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How Community Colleges in Texas Prioritize Resources for Latino Men

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Disciplines

Community College Leadership | Critical and Cultural Studies | Gender, Race, Sexuality, and Ethnicity in Communication | Higher Education

Comments

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Abstract

This study explored how administrators at community colleges conceptualized change related to resource allocation and managing competing priorities to support targeted programming for Latino men. The study included the perspectives of 39 administrators from seven community colleges across Texas using the Change Macro Framework (Kezar, 2014) to ground our analysis. Findings revealed that state and national initiatives, particularly those concerned with enhancing success for students of color, influenced how community college administrators approached change on their campuses. In addition, community college institutional mission, leadership, and a desire for data-informed resource management influenced the approach to resource allocation for Latino men.

How Community Colleges in Texas Prioritize Resources for Latino Men

Latina/os are the nation’s largest and fastest-growing racial/ethnic minority group.

Nationally, the 11 million Latina/o students in public schools represent more than 22% of the pre

K-12 population (White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics, n.d.). Yet,

only half of Latina/o students earn a high school diploma and only 13% of Latina/os currently

have a bachelor’s degree nationwide. In Texas, these numbers are even more sobering,

considering that “Hispanics are simultaneously the fastest-growing and the least well-educated

segment of the Texas population” (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, 2012, p. 1).

The Texas population is 39% Latina/o and when this number is disaggregated by age the

rate of growth is notable; 49% of residents age 17 and under are Latino/a, compared to 31% of

individuals age 35 or older (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, 2015). This

exceptional population growth translates into an increased number of students in higher

education. College enrollment among Latino students grew by 110% between 2000 and 2012

(Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board [THECB], 2013b). However, when higher

education outcomes are disaggregated by gender there is cause for concern for Latino males.

While an increased number of Latino males are enrolling in college, their completion rates are

“disturbingly low” (THECB, 2013b). Because educational attainment correlates to a myriad of

personal, economic, and societal benefits, the gap in educational attainment for Latino males

could have far-reaching consequences, both for the Latina/o community and society as a whole

(Baum, Ma, & Payea, 2010; Perna, 2004; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009).

The implications of disparities in educational attainment go well beyond education into

the workforce. Between 2008 and 2012, the employment rate decreased for male young adults

who did not have a bachelor’s degree (Kena et al., 2014). These statistical realities – of shifting

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Baum, S., Ma, J. & Payea, K. (2010). Education Pays 2010. Washington, DC: The College Board.

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demographics, educational attainment, and workforce participation – make it critical that more Latino males successfully complete college degrees. This is especially important in light of the fact that state resources for public higher education have shifted significantly over the past three legislative sessions (which occur every other year in Texas).

Funding for higher education was reduced by \$1.1 billion in both general appropriations and formula funding in 2011 (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, 2011). Funding was restored in the subsequent session (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, 2013b).

However, in keeping with a national movement toward increasing both student access *and* success, Texas also adopted outcomes-based funding for community colleges during the 2013 session (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, n.d. a; Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, 2013b). As a result, 10% of community college formula funding is allocated based on the number of students who successfully complete specific educational milestones (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, n.d. b).

Community colleges in Texas and nationally must be responsive to the needs of a growing number of Latina/o students who may require higher levels of support while developing strategies to contend with resources that are increasingly constrained. Given the financial and political realities in higher education, administrators are required to make difficult decisions and to re-examine institutional priorities. National and state data demonstrate both the continued growth of the Latina/o population and the exceptionally low levels of educational attainment among Latino males. This is especially important in light of the fact that state resources for public higher education have shifted significantly in recent years, with changes ranging from funding decreases to outcomes-based funding over the past three legislative sessions (which occur every other year in Texas). Administrators are charged with managing many competing

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priorities, and decisions about resource allocation which often reveal the true priorities of an institution (Santos, 2007). Community college leaders are essential to orchestrating organizational change (Nadler & Nadler, 1997).

This study investigated how administrators at community colleges conceptualize resource allocation and manage competing priorities to support targeted programming for Latino male students. This study examined the following research questions:

1. How do community college administrators in Texas view the allocation/shift in resources and prioritization of programs in a time of budget crisis?
2. How do institutional priorities influence efforts to support targeted programming for Latino male students?
3. Are there differences in how resources (i.e., financial versus human capital) can be allocated to support targeted programming for Latino male students?

We conducted 39 interviews with administrators from seven Texas community colleges. We used Kezar's (2014) Change Macro Framework to ground our analysis. Our initial assumption was that decreases in funding would either prevent creation or lead to the cancellation of programs and services for Latino males. However, administrator interviews revealed that support for Latino male programs was impacted by institutional priorities and leadership even more than funding. Our results not only provide insight into how community college administrators understand and balance resource allocation and targeted programming for Latino males, but also have implications for improving institutional policies and practices to develop programs that specifically engage and support Latino males in higher education.

Literature Review

Responsive and innovate to a changing higher education landscape, community colleges are poised to meet the learning needs of a changing population (Miles, 2003; Tarence, 2002; Warford, 2002). However, community colleges face numerous competing priorities for resource allocation, even in good economic times. Introducing targeted diversity initiatives, such as Latino male student success programs, depends upon administrators framing the issue as a priority and allocating human and financial resources to back up this commitment. As McPhail and McPhail (2006) noted, “resource allocation sends a direct messages about the mission priorities” (p. 96) of community colleges. Extant literature does not specifically address resource allocation targeted toward Latino male success initiatives at community colleges. However, the literature on resource allocation in higher education and institutional efforts to fund diversity initiatives provides a foundation upon which to examine resource allocation for Latino males in higher education. This section will review research on resource allocation, decision-making models, and efforts to institutionalize diversity initiatives in higher education, and conclude with a brief consideration of the benefits of using qualitative inquiry to examine resource allocation.

Resource Allocation and Strategic Decision Making

As resource allocation is a human process shaped by administrators’ choices and priorities, it is useful to consider approaches for analyzing decision-making. In the management field, Hitt and Tyler (1991) outlined three dominant strategic decision-making models: Rational Normative, External Control, and Strategic Choice. In the Rational Normative model, decisions are sequenced, analytical, and rational. The second model, External Control, emphasized aspects of the external environment that determined the success of strategic decisions. Finally, the Strategic Choice model asserts that decision makers evaluate complex (but often incomplete) information to set goals for the organization and that their personal characteristics inform

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choices. In this model, decisions can never be entirely objective and are thus not always rational. Hitt and Tyler qualify this discussion by pointing out that decisions may draw upon more than one of the three models simultaneously.

The institution's strategic plan should form the objective basis for ideal resource allocation (Knight, Folkins, Hakel, & Kennell, 2011). However, Freedman (2005) contended that administrators hold what amounts to political office and that self-preservation becomes a factor in budgetary decisions. In good financial times, administrators will add programs without close adherence to the strategic plan, and in hard times, they will often use a cautious approach of across-the-board cuts to seek political cover (Freedman, 2005). Administrators may also seek political cover for failing to fund stated priorities by leading an opaque, rather than transparent, budgeting process, with decisions made among a small number of leaders without a clear rationale (Bailey, Jaggars, & Jenkins, 2015). While politically expedient in the short term, such a tactic will eventually lead to campus community members observing that "the leadership's purported priorities do not match the institution's actual spending patterns and conclude that the administration lacks integrity" (Bailey et al., 2015, p. 148).

Hackman (1985) proposed the concept of centrality—that is, resources flow to units whose purposes are perceived as fundamental to the overall organization. Centrality may become more apparent when an institution faces budget cuts as priorities are revealed (Hackman, 1985). In those times, it is clear which units and initiatives are central or core, and which are peripheral, to the institutional mission. In critique of Hackman's work, Ashar and Shapiro (1988) proposed that there is no objective way to distinguish between central and peripheral units and goals within an institution. Instead, the authors focused on a unit's centrality in the workflow of the organization rather than strictly centrality to mission. In both analyses, some

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activities are considered vital functions of higher education institutions while others are viewed as marginal or non-essential, and resource allocation is one way that centrality is expressed.

Massy (1996) outlined another conceptualization of how institutional leaders assess and improve resource allocation efforts: Value Responsibility Budgeting. It is impossible for every institutional goal or priority to be fully funded and, as a result, “competing social requirements ... outstrip resources even in the fastest-growing economies” (Massy, 1996, p. 15). When addressing financial difficulties, institutions tend to seek new revenue sources, cut budgets across the board and/or target programs for elimination. According to Massy (1996), traditional methods of resource allocation can obstruct change; for example, line-item budgeting promotes the idea of departmental ownership of base budgets from year to year. This approach to budgeting can prevent institutions from making needed adjustments based on intrinsic values and market forces.

Resource allocation is deeply affected by external factors, most notably the broader state and national economy, which can lead to reductions in state funding and philanthropic giving that may not necessarily rebound in concert with the economy. Many institutions are constrained in their ability to raise tuition rates, particularly given pushback from students and families when unemployment is high and wages are stagnant. Fowler (2013) also highlighted the impact of the economic climate on the educational policy environment. She argued that educational leaders should lay the foundation for policy changes during economic downturns so that they may be poised to take advantage of the next period of economic expansion. However, as Kezar (2014) noted, these perspectives may overestimate the power of leadership’s authority, ignore external context or politics, downplay the irrational behavior of human beings, or overlook a host of other factors related to the barriers and obstacles associated with creating change.

Institutionalizing Diversity

Institutional leaders who seek to allocate resources toward diversity efforts may face a range of obstacles. In general, organizational change in higher education may be impeded by myriad factors ranging from campus politics, competing goals, and complex operations to a lack of consensus and diffuse responsibility (Hackman, 1985; Williams, 2013). Diversity is typically only confronted in response to internal or external crises; therefore, diversity-related change is difficult to accomplish in higher education due to the “essentially conservative culture of the academy” (Williams, 2013, p. 177).

Institutional priorities clearly impact resource allocation. The core elements of leading a community college often revolve around creating a shared understanding of the mission and vision of the institution, then mobilizing individuals to help realize that shared mission and vision (Malm, 2008). Taking into account the multiple missions of community colleges, McPhail and McPhail (2006) called upon “each community college to prioritize its missions to determine the most suitable for the community served” (p. 92). Given Hackman’s (1985) concept of centrality in resource allocation, administrators advocating for diversity-related activities must assert that diversity is core to the mission of the institution and, in community colleges, the needs of the local community. If diversity is seen as an administrative activity, it may be seen as peripheral as most administrative offices are viewed as non-central to institutions (Hackman, 1985). If institutional leaders view equity and diversity as a low institutional priority, resources allocated toward diversity efforts may be cut during periods of downturn. For example, in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and subsequent budget cuts on college campuses, “diversity positions were slashed” (Jaschik, 2011). Meanwhile, diversity efforts may be subject to budget reductions and elimination, in the face of attacks on higher education and

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the need to raise external revenue (Brimhall-Vargas, 2012). Thus, when resources are not aligned with diversity goals and objectives, institutional commitment to diversity management can become expendable or be called into question (Albert & Barker, 2012).

When diversity is valued by colleges and universities, it is reflected in institutional goals, objectives, and budgeting practices (Pollard, 2004). In outlining a path for strategic diversity leadership, Williams (2013) argued that successful change efforts will alter core assumptions and structures, including commitment of resources and support from senior leadership. In an inclusive excellence model of diversity in higher education, funding is generous and is protected — in both good and bad economic times — and is included among fundraising goals (Williams, Berger, & McClendon, 2005). Such a model is characterized by shared responsibility for diversity by all stakeholders and reallocation of resources to support transformation of the institution (Williams et al., 2005). In one example that highlights resource reallocation and shared responsibility, Greene and Harrigan (2004) highlighted recruitment programs that focus on diversity by directing additional funding to departments that successfully hire faculty of color. Thus, one key strategy for institutionalizing diversity may be rewarding departments and units that successfully meet diversity-related goals.

While allocation of targeted resources for Latino males affects all institutions, community colleges and Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs), in particular, are grappling with meeting the needs of Latino students. Most Latina/o students begin their higher education journeys in community colleges (National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education, 2011). The HSI designation indicates that an institution's student population is at least 25% Latino; colleges and universities that receive this designation are eligible to apply for Title V grant funding to advance the achievement of Latino students (U.S. Department of Education, 2013). In a survey

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of 167 presidents and chancellors of HSIs, 82% identified funding as one of the three most important challenges facing their institutions (De Los Santos & De Los Santos, 2003). When asked to identify major fiscal issues with which they were grappling, these leaders cited: reduced state funding; increased enrollment; competition for resources; the national economic climate; and funding of facilities, technology, and equipment. One leader reflected that “resource allocation is political, not rational” (quoted in De Los Santos & De Los Santos, 2003, p. 384). Further, 32% of chancellors identified student academic preparation, retention, and graduation rates as key concerns. While these issues are important for all students, they are particularly critical for Latino males.

Qualitative Inquiry on Resource Allocation

Higher education finance and resource allocation has been typically examined from an organizational design perspective or through quantitative analysis (Knight et al., 2011). The literature addresses how colleges and universities function as organizations that are impacted by budgeting processes, availability of funding streams, and efforts to institutionalize diversity. Ho, Dey, and Higson (2006) reviewed literature published on higher education decision problems including resource allocation, performance measurement, budgeting, and scheduling. Only 24% of articles focused on resource allocation, suggesting a need for more exploration in this area. Resource allocation research tends to utilize quantitative methods; however, qualitative research on this topic can also provide important insight (Knight et al., 2011). For example, two recent qualitative studies (Chacón, 2013; Johnson-Ahorlu, Alvarez, & Hurtado, 2013) examined the impact of state budget cuts on higher education in California. Both of these studies focused on student experiences, but additional research could explore the perspectives of administrators charged with making decisions about resources.

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There is a need for greater insight into how decision makers in higher education institutions conceptualize resource allocation, including resource allocation beyond the department or unit level. A priority or initiative focused on Latino male success may span multiple departments and become integrated into multiple functions of a college. This suggests a need to consider how resources are allocated to an institution-wide priority that is not expressed by the presence of a single department or unit dedicated to achieving the priority. Understanding the resource allocation process from administrators' perspectives could improve the decisions that administrators make (Knight et al., 2011).

Theoretical Framework

This study, which examined resource allocation through a qualitative lens, employs the Change Macro Framework developed by Adrianna Kezar (2014). The lens of change management is especially relevant to the community college sector, because such institutions exist within dynamic local environments (Van Wagoner, 2004). The Change Macro Framework was designed for examining how to understand and create intentional, rather than adaptive or evolutionary, change within higher education. This framework is ideally suited for the study because it considers the *content* of change initiatives while also addressing the *process* of change in higher education. The Change Macro Framework asserts that change agents must understand not only the *type of change* being undertaken, but also the organizational *context for change* and the amount of *agency or leadership* available. Developing an understanding of these elements enables change agents to develop an appropriate *approach to change* in higher education.

Within this framework, Kezar identifies the *type of change* an institution seeks as a function of the content, scope, level, focus, and sources of change. The framework addresses the *context for change* in terms of internal and external cultures and stakeholders as well as the

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nature of higher education as an institution. Kezar's framework also examines the nature of *agency and leadership* among change agents within the change process. Each element of the Change Macro Framework builds upon the others (*type of change, context for change, agency/leadership*) and, after careful analysis, result in the selection of a specific *approach to change* (such as scientific management, evolutionary, political, social cognition, cultural, or institutional). This framework guides our efforts to understand how higher education administrators in Texas manage competing priorities and support targeted programming for Latino male students. The Change Macro Framework allows us to analyze institutional interview data for insight into budget allocation, strategic plans, program prioritization, human capital, and the use of monetary resources, time, and facilities.

Changes concerning the resource allocation process within higher education are often only approached through quantitative methods. However, Kezar's framework allows for a qualitative examination of the manner in which resources are not only allocated, but also redirected by key change agents who must creatively frame priorities and convince internal and external stakeholders of their importance. As such, analyzing how community college administrators conceptualize the resource allocation process and how they approach changes in resource allocations to incorporate Latino male student success efforts can offer key insights for research and practice.

Methodology

This study investigated how administrators at community colleges conceptualized resource allocation and managed competing organizational priorities to support targeted programming for Latino male students. In order to examine these complex processes, a qualitative approach offered the ability to gain rich descriptions of administrator perceptions as

well as explore the meanings and interpretations given to specific decisions, events, and ideas (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This study used a qualitative multiple case study approach to examine the administrator decision-making process and understand what priorities influence efforts to support targeted programming for Latino males and how they subsequently allocated resources (Grbich, 2007; Willis, 2007). Each of the institutions within this study represented a case within a larger, bounded system of Texas (Merriam, 2009). The strength of this research design lies in its ability to provide a holistic investigation of specific cases, context and circumstances of the research site (Merriam & Simpson, 1995). Attention to contextual and circumstantial details allowed us to consider particular aspects of the administrator experience that quantitative approaches might typically overlook (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997).

Data Collection

This study examines the responses of 39 administrators at seven community colleges in Texas. We conducted interviews at case study institutions that were small (1), mid-sized (3), large (3), and located in both urban and suburban settings. Participants in the study were employed full-time as administrators at community colleges within the state of Texas; some of these individuals taught courses in addition to fulfilling administrative duties. Participants varied in terms of race, ethnicity, and gender as well as age, administrative function, and number of years at the institution. Some participants reported leading strategic planning and budgeting, others influenced these processes. However, Kezar (2014) defined a change agent as anyone who can create change. Therefore, participants were selected based on their potential to be change agents within the institution by shaping strategic plans and/or influencing resource allocation.

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Within the study, 63% of participants identified as Hispanic or Latina/o, while 17% identified as White or Caucasian and 20% identified as African American or Black (no participants identified as Asian-Pacific Islander or Native American). In terms of level within their organizations, 30% of participants held entry level positions (e.g., coordinators of various student success initiatives, diversity initiatives), 45% held mid-management positions (e.g., directors and deans of student services), and 25% held upper-management, senior-level, or institutional leadership positions (e.g., presidents, vice-presidents). Furthermore, 68% of participants were men and 32% of participants were women, and all held at least a bachelor's degree, with over 78% holding graduate degrees.

To recruit participants, the principal investigator established relationships with each case's gatekeeper – a designated individual that assisted the research team with gaining access to individuals on each campus. The principal researcher used this relationship to organize each research site visit and establish connections with possible research participants.

Each participant completed one individual, digitally recorded, semi-structured interview concerning conceptualization of resource allocation and management of competing organizational priorities to support targeted programming for Latino male students. Participants were interviewed by either the principal investigator or a member of the research team. Throughout the interview process, participants had the ability to expand the conversation and were encouraged to address any other information that they felt might be relevant to their experiences. Interviews lasted approximately one hour each and were transcribed for later analysis.

Data Analysis

Once all recordings were transcribed and loaded into the qualitative data analysis software, the research team created a codebook. In order to do this, the research team used a small sample of transcripts to analyze for initial codes which were derived from Kezar's (2014) Change Macro Framework and supplemented with additional codes, as needed. A priori codes included those related to the framework's focus on strategies, intervening factors, and external influence factors. Throughout the initial codebook creation, team members reviewed transcripts and met to exchange ideas on relevant codes and then, ultimately, establish the final analysis codebook.

Once the analysis codebook was established, research team members, in small groups, coded all remaining transcripts using the final analysis codebook. Each transcript was read several times and electronically coded for specific topics related to resource allocation and management of competing organizational priorities. Each coder used the codebook in order to shape the focus of the study; however, coders also identified significant ideas and illuminating quotations. Additional emergent codes and sub-codes were incorporated throughout the analysis process as a way of further expanding the analysis and probing the data. During this stage, significant patterns within the data were noted and possible explanations and propositions for the findings were proposed. To aid in the data analysis process, the research team also engaged in ongoing conversations and memo writing, which assisted in understanding how administrators viewed resource allocation and defining emerging themes within the data.

Trustworthiness

In order to establish a rigorous and trustworthy research study, mechanisms of verification were woven in at each stage of the study to maintain the credibility, confirmability and consistency of the research design as well as data collection and analysis (Lincoln & Guba,

1985). Data were systematically checked and analysis and interpretation were monitored for potential biases and confirmed to be trustworthy (Creswell, 2013). To establish credibility, the researchers utilized interviewing probing strategies, engaged in frequent debriefing, and participated in peer scrutiny of findings. To build confirmability throughout the study, the researchers remained data-oriented and attempted to reduce investigator bias by exploring positionalities. Consistency within the study was established through a clear, well-structured research design on the outset and a culture of reviewing raw data, evaluating data reduction tools, and maintaining data analysis process notes.

Researcher Positionalities

This research endeavor is the product of a team effort. The principal investigator (PI) is a Latino male, and his research team is comprised of two females (one white and one Latina) and one white male. The strength of the research team is its diversity, with a mixture of gender insiders and outsiders and cultural insiders and outsiders; all members share a commitment to producing more equitable educational environments. Though each researcher comes to the work from slightly different starting points (i.e., one may start with an orientation toward gender equity and then incorporate a cultural perspective or vice versa), the group worked together to interview participants, create the codebook, work through and arrive at shared interpretative meanings, and conduct analyses that were shared among the group and, thus, subject to rigorous discussions of interpretation. In short, the group's composition and dedication to this endeavor allowed us to delve deeply into the data, consider multiple possible interpretations, and produce trustworthy analyses.

Findings and Discussion

Using Kezar's (2014) Change Macro Framework, this study suggested several ways that community college administrators conceptualized changes in resource allocation and managed competing priorities to support targeted programming for Latino male students at community colleges. First, within the *context for change*, there were external influences, specifically state and federal priorities, which informed the ways in which administrators developed and implemented institutional priorities. These external influences appeared to increase efforts to provide targeted programming for Latino males. Moreover, external financial conditions were converging with state and federal priorities to influence resource allocation. Thus, when community college administrators in Texas made decisions about their *approach to changing* the way in which they prioritized programs, external financial conditions and priorities outside their institutions weighed into their decision-making processes.

Second, developing *agency/leadership* and the *approach to change* was the result of developing a clear, purposeful sense of shared vision among change agents which included administrators, faculty, and staff at the community colleges. Internal factors, including the ability to build a coalition and support (or lack thereof) for data-informed decision-making, influenced whether there was a shared sense of vision. This provided insight about how institutional priorities influenced efforts to support targeted programming for Latino male students. Finally, the findings show that community college administrators had the *agency/leadership* to allocate resources toward high-priority programs, even in a time of fiscal restraint. Data analysis served as a tool for increasing awareness of the *context for change* and making the case for providing resources focused on specific initiatives or populations of students. This addresses the question of whether there were differences in how resources could be allocated to support targeted programming for Latino male students.

State and National Initiatives

Community college institutional priorities are informed and, at times, set by external influences, including state and national initiatives. Nationally, and at the state level, financial resources for higher education have been unstable. Simultaneously, outcomes-based funding has emphasized student success by promoting a completion agenda and connecting it to funding. While outcomes-based funding initiatives are not new, more recently states, including Texas, have shifted toward allocating more of institutions' appropriations based on meeting certain outcomes measures (THECB, n.d. b). Therefore, when community college administrators are asked to provide their perspectives on shifting resource allocation and prioritization of programs, they frequently describe the national and state initiatives that affect student outcomes and funding. Within this study, administrators classified as upper-management, senior-level administrator, or institutional leadership, in particular, directly expressed the manner in which related state and national initiatives influence change in this area.

One of the state-level influences mentioned by many administrators is Closing the Gaps, a state-wide initiative of the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board that set statewide goals for college attendance and graduation rates by ethnicity and gender by 2015 (THECB, 2013a). Based on interviews, this initiative informs institutional priorities and spotlights the need for targeted Latino male success efforts. According to one administrator,

The male issue is on the radar for the district because we have Closing the Gap commitments in the state. And when we talk about that, we always emphasize that we've got to work harder to get the males here and then to hold them. So, it is on the radar ...

This administrator makes a clear connection between goals at the state level affecting institutional priorities with regards to Latino males. While Closing the Gaps has raised

awareness at the state level, the federal HSI designation and Title V funding serves as a validation and/or certification mechanism that raises further awareness for institutions.

According to one senior-level administrator:

[The institution] has been so committed to Closing the Gaps. We met the Hispanic Serving Institution federal criterion. Recently we achieved that. We're waiting to apply for certification. The year doesn't come up yet. As of the 2010 and 2009 figures, we are an HSI by the federal government criteria.

However, the HSI designation can also be taken for granted and does not guarantee that success rates are high for this population of students. The president of one institution described the situation as follows:

We know that a segment of the population not being served is Hispanic males, a significant segment, and, so we need to find ways to deal with that as part of our responsibility as an institution ... I've been here a long time, and I know you have faculty that have been here a long time, that change is kinda' scary, but we've always been a Hispanic Serving Institution, so that's nothing new. We have received Title V grants for a long time, so people are cognizant of that, and, and I really think that when you appeal to the faculty's professionalism and responsibility, and our mission as an institution, that resonates with most of them. I think it does.

This leader acknowledges that the HSI designation and the accompanying federal funds are part of the institutional culture and suggests that to successfully serve Latino males, administrators must help faculty understand their responsibility and connection to institutional mission.

One national initiative, Achieving the Dream (ATD), was repeatedly mentioned by administrators because it raised awareness about the Latino male achievement gap. This

initiative focuses on student success and completion at community colleges by helping low-income students and students of color complete their degrees (Achieving the Dream, 2012). While many administrators mentioned Achieving the Dream, one senior-level administrator clearly summarized its connection to the state's Closing the Gaps plan and how it influenced thinking about target populations in Texas:

Achieving the Dream helped us really pay attention to what the powers of disaggregated data are, because you can disaggregate it and go, 'Oh, gee whiz, wow.' And what we did with our Achieving the Dream data once we disaggregated, we said, oh my goodness, we've got gaps here.

This community college administrator refers to the "powers of disaggregated data." By requiring administrators to analyze their data and look at the performance by race and gender, ATD raised awareness on campuses across the state. This, in turn, has caused administrators to identify the gaps in student achievement. Closing the Gaps, Achieving the Dream, and the federal HSI designation are all external factors affecting resource allocation, particularly by raising awareness and generating urgency that were described by community college administrators. Analysis of interviews indicated that these initiatives have worked in tandem to highlight the needs of Latino males and to impact how funds are being allocated based on student outcomes. These findings are in keeping with the Change Macro Framework, which states that the environment for change in higher education is different today for a number of reasons, including the increasingly diverse student population (that engages campuses differently) and the reality that federal and state governments are calling for greater accountability and requiring assessment of student outcomes.

Institutional Responsibility, Mission, and Leadership

Community college administrators connected institutional responsibility and mission to the process of advocating for targeted initiatives for Latino males. Given demographic realities in Texas, the case is made that institutions serving local communities and the state are compelled to ensure the success of Latino males. Within this study, administrators classified as upper-management, senior-level administrator, or institutional leadership as well as those administrators in mid-management positions highlighted the role that institutional responsibility, mission, and leadership play in the process of institutional change to enhance the success of Latino men in higher education. One president said:

It's going to take an institutional call to increase awareness of the magnitude of the issue and to develop that ground, grassroots support that we have to change this just really for the benefit our community and our society.

This statement is illuminating in two ways. First, it highlights the role that leaders have in drawing attention to the ways in which issues faced by Latino males have a larger social impact. Second, it outlines the steps a leader might take in raising awareness and developing grassroots support. According to Kezar, institutional change agendas have historically focused on internal perspectives. However, administrators and change agents of today need to consider more stakeholders, perspectives, and priorities than ever before. Our study corroborates the need for inclusive participation of multiple stakeholders who can expand dialogue and opportunity.

Community college administrators believe that the effort to prioritize programs for Latino males is similar to other initiatives, both in terms of building a coalition of supporters and in finding a champion. One president emphasized the importance of developing a group of advocates:

It's one thing for an administrator to articulate it, but it's another thing for five to 10 to 15 people to be involved and actively engaged in something to then say, 'You know what, this is really a need.'

By identifying a group of supporters, administrators are able to collectively voice needs and concerns that may be disregarded with fewer supporters.

In order for targeted programming efforts to gain traction, though, at least one individual must lead the call to action. As described by one mid-level administrator, "there's got to be a champion. There's got to be an owner. There's got to be somebody that keeps it on the radar. That keeps it, you know, bringing it up...keeps it alive." The "champion" ensures that there is widespread awareness and buy-in. The individual who advocates on behalf of Latino males holds a position that is important, both practically and symbolically. According to another senior-level administrator, "a lot of us are working behind the scenes. Value it. Understand it. But it's gonna take a champion. That's one thing that we don't always have in, in our Hispanic culture, is a champion, you know?" This administrator's comment indicates that while efforts to target programming for Latino males may be similar to other initiatives, they are distinct in a very specific way – there may be a limited number of Latinos in institutional positions to champion the cause. Therefore, practically speaking, community college administrators who are female and/or non-Hispanic may find themselves in the role of champion on behalf of Latino males. This practical reality, about who is in a position to serve as a champion for Latino males, resonates with Kezar's conceptualization of a change agent as anyone who can create change within an institution of higher education.

In describing the role of champions and explaining how to provide targeted programming for Latino males, administrators outlined a process that included: raising awareness, identifying a

champion, and building a coalition of supporters. Once this exists, top leadership – preferably the president – can clarify the needs of Latino males on campus and appeal to institutional responsibility to move the issue forward. According to one president: “This is the kind of initiative, like Achieving the Dream, where it’s going to have to be driven really from the top through the institution through all segments of the institution.” This leader clearly explains that in order for a president and/or a coalition to advance an initiative across an institution, a shared vision must be developed, communicated, and continuously reinforced.

Administrators report encountering resistance to providing targeted support for Latino males for a number of reasons including: these types of efforts are new, there is a lack of awareness about the disparity in outcomes for Latino males, and because individuals do not agree with the approach. Therefore, championing the cause of Latino males – or attempting to provide targeted programming – requires being extremely familiar with the necessary data and being able to facilitate conversations around the topic. Here is how one president describes dealing with resistance:

There may be some resistance, just in the part of why should we focus on males, or why should we just focus on Hispanic males when we've got all these other students, and my answer to that, is, you know, you identify, we've identified that there's a problem here. And we know that. And we know the problems with males, and problems with Hispanic males, and that we've got students who aren't succeeding. And, it's, it's our responsibility, to find ways to help those students be successful, and I think also that we once we do that, many of these programs, let's say they're targeted on Hispanic males, can translate into helping males, and ultimately helping all students

This president described an identified problem with student success that is particularly pronounced among Latino males, then connects it to institutional responsibility and the success of all students. By communicating the connections between student outcomes and institutional responsibility, administrators employ a set of rhetorical tools that create a call to action on behalf of Latino males. However, they must translate this rhetoric into action through administrative strategies and direct action.

Data-Informed Resource Management & Allocation

When community college administrators described the various methods that are employed to provide targeted programming and support on college campuses, two administrative strategies clearly emerged – data analysis and allocation of funding. State and national initiatives, particularly Achieving the Dream, have not only increased awareness about the needs of Latino males, but also served as a way for administrators to begin taking action on their campuses. Administrators across administrative levels agreed that data-informed resource management and allocation play important roles in the change process and affect the manner in which stakeholders engage with institutional initiatives. A president clearly explains the role of data analysis:

I started really talking about data, and the use of data, and the immediate reaction of people, when the data didn't show you what anecdotally you thought it oughta say: First, you say the data's not valid, so deny the data. And then, you, there's a fear that the data's gonna be a club to hold over people's heads, and it takes a while to morph into the situation where you see data as a tool that can be helpful. But I think we're there. But I think Achieving the Dream, number one, it helped us do that.

Data disaggregation and analysis efforts can become the impetus for re-focusing institutional priorities. By allowing members of the campus community to examine, analyze, and discuss data, administrators can lay the groundwork for change. Kezar (2014) identified Achieving the Dream as a national project that is focused on organizational learning. These types of initiatives are characterized by sharing information and creating an opportunity for campuses to learn from mistakes. Therefore, it is meaningful that the president noted that while Achieving the Dream did not significantly impact student outcomes, it caused a shift in campus culture. In this way, data analysis and other activities that promote organizational learning can serve first steps toward determining whether and how programming may be targeted toward specific student populations.

Whereas, data analysis is an indirect strategy used by administrators, resource allocation is direct. Community college administrators clearly articulated that whether or not they are operating in a time of fiscal restraint, they have the ability to allocate resources toward high-priority programs. Two administrators from the same institution summed up the prevailing sentiment regarding resource allocation. According to one administrator, “every program is a priority,” and according to another administrator on the same campus, “Anytime this institution has focused on an issue or a concern, this institution has utilized the resources to rally behind that cause.” These comments describe the environment that exists on many campuses – there are many competing programs, but those initiatives that are considered a priority receive the necessary resources. Therefore, administrators report that the resources are available when an issue or initiative aligns with institutional priorities.

Despite having the ability to allocate resources toward high-priority initiatives, many administrators are dealing with budgetary limitations, shortfalls, or new accountability. Administrators described balancing the limited budgets while simultaneously trying to figure out

how to fund both existing and new initiatives. At one institution, “The mantra here for the last three or four years has been doing more with less.” A leader at another school described being in a financial crisis saying, “when you don’t have the resources, you have to be resourceful and that’s what we’re trying. We’re trying to make use of the resources that we already have.” Thus, administrators report that when they are operating in an environment of fiscal restraint, they focus on maximizing resources. Viewed through the lens of the Change Macro Framework, these comments reinforce the importance of understanding the context for change and the level of agency and leadership available for a particular change.

Administrators who are successful in prioritizing programs and shifting resources did so by being flexible and creatively re-imagining how resources were used or allocated. One administrator described resource allocation as follows: “The only thing I’m not doing is reorienting those resources to focus on men. I think the resources are available to us ... I think the difference is how do we tweak what we have to address this issue? It’s really a reorientation of thinking and then utilizing our tools.” This administrator describes using available resources, fiscal and otherwise, as well as then reorienting thinking. But how does an administrator shift his or her thinking with regard to resource allocation?

A number of individuals provided examples of how to re-think and reorganize resource allocation in terms of human capital. One administrator stated a belief that “Our greatest resources are our current people,” and to acknowledge this, the institution holds an annual lunch to recognize faculty who are actively providing student support. Over time, this has helped develop a culture of communication and collaboration between faculty and staff in support of students.

In addition to engaging faculty and staff, administrators also think of themselves as resources. According to one administrator, “You don’t have to have money to work one on one with a student. Every male student that comes in my office, you know, I have their attention.” This administrator focuses on serving as a resource to each individual student. Another administrator who teaches courses takes a holistic approach and views the classroom as a place to interact with students purposefully and systematically. These resource management strategies – which focus on broadening the conceptualization of resources, beyond the financial, and re-thinking human capital – are novel, but they were not widespread among the individuals we interviewed.

Limitations and Delimitations

This study focused on examining how administrators at community colleges in Texas conceptualize resource allocation and manage competing priorities to support targeted programming for Latino male students. Despite their role in the educational process, this study does not explore faculty, staff, or student perceptions nor does it attempt to examine K-12 educational influences. Delimitations were made in order to focus the study specifically on how administrators at community colleges in Texas – a state with a rapidly growing Latina/o population – respond to the Latino male educational gender gap. The sample for this study consists of 39 administrators. While this sample size enabled the researcher team to delve deeply into the particular experiences and perspectives of administrators, the exclusion of other higher education stakeholders is a limitation of the study. Specifically, by highlighting only administrators, the study does not account for a potential range of differences in how resource allocation and management of competing priorities may be conceptualized by other stakeholders. Disaggregating by community college type may reveal unique differences according to

geographical location, Hispanic Serving Institution status, and other institutional characteristics. As a result of these limitations, findings are not necessarily generalizable to all types of institutions or all higher education stakeholders.

Implications for Practice and Research

This study offers a variety of implications for community college leaders and administrators grappling with approaching a change towards providing targeted support for Latino male students. First, in a time of budgetary limitation or crisis, community college leaders must consider how they can frame the issue to maximize support. Administrators should find ways to acknowledge the *context for change* linking existing institutional priorities that call for increased graduation and completion across groups, with targeted Latino male initiatives. In doing so, Latino male success can be connected to existing institutional goals and informed by state and federal agendas. The *approach to change* will be better resourced if change agents align with institutional goals and support a broader policy agenda towards student success.

In order to create and sustain institutional priority for initiatives supporting Latino males, there must be buy-in as well as a sense of Kezar's (2014) *agency/leadership* at the institution for this issue, particularly from executive leadership. Community college administrators in this study discussed the importance of committees and work groups that examined disaggregated institutional data and then became armed with evidence that could support the necessity of targeted Latino male initiatives. Campuses can become data-informed and prepared to address achievement gaps, particularly if each academic department and unit designates a data liaison to track trends and point out needed areas of focus. Even with the existence of a dedicated committee or group, however, administrators discussed the need for a single champion who would provide focus and responsibility to keep the focus on this issue. Therefore, community

college leaders must be committed to prioritizing the issue and moving forward collectively with faculty and staff to champion the issue.

Building broad-based support for an initiative enables administrators to make a case for allocating resources. However, in order to move from theory to action and successfully allocate resources, community college administrators must be flexible and creative in re-imagining how resources are used or allocated. Administrators in this study conceptualized resources in different ways. They described using their discretion to allocate human resources, such as staff time or committee membership, to examine data. They also reported that financial resources are targeted to institutional priorities. Once framed as an institutional priority – with buy-in from faculty and staff – administrators explained how they were able to make a case for allocating resources toward Latino male student success.

Given the implications of this study, future research on this topic should focus on the interactions among educational stakeholders on this issue as well as understanding how community college institutional contexts affect the way in which administrators conceptualize resource allocation and manage competing priorities. First, researchers should seek to more fully understand the interactions, needs, and agendas among different stakeholders with regard to resource allocation. Within the institution, internal stakeholders, such as faculty, staff, and students, exist as dynamic (and sometimes neglected) partners in the educational process. Exploring their perspective would provide another lens through which resource allocation can be viewed and information triangulated. Rather than simply understanding resource allocation from an administrator's perspective, researchers should conduct additional studies which focus on the larger context of the institution and provide outlets for understanding institutional initiatives through multiple perspectives. This might include examining the existence of or potential for

grassroots movements among internal stakeholders. Outside of the institution, external stakeholders, such as state agencies, non-profit organizations, and the greater community also represent additional voices that should be heard and understood in the discussion of resource allocation. Additional research concerning the perceptions and agendas of external stakeholders will provide insight on the dynamics between internal and external stakeholders and an understanding about whether collaboration and alignment of agendas might be possible.

Future research should also examine how institutional context affects the way in which administrators conceptualize resource allocation and manage competing priorities. Exploring a variety of contextual settings would provide nuance to findings and expand the conversation to include a greater range of perspectives and illuminate specific contextual needs. Likewise, additional research might also explore how differences in institutional mission and localized demographics (of both the institution as well as the surrounding community) affect the perceptions of administrators regarding this issue.

Conclusion

Administrators were posed the same two questions in different ways: *why* and *how* should resources be allocated to Latino males? One administrator responded to this question as follows:

Well, look, I mean they're not being successful and so we need to do something...even when others say, 'Well, we should treat all students equally.' Well, we can, and that's what we've done, but that's what we got...What you think works isn't working. What we're doing isn't working. So, I think that the completion agenda provides us with an opportunity.

Though the language was different, the answer was effectively the same. Previous research has demonstrated that Latino males are not experiencing the same outcomes as other populations of students. Meanwhile, the completion agenda and outcomes-based funding are compelling college and universities to reexamine priorities and determine how to increase success and completion rates among Latino males at community colleges. As a result, administrators have the impetus to allocate resources in order to provide targeted programming for Latino males. Administrators' ability to allocate resources toward Latino males depends on institutional priorities. However, once an initiative or issue is considered a priority, administrators strongly believe that they have the ability to provide resources.

According to Kezar (2014), "Change processes need to involve collaboration, the examination or formation of shared interests, and collective leadership." In other words, change management strategies should be tailored to the needs of each community college campus through purposeful inclusion and careful analysis of institutional *context* and the amount of *agency or leadership* available. Developing an understanding of these elements enables change agents to develop an appropriate *approach to change* in community colleges. If the desired outcome is to purposefully support the success of Latino males in community colleges, campus change agents must proactively develop resource management policies and practices that reflect this is a shared goal of our institutions.

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