High Demand x High Support: Beyond Community College Access and Credentialism

The graph below contrasts common features of community college culture with a dense sketch of the most significant features of the HDxHS pedagogy; an approach designed to challenge more than accommodate common problems of entering college students. As implied in the display, our effort to learn about learning cast a wide, rather than narrow, net. We searched broadly in terms of time (history), space (other cultures), disciplinary focus (education and beyond), and type of research (short-term, long-term, qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods). Furthermore, as the decades marking our efforts (1980s – early 2000s) are associated with unprecedented challenges in the human condition (here in the U.S. and around the globe; cf. Berggruen Institute, 2018), we also embraced ideas of learning that aimed to capture this emerging reality (Berger, Hasegawa, Hammerman, & Kegan, 2007). Though the graph provides representative rather than exhaustive references for the bodies of work we have consulted, in a number of instances (e.g. adult development, citizenship, community colleges, rural, inequality) we have created (and continue to build) reading lists in these areas. Initially created for our own use, these have in some instances become useful to the developing interests of former students, interested colleagues, and members of the local community.

Briefly, the HDxHS concept originated in the United States with the work of Nevitt Sanford (1962, 1967). Outside the U.S., the concept is associated with Ukrainian born educator Anton Makarenko (1955/2001) whose efforts in the Soviet Union rehabilitating homeless and otherwise at risk youth in the 1920's advocated "the maximum of support with the maximum of demand" (Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000, p. 122). Sanford and Makarenko both foretold recent thinking in the area of habit formation and behavior change. Environments influence habits in ways that individuals often do not fully appreciate; changing those habits often requires a measure of environmental disruption (Wood, Tam, & Witt, 2005, p. 918) particularly for habits performed frequently in similar settings (e.g. schools/classrooms; Wood & Neal, 2007). Although it may sound counterintuitive, environment plays a key role in this kind of behavior because the control of the behavior is outsourced to the environment. Though individuals may believe they are independent of their environments and may not be aware of feeling pushed and prodded by it, they are nonetheless very integrated with it. Encouraging the dismantling of a habit (e.g., procrastination) involves disrupting the environment in which the habit was formed (Wood et al., 2005). Although reform influenced educators often try to make learning easy, it is when the world breaks down, falls apart, and challenges expectations that most learning occurs (Clay, 2010, p. 10). This is especially so when diverse forms of support and assistance are transparent and available. Of course, as our work and efforts in other settings (criminal justice, health care) clearly demonstrates, the readiness and willingness to engage in such settings is a complex phenomenon that is influenced but not determined by the institutional environment.

Community College Culture	High Demand x High Support (HDxHS) Culture
• Access and credentialism (Bailey, Jaggers, & Jenkins, 2015).	Beyond access and credentialism (Harbour, 2015).
 Assumes efficiency-focused-credentialing addresses challenges associated with disadvantage and inequality (Bailey, Jaggers, & Jenkins, 2015). Culture of accommodation (Beach, 2011; Hanson, 2010; McGrath & Spear, 1991). 	 Assumes challenges associated with disadvantage and inequality requires intense focused attention in freshman and sophomore college years (Blumenstyk, 2018). Challenge more than accommodate in a climate of support (cf. Bronfrenbrenner & Evans, 2000, p. 122; Kozhevnikov, Evans, & Kosslyn, 2014).
• Efficiency Paradigm. Commitment to enrollment. Short-term, easy to measure, attainable goals (Bailey & Morest, 2006, p. 269; Parry, Field & Supiano, 2013; Jacobs, 2003).	Alternative/More Democratic Paradigm. Longer-term, more difficult to measure, desirable goals (Jacobs, 2003, pp. 65-67, cf. Perry, 1999/1968).
 Consumer choice approach to students (McGrath & Spear, 1991, p. 17), appeals to community service ideology and individualism while ignoring that students are unsophisticated about options (p. 45). Fee-paying individual = student = consumer/spectator. 	• Reject consumer choice approach. • Student = adult and citizen; roles and obligations (Banner & Cannon, 1999; Hanson, 2010; Heclo, 2008).
Play strongly against student transformation (McGrath & Spear, 1991, p. 94).	• Primary commitment to college initiation and transformation to adult learning (Berger, Hasegawa, Hammerman, & Kegan, 2007; Grow, 1991; Mezirow & Associates, 2000; Perry, 1999/1968, p. 198).
• Vocationalism emphasis (Beach, 2011; Brint, 2003; Brint & Karabel, 1989; Hanson, 2010, p. 96).	 Strong Transfer Potential emphasis. Draw upon empirical study of: Adult development (Arnett, 2004; Berger et al., 2007; Côté, 2000, 2019; Côté & Levine, 2002; Kegan, 1994; Perry, 1999/1968). Citizenship (Colby, Beaumont, Ehrlich, & Corngold, 2007; Colby, Ehrlich, Beaumont, & Stephens, 2003). Creativity (Kim, 2011). Cross-cultural learning (Sahlberg, 2009; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992) and experience (Shaffer, Harrison, Gregersen, Black, & Ferzandi, 2006). Decision-making (Kahneman, 2011). Epigenetics (Carey, 2012), Environments (Lehrer, 2006) and Habit formation (Duhigg, 2012; Wood & Neal, 2007; Wood, Tam, & Witt, 2005). Inequality (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). Learning how to learn (Crick, 2007). Mental Health (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Eckersley, 2006). Neuroscience, teaching and learning (Bruer, 1997, 2006; Dougherty & Robey, 2018). Post-traumatic growth (Calhoun & Tedeschi, 2006). Poverty (Lareau, 2011; Silva, 2013). Resilience (Garmezy, Masten, & Tellegen, 1984; Rutter, 1985, 1987; Werner & Smith, 1977, 1989, 1992).

 Professionalism: Community colleges do not think of themselves as part of higher education (McGrath & Spear, 1991, pp. 61, 139-140). Faculty/leadership embrace Romantic tradition and reject Enlightenment Empiricism (e.g. emphasize 	 Rural (Carr & Kefalas, 2009) Terror management (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991). The science of learning (National Academies of Sciences, 2018). Transformational Learning (Courtenay, Merriam, & Reeves, 1998). Recognize crisis in the professions and the demand for professional reinvention (Kezar, 2018; Sullivan, 2005). Emphasize Contextual Relativism (Perry, 1999/1968, pp. xxxi-xxxv).
Socrates' life, not his method) (McGrath & Spear, 1991, p. 75).	 Expose students to tradition(s) of thought in context (e.g. Socrates' life and Socrates' method in context). The complexity of science (Understanding Science, 2018) and the history and philosophy of science (Kwa, 2011; Shapin, 2010). Criteria for analyzing traditions of thought (Paul & Elder, 2007). Focus on facts and big interdisciplinary picture (Strober, 2011).
 Culture views identification with scholarship as elitism and not caring for students (McGrath & Spear, p. 140). 	 Identify with scholarship and care for students. Care ≠ Accommodating habits in need of attention and/or challenge.
• Intelligence: Prominent belief that students have scaled down intelligence (McGrath & Spear, 1991, p. 93).	• Intelligence <i>can</i> be acquired (Bjork & Bjork, 2011; Dweck, 2006; Nisbett, 2009; Richardson, 2000; Sternberg, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c).
 Linguistic Usage: Encourage and accommodate impoverished linguistic behaviors (Hanson, 2010; McGrath & Spear, 1991, pp. 15-17, 91; Richardson, Fisk, & Okun, 1983). Bitting': read textbooks – not primary texts – locates information, defines terms, engages in skill activities, and summarizes chapters (McGrath & Spear, 1991, pp. 15-17). Evaluation: primarily information retrieval (pp. 15-17). 	 Enhance linguistic behaviors (Castles, Rastle, & Nation, 2018; Willingham, 2017). Read text: books and diverse primary texts. Essay questions: essential questions reflecting key concepts, theories, principles, methods, and disciplinary language (Wiggins & McTighe, 2006). Evaluation based performing levels of Bloom's Taxonomy, and aspects of critical thinking (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001; Gardiner, 1994, 1998; Paul & Elder, 2007). Critical thinking ≠ giving ones' own opinion; critical thinking = assumptions, beliefs, values (Paul & Elder, 2007).
• Interpret Maslovian/Rogerian perspective as emphasis on self-esteem, non-threatening learning environments (McGrath & Spear, 1991, p. 114).	• Emphasis on learning self-respect, self-efficacy (Bandura, 1994) and institutional responsibility (Heclo, 2008). Kindness, understanding, support, <i>and</i> prudence and honesty (e.g. "Your draft represents a good start for 'x' reasons; what else is required by the criteria for this assignment?").
 Developmental Drift. Teachers in developmental programs are concerned with students' self-esteem, personal growth, and feelings of autonomy; counseling is seen as a critical element in 	• Acknowledge developmental (cognitive, emotional, etc.) challenges in the shift to learning beyond the novice range (Beck, 2017; Côté, 2019; Gilovich, 1991; cf. Perry, 1999/1968).

these programs – counselors think of themselves as student advocates and often oppose the imposition of academic standards (McGrath & Spear, 1991, pp. 50-56).	
• Edutainment (Willingham, 2017, p. 172).	 Socratic classroom dialogue (not lecture, not unfocused discussion, not debate, and not group work). If there are no questions, then the exam becomes due at next class meeting (Paul & Elder, 2006; Ross, 2003).
• "Is anybody reading the syllabus?" (Zamdio-Suarez, 2016).	HDxHS syllabus addresses key functions and components of a syllabus (Derek Bok Center for Teaching and Learning, 2018). Familiarity with the syllabus represents implicit dimension of performance requirements and grading criteria (see general information page).
Office Hours. A tradition marked by imprecisely conceived functions and few specific student performance expectations (cf. Mineo, 2017).	 Office Hours. Each student is required to make a minimum of three office hour appointments per semester. 30-45 faculty office hours per week between us. Make individual and/or group appointment(s), encourage creating an agenda, (e.g. readings, self discipline issues, planning, pedagogical questions [Why grade student notes, readings, and outlines?]).
Emphasize Distance Education (Dynarski, 2018).	 Emphasize Face to Face. Address challenges created by technological success (Bauerlein, 2008; Oppenheimer, 2003; Pinker, 2014; Turkle, 2015).
• Post-transfer support?	Post-transfer support often through graduate school and beyond.

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