Services curricula as well. The primary bachelor's degrees initially offered in the Distance Learning Center (DLC) were in Business and in Nursing, allowing North Central Michigan College graduates in these academic areas the opportunity to continue their education toward bachelor's and master's degrees.

Source and Degree of Funding

A Kellogg grant was utilized to renovate the building to house Distance Learning Center and to purchase the equipment and set up the operation. (Personal correspondence, R. Boldrey, March, 2002.)

Location of Program

Time. The addition of weekend classes in 1994 expanded the opportunities for instruction.

Place. No change in location occurred during this era.

Output

The 1989-90 academic year was the last for the Respiratory Therapy program begun in 1968. Despite statewide marketing of the program, the College could not attract and retain enough students to make the program viable. On the other hand, the College and Lake Superior State University combined its efforts in 1991 to offer a cooperative 2 + 2 Bachelor of Science degree in Nursing (BSN) whereby associate's degree nurses could achieve the bachelor's degree in Petoskey.

The Business curriculum commanded more than one third of all students despite a national trend showing a 50% decline of interest in business careers over past years (Astin, 1992). Capitalizing on interest in business studies, the College created four hospitality-oriented courses. The hospitality courses were designed for transfer toward the articulated 3 + 1 bachelor's degree in Business with Lake Superior State University, specifically for students interested in a bachelor's degree emphasizing hotel-restaurant management or travel-tourism administration (North Central Michigan College, 1995, p. 110). Taught at night by personnel from the local hospitality industry, these new hospitality courses failed to attract enough students and so were discontinued within five or six semesters. The lack of student interest ran contrary to most expectations, given the region's resort-service industry employment environment. Evening courses, still subject to minimum student enrollment, sometimes took several semesters to gain popularity.

A restructuring of the traditional Business 3 + 1 degree options with LSSU

resulted in five concentrations. These new concentrations combined a strong liberal arts general education core with existing Resort Services applied science degrees: Management, Accounting, Marketing, General Business and Accounting-CPA (see Appendix K).

The Secretarial and Administrative Sciences program had its title upgraded to Office Administrative Services, reflecting a change in the profession brought about by business and industry use of computerized office systems. Office Administration coursework was separated from the Business division during this era and given its own alpha-numeric code; that is, B 241, Administrative Procedures, became OAS 241, Administrative Procedures.

There was a slight change in the number, and, hence, the development, of coursework in Resort Services curricula in catalogs from the Era of Succession. The number fell from 122 to 100, a -18% change. With the exception of a name change from “Secretarial” to “Office” Administrative Services, there were no changes in types and the number of degrees offered through North Central Michigan College in its Resort Services curricula during the Era of Succession.

Prestige

Prestige was enhanced by the growing number of bachelor’s degrees available within Resort Services on the campus of NCMC.

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Resort Services Core Summary

The Resort Services core took a blow with the first-ever elimination of a program, Respiratory Therapy. It affected the number of courses, the number of full-time faculty, and the strength of the Allied Health division. This coincided with the lack of representation of Burns Clinic on the Board of Trustees; however, the competition among reputable training sites was too strong for NCMC to attract the competitive Respiratory Therapy students:

. . . (Respiratory Therapy) was doomed because there were multiple programs in the state. Hospitals don't hire as many RT's as they hire nurses; the labor force demand isn't there. And if you have programs in the state and all of them are dumping out 20-30 people every year, which is something they were doing in their heyday . . . (there were) just not enough (jobs). (B. K. Kurtz, interview, February 2002)

Advanced degree opportunities were aided by the development of the Distance Learning Center (DLC), where two-way interactive satellite transmission of class lectures enabled universities to offer courses in Petoskey without finding faculty to deliver instruction on site. NCMC and LSSU once again partnered, this time resulting in all bachelor's-degree coursework being accomplished in Petoskey. Five concentrations were now available within the business fields, as well as an option in hospitality and tourism management. This latter option, NCMC hospitality courses offered during the evenings, failed to attract enough students despite the resort economy. Bachelor's-degree-completion coursework included a number of Transfer/Liberal Arts courses, thereby combining these two cores. LSSU and NCMC

also partnered to offer a 3 + 1 program leading to the bachelor's degree in Nursing (BSN), again with degree coursework all available in Petoskey.

Vocational Core

Policy

No change in policy occurred during this era.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. Shortly after becoming president, B. Graham appointed the Director of Nursing and Allied Health, B. Kurtz, to a new Dean position, Educational Services. This position incorporated the former director duties plus focused on writing grants and developing services mandated by governmental funding requirements and recommended by accreditation agencies. After the 1992 retirement of veteran Dean of Instruction A. Francis, his job was split between liberal arts and occupational programs. A Dean of Occupational Studies, incorporating many of the duties of the Dean of Educational Services position, was offered to Kurtz. All occupational programs, including those within Resort Services, fell under the purview of Dean Kurtz.

The real growth in personnel during the 1990s was in midlevel management. Positions most affecting the Vocational core included the Directors of Financial Aid, Career & Employment Services, Learning Support Services, and Special Populations, joining the Director of Library & Media Services, a position that incorporated supervision of the Distance Learning Center.

The Career and Employment Services Center opened in 1992 under a three-year grant. Its purpose was to teach students job-seeking skills and provide

employment information to the College community. The Director's position also assumed responsibility for all cooperative education and training opportunities for Contracting with Business and Industry (CBI) training program. However, like a similar grant-funded program that helped develop a Career Information Center on campus in 1981, the Career and Employment Services Center was eliminated in 1995 when funding ran out.

Faculty. A full-time faculty position in Engineering Technology increased to three the number of Vocational full-time positions. Tables 33 and 34 compare changes in Vocational full- and part-time faculty positions with positions in the other cores. Vocational part-time faculty positions grew 55%.

Students. A student self-reported survey was conducted during academic year 1993-94 to discover student program or curricular preferences. The results are displayed in Table 36. A Vocational core curriculum was the preference of 12% of those surveyed.

Dedicated Facilities

A new occupational program, Engineering Technology, was housed in the renovated former library building (#4, Appendix F), one of the original buildings on campus, renamed the Technology Building. It housed all computer-aided designing, machining, and electronics coursework, as well as two faculty offices.

A small classroom in building #1 was converted into a Career Planning and Placement office during this era, providing job and career information to all students, most specifically to students in the Resort Services and the Vocational cores.

Developmental coursework in English and math were introduced into the curriculum,

affecting the success of Vocational students. Those courses were taught in existing general classrooms in the Main Classroom Building (building #1, Appendix F).

Source and Degree of Funding

Whereas the customized education branch of the College, IBIT, continuously received grants to keep its computer lab up to date, a “technology” fee was instituted in 1995 to help defray costs of upgrading and expanding academic computer labs for student instruction and general use.

A Kellogg grant was utilized to renovate the building to house the Distance Learning Center and to purchase the equipment and set up the operation. (Personal correspondence, R. Boldrey, March, 2002.)

Location of Program

Time. No change in this core’s timing of courses occurred during this era.

Place. No change in location occurred during this era.

Output

During the Era of Succession, an Engineering Technology program was instituted, emphasizing automation electronics. Building upon this were three 2 + 2 articulated agreements developed with Lake Superior State University in the engineering technology fields. The articulated degrees were designed so that the freshman and sophomore years were completed through NCMC and the junior and senior years completed on the campus of Lake Superior State University. They were designed for students whose primary educational goal was a bachelor’s degree rather than an associate’s degree. Students pursuing the LSSU bachelor’s degree did not obtain the NCMC Associate of Applied Science in Engineering Technology but

simply enrolled in those freshman- and sophomore-year courses that most closely articulated with the freshman and sophomore years at Lake Superior State University. Therefore, although appealing to talented students whose goals were set on a higher degree, the articulation agreements guaranteed that a certain number of Engineering Technology students would select only a limited amount of NCMC program coursework in favor of prerequisite courses for LSSU.

Computer courses also continued to be in high demand during the Era of Succession, and the program title was changed from Business Data Processing to Business Computer Programming, reflecting changes in the field. Although few students committed themselves to a computer-oriented degree, many students took computer courses because of technology's applicability to all educational as well as occupational pursuits.

During the Era of Succession, the number of Vocational core courses depicted in the NCMC catalog decreased by almost 30%, from 133 courses in the 1989-91 catalog edition to 94 in the 1994-95 edition. Despite the development of nineteen (19) courses in Engineering technology, the entire Manufacturing Processes division, including welding coursework to support the defunct Small Engines program, was deleted.

Table 37 tabulates the Vocational coursework offered on class schedules during this era. It displays the stasis in Vocational courses offered during the evenings both on and off campus. Engineering Technology, offered almost exclusively during the daytimes was responsible for the growth in daytime Vocational core coursework.

An Associate of Applied Science in Engineering Technology was created during this era. This reflects the only change in Vocational degrees.

Prestige

The Engineering Technology program and its articulated bachelor's-degree options with Lake Superior State University, increased the prestige of the Vocational core. It was an expression of the core organizational values: the virtues of a bachelor's degree as the purpose of a real college.

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Vocational Core Summary

The Vocational curricula maintained a low-growth, stationary profile during the Era of Succession despite the development of the Engineering Technology program. Space allocation for Engineering Technology was a significant development, and efforts to extend educational opportunities toward technological bachelor's degrees increased the prestige of the Vocational core. The articulated bachelor's degree options with LSSU, as well as the applicability of computer knowledge to all curricula, promoted students' selecting only courses required for their own needs and interests rather than their pursuing whole degree programs in Engineering Technology and in Business Computer Programming.

Off-Campus Core

Policy

In August of 1988, as recorded in the minutes of the Board of Trustees from that month, a memo of understanding between North Central Michigan College and

the Otsego County Board of Commissioners was signed whereby North Central agreed to help with a feasibility study for the development of an educational center at Gaylord's Alpine Center (North Central Michigan College, 1990-2002). By 1990, this would evolve into "a five-college consortium, chaired by NCMC and consisting of three four-year institutions and two community colleges," an outgrowth of "various educational institutions activities (that) had begun to fragment and duplicate course offerings in the Gaylord area" (North Central Michigan College, 1995, p. 201).

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. The Dean's title changed again to include "extended learning": Dean of Continuing Education and Extended Learning. Other administrators supporting the Off-Campus Education core included the two academic Deans and the Directors of Library and Media Services and IBIT. The expanded Dean of Continuing Education and Extended Learning position was eliminated in 1995, along with the Director of Career Planning and a receptionist position at the end of the Era of Succession. Former President Graham cited zero surplus in operational money, partially due to the high labor costs of the unionized full-time faculty, that left the College searching for areas to eliminate so that newer, more pressing initiatives could be funded:

. . . when I took over in summer 1988 right after we had signed a new 4-year (faculty union) contract and were at the end of the first year at that point . . . it was devastating to the economics of this institution. We were in tough financial shape. Enrollment was growing, but it wasn't growing enough at that time, state aid, the state was not doing well, we weren't going under but we

were in tough shape. We didn't have the money to expand. And that went on for 3-4 years afterwards. To the point where we laid people off, we laid off a program (Respiratory Therapy), and then we had to lay some other people off, in the middle '90s. We finally got some taxes and away we went (R. B. Graham, interview, June 2001)

Faculty. No change in faculty occurred during this era.

Students. Off-Campus students not only were interested in pursuing associate's degrees, they were interested in doing so in their hometowns. As a result of the Alfred and Carter study indicating "significant need for expansion of academic programs and services to the Gaylord area," the College surveyed students registering for courses in Gaylord during the Fall of 1994 and found that "83% desired NCMC to offer guaranteed business-related programs of either one-year certificate, AAS, or AA degrees" (North Central Michigan College, 1995, p. 202).

Dedicated Facilities

The College proposed in its 1995 NCA self-study to create an off-campus center in Gaylord and to guarantee that an associate's degree could be completed in its entirety at that site. That proposal was accepted, and the College began to develop its center office. A consortium of colleges and universities, of which NCMC was a member, occupied offices and shared classroom space on property adjacent to Gaylord High School. Cheboygan off-campus courses continued on as in the past, with the College using high school classrooms during the evening. No office space was used in Cheboygan.

Source and Degree of Funding

A Kellogg grant was utilized to renovate the building to house Distance Learning Center and to purchase the equipment and set up the operation. (Personal correspondence, R. Boldrey, March, 2002.)

Location of Program

Time. No change occurred during this era.

Place. No change occurred during this era.

Output

Throughout the Era of Succession, coursework offered at the two off-campus sites, Gaylord and Cheboygan, continued to reflect a strong Transfer/Liberal Arts influence. Table 40 illustrates the pattern of core activity at the Off-Campus sites between 1988 and 1994. Plans were drawn up to offer an entire Associate of Applied Science business degree to Gaylord, but that had not been finalized by the end of the 1994-95 academic year.

Table 40

Off-Campus Course Offerings by Core Activity: Fall 1988 and Fall 1994

Core	Transfer/ Liberal Arts	Resort Services	Vocational
1988	26	17	3
1994	47	22	2
% change	(81%)	(29%)	(-33%)

Prestige

Increased prestige to the city of Gaylord was a factor as important as student convenience: “The prestige factor was important. Most of the new junior colleges were opened in cities and towns where no college had existed before.” (Cohen & Brawer, 1996, p. 219).

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Off-Campus Education Core Summary

A change occurred in the Off-Campus Education core that saved it from becoming simply another venue for offering Transfer/Liberal Arts and Resort Services core courses. It had long been important to the College to develop a continuing and loyal evening-student population in both Cheboygan and Gaylord. Gaylord, in particular, was a very fast-growing area. Other colleges and universities were also eyeing Gaylord, the county seat for Otsego County, as a prime location for off-campus activities. They had begun to offer courses with the encouragement of Gaylord citizens, who were eager for access to higher education in addition to the North Central Michigan College offerings.

In this time period, the Gaylord Educational Consortium was created. NCMC was a founding member, and the Dean of Continuing Education and Extended Learning, R. Boldrey, took a leadership role in guiding the structure of higher educational offerings in a region that had, since 1968, been considered by the Michigan Community College Association (MCCA) to be a part of North Central Michigan College’s service district.

Ironically, the achievements in the Off-Campus Education as well as the Contract Services cores, secured the elimination of the Dean's position. Both areas were judged to be running well enough that the administrative salary could be utilized for expansion into the Development Studies core.

Contract Services Core

The title of this core evolved from Special Projects to Continuing Education and now to Contract Services. Contract Services was the way in which NCMC chose to meet requests for noncredit training requests from the region. Customized and contractual services primarily referred to the instructional opportunities managed by the Institute for Business and Industry Training (IBIT) and also to Conference Services, which often worked hand-in-glove with IBIT to provide accommodations to special groups of trainees.

Policy

No change in policy occurred during this era.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. There were several administrators, including the Dean of Continuing Education and Extended Learning, the College president, the Director of IBIT, the Director of Conference Center, and the Director of Library and Media Services whose duties included certain aspects of Contract Services. The Dean of Continuing Education and Extended Learning position was eliminated at the end of 1995 in response to financial hardship and pressure to expand College services in other directions.

Faculty. No change in faculty occurred during this era.

Students. According to a self-study, from its founding in 1988 to 1994, IBIT had provided training to more than 4,800 participants, amounting to over 7,600 hours of training (North Central Michigan College, 1995, p. 129). Former president Graham, talking about the change in student body during his administration, noted,

Our student body has changed extensively . . . we have a whole lot of people who don't ever take a class that has credit. Those are our students: the business and industry people. If you look at the overall macro—that's what we do here. We don't have 2100 students who go to school here, we have 5000 students who go to school with us. And 3000 of those people are people who take a one-day, ten-week IBIT lab (course), so that's a big change.

(Interview, June 2001)

Dedicated Facilities

The IBIT suite of offices and classroom continued to be located in the Science Building, and Conference Center services utilized the Library/Conference Center and the Student Center. The former President's residence, building #8 in Appendix F, was converted into the Distance Learning Center (DLC), a distance learning building offering two-way interactive televised instruction. In 1989, the College offered its first interactive satellite course, televised in the DLC. Throughout the 1990s the capability to transmit conferences and coursework via satellite would be a key element in IBIT bringing conferences and learning opportunities to the region.

Source and Degree of Funding

As in the past, IBIT took advantage of government funds and contracts as they were developed. A Kellogg grant was utilized to renovate the building to house the

Distance Learning Center and to purchase the equipment and set up the operation. (Personal correspondence, R. Boldrey, March, 2002). Table 41 shows the growth in IBIT through its generated revenues and expenses during six years of operation.

Table 41

Total Gross Revenues and Expenses of IBIT

Year	Revenues	Expenses	Net Profit
1988-89	\$175,378	\$143,944	\$32,469
1989-90	275,952	275,952*	--
1990-91	261,670	261,670	--
1991-92	293,358	293,358	--
1992-93	371,450	371,450	--
1993-94	345,500	345,500	--

Note. *Reflects \$24,377 designated to NCMC, in addition to net profits from 1987-88 and 1988-89, toward the creation of a \$65,000 cash reserve fund.

From memo to NCMC committee writing 1995 NCA self-study from Dean of Business Services, G. Flewelling, 12-20-93.

Location of Program

Time. No change occurred during this era..

Place. IBIT increased its presence in the Gaylord and Cheboygan communities not only through business and industry but also with alternative educational offerings for youth.

Output

The Institute for Business and Industry Training (IBIT) proved that it could

survive on its own and bring in additional monies and students to the College. It obtained contracts through manpower consortia and private industry councils to train dislocated workers, as well as secured contracts to furnish onsite training to local businesses and industries.

It continued to offer regular noncredit personal computer applications instruction in its Petoskey campus classroom. It continued to represent the College to various economic development and industrial associations throughout the service region.

Conference services continued to grow during the Era of Succession: “Conference share of revenue fund income has risen from approximately 15% to 50%” (North Central Michigan College, 1995, p. 92.) Through its conference business, the College enhanced community access. The Conference Center was open for business 360 days per year and increased its activity from “three or functions per month to as many as four events per day” (North Central Michigan College, 1995, p. 92).

Prestige

No change in prestige occurred during this era.

Legitimacy

No change in legitimacy occurred during this era.

Contract Services Core Summary

Contract Services core activities accommodated the majority of the special project, short-term training opportunities available in the North Central Michigan College service region during the Era of Succession. Self-supporting and

economically administered, it became an important function of the College. Although the Dean's position was eliminated, Contract Services' centrality to the organization rested on its ability to independently answer not-for-credit training needs without affecting the academic cores.

Developmental Studies Core

One of the recommendations of the 1985 NCA review team when NCMC last came up for accreditation was that NCMC provide stronger student academic support and tutorial services. The new Dean of Educational Services pursued this recommendation in 1988 with a needs analysis for developmental studies at North Central Michigan College, launching the Developmental Studies core in the 1989-90 academic year.

Policy

At the March 1989 meeting of the Board of Trustees, a number of policies were approved, in part to meet qualifications for federal financial assistance. They included Title VI, the Civil Right Act of 1964; Title IX, the Education Amendment of 1972; and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. These policies secured equal opportunity, sex equity, and antidiscrimination due to disabilities, setting the stage for the developmental studies programs and ancillary services.

A developmental-studies group of courses was created for incoming students whose assessment scores in math and English placed them at below-College level. The College decided to place these developmental courses within the regular English and Mathematics departments and have them taught by regular full-time and part-

time faculty from the respective divisions rather than create a separate division for developmental English and mathematics.

Number/Type of Employees

Administration. In 1988 the newly installed president, Bob Graham, first promoted from within the former Director of Nursing and Allied Health, B. Kurtz, to a newly created dean-level position in Educational Services. The Educational Services deanship heralded a time when grants, such as At-Risk and Perkins dollars, would be more frequently sought and closely managed; more important, it made possible the creation of a developmental studies program and support for special student populations (see Appendix L). By the end of the era, a director for Learning Support Services and a Coordinator for Special Populations would be in place.

Faculty. Developmental studies course sections were taught by full-time and part-time faculty. No full-time faculty were hired specifically for developmental studies.

Students. The percentages of Fall 1994 entering students with placement test scores recommending them for developmental studies English and math courses were around 58% and 83%, respectively (North Central Michigan College, 1995, pp. 66-68). Unfortunately, not all availed themselves of remediation because placement was not mandatory and developmental credit did not count toward graduation or transfer. Nonetheless, 1318 students used the Learning Support Services facilities, and 1908 tutorial hours were expended in academic year 1992-93 (North Central Michigan College, 1995, p. 64).

The number of NCMC students who qualified for federal financial aid was growing. Between the years 1988-89 and 1993-94, the financial aid disbursed had increased by 76.2%, and the number of students serviced increased by 97.5% (North Central Michigan College, 1995, p. 84). Some of these students also met federal and/or state-funded requirements for training and retraining funds, e.g., JTPA. Training and retraining funds were primarily for one-year and two-year occupational-technical “terminal” certificates and degrees.

Dedicated Facilities

Developmental coursework in English and math were taught in existing general classrooms, but a large room in the Main Classroom building, created through grant monies in an earlier era to house a Career Resource Center, was converted into a developmental lab offering computerized instruction and person-to-person tutoring. Two offices, formerly Respiratory Therapy faculty offices, were designated for learning-support personnel.

Existing space was enhanced to assist different types of students on campus. North Central Michigan College became more accessible to students with disabilities by providing an elevator, automatic exterior doors, Braille signs, and the like in the Main Classroom Building (building #1, Appendix F).

Source and Degree of Funding

Carl Perkins, Special Populations, and At-Risk monies helped to develop Learning Support Services and Special Populations. Funds were available for in-kind (salary) use as well as program development. By 1990, the College was compelled to participate in state-funded program development:

(There) was . . . big pressure on this College to meet the expectations of the state and to join the rest of the community colleges. There were two other community colleges of the 29 that did not have those organized programs or services. (B. K. Kurtz, interview, February 2002)

Location of Program

Time. Developmental Studies course sections were offered day and evening.

Place. Developmental Studies course sections were offered both on campus and off campus. According to the 1994 Fall class schedule, there were 11 developmental courses were offered on campus during the daytime, and 4 courses were offered on campus in the evening. Off campus, 6 evening development courses were offered.

Output

An assessment of NCMC's incoming student body in 1988 was administered through an At-Risk grant. It provided proof that first-level English and mathematic courses were too difficult for a number of entering students, particularly in beginning algebra. Four new developmental courses were created within the English and Math divisions to meet these needs. Additionally, during this era, a for-credit study skills course was developed, as well as a no-credit reading course.

In 1990, a Learning Support Services (LSS) division was developed, and a full-time director was hired, to provide assessment, tutoring, and assistance to help students become and stay successful:

The background of LSS at NCMC begins in 1989 with its developmental studies program, funded originally by a State of Michigan "At-Risk" grant.

This grant was given to every community college to evaluate students in four basic program groups. Those programs were the Tuition Incentive Program (TIP); the Job Training Partnership Act of 1973 program; Michigan Occupational and Skill Training (MOST), a Department of Social Services (DSS) program; Michigan Job Opportunity Bank (M-Job), a Michigan Employment Security Commission (MESCC) program; and Job Start (North Central Michigan College, 1995, pp. 64-65)

Learning Support Services assessed and identified students who needed developmental coursework and coordinated the developmental coursework. It provided free tutoring for students in developmental coursework so that they would emerge ready to enroll in regular college coursework.

A Special Populations Office was initiated in 1991 as part of developmental education, and a full-time coordinator position was filled in 1994. Funded by Carl Perkins monies, Special Population's purposes were to support nontraditional students so that they could be successful and to track and to provide disabled students with help in career development and job placement.

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1992 had an important impact on the College and gave added impetus to a growing need for elevators, ramps, and automated doorways. The growth of an older student population, partnerships with state rehabilitation services, and student recruiting efforts that cast an increasingly broader net over the region's population put pressure on the College to improve its physical facilities. In 1992 the College began renovations by installing elevators in the Main Classroom Building and the Student Center (see Appendix F), followed in

1993 with the installation of two wheelchair-accessible rooms in the Residence Hall. Automated doors were installed in every doorway, Braille signs were mounted, and restrooms throughout campus were renovated for handicapper accessibility.

Prestige

There was low prestige associated with Developmental Studies because of its remedial nature and lack of credit for the courses. Identification with Special Populations carried with it an onus similar to that of special education.

Legitimacy

Legitimacy was secured by the national and state governmental ideologies and funds underwriting these initiatives. A 1989 nationwide study of community colleges revealed that 90% offered some kind of developmental education: “On the average, two-year colleges offer 2.8 courses in each of these areas (reading, writing, and math), with most colleges offering at least two levels of remedial/developmental work” (Spann, Jr., & McCrimmon, 1994, p. 168).

Developmental Studies Core Summary

During the Era of Succession, North Central Michigan College put into place services, courses, and barrier-free aids to make college education more accessible to the regional population. The Developmental Studies core preceded the Learning Support Services department and a Special Populations office, each with its own mission and particular group of clients.

North Central Michigan College was following a national trend in its creation of its Development Studies core. There was obvious pressure in the form of accountability as well as funds from government sources, such as the Carl Perkins

and the At-Risk programs, to employ a system for the identification, remediation, and training of youth and special populations. Initial attempts to offer developmental coursework met with small enrollments. The College chose not to make placement into these developmental courses mandatory because the potential student numbers required the hiring of additional full-time faculty in developmental English and mathematics. Because developmental coursework credits neither counted toward graduation nor transferred to other institutions, students did not enroll in large numbers. “As long as placement in developmental courses is not mandatory, many students will continue to fail in regular courses, thus wasting time, theirs and the College’s” (North Central Michigan College, 1995, p. 114). It would not be until 1996 that due to layoffs and retirements, the College would have the ability to hire full-time developmental faculty.

Section Summary and Discussion

The Era of Succession signaled a change in leadership at North Central Michigan College with the naming of its second president, Robert B. Graham. Since 1968, Graham had been the business manager and, during the last era, the vice-president of the institution. Although a national search had been commenced to find Shankland’s successor, the Board knew and trusted Graham, and were confident that he would guide the College in a direction that continued its core values. An abiding value was keeping the College fiscally strong, and Graham, with his intimate knowledge of the College’s finances, had the winning edge:

One critical concern facing most organizations is that of obtaining sufficient resources. Considering this, it seems reasonable that those who contribute

most to maintaining organizational resources would develop power in the organization. (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, p. 232)

Throughout the Era of Succession the initiatives begun in the 1980s continued in searching out alternative means for financing College operations, restructuring the administration, developing other divisions to handle short-term business and industry needs, using technology to manage and instruct, and making the curriculum more attractive to a larger population group.

An analysis of this era's measures of centrality and marginality contrasts the strength of the founding core values with the leadership of a new president in a time when various financial streams beckoned toward an expanded mission. New cores, or functions, continued to be added to North Central Michigan College without the retirement or assimilation of the old. The activities of six cores during the Era of Succession were analyzed, including the Transfer/Liberal Arts, Resort Services, Vocational, and Off-Campus Education cores, the Continuing Education/Contract Services core, and a new Developmental Studies core.

The Transfer/Liberal Arts, Resort Services, and Vocational cores received stronger organizational support when the Instructional Dean's position was split in two, one Dean for the Transfer/Liberal Arts core and the other for Occupational Studies. The Resort Services and the Vocational cores fell under the latter. Very little changed relative to the centrality and marginality of the three. The "heart" of the organization continued to be the Transfer/Liberal Arts core, and its new Dean showed a determination to attract new students with a series of contemporary subjects.

Resort Services lost an ailing medical-oriented program and its two faculty members but gained in prestige as every one of its programs led to a bachelor's degree that was obtainable in Petoskey through Lake Superior State University. The Vocational core continued at a distant third in facilities, faculty, and enrollment despite the popularity of computer programming and the refurbishment of the old Library into a state-of-the-art automation-electronics Engineering Technology program.

The Contract Services core lost its dean; however, its office location on campus and the strength of the IBIT director, along with strong revenues, left it in a position of fiscal centrality. The Developmental Studies core was created out of pressure from financial streams to provide accountability through special services to students. NCMC was one of the last community colleges in the state to employ At-Risk funds. Always concerned with the quantity of student enrollment, the College up until this era had made little effort to evaluate the quality of its student enrollment numbers. NCMC had not seen remediation or special populations as central to organizational goals.

Off-Campus Education core activities continued to gain prestige, especially among citizens of Otsego County, with the development of the five-college consortia in Gaylord. Plans called for a guaranteed business degree, and the increase in numbers of Transfer/Liberal Arts courses offered at off-campus sites indicated an alignment with core values represented on the main campus. The elimination of the dean's position for this core without a director-level employee in place, however, pointed to the expediency of Off-Campus Education's position in the organization in

times of fiscal prioritizing. It came at a time when the College was on the brink of commitment to a more complete off-site campus maintained by full-time employees and with services similar to those at the Petoskey campus. In exchange for this level of organizational commitment, the College stood to gain a larger share of the growing and thriving Gaylord market. The growth in out-of-district, tuition-generating student numbers could have contributed to organizational fiscal health. The College pulled back at the moment of decision, content to operate as it had in the past: low overhead and commitment in exchange for a smaller but guaranteed student enrollment.

In contrast, Mid-Michigan Community College (MMCC), the rural Michigan community college studied by Taylor (2001) and referenced in earlier contexts, found itself in a similar position during the early 1990s. More aggressive than NCMC was in securing funding, it had been frustrated in its attempts to increase revenue through four separate failed millage requests in three years. Its off-campus site in a neighboring out-district county had been so successful, however, that it had pointed the way for substantial student growth. Taylor (p. 162) quoted the MMCC president as saying that the new “campus is an opportunity for future growth,” one that would be able to cover the additional operational costs involved with developing and operating the new campus. That new MMCC campus site, with its extended personnel and organizational commitment, was opened in 1994.

Both former NCMC deans Francis and Kurtz, in separate interviews from November 2001 and February 2002, respectively, expressed their perceptions that North Central Michigan College leaders were not risk-takers, valuing the fiscal responsibility of “balanced books” over an entrepreneurial spirit. In addition to fiscal

conservatism were tradition and identity: Although the academic cores to be represented by a Gaylord campus were identical to the valued cores in Petoskey, Gaylord was thirty-six miles from the College's founding roots of Harbor Springs and Petoskey. In developing a second, and in the case of MMCC, a potentially larger campus, NCMC risked straying from its origins:

The perception of those who are familiar with the College is that NCMC does a good job at what it sets out to do, but convenience and tradition may dictate its choices about what to offer and who to serve. (Alfred & Carter, 1993, p. 24)

The common thread among all the cores was the effort to appeal to a growing number of students—albeit in a conservative manner—and thus increase enrollment:

Most states fund on the basis of student enrollment. Since enrolling more students results in the receipt of more money, the college leaders have developed a mindset favoring growth, which stems from the knowledge that without augmented enrollment, leaders cannot fund salary increases, new programs, and all the changes that make their colleges appear innovative Curricular breadth is a corollary of the growth dogma; more courses designed to serve more students with different aspirations enhance enrollments (Cohen, 2001, p. 21)

Added proof of the new president's intentions to expand the College's financial base was the establishment of a Foundation and a Marketing division, each headed by directors. A Director of Marketing was hired in 1994. Although the position had not been budgeted nor had appeared on the strategic plan, it was decided

that the institution could no longer compete with other educational options without a full-time professional to unify College material and plan activities and events.

Minutes from the May 1991 monthly NCMC Board of Trustees meeting noted that the College, threatened by a serious lack of cash flow due to delayed state aid payments, applied for a line of credit in case delays outstripped operating funds at hand. Two years later, Alfred and Carter noted that

Student tuition will need to steadily increase and private gifts and support will become an increasingly important source of revenue in the face of inadequate formula and non-formula state appropriations to support major enrollment gains. (1993, p. 19)

While citing that “cost containment and expenditure controls need to continue,” they predicted that “support from private-sector business and industry, individual donors, and alumni will become increasingly important” (p. 19).

The College seemed primed to receive that message, having begun a Foundation with a Board and a half-time Director. The director position would remain less than full-time until 1995 when an employee would be promoted from the Student Services division. The Foundation’s Board was composed of 12 community leaders, including former and current Board of Trustees members, and began generating funds through an annual campaign, scholarship support, special events, capital campaigns, memorials, and bequests. The beginnings of an alumni database would create an alumni office.

Clearly the new president felt strong pressure from both inside the

organization and from its outside environment to expand both in student numbers and in services. Core activities were required to become more comprehensive and accountable; the demands on the College required much more than simply offering an academic program.

Despite these new pressures on North Central Michigan College, President Graham, in his last week in office in 2001, reflected on the College's identity and in doing so, enumerated the regional environment, the national and state pressure for comprehensiveness in services, and the real college core value that continued to attract generations of students:

I think one theme . . . is that we are a rural northern Michigan small college. That plays into everything we do. Another theme, is that we're trying . . . to be comprehensive in our offerings, . . . we're trying to offer more than just one type of education or service to the community. Because we think that there is a need for more than one kind of service and because we also think that it will draw more people in here . . . the (other) theme of this place is that it is and has been . . . the liberal arts transfer program. No matter what else we do, that winds up being the central focus of the place. So if we had themes, I guess one would be . . . where we are; (two) we are trying to be an overall kind of a place; and yet (three) we also understand that underneath all of that, more than anything else we have been, and will probably continue to be, a place where people come to get . . . to a four-year school (R. B. Graham, interview, June 2001).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to learn and explain how North Central Michigan College was formed, grew, and continues to develop. A longitudinal case study format was employed that included indicators of centrality and marginality to gauge core activity changes throughout the thirty-seven years under investigation.

Summary of Study

Era of Formation

In the Era of Formation, the primary purpose for founding a college in Petoskey was to provide citizens with studies in the liberal arts and sciences before they transferred on to a university to complete a bachelor's degree. This mission reflected the dominant core values of the influential Petoskey and Harbor Springs resort community as represented by the College's founders. The original Board of Trustees were made up of men from the medical, financial, business, legal, and agricultural communities whose livelihoods were dependent, directly or indirectly, on the resort economy. It could be said that North Central Michigan College was established for and by the resort community and those who serviced it.

The resort community, with its wealth and professional stature, provided a model of success through the attainment of collegiate education and entry into the professions. The College founders desired to give their sons and daughters a chance at success also, one that included a four-year college education. Therefore, North Central Michigan College was founded to be a "real college," a legitimacy that required no explanation or defense of its existence.

The resort community helped to establish businesses and services for its benefit, influencing the development of the Burns Clinic Medical Center, which brought a high-status, well-educated permanent population to the area. The Clinic, in turn, generated an increasing number of jobs to augment medical services, becoming an important, high-profile regional employer. The resort economy of businesses, services, and health professions formed the second mission of North Central Michigan College, Resort Services, to provide training in business and medical-oriented professions to serve the immediate community.

Following the indicators of centrality and marginality from Clark (1968) and Robledo (1978), it was demonstrated that the Transfer/Liberal Arts and the Resort Services programs were the dominant academic cores and had centrality. All full-time faculty positions were in these two cores. The Board contracted for and built a campus that allowed the liberal arts and sciences to be taught. A student population, the majority of which were traditional-aged college students, was attracted to NCMC and eager to transfer to the university and to complete the bachelor's degree. This dominant academic core was all taught during the daytime hours.

In contrast, an Evening College program, as well as the entire concept of part-time, adult education, was marginalized. It had a "pay-as-you-go" enrollment policy, did not possess assigned faculty or special programs, and did not provide an avenue for degree completion even though the nature of its program was legitimized by approximating the transfer program offered in the daytime. Evening students were older, part-time enrollees with few educational alternatives and unable to obtain a transfer degree: their impact on the organization was low.

The College grew quickly and beyond the initial expectations of its founders. The growth in the early years reinforced the founders' belief in the rightness of their educational mission. The College's identity formed and grew during the Era of Formation. It was leadership's task to make decisions that would protect and reinforce the organization, a "dominant bias" (Schattschneider, 1960). Therefore, the College organized its structure, faculty, student body, and curriculum to align with its founding values. Strong continuity of Board leadership steered North Central Michigan College along this path for decades.

Era of Formalization

As North Central Michigan College applied for its first regional accreditation, it entered a new era, that of Formalization. It was a time of growth and expansion of North Central Michigan College's academic core, human resources, campus, and student enrollment. Decisions made by the Board of Trustees and administration continued to support the core values conceived at NCMC's founding.

The national and state governments saw community colleges as a solution to a growing problem: a large baby boom population threatening to swell traditional public universities to overcapacity, coupled with a workplace that required a technically trained workforce. Many Michigan community colleges were founded and developed during this era as national and state legislation provided funds to colleges and universities to construct new campuses and enlarge existing facilities and to develop curricula and programs, specifically in the vocational-technical fields. The true vocational-technical environment, defined by national and state governments to meet future economic needs, was not a significant part of NCMC's regional

employment landscape during this era. The service region, growing at a rate faster than that of the state average, was largely antiunion and antiapprenticeship, with employment growth in the service, trade, financial, insurance, and real estate sectors.

Utilizing eight indicators of centrality and marginality to evaluate relative importance to the organization, four core areas were analyzed: Transfer/Liberal Arts, Resort Services, Vocational, and Off-Campus. Those indicators revealed that decisions continued to be made that kept the Transfer/Liberal Arts as the dominant core, and faculty, programs, and space were principally allocated in that direction. Resort Services also continued to be a central core and flourished with the addition of the Nursing and Inhalation Therapy programs; those programs responded to a founding goal by providing potential employees to the resort economy. The Vocational core began during this era; because it lacked the prestige of a real college curriculum, organizational commitment seemed ambivalent at best. An Occupational dean position was created and vocational programs enlarged from 0 to 8 programs. The indicators of centrality and marginality demonstrated that the new vocational programs lacked substantial organizational commitment. Underprovided in location, designated facilities, and full-time faculty, vocational programs were limited by the leadership to a part-time, pay-as-you-go effort. The vocational programs seemed more symbolic of funding ideologies than of actual organizational values.

Off-campus core activities were even more marginal. Servicing the region with educational opportunities was a legitimate community college function, but prestige and organizational commitment were low. While eschewing the adult education mission popular among its peers, the College nevertheless featured courses

that appealed to personal-interest themes and one-shot enrollment intentions. It lacked a broader education purpose outside of general-interest appeal.

During this era, the student population changed as part-time enrollment surpassed full-time enrollment. Older students came to study Business and Nursing in particular, and growing regional populations presented a potential source of off-campus income. Growth toward the Resort Services core (Business, Marketing, and the medical services) was a natural outcome of the immediate local environment, that is, the Burns Clinic and the growing business community represented on the Board of Trustees. Growth toward vocational curricula, an outcome of state and national resource dependency, as well as growth toward the off-campus education market, would be implemented only on a pay-as-you-go basis, with little organizational or financial commitment involved.

The difference between NCMC's leadership biases and the national and state ideological positions on funding for vocational-technical education would set the stage for future conflicts over resource allocation and core development. It would build an attitude of self-reliance at NCMC whereby important funding opportunities would be ignored if the strings attached to such funding led in directions the leadership did not wish to go.

Era of Uncertainty

The third era, the Era of Uncertainty, was a period of adjustment by North Central Michigan College to the economic fluctuations and changes occurring in the various levels of the organization's task environment. The state, reflecting and magnifying national trends, experienced recessions, and high unemployment and

welfare costs, and was unable to meet its financial obligations to the community colleges. At the same time, financial incentives from federal government programs and grants, such as CETA, were made available to community colleges to develop for-credit and not-for-credit short-term, vocational-training opportunities. It was a way for community colleges to develop additional programs while stimulating the economy and retraining the unemployed. A regional need for employment training existed during this era, as NCMC's immediate service region population was growing much faster than the rest of the state. Unemployment, however, plagued the region in percentages also larger than state averages.

Throughout the Era of Uncertainty, there was tremendous continuity in leadership, through the Board of Trustees and the College administration. Continuity of the dominant core values was also preserved. Managerial activities chiefly focused on finding new ways to fund the College's programs in the light of the uncertain state and national economy, growing unemployment, and the ensuing delays in aid from the state.

North Central Michigan College weathered this storm by holding true to its dominant academic cores, the Transfer/Liberal Arts and the Resort Services curricula. Indicators of centrality and marginality demonstrated that the College, without investing in additional full-time faculty, labored to appeal to a larger network of students by expanding programs and courses. A 3 + 1 bachelor's-degree-completion opportunity with Lake Superior State University gave students a chance to compile junior-level transfer courses at NCMC in both the business and in the liberal arts areas, adding to the prestige of these curricula. The Resort Services core, with its

diversified options in medical and business curricula, grew considerably during this era.

The College's decision to eliminate a number of Vocational programs taught at the local high school left only a few vocational programs in place. True to vocational students' interests, skill development was more highly valued than degree completion. This was exemplified by the surge of enrollees in new computer instruction coursework. The College administration persisted in its "real college" ideal by distinguishing between education and training. It therefore continued to provide a more traditional, educational format for the Vocational core via traditional degree programs. Students continued to pick and choose only those courses that satisfied their technical interests; therefore, enrollment in Vocational programs persisted on a no-growth plane.

The promotion of the Off-Campus and Special Projects director to a dean-level position accentuated the importance of the off-campus market to the overall financial survival of NCMC. The Off-Campus core was run literally on the periphery of the College, requiring little in the way of organizational overhead or commitment. It buffered the dominant academic cores from the fluctuations in tuition and state aid. As the era progressed, the Off-Campus core began to move toward a more central position as the College began offering a larger percentage of courses required for degree completion in the Transfer/Liberal Arts and the Resort Services cores.

The "special projects" portion of the Off-Campus Education and Special Projects dean's responsibilities seemed to be a variation on the theme of peripheral initiatives that brought in dollars to the College without significant organizational

commitment or accommodation. The Special Projects core utilized CETA and other funds to develop not-for-credit, short-term training programs. Other grant monies, like the Job Training and Retraining Investment Fund (JTRIF) grant, a state of Michigan initiative, allowed the College to develop data processing courses. Auxiliary services were established with grants that targeted an older, job-oriented adult student.

Exacerbating the financial difficulties of this era was a significant increase in personnel costs with the unionization of the faculty and the undependability of student tuition dollars as enrollment followed a zig-zag pattern. The traditional-aged student for whom the College was primarily developed dropped as a percentage of the total enrollment.

North Central Michigan College's recent experiences with Vocational core program failures reinforced the leadership's belief that vocational programs did not meet people's educational needs. The leadership was wary of government incentives that would put the College in a financial bind from building vocational programs and staff that could not be self-supporting. Hence, the College increasingly placed an emphasis on being a cost-effective institution for the state to finance, eschewing costly programs and minimizing risk-taking.

Era of Realignment

During the Era of Realignment, national and state funding programs continued to emphasize workforce training. Reflecting the Republican political ideologies of the era, new legislation emphasized job training rather than education, local private-industry control of funding, and aid for those most likely to be on public assistance.

Many Michigan community colleges became training sites and recipients of funds to help develop programs to meet local employment needs. The North Central Michigan College service region again demonstrated sluggishness in responding to economic events occurring in the more populous areas of the state.

Throughout the four years encompassing the Era of Realignment, the College made exterior changes by reassigning personnel, rearranging programs and degrees, and reassessing activities pursued on the margin. The indicators of centrality and marginality demonstrated that these changes did not significantly alter the core values or primary intent of the organization. The modifications, in response to changing times and modified financial streams, were first-order changes. NCMC continued to operate through the influences of a Board of Trustees and its original president, who were wedded to being a low-cost facsimile of a small liberal arts college.

Without creating additional administrative or faculty positions and by updating programs without creating additional courses, the College continued to offer “more of the same”: strong Transfer/Liberal Arts and Resort Services cores that perpetuated a thirty-year curricular tradition of a real college, while servicing the resort economy. The Vocational core, always marginal, was whittled down to a handful of offerings in three program areas, with an old program replaced by a new computer degree program.

The growing state funds, for reeducating workers in new technology to help local business and industry, provided the way to develop a contractual services/customized training division of the College, the Institute for Business and Industry Training (IBIT), as well as a number of other partnerships. The Continuing

Education core thus evolved from an occasional special projects status, growing in scope and focus. Rather than student tuition dollars, Continuing Education's source of funding came directly from contracts with business and industry and from government programs. This change switched the focus from student-directed funding to funding organization-directed funding. Therefore, the Continuing Education core was an academically marginal function but a temporarily central resource stream.

Era of Succession

The Era of Succession signaled a change in leadership at North Central Michigan College with the naming of its second president, Robert B. Graham. Since 1968, Graham had been the business manager and during the last era, the vice-president, of the institution. The Board knew and trusted Graham, and were confident that he would guide the College in a direction that continued their core values.

In the 1980s, the momentum for searching out alternative means of financing College operations, restructuring the administration, developing other divisions to handle short-term business and industry needs, and making the curriculum more attractive to a larger population group started and continued through the Era of Succession. These initiatives were affected by national pieces of legislation that increasingly tied accountability measures to federal funding for community colleges.

During the Era of Succession, the state of Michigan's financial support for community colleges declined as a percentage of total institutional revenue, compelling institutions to look for other revenue sources. The North Central Michigan College service region experienced an uneven economic recovery; some counties suffered double-digit unemployment.

An analysis of this era's measures of centrality and marginality contrasts the strength of the founding core values against the leadership of a new president at a time when various financial streams beckoned toward an expanded mission. Six cores, or functions, existed during this timeframe: Transfer/Liberal Arts, Resort Services, Vocational, Off-Campus Education, Contract Services (formerly Continuing Education), and a new Developmental Studies core.

The Transfer/Liberal Arts, Resort Services, and Vocational cores received stronger organizational support when the Instructional Dean's position was split in two, assigning one Dean to the Transfer/Liberal Arts core and the other to Occupational Studies. The relative centrality and marginality of these three cores changed very little. The heart of the organization continued to be the Transfer/Liberal Arts core, and its new Dean showed a determination to attract new students with a series of contemporary subjects.

Resort Services lost an ailing medical-oriented program and its two faculty members but gained in prestige as every one of its programs led to a bachelor's degree that was obtainable in Petoskey through Lake Superior State University. The Vocational core continued at a distant third in facilities, faculty, and enrollment despite the popularity of computer programming and the refurbishment of the old Library into a state-of-the-art automation electronics Engineering Technology program.

The Contract Services core lost its dean; however, its office location on campus and the strength of the IBIT director, along with strong revenues, left it in a position of fiscal centrality. The Developmental Studies core was created out of

pressure from financial streams to provide accountability through special services to students. Placement into developmental coursework was not mandatory because the College did not have funds to employ sufficient faculty to teach the number of students placed into those levels of remediation.

Off-Campus Education core activities continued to gain prestige with the development of the five-college consortia in Gaylord, but at the brink of commitment to a more complete off-site campus, which implied staffing the site with full-time employees and services similar to those on the Petoskey campus, the College backed away. The dean's position for this core was eliminated, as the College decided to pull back and operate as in the past: low overhead and commitment in exchange for a smaller but guaranteed student enrollment.

The new president felt strong pressure from both inside the organization and from its outside environment to expand both in student numbers and in services. A Marketing and a Foundation division were established to attract more dollars and more students who were looking for a college like North Central Michigan College: a small community college in a premiere resort community with strong Transfer/Liberal Arts and Resort Services curricula.

Table 42 is a diagram of North Central Michigan College's various cores throughout the 37 years of this study that shows how indicators of centrality and marginality placed them throughout each of the four eras.

Table 42

Centrality and Marginality of NCMC Core Activities, 1958-1995

	Era of Foundation	Era of Formal- ization	Era of Uncertainty	Era of Realign- ment	Era of Succession
Transfer/Liberal Arts Core	Central	Central	Central	Central	Central
Resort Services Core	Central	Central	Central	Central	Central
Vocational Core		Marginal	Marginal	Marginal	Marginal
Evening Program & Off- Campus Core	Marginal	Marginal	Marginal	Transitional	Transitional
Special Projects/Contin. Ed./Contractual Services Core			Marginal	Transitional	Transitional
Developmental Studies Core					Marginal

Further visualization of the concepts summarized from the data collection and analysis are found on Figures 14-18. Using the conceptual framework first introduced in Figure 1 in chapter 2, each era is depicted in a conceptual diagram showing the relative centrality and marginality of core activities within North Central Michigan College, nested within the College's relevant task environment.

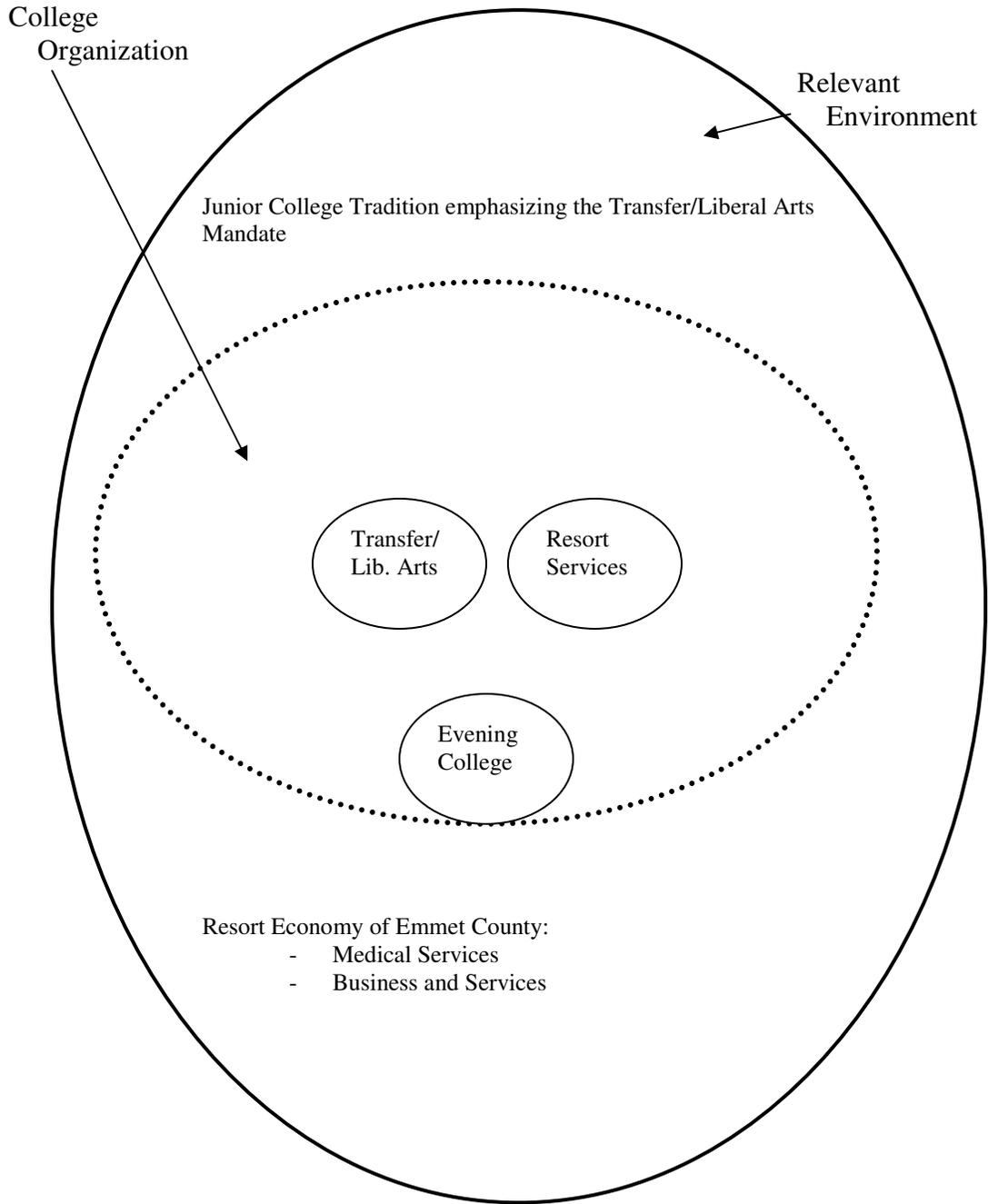


Figure 14. Conceptual diagram of core activities in interaction with relevant environments—Era of Formation, 1958-1965.

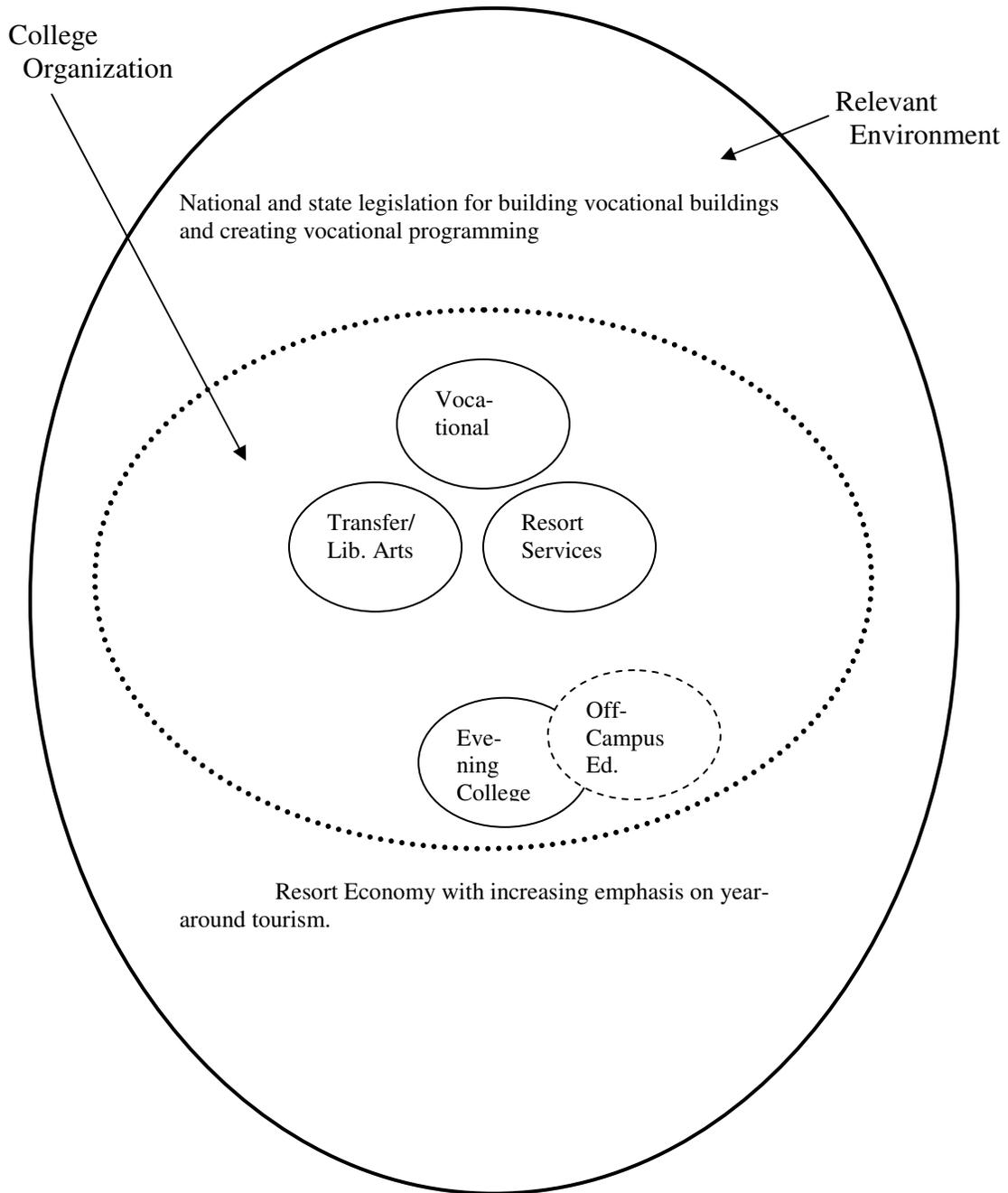


Figure 15. Conceptual diagram of core activities in interaction with relevant environments—Era of Formalization, 1965-1975.

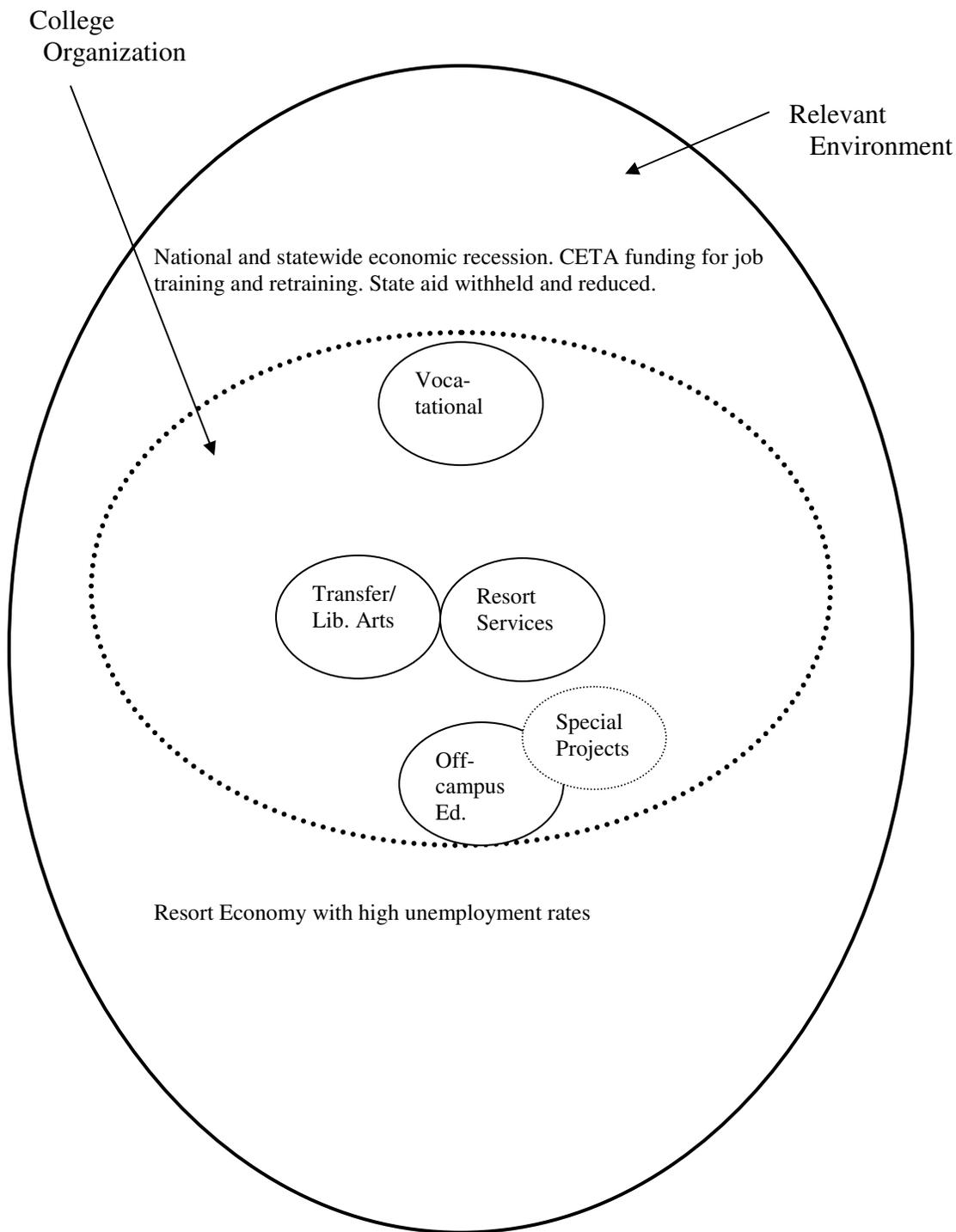


Figure 16. Conceptual diagram of core activities in interaction with relevant environments—Era of Uncertainty, 1975-1984.

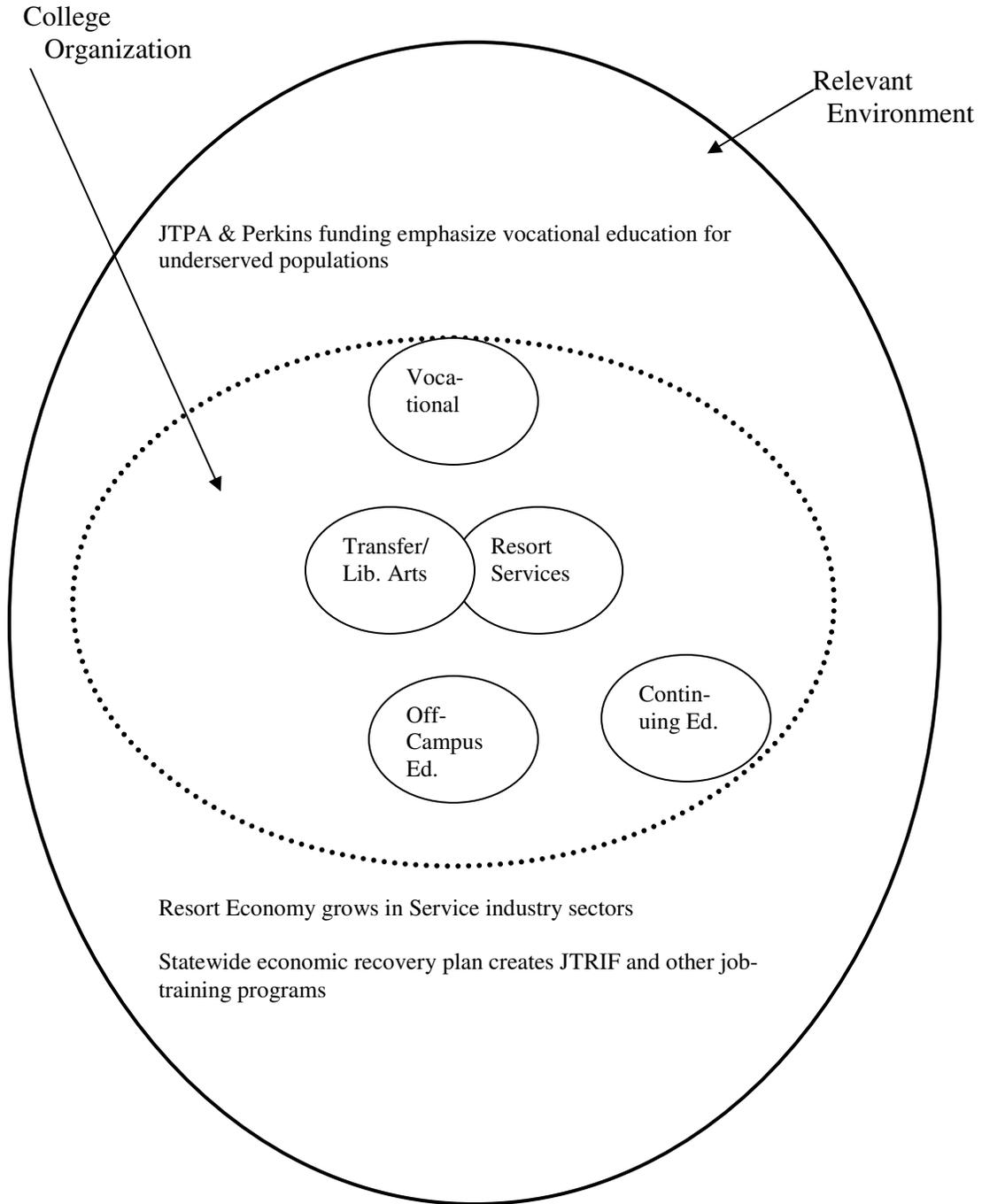


Figure 17. Conceptual diagram of core activities in interaction with relevant environments—Era of Realignment, 1984-1988.

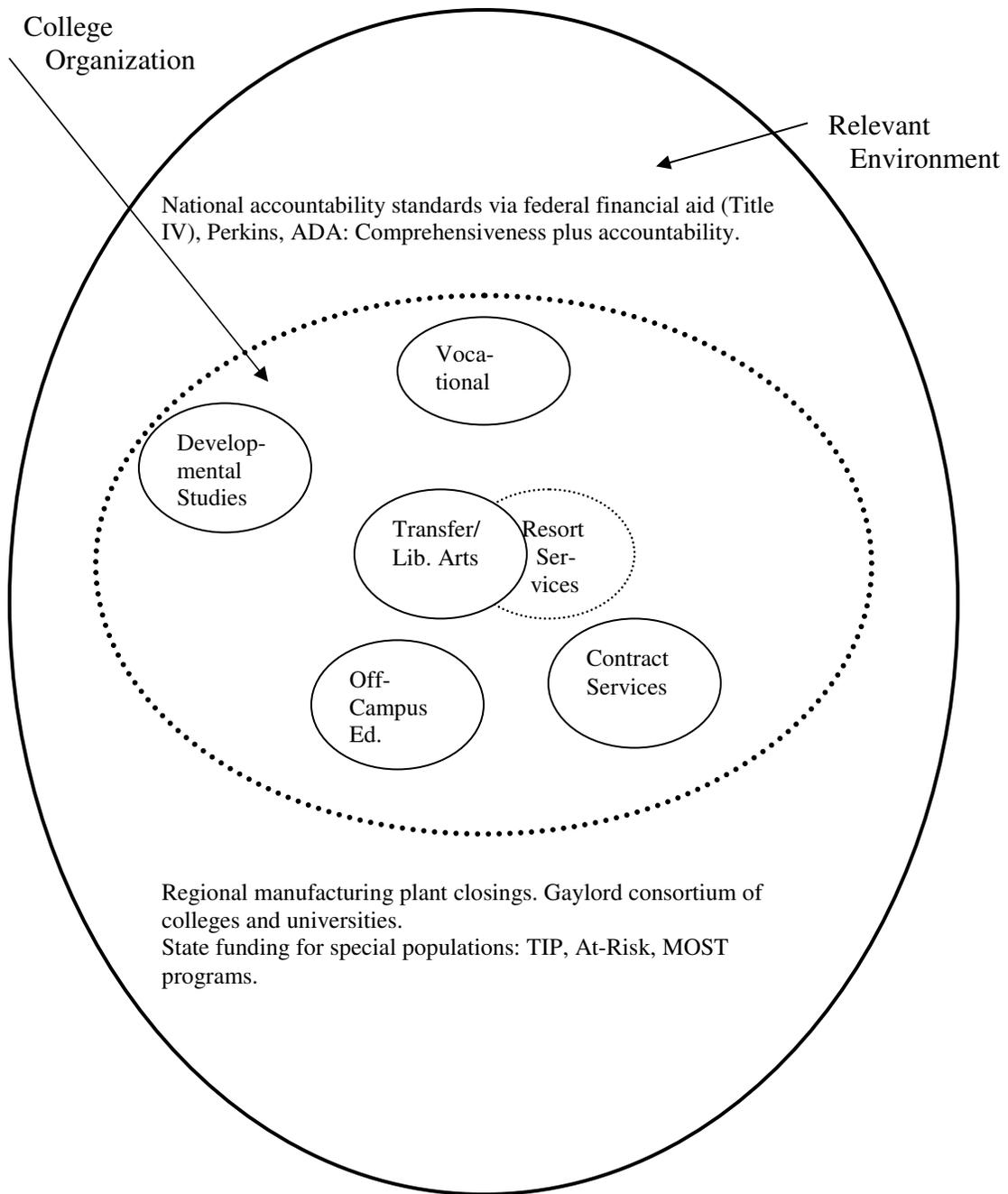


Figure 18. Conceptual diagram of core activities in interaction with relevant environments—Era of Succession, 1988-1995.

Theoretical Implications

In this study of the formation, growth, and development of North Central Michigan College, there were several patterns that emerged: continuity or persistence of core values, organizational identity, the self-referential nature of persistence, and resource-dependent change.

Continuity or Persistence of Core Values

The leadership at the College had great continuity. Individual Board of Trustees members tended to serve for several years and always represented the same interests in the community: medical services, banking, law, small business, and county extension. An overwhelming number of Board members were the recipients of a university education and had livelihoods that directly related to the resort economy of northern Michigan. The original chairman of the Board held that position for the first 20 years of the College's operation.

There was also great continuity within the administration of the College. During this study, only two presidents served: the founding president who led for 30 years and his successor, who had worked under him for twenty years. Many of the academic administrators served from the earliest days, held their positions for decades, or were promoted from the ranks of the NCMC faculty. Faculty not only exhibited a similar longevity, but also did not grow significantly in number after the initial growth years. Between 1975 and 1995, the number of full-time faculty fluctuated between 32 and 28, averaging 30.2.

The longevity and continuity of NCMC leaders and full-time faculty created a strong internal culture. Clark (1970) demonstrated how colleges become distinct from

one another on the strength of their organizational culture, inculcated and transmitted by college presidents and their long-term faculty. Elements that promoted a close “community” and condoned longevity of service included those basics also found at NCMC: small size, singularity of purpose, and slow growth.

The dominant culture of the Petoskey–Harbor Springs community changed very little throughout the years covered in the study: the year-round tourism and enterprises to support the resort economy continued to grow as did the pockets of poverty and lack of opportunity for more of the rural populace. Despite strong regional population growth, regional employment sectors continued to show growth in the service sector (including medical services), the trade sector, the construction sector, and the business, insurance, and real estate sector. The industrial and manufacturing sector was comparatively small and suffered during the economic recessions of the 1970s-1990s. Hence, the immediate task environment of North Central Michigan College, although becoming larger, did not substantially change in character throughout the years covered in the study. It reinforced the dominant values in place when the College was founded.

The persistence of the core values carried forth by College leadership and reinforced by its immediate environment continued to attract a constant number of students. In the fall of 1975, 565 full-time students enrolled; in the Fall of 1995, 565 full-time students enrolled. Between those twenty years, full-time Fall student enrollment averaged 612 students. The relative stasis in full-time student enrollment in a region of strong population growth might be linked with the strong traditions and culture of the College:

The perception of those who are familiar with the College is that NCMC does a good job at what it sets out to do, but convenience and tradition may dictate its choices about what to offer and who to serve. (Alfred & Carter, 1993, p. 24)

“Convenience and tradition” referred to the principal curriculum and its availability to students. There was a continuity throughout the study of the dominance of the two academic cores, the Transfer/Liberal Arts core and the Resort Services core. These two cores were identified in the initial mission statement of the College and were organized in from the very beginning. They had the benefit of full-time faculty, facilities, funding, prestige, and centrality to the organization. It was impossible, however, for a full-time student to start any degree at North Central Michigan College and accomplish it within a two-three year period of time in an evening-only program or an off-campus location. Convenience and tradition, ironically, limited the potential growth of the full-time student population whose enrollment might have helped the College continue its development as a real college.

Organizational Identity

An explanation for this organizational behavior is in understanding the concept of organizational identity and its self-reinforcing qualities. Three attributes are believed to contribute to identity:

Organizational identity is (a) what is taken by organization members to be *central* to the organization; (b) what makes the organization *distinctive* from other organizations (at least in the eyes of the beholding members); and (c) what is perceived by members to be an *enduring* or continuing feature linking

the present organization with the past (and presumably the future).

Organizations, like individuals, decide who they are by employing some classification scheme and then locating themselves with that scheme. (Gioia, 1998, p. 21)

The data chronicling North Central Michigan College's first thirty-seven (37) years, presented in Chapters 3 and 4, demonstrated the dominant core values that were central and organized in from its founding: the provision of the first two years of a bachelor's degree and preparing employees for the resort economy. Vaughan (1994) used the concept of organizational culture to explain those persistent qualities that make an institution distinct, including "its history, its traditions, its values, its interaction with the larger environment, its ceremonies, how it renews itself . . . and how it evaluates itself" (p. 65). Shaw, Valadez, and Rhoads (1999) wrote of the formal as well as informal attributes that contribute to the overall culture of a community college as a complex organization. An organization's products and services are the visible manifestations of its core values and practices (Gioia, 1998). All three former NCMC leaders interviewed for this study articulated that the liberal arts emphasis was the distinctive feature of the organization, a distinction in comparison to other community colleges in the state. That distinctive feature was underscored in all NCMC self-studies for regional accreditation from 1967 through 1995 and was reiterated by former president Graham:

. . . the . . . theme of this place is . . . and has been . . . the liberal arts transfer program. No matter what else we do, that winds up being the central focus of the place. (R. B. Graham, interview, June 2001)

Identity is fundamentally a relational and comparative concept (Gioia, 1998). It is through interaction with other like organizations that an organization's identity is maintained. This process of "interorganizational comparison over time" enables an organization to seek positive differences between "themselves and other reference groups as a way of enhancing their own self-esteem" (Gioia, 1998, p. 19). Furthermore, an organization's identity not only helps it to see and classify itself, but also to see itself within an entire class or category of organizations with whom it would like to be associated.

Eaton (1994) provided an example of community colleges using interorganizational comparisons with organizations either in higher education or in the workplace, the difference dependent upon whether or not the dominant core activity is the transfer function or the job-training function:

Transfer as the dominant function meant that emphasis was placed on traditional liberal arts curricula and that the relationships with senior institutions were important. It also meant that students staying in school to earn the baccalaureate were more important than immediate employment and that development of intellectual competencies described as "college-level" or "collegiate" was the desired goal. With (a) . . . dominant vocational function . . . (r)elationships with business and industry became more important than relationships with senior education institutionsEmphasis on the transfer function had meant emphasis on the liberal arts and traditional academic values that link the community college with the rest of the collegiate enterprise. Emphasis on the vocational function means attention to immediate

employment. It links the community college to the workplace. Immediate employment is more important than long-range educational goals. (1994, pp. 28-31)

A real college identity, then, allowed North Central Michigan College to see itself as a member of the larger academic community; the prestige and legitimacy of the larger academic community needed no explanation or justification for its existence. “An emphasis on vocational education feeds the perception,” wrote Eaton (1994, p. 31), “that two- and four-year institutions are significantly different from one another with the community college as the lesser partner.” The College, in choosing to keep its Vocational core as well as its Evening program, Developmental education, and Contractual Services core distant from its valued, daytime cores, was striving to be viewed as an equal to the private and public four-year institutions in the state.

Self-Reference: Autopoiesis Theory

Interorganizational comparisons, organizational traditions, personnel decisions, including presidential succession, and the time-honored patterns of data collection are ways that an organization can maintain its identity over time. These activities are self-referential when they use the organization itself as its own “referent” or standard of measurement for comparison. Scientists Maturana and Varela developed autopoiesis theory to explain interactions in the biological world:

(Autopoiesis proposes) that systems strive to maintain an identity by subordinating all changes to the maintenance of their own organization as a given set of relations . . . engaging in circular patterns of interaction whereby change in one element of the system is coupled with changes elsewhere,

setting up continuous patterns of interaction that are always self-referential. They are self-referential because a system cannot enter into interactions that are not specified in the pattern of relations that define its organization. Thus, a system's interaction with its environment is really a reflection and part of its own organization. It interacts with its environment in a way that facilitates its own self-production; its environment is really a part of itself. (Morgan, 1997, pp. 253-54)

Unlike most sociological theories, which maintain that organizations are "open systems," open to their environments for cues and change, this self-referential pattern is described as a "closed" system: seeking only to maintain and reproduce itself, it interprets information from the environment through filters that allow it to understand only its own recognizable patterns. Perrow (1976) described organizational change as a slow process, aiming to disrupt the structure as little as possible. Using communication as a tool to convey concepts embedded with organizational values (patterns of relations), new information must be "edited and summarized in order to make it fit into the (organization's) conceptual scheme—to make it understandable" (p. 125).

The autonomous, closed-system concept provides one way to understand how North Central Michigan College continued to view governmental grant funding opportunities with reluctance and suspicion, whereas other community colleges interpreted the same governmental grants as opportunities to grow and develop. The vast majority of government financial incentives available to community colleges throughout the years of this study were for vocational programming and facilities, a

mission North Central Michigan College never considered central to its identity.

Using the autopoiesis lens, it could be said that vocational education was not a part of NCMC's "language" and was unimportant in comparison to the maintenance of the College's identity as a Transfer/Liberal Arts institution serving the resort community.

Morgan (1997) described how the tenets of autopoiesis can be used as a metaphor for understanding organizations:

1. Organizations are always attempting to achieve a form of self-referential closure in relation to their environments, enacting their environments as extensions of their own identity: A system's interaction with any environment is internally driven.
2. Many of the problems that organizations encounter in dealing with their environments are intimately connected with the kind of identity that they try to maintain.
3. Explanations of the evolution, change, and development of organizations must give primary attention to the factors that shape the patterns embracing both organization and environment in the broadest sense. (p. 256)

Autopoiesis theory has powerful implications for community college change and persistence. Continual changes in local, state, and national environments, as elements of the system, do have an impact on an organization; however, those changes are modified to fit with the organization's identity. Organizational persistence would be another way of saying that leadership bias, or lens of perception,

colors decisions to enhance and be in accordance with its perceived organizational identity.

Resource Dependency Theory

It is obvious that community colleges are dependent on student numbers for their survival. It is less obvious to those outside the field of education that community colleges are also reliant for continued existence on state aid, taxpayer subsidies, and on partnerships with business and industry, local K-12 school districts, and civic communities. Resource dependency theory addresses the relationships organizations form with their environments and provides an important theoretical base from which to study organizational persistence and change. The ideas used come from Thompson (1967) and Pfeffer and Salancik (1978), who have been referenced several times throughout Chapters 3 and 4.

Organizations as Open Systems

1. Organizations are open systems in that they cannot survive without exchanging resources with other organizations in their environment.
2. The dependencies that an organization constructs by its reliance on other organizations put constraints on its ability to act freely.

Unlike autopoiesis theory, resource dependency theory states that organizational growth and change is derived from and dependent upon its interactions with its environment. The environment drives the nature and types of changes experienced by organizations. Certainly throughout the years covered in this study, federal and state funding initiatives persuaded North Central Michigan College to grow in directions that were outside the College's founding mission and purpose.

During the Era of Succession, when accountability mandates were tied directly to student financial aid and state aid, the College was forced to add the Developmental core and ancillary services.

Leadership and the Politics of Discretion

3. Within all constraints there remains discretion, and how much discretion, who has it, and where it is exercised define power structures within and outside the organization.
4. The context of the environment changes organizational behavior in a causal manner by influencing the nature of the power structure—many times by executive succession—that in turn determines organizational rules of behavior.

North Central Michigan College, with the longevity of its leadership and the practice of internal promotion of managers, was able to exercise its discretionary powers in relationships with its environment in much the same manner for over thirty-five years. The power structure both inside the College and within its immediate Petoskey–Harbor Springs communities remained fairly constant during the years of this study. Discretion over when to take advantage of grant-funded opportunities, for example, extended only to those that benefited, or at least did not negatively affect, the valued cores, for example, the three different career planning and placement offices instituted and then eliminated during the years studied. Had the immediate communities changed, or had the College desired change in its core values and structure, an outside president might have been hired. An outsider might have brought along an administrative cabinet in line with his/her

leadership biases.

Organizational Growth

5. An organization will choose to grow so that it can exert more influence and garner more power, prestige, and stability over its environment.
6. An organization will grow in the direction of its most crucial dependencies.
7. An organization will link with other organizations in interdependent relationships with the tradeoff of restricted discretion for predictable resource exchanges and stability.

Financially conservative people, neither risk-takers nor “educational entrepreneurs,” led North Central Michigan College. It was imperative for the College to grow so that it could become “comprehensive” on its own terms. Unlike the community college studied by Taylor (2001), the leadership of North Central Michigan College chose not to follow the vocational education financial streams for building and developing vocational education facilities and programs. It chose, per item #7, to suffer the consequences of standing fast to its identity. The tradeoff was a predictable full-time student enrollment that exhibited no growth between 1975-1995 and a mostly “symbolic” comprehensive curriculum. In particular, the trade-off NCMC made to keep its strong Petoskey identity was foregoing the development of a fully operational Gaylord campus in return for a smaller but manageable Gaylord enrollment:

My gut reaction is that the institution has been pretty resistant (to change)

My gut reaction is that (the curriculum) hasn't changed a whole lot. It seems

like we go out there and venture and then we pull back. (R. B. Graham, interview, June 2001)

Activities on the Periphery

8. Boundaries are described as the point where an organization's "control over an activity is less than the discretion of another organization . . . to control that activity" (Pfeffer and Salancik, p. 32).
9. Organizations strive to place inside their boundaries those elements of the environment that might be considered crucial contingencies.
10. An organization will try to isolate its boundary-spanning activities from its core technologies by a centralized level of administration.

Boundary-spanning activities differ somewhat from activities termed *peripheral* and *marginal* throughout this study; however, boundary-spanning activities as well as marginal activities occur on the periphery of an organization. North Central Michigan College's boundary-spanning activities were kept on the periphery of its core activities and were marginal rather than central to the dominant values of the organization. Those activities included the Evening College program, the Off-Campus Education core, the Special Projects/Continuing Education/Contract Services core, and the Developmental core. All crucial contingencies because they were linked to revenues without needing strong organizational commitment, they provided a means to offer a "comprehensive" curriculum that could be curtailed or eliminated while shielding the dominant academic curriculum from being affected during times of financial exigency.

Measurements and Indicators of Success

11. Information that an organization uses to prioritize its interdependencies comes more often from past performance indicators and easily obtainable data than from sources more appropriate to the decision-making process.
12. Measuring organizational effectiveness is often confused with measuring its efficiency.

Similar to the self-referencing properties of autopoiesis, resource dependency theory predicts that an organization will habitually use easily obtainable data year after year. In the study of North Central Michigan College, this can be seen in the use of student enrollment headcounts to gauge growth and effectiveness over the years. It became self-reflective. The 1993 Alfred and Carter environmental scan report addressed more factors to help North Central Michigan College understand how it could grow out into its regional service district.

Resource Dependency Theory in Higher Education

Researchers in the field of higher education have incorporated resource dependency theories into their analyses of growth of the modern organization. In a multinational study, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) showed how changes in national and state financing patterns of higher education promoted “academic capitalism,” a conversion of academic knowledge to use in obtaining new sources of funding on the free market. “Alternative income streams” were sought as a response to national and state funding restrictions, resulting in increased dependency on these alternative resource streams at the institutional level.

Leslie and Miller (1974, pp. 24-25) described alternative resource streams, activities commonly used by educational organizations to expand their revenue options and lessen dependency on state aid and student tuition (listed below). North Central Michigan College utilized all such activities during the 37 years studied.

1. Introduction of a new good or grade of good already in use.
NCMC began to offer different types of certificates or degrees so that students could choose on the basis of completion time as well as specific skill acquisition.
2. Introduction of a new method of production. NCMC increasingly relied on part-time faculty and experimented with weekend courses and distance learning.
3. The opening of new markets. NCMC experimented with a variety of off-campus locations in order to bring new types of students to the institution.
4. Employment of a new source of supply production factors. NCMC developed a foundation to seek donations from increasingly larger sources and to manage them.
5. Reorganization of an industry, several industries, or part of an industry. In its later years, NCMC increasingly tried collaborations with business and industry through IBIT, as well as with K-12 public school districts in programs like "Tech-Prep."

A key thesis stated that "financial behavior defines organizational behavior" (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997, p. 66). Similarly, Barott and Galvin (1995) traced patterns

of institutional resource distribution at the University of California, Santa Barbara, finding that over time the importance of instruction declined as well as funding support. They concluded, “This shift was in the direction the organization mobilized and allocated its resources. This shift reflected internal value choices made in interaction with environment constraints and opportunities” (p. 23).

The successes achieved by these alternative resource streams were balanced by a tendency for organizational focus to be directed away from traditional core activities (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). This, in turn, resulted in weakened instructional support, student dissatisfaction, taxpayer alienation, and a reinforcement of secular tendencies to further reduce state and local fiscal support, thus causing further destabilization of the organization (p. 100). Their findings were reinforced by Bailey and Averianova’s (1998) research on community colleges. They concluded that a successful alternative funding scheme can bring about its own destruction through such “intangible” costs to the organization as diversion of managerial focus, clashes between institutional cultures of education versus training, change in the public’s perception of community college educational quality, and vulnerability from competition over activities that create surplus revenues.

A Melding of Identity, Self-Reference, and Resource Dependency

Organizational behavior is perhaps defined by its financial behavior (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997); however, North Central Michigan College provided insight that the College’s financial behavior was guided by core values and organizational identity. The College did not follow resource dependency assumptions when to follow a financial stream went against its identity as a Transfer/Liberal Arts

institution that also provided training directly beneficial to the resort economy.

“Educational organizations are not market-driven, they are value-driven” (J. Barott, personal communication, June 2002).

Predictions about the road taken may be less a matter of assessing the comparative incentives of each path than of understanding the identity of the person or organization making the choice. How one acts may depend more on who one is, who others think one is, and who one aspires to be than on any objective assessment of the opportunities and costs associated with a given direction (Albert, 1998, p.10).

A melding of organizational identity theory with (a) autopoiesis theory to understand the self-referencing nature that keeps an organization on a persistent path and then (b) with resource dependency theory to explain organizational change through its rational choice of financial streams may be a more robust way to understand and explain community college persistence and change.

Throughout this study, several comparisons were made with the development of another community college in rural Michigan (Taylor, 2001). They provided a counterpoint in understanding the leadership biases of North Central Michigan College. Upon closer inspection, the identity of the community college in Taylor’s study was rooted in its ability to provide vocational education to its community; a resolution preceding the commissioning of a survey to find the College stated that “. . . There is a growing realization by educators and citizens alike, that our public schools face serious changes and challenges in the area of vocational education” (p. 56). It is easy to understand how Taylor’s community college followed the national

and state resource streams centered on building vocational education facilities and programs: They were in concert with her institution's founding core values. If the environment is introducing change that goes along with the (founding) institutionalized values, then it coincides with the self-referential nature of the organization. When financial streams and incentives from the environment clash with the core values of an organization, as in the case of North Central Michigan College, the organization can choose to decline funding or to use funding with a reluctance and lack of organizational commitment that keeps the initiative at the periphery of the organization without having an impact on the favored core activities. By keeping the initiative on the periphery, the organization tries to control its level of dependence on the funding, eliminating the initiative as soon as the cost-benefit ratio dips too far against it.

Implications for Future Research

This research focused on a single community college organization, North Central Michigan College. There were many patterns of persistence and organizational behavior presented that suggest a starting point for future research studies:

1. This longitudinal case study revealed that North Central Michigan College reflected the dominant biases of its immediate environment, the resort culture and economy, and that this bias prevailed over often-opposing state and national ideologies and legislation. Further research could be undertaken to understand which level of environment provides the most influence over a different community college, and how those biases operate.

2. This study also substantiated that North Central Michigan College's identity, as a "real college" was a result of its founders' core values. These core values drove decisions about core technologies or activities; North Central Michigan College's decisions were value driven rather than market driven. Additional case study research could be conducted to ascertain whether other community colleges, or other educational organizations, proved to also be value rather than market driven.
3. This case study showed that North Central Michigan College, contrary to the central tenets of resource dependency theory, did not follow resource streams when doing so clashed with its identity and core values. Further studies could be conducted to understand education organizational identity in relationship to resource-acquisition decision-making behavior.
4. This research revealed that North Central Michigan College developed a rationale of cost effectiveness and fiscal independence so that it could forego strong inducements from state and national legislation to develop in ways contrary to the College's organizational identity. Further case study research on community colleges could be conducted to understand organizational identity and its relationship to overall organizational culture and leadership behaviors in such areas as policy development and decision-making.
5. This research demonstrated that North Central Michigan College followed a closed-system logic that was self-referential, choosing and filtering information from the environment to maintain and reproduce itself. Further research could be undertaken using autopoiesis theory as a system of

explanation to evaluate persistence and change within educational organizations.

6. This research, using indicators of centrality and marginality, demonstrated both North Central Michigan College's strong organizational commitment to core activities that reflected core values and that those activities exhibited a protected status. The College's organizational commitment was weak in relation to core activities that did not reflect core values, which kept those activities on the periphery of the organization and on a pay-as-you-go status. Further longitudinal research could be performed using the eight indicators of centrality and marginality to gauge other community colleges' organizational commitments to core activities and the relationships between their organizational commitment, organizational core values, and organizational change.
7. This study showed that North Central Michigan College's attempts at fulfilling a comprehensive mission were at odds with its founding identity. Low organizational commitment, especially lack of fiscal support, often resulted in symbolic rather than substantive gestures toward comprehensiveness. Further case study research could be conducted on small community colleges to understand the quality of their organizational commitment to a comprehensive mission.
8. This case study revealed North Central Michigan College's pattern of initiating first-order changes to solve problems. These first-order changes did not require the College to change in its core values or primary intent. Further

case study research using educational organizations, or subunits within educational organizations, could use first-order change theory as an analytic tool as well as a system for explaining the quality of organizational persistence and change.

Concluding Thoughts

This researcher has often heard members of the community college Natural Sciences division opine about the analytical skills and procedures acquired in studying their discipline that, if well instilled, provide techniques for academic success in any chosen major. Similarly, the skills acquired in this scientific venture have opened up avenues for this researcher to successfully make contributions to higher education leadership.

It is this researcher's opinion that contributions to organizational health and welfare are possible from many positions within the community college organization. Three analytical abilities were acquired during the course of the doctoral program, specifically during the dissertation process, in addition to a multitude of secondary lessons and epiphanies:

1. The ability to qualify and quantify organizational commitment factors through indicators of centrality and marginality. These skills can be used to analyze departmental/divisional decision-making as well as organizational decision-making. This researcher intends to employ this ability to not only understand the importance of core activities but to be able to predict their future positioning.

2. The ability to describe and understand organizational identity. This researcher sits on campus-wide committees, many with charges to chart future organizational goals and strategies. Understanding the relationship between core values and organizational commitment will provide a basis for recommending certain routes over alternatives.
3. The ability to discriminate between first- and second-order change. As pointed out by Barott and Raybould (1998, p. 36), “It is important for the success of any planned change effort that we differentiate among first-order problems, difficulties, impasses, and second-order problems.” By identifying whether change strategies are first- or second-order solutions, this researcher will be able to anticipate whether the outcomes would accomplish leadership objectives.

It initially occurred to this researcher that the various North Central Michigan College self-studies reviewed in this research, generated to meet regional accreditation demands, were providentially situated at the end of each era studied. As the data analysis moved along, it became more evident that the very act of creating a self-study, with its obligatory self-assessment activities and generation of goals and objectives, mobilized the organization in different directions. Observational activities such as environmental scans and self-studies imply for educational leadership not only an opportunity to garner empirical information, but also an opportunity to make a shift in political bias and organizational commitment. The skills and knowledge base obtained through the dissertation research will set the foundation for future data

collection and analysis employed by this researcher to aid departmental and organizational decision-making.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: University Human Subjects Review Committee Approval

Appendix B: Interview Consent Form

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in one or more interviews about my remembrances of and experiences with the educational programming at North Central Michigan College, as it developed over the past four decades. Paula L. Welmers will conduct the interviews as part of a historical case study for her doctoral dissertation research at Eastern Michigan University.

I understand that I will be asked questions about my experiences with enrollment patterns, types of students, funding for curricula, and organizational commitment to the liberal arts and the vocational programs. I further understand that I may choose not to answer certain questions if I do not wish to do so.

By agreeing to participate in the interview(s), I understand that my confidentiality will be protected at all times and that I may choose to withdraw from the interview(s) at any time if I wish to do so. In addition, I understand that I may request a copy of my taped interview and/or a transcription of the interview and that I may request that portions be deleted if I find that necessary. I understand that my actual name will not be used in any written or oral report unless I make a request, in writing, to use my name. In all other cases, a fictitious name will be assigned to me and only anonymous excerpts of my interview will be used in the dissertation document. I am aware that the identity of my institution and that of key public officials associated with the institution will not be anonymous when the research is published or disseminated.

If I have any further questions I may contact Paula L. Welmers or I may contact the interviewer's doctoral chairperson, James E. Barott, Ph.D. Their addresses and telephone numbers are as follows:

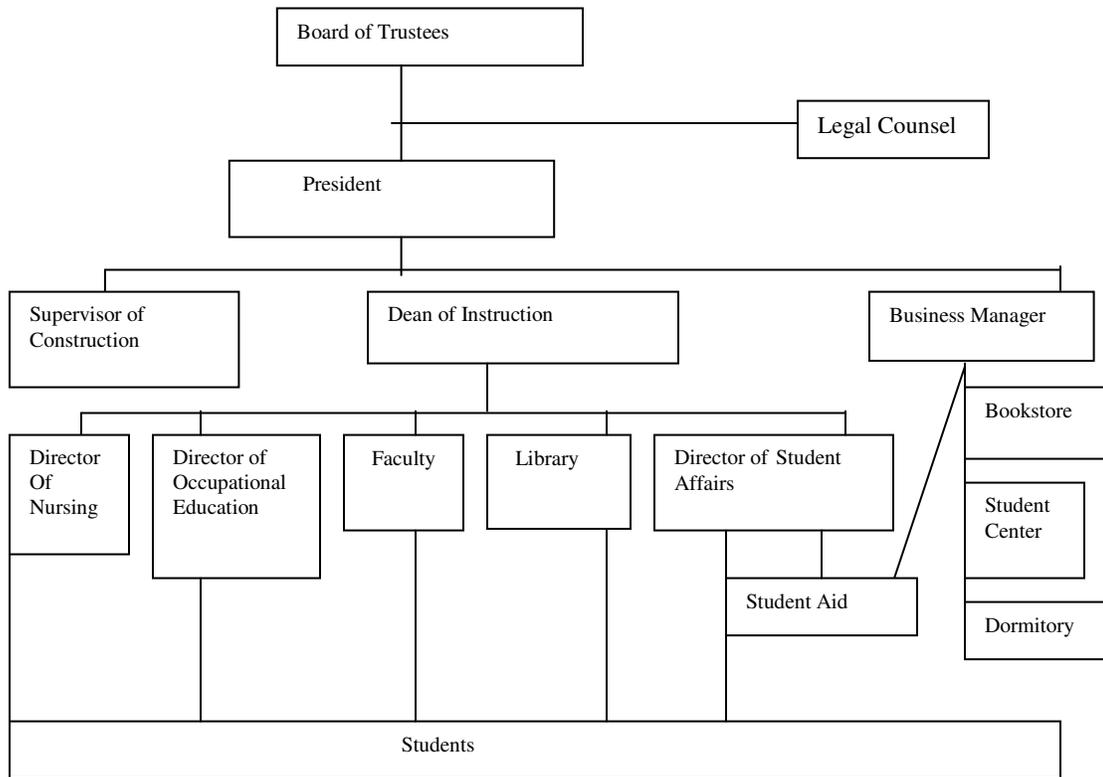
Paula Welmers	801 Kalamazoo Ave., Petoskey, MI 49770 (231) 347-1718 (home) (231) 348-6700 (work)
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James E. Barott, Ph.D.	304 Porter Building, Eastern Michigan University Ypsilanti, MI 48197 (734) 487-7120, ext. 2693
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Interviewer: _____ **Date:** __/__/__

Respondent: _____ **Date:** __/__/__

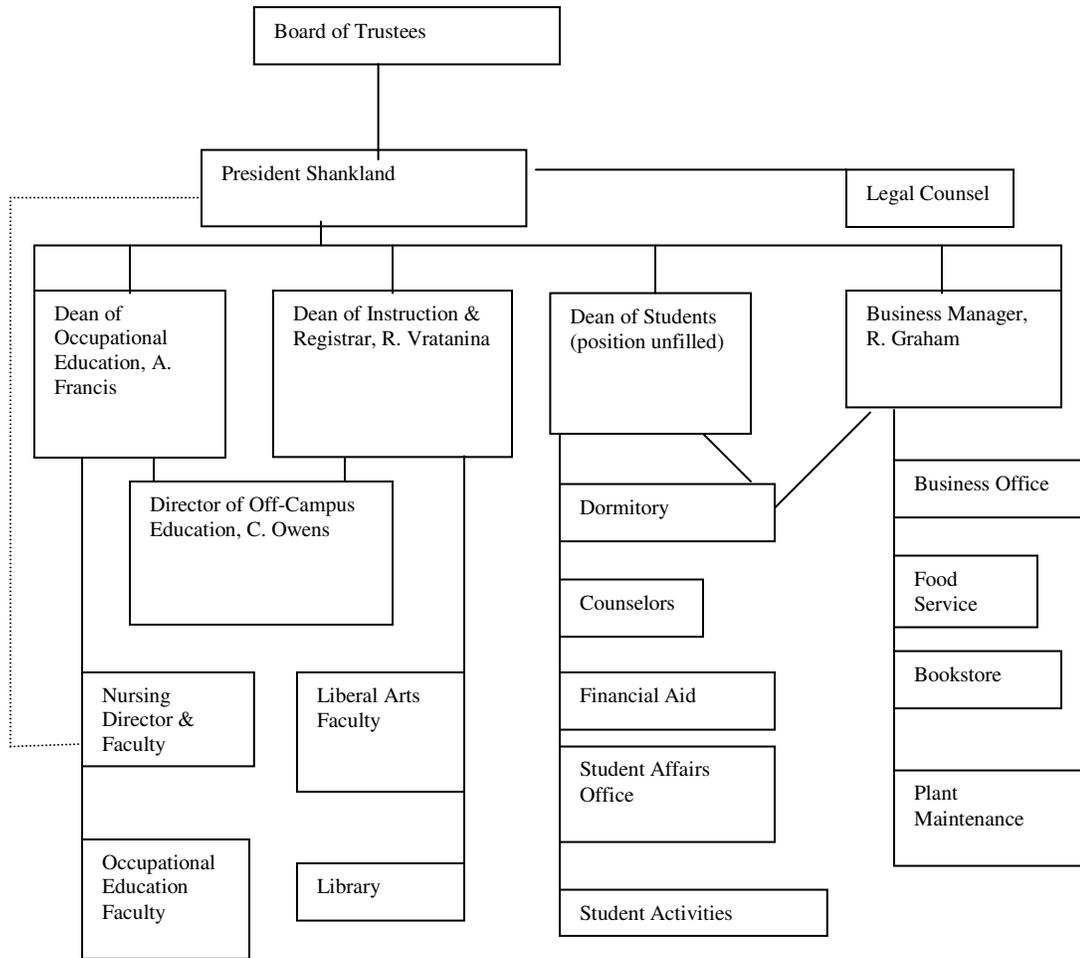
Appendix C: Table of Organization, North Central Michigan College, 1965



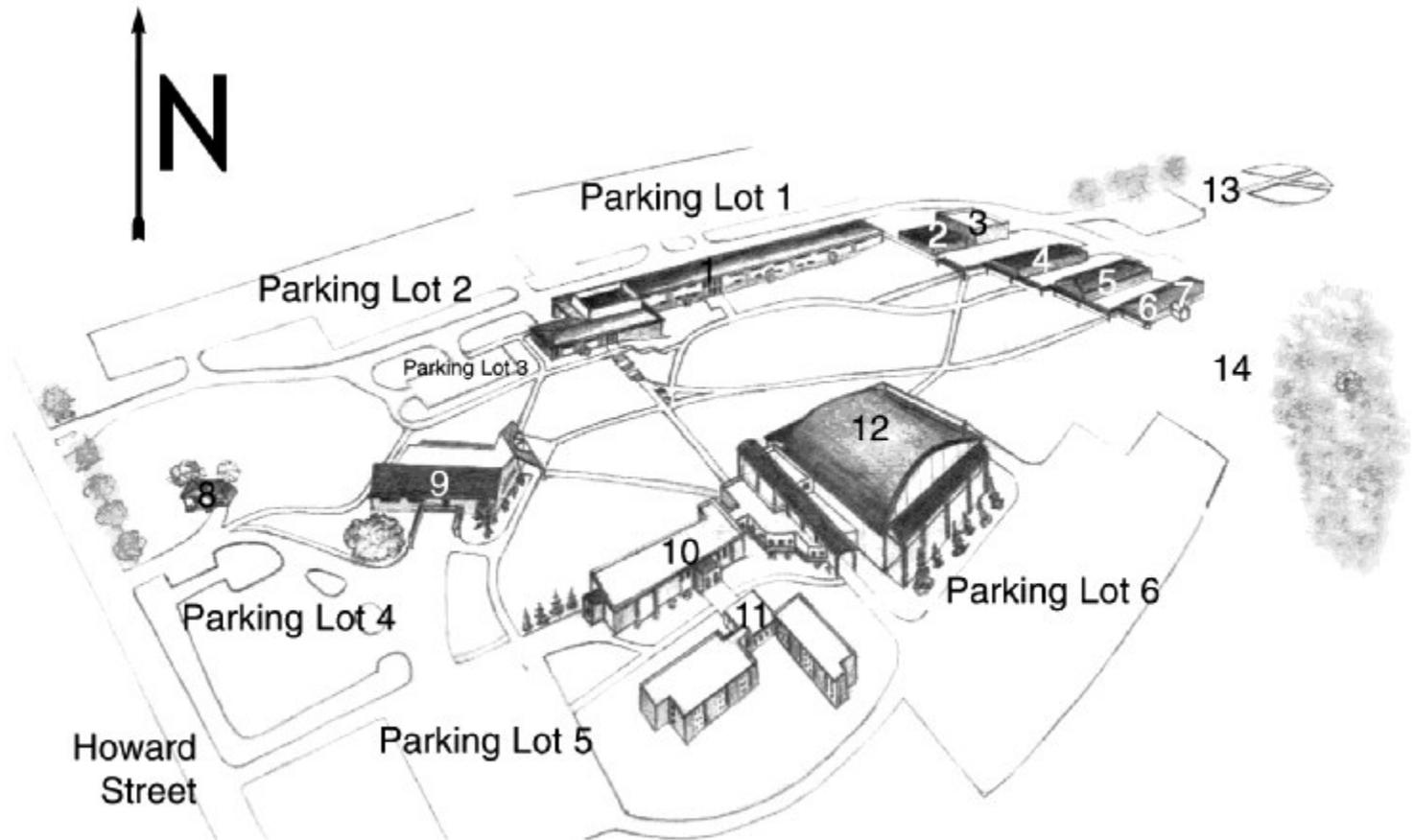
Appendix D: Era of Formalization Program Offerings

Transfer/Liberal Arts Programs, 1965: 6	Resort Services Programs, 1965: 2	Vocational Programs, 1965: 0
Engineering	General Business	
Liberal Arts	Stenographic & Clerical	
Medical Technology		
Paper Technology		
Scientific		
Teaching		
Transfer/Liberal Arts Programs, 1975: 6	Resort Services Programs, 1975: 5	Vocational Programs, 1975: 8
No change	General Business	Automotive Tech.
	Marketing	Criminal Justice
	Nursing	Construction Tech.
	Stenographic & Clerical	Drafting
	Inhalation Therapy	Electronics Tech.
		Manufacturing Tech.
		Pilot Ground School
		Small Engines Tech.

Appendix E: Table of Organization, North Central Michigan College, 1975



Appendix F: North Central Michigan College, Petoskey Campus

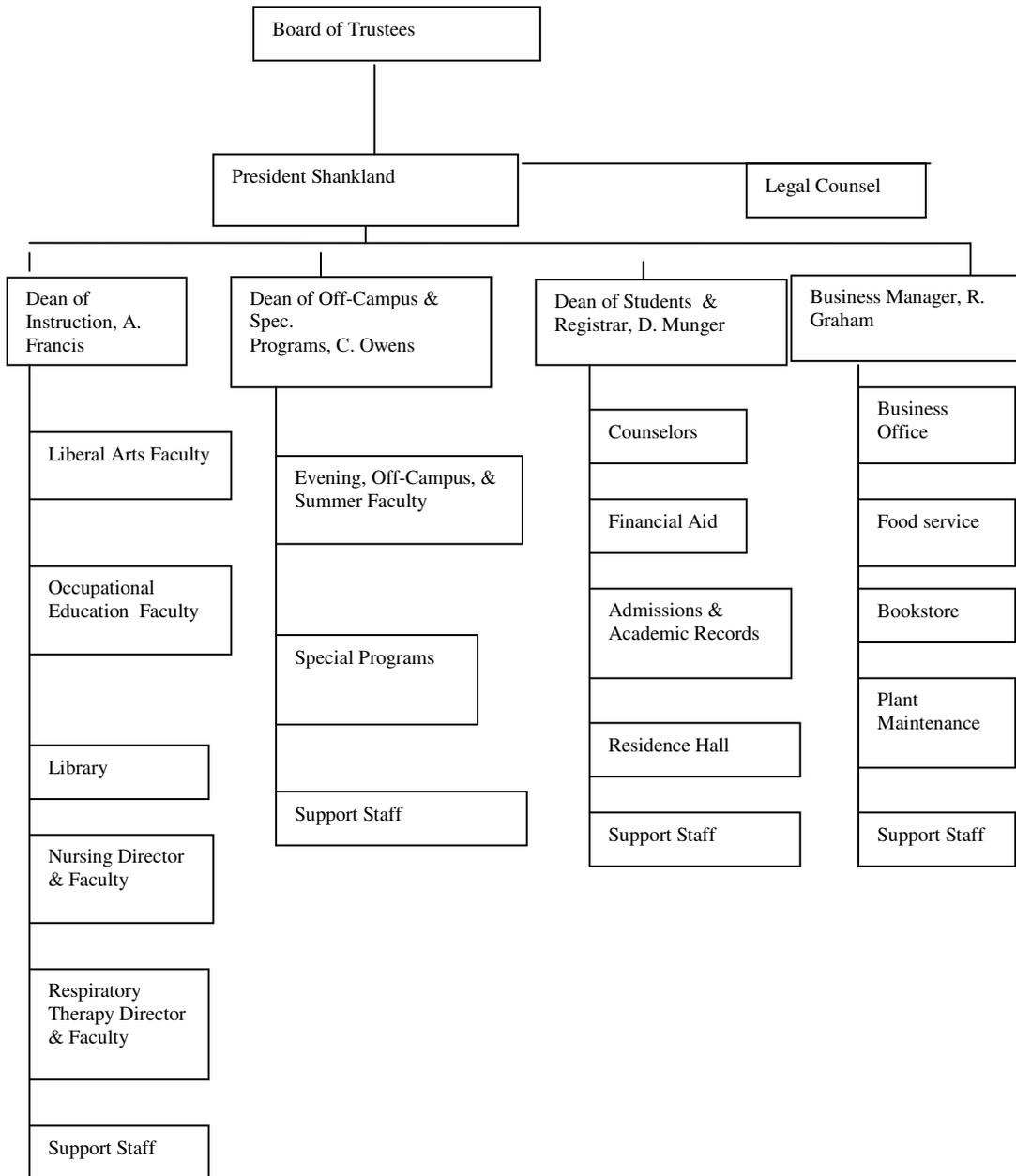
**egend**

1. **Main Classroom Building (1967):** Administrative & Faculty Offices; Classrooms 100-160 and 19-70
2. Heating Plant (1963)
3. **Maintenance Building – formerly Technical Building (1973)**
4. **Technology Building – former “temporary” Library (1963, 1988):** Computer Aided Design, Computer Networking, Technology
5. **Chemistry Building (1963)**
6. **Science Building (1966):** Biology, Physical Sciences, Physics & Greenhouse
7. Institute for Business and Industry Training (IBIT) –formerly Nursing Department
8. **Distance Learning Center (DLC) – (1991)**
9. Library/Conference Center (1984)
10. Student Center: Student Services on lower level; Food Service on upper level (1968)
11. Residence Hall(1968)
12. Student and Community Resource Center: College Store, Learning Support Services, Recreation Facilities (2001)
13. City of Petoskey Ballfields (2000)
14. Natural Area: Nature trails for hiking and cross-country skiing

Appendix G: Era of Uncertainty Program Offerings

Transfer/Liberal Arts Programs, 1975: 6	Resort Services Programs, 1975: 5	Vocational Programs, 1975: 8
Engineering	General Business	Automotive Tech.
Liberal Arts	Marketing	Criminal Justice
Medical Technology	Nursing	Construction Tech.
Paper Technology	Stenographic & Clerical	Drafting
Scientific	Inhalation Therapy	Electronics Tech.
		Manufacturing Tech.
		Pilot Ground School
		Small Engines Tech.
Transfer/Liberal Arts Programs, 1984: 9	Resort Services Programs, 1984: 7	Vocational Programs, 1984: 4
Six programs from 1975	General Business	Criminal Justice
Teacher Assistant	Marketing	Drafting
Two 3 + 1 programs with LSSU (Psychology & Sociology)	Nursing	Recreational Vehicles & Small Engines Tech.
	Respiratory Therapy	Contracting with Business & Industry
	Stenographic & Clerical	
	Banking & Finance	
	3 + 1 program with LSSU in Business	

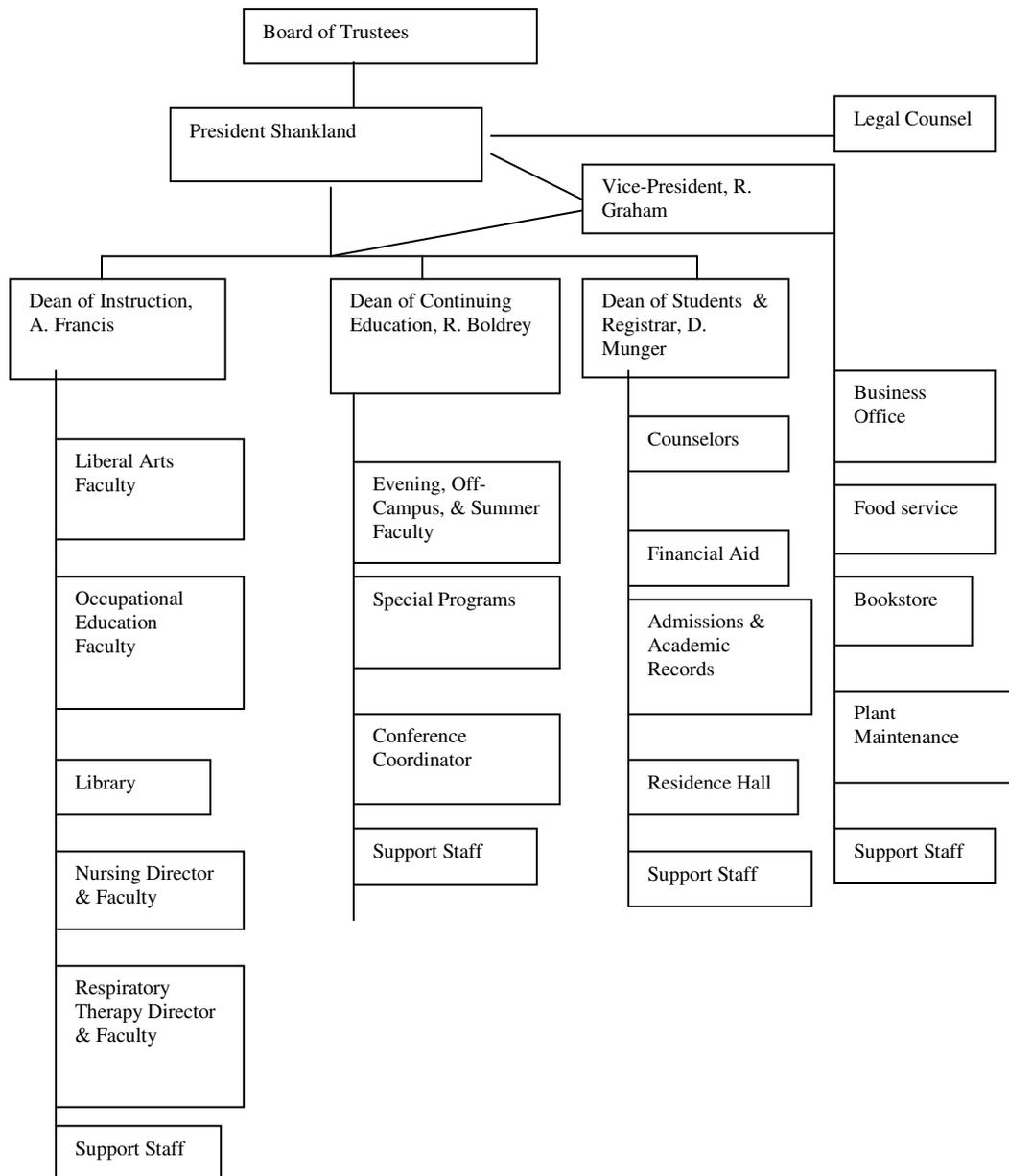
Appendix H: Table of Organization, North Central Michigan College, 1984



Appendix I: Era of Realignment Program Offerings

Transfer/Liberal Arts Programs, 1984: 9	Resort Services Programs, 1984: 8	Vocational Programs, 1984: 4
Engineering	General Business	Criminal Justice
Liberal Arts	Marketing	Drafting
Medical Technology	Nursing	Recreational Vehicle & Small Engines
Paper Technology	Stenographic & Clerical	Contracting with Business & Industry
Scientific	Banking & Finance	
Teaching	Respiratory Therapy	
Teacher Assistant	3+1 with LSSU in Business Administration	
3+1 with LSSU in Psychology	3+1 with LSSU in Marketing	
3+1 with LSSU in Sociology		
Transfer/Liberal Arts Programs, 1988: 43	Resort Services Programs, 1988: 18	Vocational Programs, 1988: 6
Liberal Arts - 41 "emphasis"	Accounting	Criminal Justice
3+1 with LSSU in Sociology	Banking & Finance	Drafting
1+1 Water Quality program Bay de Noc Com. College	Business Management	Business Data Processing
	Marketing	3 Certificate programs
	Nursing	
	Secretarial & Adminis. Services	
	Respiratory Therapy	
	1+1 Specialty Program	
	3 + 1 with LSSU in Business	
	3+1 with LSSU in Accounting	
	8 Certificate programs	

Appendix J: Table of Organization, North Central Michigan College, 1988a



Appendix K: Era of Succession Program Offerings

Transfer/Liberal Arts Programs, 1988: 41	Resort Services Programs, 1988: 17	Vocational Programs, 1988: 7
Liberal Arts - 40 “emphasis” areas	Accounting	Criminal Justice
1+1 Water Quality program with Bay de Noc community college	Banking & Finance	Drafting
	Business Management	Business Data Processing
	Marketing	4 Certificate programs
	Nursing	
	Respiratory Therapy	
	Secretarial & Admin. Services	
	1+1 Specialty program	
	3+1 with LSSU in Business Administration	
	3+1 with LSSU in Accounting	
	7 Certificate programs	
Transfer/Liberal Arts Programs, 1994: 40	Resort Services Programs, 1994: 21	Vocational Programs, 1994: 12
Liberal Arts - 39 “emphasis”	Accounting	Criminal Justice
1+1 Water Quality program with Bay de Noc community college	Banking & Finance	Drafting
	Business Management	Business Computer Programming
	Marketing	Engineering Technology
	Nursing	Corrections certificate of devel.
	Office & Adminis. Services	4 Certificate programs
	1+1 Specialty program	

Appendix K (continued)

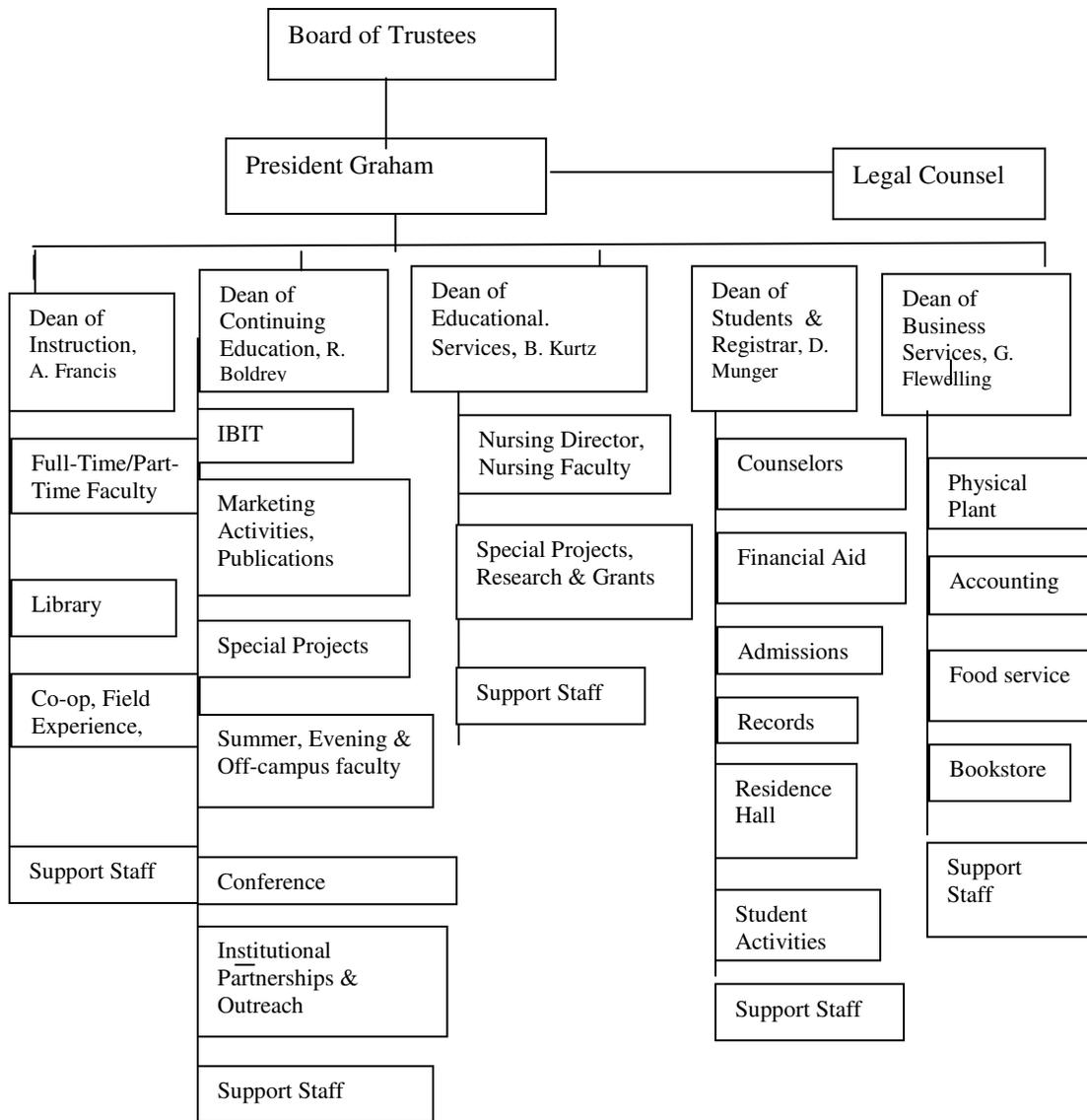
4 -3 + 1 with LSSU in Business
Administration with concentrations
in Management, Marketing,
Accounting, General Business

3+1 with LSSU in Accounting

2+2 with LSSU in
Hospitality/Tourism Management
2+2 with LSSU in Nursing (BSN)
7 Certificate programs

3 - 2+2 with LSSU in
Engineering technology:
Automated Systems,
Mechanical Engineering,
and Electrical Engineering

Appendix L: Table of Organization, North Central Michigan College, 1988b



Appendix M: Table of Organization, North Central Michigan College, 1995

