

5-2014

Growing Pains: Exploring the Transition from a Community College into a Four-Year Comprehensive College

Edna Martinez

Clemson University, edna@clemson.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/all_dissertations



Part of the [Educational Leadership Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Martinez, Edna, "Growing Pains: Exploring the Transition from a Community College into a Four-Year Comprehensive College" (2014). *All Dissertations*. 1342.

https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/all_dissertations/1342

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Dissertations at TigerPrints. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Dissertations by an authorized administrator of TigerPrints. For more information, please contact kokeefe@clemson.edu.

GROWING PAINS: EXPLORING THE TRANSITION FROM
A COMMUNITY COLLEGE INTO A FOUR-YEAR
COMPREHENSIVE COLLEGE

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy
Educational Leadership

by
Edna Martinez
May 2014

Accepted by:
Dr. Leslie D. Gonzales, Committee Chair
Dr. Curtis Brewer
Dr. Matteel Jones
Dr. James Satterfield

ABSTRACT

The highest degree awarded by the community college has generally been the associate in arts or the associate in science degree (Cohen & Brawer, 2008); however, an increasing number of community colleges have expanded their missions to award baccalaureate degrees (Levin, 2004; Russell, 2010; Walker, 2005). Although some community colleges have adopted the four-year degree function while maintaining their community college mission, others have become full baccalaureate degree granting colleges. In fact, this trend contributed to a 70% increase in the number of baccalaureate colleges from 1995-2006 (Longanecker, 2008). Nevertheless, little research exists on what this process looks like (Longanecker, 2008; Toma, 2012).

As such, the purpose of this study was to explore Ardent's¹ transition from a community college into a four-year comprehensive college. I was particularly interested in learning about what the transition entailed and possible implications for various stakeholders. Although for accreditation purposes some community colleges offering baccalaureates have been required to abdicate "community" from their name and become categorized as four-year colleges (Floyd, 2006), Ardent sought such categorization and had an explicit organizational vision to become a university.

In order to explore what the transition from a community college into a four-year comprehensive college looks like, I employed case study methods as they allowed for an in-depth examination and understanding of such process (Stake, 1995, 2000). More

¹ A pseudonym.

specifically, this research is an example of an intrinsic case study (Stake, 1995, 2000) at Ardent College, a former community college in the southwestern United States. As I believed this transition could be best understood from the perspective of those experiencing and enacting this transition, I sought the perspectives of faculty, staff, and administrators at the College. Additionally, I collected organizational documents, that could help me further understand what the transition entailed (Stake, 2000). Participant observations on campus and college events also contributed to my understanding of Ardent's transition.

The main finding of this study was that Ardent's transition entailed an organizational cultural shift in efforts to gain legitimacy. Specifically, Ardent's cultural shift was enabled by tightening operations and formalizing operations. Furthermore, although access was pronounced as the primary reason for Ardent's transition into a four-year college, findings indicate that decisions made by individuals primarily charged with steering Ardent's transition, in fact, undercut access.

DEDICATION

Para mi familia por su constante amor y apoyo. Gracias por siempre recordarme que todo lo puedo en Cristo que me fortalece—Filipenses 4:13.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Foremost, I would like to express my utmost appreciation and respect for Dr. Leslie D. Gonzales, my dissertation chair. Thank you for always challenging me, encouraging me, and validating me. Thank you for helping me work through my jumbled thoughts, email responses at two in the morning, and being able to recognize when I needed to step away. Your genius and work ethic will always be a source of inspiration for me. I am honored to be the first of many students you will help achieve this milestone.

Dr. James Satterfield, I am indebted to you for making this journey possible. Thank you for your incredible patience and never giving up on me. Most importantly, thank you for your mentorship, sponsorship, and always keeping it real. Nothing like a dose of “Satterfieldisms” to set someone straight! Dr. Curtis Brewer, I appreciate your genuine interest in my success and willingness to continue serving on my committee. Dr. Matteel Jones, I am so grateful that you accepted to serve on my committee. Your time, expertise, and encouraging emails were invaluable during this process.

In addition to my remarkable committee, I would like to extend a heartfelt thank you to the first person to suggest that I consider enrolling in a PhD program. Dr. Phil Kramer, thank you for seeing my potential and continuing to support me in my academic endeavors. You exemplify the kind of faculty member I aspire to be. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Gary Edens whose unparalleled leadership and commitment to students ignited my passion for higher education.

I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge my extraordinary peers with whom I have developed lasting friendships with during this journey. Dr. Chinasa Ordu, I thank God we are finishing up at the same time. I simply cannot imagine being here without you! Everything is indeed beautiful in His timing. Thank you for being there during the venting, crying, praying, writing, and of course the “boo” dress moments. Deanna, I will forever value your friendship, you are an amazing woman. James, thank you for the wakeup calls every Saturday morning for our date with Cooper. Mary Helen, thank you for your friendship and for hitting the bike trails with me after a stressful week. Tony and Margaret, I thank you for always smiling and reminding me that all is well. Chereese, Jonathan, Kenya, Taurean, and everyone on “grad row” thank you for the support, laughs, random conversations, rides to the truck in the middle of the night, and never complaining about my loud music down the hall. Austin, I will always appreciate your eclectic taste in music and playlists that helped me get through this “Long Strange Trip.” Edgar and Griselda thank you for being the best of friends and keeping me grounded during this process. Despite being 1600 miles away, you were always present. All my love to Alex, Arlae, Beli, Cecilio, Claudia, David, Jaime, Laura, and Villatoro –thank you for your never-ending encouragement and loving friendship.

I would especially like to thank the faculty, staff, and administrators who made this study possible. I sincerely appreciate your openness and willingness to share your experiences and insights with me. I also thank you for welcoming me to your campus and allowing me to partake in different events. It was an unforgettable learning experience.

Finally, I also want to acknowledge the most important people in my life. Mom, thank you for being my hero, my inspiration. You are my love, my treasure. Dad, I thank God every day for your life and for granting my heart's desire to share this achievement with you. I cherish you both for always supporting and encouraging me to do what makes me happy. Jay, thank you for the random phone calls during your work-related road trips to "shoot the shit." Thank you for trusting and believing in me the way you do. The bond we share is incomparable. Liz, thank for always reminding me to celebrate my successes and being one of my biggest fans. Brenda, babe, you're next! I am so proud of you. To my babies, Nathanael, Nohemi, and Fabian, I love you. Thank you for being a catalyst for my work. One day it will be my turn to see you off to college like Andy in *Toy Story*!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
TITLE PAGE	i
ABSTRACT	ii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Chapter Summary.....	7
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	9
Introduction	9
A Brief History of Community Colleges	10
Community College Baccalaureate	36
Section Summary	57
Conceptual Framework	58
Chapter Summary.....	61
III. RESEARCH DESIGN	63
Purpose of the Study.....	63
Research Questions	64
My Subjectivities.....	66
Pilot Study	69
Case Study Design.....	73
Data Collection.....	74
Data Analysis	86
Setting.....	90
Chapter Summary.....	93

Table of Contents (Continued)

	Page
IV. FINDINGS	94
Tightening Ardent’s Organizational Mission.....	97
Tightening and Formalizing Ardent’s Environment	106
Tightening and Formalizing Ardent’s Strategy.....	119
Tightening and Formalizing Ardent’s Leadership	149
Tightening and Formalizing Information	160
Tightening and Formalizing Socialization	169
Chapter Summary.....	188
V. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS.....	190
Discussion of Findings	191
Implications for Leaders.....	197
Implications for Policy	202
Suggestions for Future Research.....	203
Chapter Summary.....	204
APPENDICES	205
A. E-mail Invite.....	206
B. Invitation to Participate	207
C. Informed Consent	208
D. Faculty Interview Protocol	210
E. Staff Interview Protocol	211
F. Administrator Interview Protocol.....	212
G. Confidentiality Agreement	213
REFERENCES	214

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
2.1. O'Meara's Striving Framework	61
3.1. Participant Coding Scheme	78
3.2. Rationale and Protocol for Document Analysis	81
3.3. Document Analysis Alignment with O'Meara's Framework.....	82
3.4. Alignment of Data Collection Methods and Research Questions	87
4.1. Tierney's (1988) A Framework on Organizational Culture.....	97
4.2. Evolution of Ardent's Mission and Vision Statements	105
4.3. Ardent's Tuition Trails	148

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
3.1. Saldaña’s Codes-to Theory Model for Qualitative Inquiry	88
3.2. Example of Utilization of Saldaña’s Codes-to Theory Model for Qualitative Inquiry	89
4.1. Ardent’s Flat Organizational Structure Depicting 24 Direct Reports	153
4.2. Ardent’s Organization Structure as of 2011	153

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Higher education’s tripartite framework, congealed by California’s 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education and adopted by many states today, generally places institutions into one of three groups—community colleges, baccalaureate colleges or universities, and research universities—each carrying different roles and responsibilities (Longanecker, 2008). Although divergences are likely to exist across state systems in terms of both structure and function, research universities, for example, are primarily responsible for advancing knowledge through the production of scholarship (Kerr, 2001) and preparation of future members of the professoriate through graduate education (Checkoway, 2001). Baccalaureate colleges are four-year degree granting institutions, some of which offer graduate degrees (Taylor & Morpew, 2010). Finally, community colleges, where the highest degree generally awarded has been the associate in arts or the associate in science, are primarily accountable for workforce development and transfer education (Cohen & Brawer, 2008).

As noted by Gonzales (2012) “the approach to higher education in the US is highly differentiated, with colleges and universities serving an ever growing and diverse body of students through widely varying academic missions” (p. 337). Accordingly, the differentiated approach to higher education “...has long been recognized as a positive and unique attribute of the US higher education system” (Morpew, 2009, p. 243). In addition to providing various access points to higher education and accommodating enrollment pressures, institutional differentiation helps meet state and student needs

(Longanecker, 2008; Morpew, 2009; Stadtman, 1980). According to Stadtman (1980), institutional differentiation accomplishes the following:

a) increases the range of choices available to learners; b) makes higher education available to virtually everyone, despite differences among individuals; c) matches education to the needs, goals, learning styles, speed, and abilities of individual students; d) enables institutions to select their own missions and confine their activities to those that are consistent with their location, resources, level of instruction, and clientele; e) responds to the pressures of society that is itself characterized by great complexity and diversity; f) becomes a precondition of college and university freedom and autonomy because the greater the differences are among institutions, the more difficult it is for a central authority to convert them into instruments of indoctrination rather than of education. (p. 98)

Nevertheless, distinctions among institutions are becoming less pronounced as colleges and universities increasingly take on the functions of others (Morpew & Huisman, 2002; Toma, 2012). A primary example is the increasing trend among community colleges to confer baccalaureate degrees. Commonly referred to as the community college baccalaureate (CCB; Levin, 2004; Floyd, Skolnik, & Walker, 2005; Floyd & Walker, 2008; McKinney & Morris, 2010), this function "...represents one of the most significant additions imaginable to the mission of these institutions" (Skolnik, 2009, pp. 125-126). Floyd and Skolnik similarly suggested (2005), "this topic is very significant to higher education because the very fabric of the traditional community

college mission is being challenged by the addition of baccalaureate degree programs” (p. 2).

Reinforcing the notion that the CCB is not simply an appendage to the community college mission is that some community colleges have in fact become four-year institutions since obtaining baccalaureate degree programs (Bemmel, Floyd, & Bryan, 2008; Longanecker, 2008; Toma, 2012). According to Longanecker (2008), the increasing number of community colleges expanding their mission to offer baccalaureate degrees contributed to the 70% growth in the number of baccalaureate colleges between 1995 and 2006.

In light of the increasing community college baccalaureate trend and transforming tendencies among baccalaureate degree granting community colleges, the purpose of this study was to explore the transition of a small community college into a four-year comprehensive college. In addition to receiving legislative approval to offer an unlimited number of baccalaureate degrees, the college in this study had an explicit organizational vision to become a university. This study materialized as a result of my interest in learning about what this transition entailed and possible implications for various stakeholders.

Intended to be commensurate with a baccalaureate degree awarded by four-year colleges and universities (Floyd, 2006), the community college baccalaureate has received both praise and criticism. Yet, an increasing number of states continue to authorize their community colleges to carry out such function. In 2012, Michigan became the twenty-first state to approve its community colleges to confer baccalaureate

degrees (Fain, 2013a). Presently, California's community college system, which is the largest higher education system in the United States (<http://www.cccco.edu>), is considering this trend (Fain, 2013b).

Given some of the emerging body of empirical and theoretical literature that has illuminated the kinds of shifts in policies and practices that often accompany the community college baccalaureate (Bemmel, Floyd, & Bryan, 2008; Laden, 2005; Levin, 2003, 2004; Levin, Kater, & Wagoner, 2006; Ross, 2007; Skolnik, 2009), some scholars suggest that baccalaureate granting community colleges present a new type of institution (Floyd, 2005; Levin, 2004). For example, for community college faculty, the limited research reveals an increase in credential requirements (Levin, 2006) and the need for more time to plan and deliver upper-level courses (Ross, 2007). Furthermore, this expansion has added a research tenet to faculty work (Laden, 2005; Levin, 2003, 2004), including the need to seek grant funding (Martinez, 2012).

The expansion of the community college mission to offer the baccalaureate has been regarded as a form of mission creep (Glennon, 2005; Mills, 2003). Specifically, mission creep is the act of an organization expanding its mission beyond originally set goals and functions (Longanecker, 2008). According to Longanecker (2008):

There are those who believe *mission creep* resembles an invasive species; that is, it is evil, adapts readily to the environment, and expands voraciously, crowding out everything that is good. Others see *mission creep* as an inevitable and positive development that allows institutions to grow, consistent with the growing needs of their communities. (p. 2)

Correspondingly, for some this trend seems to undermine the original purposes of the community college (Eaton, 2005; Glennon, 2005, Mills, 2003). For others, it seems a “natural progression” for a college that is ever-serving and responsive to student, state, and community needs (Walker, 2005, p. 16).

Some scholars note that this form of mission creep at the community college is accompanied and motivated by a desire for increased prestige (Cook, 2000; Dougherty & Townsend, 2006; Eaton, 2005; Toma, 2012), which has historically been sought by the community college (Brint & Karabel, 1989). According to Dougherty and Townsend (2006) “the development of baccalaureate programs not only serves the goal of furthering educational opportunity, but also an interest in gaining greater prestige for their institution” (p. 9). Colleges and universities interested in and engaged in “the pursuit of prestige within the academic hierarchy” have been identified as “striving” (O’Meara, 2007, p. 122). Specifically, striving is about following prestige via college rankings such as *US News and World Report*. A framework developed by O’Meara (2007) to identify four-year strivers points to five domains or “functional areas” (p. 130) to which striving universities often make changes. Given the parallels between mission creep and striving (Gonzales, 2012; Henderson, 2009), I applied, with minimal adaptations for the purposes of the study at hand, O’Meara’s framework to the community college.² I focused on all five domains because I believed they could be useful in helping me explore my

² O’Meara (2007) made reference to community colleges, but primarily drew from four-year college literature.

overarching research question: What does the transition from a community college to a four-year comprehensive college look like?

In order to explore what the transition from a community college to a four-year regional comprehensive college looks like, I employed case study methods as they allowed for an in-depth examination and understanding of such process (Stake, 1995, 2000). More specifically, this research is an example of an intrinsic case study (Stake, 1995, 2000) at Ardent College³, a former community college in the southwestern United States. As I believed this transition could be best understood from the perspective of those experiencing and enacting this transition, I sought the perspectives of faculty, staff, and administrators at the College. Additionally, I collected organizational documents, that could help me further understand what the transition entailed (Stake, 2000). Participant observations on campus and college events such as Fall Convocation also contributed to my understanding of Ardent's transition.

This study is timely and of much significance as an increasing number of states are considering or moving towards allowing community colleges to confer baccalaureate degrees (Fain 2013a, 2013b), which as highlighted in the literature and modeled by Ardent can subsequently morph into four-year colleges or universities. Although Ardent presents one case, it serves to highlight potential implications for other organizations considering such trends. It is important to note that community colleges are often referred to as two-year colleges, sometimes even technical or vocational schools.

³ A pseudonym.

Although these terms are often used interchangeably, for purposes of this study I use the community college label to be most inclusive.⁴

Chapter Summary

In Chapter One, I introduced the community college baccalaureate phenomenon and the purpose of this study. I noted that although the highest degree awarded by the community college has generally been the associate in arts or the associate in science degree (Cohen & Brawer, 2008) an increasing number of community colleges have expanded their missions to award baccalaureate degrees (Levin, 2004; Russell, 2010; Walker, 2005). Although some community colleges have adopted the four-year degree function while maintaining their community college mission, others such as Ardent have become full baccalaureate degree granting colleges. Nevertheless, little research exists on what this process/transition looks like (Longanecker, 2008; Toma, 2012). As such, I highlighted that the purpose of this study was to explore/examine Ardent's transition from a community college into a four-year comprehensive college. I also noted that I was particularly interested in learning about what the transition entailed and possible implications for various stakeholders.

In the following chapter, I present a review of the literature which centers on the history of community colleges, their function, and reasons for emergence as well as perspectives on the CCB. Furthermore, I introduce documented effects related to the CCB and documented student outcomes. In Chapter Two, I also present the conceptual

⁴ My decision to employ the term community college, rather than two-year college, was also influenced during my attendance at a paper session at the 2012 Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) Conference. During the session entitled "Foundational Perspectives and Future Potential of Community Colleges" John Levin, who served as discussant, rightly posed the question "Why do we call them two-year colleges, when no one finishes in two years?"

framework that guided this study. In Chapter Three, I highlight the research design of this study including my research questions. Then, in Chapter Four I present my findings. Finally, in Chapter Five, I discuss my findings and implications of this study and present recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Although the community college is defined as “any institution regionally accredited to award the associate in arts or the associate in science as its highest degree” (Cohen & Brawer, 2008, p. 5), an increasing number of community colleges have taken on roles that have historically belonged to four-year colleges and universities. Specifically, community colleges have expanded their mission to award the community college baccalaureate (Levin, 2004; Russell, 2010; Walker, 2005). Whereas community colleges have been instrumental in facilitating access to the baccalaureate through a series of partnerships, the community college baccalaureate degree is actually “one coming from public community colleges or 2-year institutions that are approved to confer baccalaureate degrees in one or more areas” (Floyd, 2006, p. 64).

To date, an emerging body of empirical and theoretical literature has considered this issue and illuminated shifts in policies and practices that often accompany the community college baccalaureate. In order to understand the impacts of the adoption of the community college baccalaureate, it is helpful to provide a contextual understanding of the community college. Consequently, in this chapter I present a historical overview of the community college and how it has operated in the field of higher education at large. Subsequently, I highlight the multipurpose curriculum employed by the community college and introduce the community college baccalaureate (CCB). I then highlight what the CCB has meant for community colleges.

A Brief History of Community Colleges

Although land-grant colleges and universities facilitated the massification and democratization of higher education, community colleges created “educational opportunities unforeseen” (Dassance, 1986, p. 2). Community colleges, often referred to as the “people’s college” (Murray, 2002, p. 90) or “democracy’s college” (Valadez, 2002, p. 35), “in an idealized sense, represent higher education’s commitment to democracy” (Rhoades & Valadez, 1996, p. 7). Medsker (1960) suggested that the community college “...is perhaps the most effective democratizing agent in higher education” (p. 4). Conversely, Brint and Karabel (1989) asserted that the community college is “the bottom tier of a class-linked tracking system in higher education” (p. 226).

In any respect, community colleges serve myriad missions. The American Association of Community Colleges (n.d.), suggested:

most community college missions have the basic commitments to: (a) serving all segments of society through an open-access admissions policy that offers equal and fair treatment to all students; (b) comprehensive educational program; (c) serving its community as a community-based institution of higher education; (d) teaching; and (e) lifelong learning.

(para 1)

Simply put, the community college mission is to serve “almost any and every community educational need” (Seidman, 1985, p. 6). However, given these multiple missions, the community college has been also referred to as “the contradictory college” (Dougherty, 2001). According to Brint and Karabel (1989):

Like the American high school, the community college over the course of its history has attempted to perform a number of conflicting tasks: to extend opportunity and to serve as an agent of educational and social selection, to promote social equality and to increase economic efficiency, to provide students with a common cultural heritage and to sort them into a specialized curriculum, to respond to the demands of the subordinate groups for equal education and to answer the pressures of employers and state planners for differentiated education, and to provide a general education for citizens in a democratic society and technical training for workers in an advanced industrial economy. (p. 10)

As a result of these multiple “tasks” (Brint & Karabel, 1989, p. 10), the community college enrolls a large and highly diverse student population. In 1920, community colleges enrolled less than 2% of college freshman (Brint & Karabel, 1989). Today, community colleges serve 44% of all US undergraduate students and 43% of first-time freshman (AACC, 2012), the majority of whom are first-generation, low-income, and racial or ethnic minority (AACC, 2012). For example, in fall 2009 community colleges served 51% and 44% of all Latino and Black undergraduates, respectively (AACC, 2012). Thus, unequivocally, as suggested by Brint and Karabel (1989), “...the community college has come to be an integral feature of America’s educational landscape” (p. 6). According to Jencks and Riesman (2002), students who attend community colleges generally fall into one of the following groups:

...those who do not want to go away to college; those who cannot afford to do so; those whose high school record bars them from a four-year college, or at least from the public ones in their home state; and those who want less than four years of higher education. (p. 485)

Stemming as an extension of the public high school for the purpose of providing the first two years of preparation toward a bachelor's degree, to an increased focus on vocational education/training (Brint & Karabel, 1989), the first community college, formally referred to as a junior college, was established in 1901 in Joliet, Illinois (Brint & Karabel, 1989; Tillery & Deegan, 1985; Valadez, 2002). The second community college was established in 1910 in Fresno, California (Dougherty, 2001; Pincus, 1980). Although Illinois established the first community college, California, which today is home to the nation's largest public community college system (Rivera, 2012), led the charge in the development of this institution (Brint & Karabel, 1989; Tillery & Deegan, 1985). Primarily contributing to the expansion of the community college were high ranking university leaders driven by financial concerns and institutional self-interest (Brint & Karabel, 1989; Tillery & Deegan, 1985).

In their critical historical examination of the community college, Brint and Karabel (1989) illuminated the pivotal role played by the Dean of the School of Education at the University of California at Berkeley, Alexis F. Lange, and David Starr, President of Stanford University. Brint and Karabel (1989) maintained that these individuals:

...were motivated not only by nationalist economic concerns but also by a desire to improve the status of their own institutions. Both believed that the junior colleges would eventually assume all routine teaching functions, thereby enabling them to drop freshmen and sophomore instruction. This in turn would enable the university to concentrate on its proper functions: research and scholarship. (p. 26)

Other reasons as to why the community college was established have been presented in the literature, including demand on behalf of parents, students, and business (Doughtery, 2001).

Regardless of the source of motivation, today a total of 1,690 community colleges (Snyder & Dillow, 2011) serve as the primary access point to higher education for millions of traditionally underrepresented students (Mellow & Heelan, 2008). Below, I address the access mission of community colleges and an overview of its multipurpose curriculum which reinforces access.

Student Access

As noted by Mellow and Heelan (2008) "...nontraditional students have become the tradition at community colleges" (p. 258). Rendón-Linares and Muñoz (2011) contrasted the nontraditional student and the traditional student as follows:

‘Traditional’ students are those whose families have a history of college attendance, come from middle- and upper-class families, and typically feel confident about attending college. Conversations and expectations about college attendance are generally part of family life. Conversely, for

nontraditional students the decision to attend college is typically not automatic or expected. Students struggle weighing the costs and benefits of attending college versus working full time to help supplement the family income. (p. 13)

The community college “open door” admission policies, affordable tuition rates, and geographic convenience, have provided traditionally underrepresented and underserved students the opportunity to participate in higher education, which is not easily afforded by some four-year institutions (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). The community college has been identified by some students as a second choice (Cohen & Brawer, 2008) or as a second chance institution (Townsend, 2003). For others, however, the community college is the only option. “For most of the community college students, *the choice is not between the community college and a senior residential institution; it is between the local college and nothing*” (Cohen, 1990, p. 439, italics in original).

In exploring the notion of excellence and equity in American higher education, Bowen, Kurzweil, and Tobin (2005) highlighted the inequities in accessibility to selective institutions for historically underrepresented students. According to Bowen et al. (2005):

the odds of getting into the pool of credible candidates for admission to a selective college or university are *six* times higher for a child from a high-income family than for a child from a poor family; they are *seven* times higher for a child from a college-educated family than they are for a child who would be a first-generation college-goer. (p. 248)

Accordingly, access has been pronounced as the primary mission of the community college (Tillery & Deegan, 1985). Access involves “accommodating the different types of students without turning anyone away” (Cohen & Brawer, 1996, p. 256). Thus, community colleges do not exclude students based on past academic performance (Bush & Bush, 2005; Dougherty, 2001). Community colleges generally only ask for a high school diploma (Dougherty, 2001). And for students who do not have a high school diploma, opportunities to obtain GED preparation are readily available at the local community college (Dougherty & Townsend, 2006).

In addition to deemphasizing past academic performance in terms of high school grade point average and class rank, community colleges do not consider measures that are accepted as predictors of academic outcomes. Specifically, whereas standardized test scores (e.g., SAT and ACT) are almost always considered for admission by four-year institutions, especially as they work to secure the most promising students in hopes of improving their *US News & World Report* rankings (O’Meara, 2007; Sacks, 2007), admissions tests are not necessarily required of community college students (Oudenhoven, 2002). The difference in emphasis on test scores was underscored by Coley (2000) through data from the 1995-96 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study. According to Coley (2000), approximately 90% of four-year students took either the SAT or ACT. Conversely, only 40% of community college students took these exams. Furthermore, Coley (2000) reported that 43% of community college students scored in the lowest SAT quartile as compared to 17% and 12% of students at public four-year and private four-year institutions, respectively. Conversely, only 10% of community college

students scored in the highest test quartile in contrast to 29% and 43% of their counterparts in public four-year and private four-year institutions, respectively.

The community college also expands access through affordability. For example, the average annual tuition and fees during the 2011-2012 academic year at public 4-year colleges was \$8,244 (in-state). At public community colleges, average tuition and fees was \$2,963 (AACC, 2012). Although community colleges are increasingly relying on tuition as a source of revenue (Cohen & Brawer, 2008), with tuition nearly three times as much at a public four-year institution than at a local community college, community colleges continue to be the most affordable option. Lastly, 90% of the US population lives within 25 miles of a community college (AACC, 2010). Therefore, community colleges provide opportunities for students who are unable to commute long distances to school due to fiscal or familial reasons (Cohen & Brawer, 2008).

Evidently, students enroll at the community college with differing needs and for distinctive purposes. As maintained by Cohen and Brawer (2008), “they come for a variety of purposes and the same person may have half-dozen reasons for attending” (p. 60). For example, community college students may work towards an associate’s degree, while simultaneously enhancing their occupational trade skills through vocational or continuing education. Curricular and program diversity and flexibility afford community college students the opportunity to come in and out of the college taking adult education courses or college credit courses when financially and personally feasible. In the following sections, I elaborate on the multipurpose curriculum of the community college.

Multipurpose Curriculum

As previously noted, the community college mission, as directly stated by Seidman (1985), is to serve “almost any and every community educational need” (p. 6). Accordingly, the community college curriculum is multipurpose (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). In their seminal work entitled *The American Community College*, Cohen and Brawer (2008) divided the curriculum in four sections: 1) vocational education; 2) developmental education; 3) collegiate function; and 4) community education. Following their outline, I discuss each tenet below.

Vocational education. Although community colleges were established to provide the first two years of college preparation and promote transfer, by the latter part of the 1970s the community college was a primarily vocational institution (Brint & Karabel, 1989). In light of the current economic crisis, this particular function of the community college has received heightened attention and recognition. The main function of vocational education, which has also been referred to as terminal, technical, semiprofessional, occupational, and career education, is to provide occupational/career training (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). Vocational education has been recognized as serving an essential role in economic development. For example, according to Lucre (2012):

roughly half of the aerospace industry’s workforce comprises technical workers who hold two-year degrees. They’re the people who work in installation, maintenance, repair and production without whom the industry, which features such brand name American companies as Raytheon, Lockheed Martin and Boeing, could not survive. (para. 6)

However, as with most aspects of the community college, vocational education has received both support and criticism. The decline in transfer rates and students enrolled in the general education or transfer track, have been largely attributed to the vocational education track; nevertheless, some have argued that "...community college vocational education programs are of importance to any effort to equalize life chances" (Dougherty, 2001, p. 5).

Like vocational education, developmental education is another tenet of the community college which helps improve life chances and expand participation in higher education.

Developmental education. The level of students requiring developmental education has been identified as one of the most pressing issues facing US higher education today (Bettinger, Boatman, & Long, 2013; Rutschow & Schneider, 2011). Community colleges in particular play a central role in providing developmental education for students, who due to inadequate preparation in K-12 schools, may otherwise be excluded from achieving higher levels of education. According to McCabe (2000):

Ninety five percent of community colleges offer remedial education courses, most in multiple ability levels. Forty-one percent of entering community college students and 29 percent of all entering college students are underprepared in at least one of the basic skills (reading, writing, mathematics). (p. 4)

Students requiring remediation include individuals directly out of the K-12 system as well as those students enrolling in school after a significant time-lapse since the completion of high school (Merisotis & Phipps, 2000). According to Boylan, Bonham, and Bliss (1994), the developmental student age ranges from 16 to 60 years of age.

The responsibility to provide developmental education has increasingly become that of the community college as more states move toward relegating some or all developmental/remedial education programs to community colleges (Bastedo & Gumport, 2003; Cohen & Brawer, 2008). As contended by Astin (1998):

It goes without saying that the underprepared students is a kind of pariah in American higher education, and some of the reasons are obvious: since most of us believe that the excellence of our departments and of our institutions depends on enrolling the very best-prepared students that we can, to admit underprepared students would pose a real threat to our excellence. (as cited in Merisotis & Phipps, 2000)

Therefore, were it not for the community college, less well academically prepared students, would be further excluded from participating in higher education. Nevertheless, it is important to note that even though community colleges are primarily responsible for providing developmental education, when community colleges engage in the marketplace, developmental education programs are susceptible (Levin, 2005). For example, when examining the business culture of community colleges through case studies, Levin (2005), found that developmental education “once part of the traditional credit program offerings, was moved to noncredit and to a financially self-supporting

operation” (p.19). Scholars also posit that the implementation of the community college baccalaureate threatens developmental education (Eaton, 2005; Cook, 2000).

Once students needing remediation have completed developmental course requirements they are able to continue on the path towards an academic degree through the collegiate function.

Collegiate function. Community colleges provide students the opportunity to pursue general education courses that will lead to the associate in arts or the associate in science, and/or transfer (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). Through its transfer function the community college has enabled access to the baccalaureate degree and beyond for masses of traditionally underrepresented student groups. For example, approximately 51% and 44% of Hispanic and Black science and engineering bachelor’s or master’s degree recipients, both fields in which degrees yield more than the average earnings (Julian, 2012), report attending a community college (Tsapogas, 2004). Although the “data collected do not distinguish between graduates who attended community college by taking one course and those who were enrolled full time” (Tsapogas, 2004, p. 1), these numbers serve to reinforce the multiple and integral roles the community college plays in the educational pursuits of students, particularly those from traditionally underrepresented and underserved groups.

Community education. While students in the general education or transfer education programs receive credit towards an academic degree, community education comes in the form of both credit and non-credit courses for a wide range of goals and interests (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). Community education also differs from vocational

education in that “vocational education is organized around programs that prepare people for the job market, whereas community education includes short courses offered for occupational upgrading or relicensure” (p. 319). Cohen and Brawer (2008) subdivided community education into the following categories: 1) continuing education; 2) community services; and 3) contract training.

Evidently, as advanced by the literature, the community college has served a highly diversified student population in a variety of capacities. However, as community colleges continuously aim to respond to the needs of students, they have faced much criticism. In the following sections I discuss criticisms surrounding the community college and organizational responses to such criticisms.

Criticisms Surrounding the Community College

Given the comprehensive and open access mission of the community college, the ‘revolving door’ (Derby & Smith, 2004, p. 763) helps serve students’ needs. However, the benefits associated with the revolving door have been marred due to the emphasis on graduation rates. The criticism is that as much as the community college serves as the primary access point to higher education for many, it is also the exit point. Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) maintained that “...students at two-year colleges are substantially less likely than their peers at four-year colleges to complete a bachelor’s degree program and to reap the associated benefits” (p. 641). However, while the success of the community college is largely measured by the number of students that transfer to four-year institutions, it is important to consider, as previously noted, that community college students, each with different needs, enroll to achieve various goals. Stated differently,

not everyone enrolls in the community college with the intent to complete a degree (Cohen & Brawer, 2008).

For those community college students who do aspire to obtain a bachelor's degree, Brint (2003) reported that only 15% actually do. However, as pointed to in the literature, multiple reasons compel students to leave the institution prior to accomplishing their goals (Levin, 2007; Cohen & Brawer, 2008). Family responsibilities, work schedules, and school demands frequently conflict. In addition to what Levin (2007) refers to as the "work-family-schooling dilemma," community college students face financial and academic barriers, health problems, and other personal issues that contribute to high attrition rates (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Levin, 2007, Dougherty, 1992). To this point, Dougherty (1992) maintained that "the existence of a baccalaureate gap should not be surprising, given that community college students differ greatly from four-year college entrants in ways that affect how well they will do educationally"(p.190).

The community college, however, has progressively made efforts to close this gap and thus has been recognized for its student-centeredness (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). Student-centeredness conveys putting the student above all else and employing practices that encourage student retention (Kinzie & Kuh, 2007). "To be clear, institutions with student-centered cultures do not attempt to address students' every want and desire. Rather they set high expectations consistent with the differing characteristics, talents, and goals of their students and intentionally organize their resources to expose and encourage students to take advantage of a range of learning experiences" (Kinzie & Kuh, 2007, p. 18).

O'Banion (1972) contended that "the community-junior college has earned a reputation for student-centeredness that extends beyond a concern for the student as a classroom learner. The community-junior college seeks the full development of human potential" (p. 23). Similarly, Seidman (1985) suggested that "the notion of student-centeredness permeates the community college" (p. 86). At the same time, others have charged the institution with failure to respond to student needs (Keim, 1981). According to Keim (1981):

...many community colleges seemingly have responded in a Chicken-Little fashion, with a look toward heaven, a shrug of the shoulders, and a pronouncement of doom—"The sky is going to fall!"—which means, in the community college language: There's nothing we can do—our students work full-time, commute, have low-level degree goals, poor study habits, poor college grades, low SAT scores, and poor high school records, and have parents with a low level of education. And, of course, our students are withdrawing because of financial problems and home and work responsibilities. There's no way we can do anything about retention!

(p. 91)

Umbach and Wawrzynski (2005) suggested that "...creating a student-centered campus necessitates knowing how students learn, understanding barriers to student learning, and developing classroom techniques that promote learning among college students" (p. 154). Most community college students work either full-time or part-time, have children and/or families to sustain, and are single parents (AACCC, 2012; Coley,

2000). Therefore, involvement in college extracurricular activities or clubs is not always an option (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). As noted by Chang (2005), “the majority of community colleges are commuter campuses where many students balance academics with commitments to family and off-campus employment” (p. 770). Coley (2000), utilizing data from the 1995-96 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study, reported that 49% and 67% of students attending public 4-year and private 4-year institutions participate in clubs, respectively. Conversely, only 18% of community college students participate in clubs (Coley, 2000).

As noted by Hagedorn et al. (2000) “student clubs and government, concerts and artistic events, and athletics do not figure prominently in the community college students’ campus priorities. The classroom is the main point of student contact with the college” (p. 596). To this point, faculty members play an essential role in the student-centeredness of the community college. Below, I present literature centered on community college faculty student relations.

Faculty Student Relations

The community college has been recognized as perhaps the “...most interdependent type of institution in the field of higher education” (Phoenix, Flynn, & Floyd, 1986, p. 39). In addition to the institution relying on the local community, secondary and post-secondary schools, and industry, there is great dependence on community college faculty (Phoenix, Flynn, & Floyd, 1986); thus, the faculty has often been referred to as the “heart” of the community college (Vaughn, 2006). As Cain (1999) noted, “the teaching faculty is the key to the community college’s work. Other

factors in the system, such as the support staff, administrators, politicians and students, might help draw up the route for the trip, but it is the faculty members who drive the bus” (p. 47). To this point, community college faculty plays a central role in community college student achievement and experience (Bush & Bush, 2010; Cejda & Rhodes, 2004; Wood & Turner, 2011).

Out of the 1,212,000 faculty members serving both private and public four-year and two-year institutions, a total of 362,000 individuals serve our public community colleges (Provasnik & Planty, 2008). This group serves nearly half of all US undergraduate students, but is often ignored in both the higher education literature and that centered on the academic profession (Townsend & Twombly, 2007). However, it is clear from the limited scholarship available that community college faculty are widely sought and regarded by students (Bush & Bush, 2010; Cejda & Rhodes, 2004; Wood & Turner, 2011). Scholars tend to agree that community college faculty members have been instrumental in promoting student persistence in terms of transfer (Britt & Hirt, 1999; Cejda & Kaylor, 2001; Rendon, Justiz, & Resta, 1988) and certificate or associate degree completion (Cejda & Rhodes, 2004; Cejda, Rhodes, & Casparis, 2002).

In addition to teacher, community college faculty members describe their role as “*mentor, role model, coach, advocate, student facilitator, and guide*” (Fugate & Amey, 2000, p. 6, italics in original). Whereas the common perception is that community college faculty work at the community college because they were unable to secure a position at the more prominent or prestigious four-year college, community college faculty oftentimes purposefully seek to work at the community college for the

opportunity to work with and have meaningful relationships with students (Fugate & Amey, 2000). Through 22 semi-structured interviews at Midwest Community College, Fugate and Amey (2000) found that employment intentions for some faculty were directly linked to the teaching focus of the institutions. Stated differently, they were attracted to the community college due to its emphasis on teaching. Furthermore, for those who had not anticipated a future in academia, “positive memories of their educational experiences caused them to consider teaching at this type of institution” (Fugate & Amey, 2000, p. 5). These sentiments were shared across faculty in liberal arts and technical/vocational programs. One faculty member summarized his entry into academia as follows:

During the time I was working on my undergraduate degree, I dropped out of college for a couple of years. When I went back, I went to a community college to kind of get myself back on track. It was actually there that I had a real good math teacher for the first time who explained math.... I wound up in this one person’s class one time taking an algebra class, and for the first time in my life, it all made sense.... My original intent in going back to graduate school was to teach at the community college. I always thought it was a wonderful thing. (Fugate & Amey, 2000, p. 5)

As noted by Cohen and Brawer (2008), community college faculty “... see their classroom activities and their meeting with students outside class as the portion of their workday that brings the greatest satisfaction” (p. 104). However, it is important to note

that the degree of faculty-student interaction that occurs outside the classroom is inconsistent in the literature (Chang, 2005). For example, Coley (2000) reported that 69% of community college students “speak with faculty outside of class” (p. 16). On the other hand, Hagedorn et al. (2000) found little faculty-student interaction outside of the classroom. Hagedorn et al. (2000) found this to be true irrespective of gender. However, as effectually noted by Chang (2005), “this study [Hagedorn et al. (2000)] utilized measures that focused more on the personal and social forms of faculty-student interaction as opposed to the purely academic, which may explain the discrepancy in findings to that of Coley’s work” (p. 771). Chang’s (2005) study also supported the findings that little faculty-student interaction exists outside of the classroom.

Findings about the import of faculty-student relations run counter to one of the most frequently cited works about the community college function and student experience, Clark’s (1960) notion of “cooling out” (p. 574). In short, Clark (1960) suggested that during the “cooling out” process rather than dismissing “the overaspiring student” (p. 574) altogether, they were, for example, reoriented into becoming an “engineering aid” as opposed to an “engineer” (Clark, 1960, p. 575) which better aligned with their abilities. However, contrary to Clark’s (1960, 1980) “cooling out” charge against the community college where students are redirected from the collegiate track to the vocational track, in their role as “*mentor, role model, coach, advocate, student facilitator, and guide*” (Fugate & Amey, 2000, p. 6, italics in original), community college faculty oftentimes serve in the “heating up” process (Zwerling, 1976).

Although some students have found academic advisors ineffective, faculty members have been found to be helpful in the transfer process (Britt & Hirt, 1999; Cejda & Kaylor; 2001). On the basis of a focus group with 25 spring semester community college transfer students, Britt and Hirt (1999) found that interaction with faculty helped promote student transfer. Similarly, through case study methods, Cejda and Kaylor (2001) concluded that community college faculty interaction influenced student transfer. Interviews with 103 former public community college students now enrolled in a public state university, revealed interaction with faculty encouraged students to consider transferring and earning a bachelor's degree. Furthermore, students who had initially intended to transfer were influenced to transfer earlier than planned.

Similarly, students interviewed in Cejda, Rhodes, and Casparis' (2002) study, which explored which factors influenced the educational decisions of Hispanic students at the community college, identified faculty as the main factor influencing their decision to persist and complete their degree or certificate. Educational decisions was defined as "the decision to enroll in the community college, the decision to continue at the community college (should the individual consider dropping out), the decision to earn a certificate or an associate's degree, the decision to transfer to a baccalaureate institution, and the decision to select a major or field of study" (Cejda & Rhodes, 2004, p. 252). As a follow-up to this study, Cejda and Rhodes (2004) interviewed three faculty members identified by administrators as being influential on Hispanic students and exhibiting some of the characteristics identified by students in their previous study (Cejda et al., 2002). Among the strategies identified by faculty that served to promote student retention and

persistence were: discussing the benefits associated with degree completion, providing encouragement, motivation, and mentorship (Cejda & Rhodes, 2004). Mentorship consisted of "...serving as role models, providing practical day-to-day advice, developing trust with the students, serving as guides to the field, and assisting Hispanic students with employment" (Cejda & Rhodes, 2004, pp. 255-256). Mentorship and other ways in which faculty contribute to community college student persistence are discussed in the following subsection.

Mentorship and validation. In addition to contributing to Latino student retention, mentorship by community college faculty has also been identified as vital to African-American male community college student academic success (Glenn 2003-2004; Wood & Turner, 2011). Via semi-structured interviews, Wood and Turner (2011) found that 26 out of 28 African-American male community college students indicated the "personal attention" (p. 143) given by faculty as a primary influence on their academic success. Personal attention involved faculty friendliness, frequently touching base with students regarding their academic progress, providing encouragement, being intent on serving their needs, and "proactively addressing performance issues rather than waiting for students to do so" (Wood & Turner, 2011, p. 145).

Checking in with students and being both intentional and proactive, parallels Rendon's (1994, 2002) validation theory. Validation, as defined by Rendon (1994), is an "enabling, confirming, and supportive process initiated by in-and out-of-class agents that foster academic and interpersonal development" (p. 44). Through interviews with 132 first-year students across five different institutional types in different geographic

locations ranging from a southwestern community college to a mid-Atlantic research university, for the purpose of exploring the role of out-of-class experiences on student learning and realization of educational aspirations, Rendon (1994) found that “the greatest need for academic validation was expressed by community college students” (p. 40). As noted by Chang (2005), “Rendon (1994) customizes the idea of student-centeredness to the two-year college by explaining that merely providing opportunities for interaction is not sufficient for minority students at these campuses. Instead, non-traditional students are more likely to get involved when faculty takes an active role in assisting them rather than having to take the initiative themselves” (p. 775).

Although traditional student development, engagement, and retention theories have proven successful at four-year institutions, which primarily serve traditional students, they have been deemed unsuitable for the community college student population. For example, in reference to their work that has dominated the field of student affairs and higher education, in general, Pascarella and Terenzini (1998) contended that “...the knowledge base for *How College Affects Students* permitted us to draw conclusions about a population of students that no longer dominates American postsecondary education” (p. 1). Pascarella and Terenzini (1998) further emphasized that their book would have been best titled *How Four Year Colleges Affect Students*. Similarly, in referencing his dropout model, Tinto (1982) acknowledged and cautioned that “...the model was developed to explain certain, not all, modes or facets of dropout behavior that may occur in particular types of higher educational setting” (p. 668).

In general, a number of institutional mechanisms have been created and implemented to support students in their pursuit of higher education at the community college. The next section focuses specifically on student services, with special attention to their range and focus.

Student Services

As previously noted, community college students are generally less well academically prepared than students at four-year institutions (Cohen & Brawer, 2008), the first in their families to attend college (Cohen & Brawer, 2008), work either full-time or part-time (AACC, 2012), have dependents (Coley, 2000), and although an increasing number of community colleges are now offering on-campus housing options (AACC, 2010), the majority do not live on campus (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). Consequently, student services at community colleges, to some degree, differ from four-year colleges and universities (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). Additionally, despite noted expansions and increasing attention placed on student services at the community college, they remain nominal (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Creamer, 1994; Scrivener & Weiss, 2009).

Student services as discussed in this work refers to the "...functional area within the community college with the primary purpose of providing support services for students while they attend college" (Dassance, 1994, p. 281). Although the terms students affairs, student personnel services, and student development services, have all been used to discuss student support services (Dassance, 1994), the term student services appears to be the most commonly used in the higher education and community college literature and will be used throughout the rest of this study.

Rather than focusing on the social, student services at the community college have been primarily implemented or enhanced in efforts to complement and support academic aims (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). These efforts generally manifest in the form of counseling and advising, orientation, tutoring, and childcare services. Counseling and advising services, which are widely employed as retention tools, have and continue to be at the center of community college student services (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). According to Cohen and Brawer (2008):

Counseling may exist in a variety of forms, including: academic and educational planning; personal counseling for life skills, mental health and other personal concerns that impede students' academic progress; transfer counseling; career counseling; mentoring, group counseling, and peer advising; direct academic support in the forms of study skills courses, seminars and workshops, tutoring; and online services—and all this with an average full-time student-equivalent ration of 1 to 434, nationwide. (p. 228)

Nevertheless, although counseling is commonly employed to increase retention, according to Cohen and Brawer (2008) 50% of students who dropped out never met with a counselor. Exacerbating the situation is that some students who have employed like services have had unfavorable experiences. In visiting with advisors students have found academic advisors to be uninformed or unwilling to help, particularly in terms of the transfer process (Townsend & Wilson, 2006). The literature, however, also finds that

community college students have found counselors particularly helpful during their academic careers (Hagedorn, Perrakis, & Maxwell, 2002).

In addition to counseling and advising, some community colleges now offer both on-campus and online orientation. Orientation is intended to familiarize students with academic program requirements, highlight availability of resources, and facilitate acclimation to the campus (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). Such programs have had positive impacts on students. For example, through a \$1.75 million project funded by the US Department of Education, Santa Fe Community College expanded online orientation and advising services to students in efforts to help them navigate the often unfamiliar and daunting college process. The project also worked to “prepare faculty and staff to deliver the innovative, student-centered academic and support services” (Kress, 2005, p. 656). As a result of these developments Santa Fe Community College reported “increases in student retention, performance, and satisfaction” (Kress, 2005, p. 656). Focusing on retaining African-American men, specifically, a student group which community colleges have been least effective in retaining, Pope (2006) recommended the enhancement of counseling and implementation of efficacious orientation programs.

Cohen and Brawer (2008) explained that “the reasons that students drop out are quite varied, but in general, most of them are related to situations beyond the college’s control” (p. 68). Nevertheless, there are a number of factors the institution has control of, which may serve to promote or hinder student success (Bailey, Calcagno, Jenkins, Kienzl, & Leinbach, 2006, 2005; Hagedorn, Perrakis, & Maxwell, 2007, 2006).

Drawing from focus group interviews with students, faculty, and administrators at nine urban community colleges, Hagedorn, Perrakis, and Maxwell (2007, 2006) produced two best practices pieces highlighting institutional factors that hamper or support student success. Those factors promoting student success were referred to as “the positive commandments” (Hagedorn et al., 2006). Conversely, those hindering student success were denoted as “the negative commandments” (Hagedorn et al., 2007). Both works, which consisted of 10 commandments each, spoke to the importance of student services and faculty at the community college. For example, take the following negative commandments:

- 1) Commandment I: *Thou shalt NOT* underestimate the need for accurate and consistent general counseling services;
- 2) Commandment II: *Thou shalt NOT* neglect programs targeted specifically at transfer and retention.

According to Hagedorn et al. (2007), “these services included, but were not limited to: tutoring, counseling, admissions, and records, career/transfer centers and computer/writing labs” (p. 27). In terms of positive commandments, Hagedorn et al. (2006), for instance, suggested the following:

- 1) Commandment I: Encourage faculty-student interaction; recruit instructors who offer time, attention and resources to facilitate student development; include student interaction in the faculty reward system
- 2) Commandment VI: Promote student study skills and academic preparation through on-campus assistance with writing, computer skills and learning

resources. Find innovative ways to introduce students to available services (such as the tutoring center).

In a study assessing institutional characteristics that positively impact student outcomes, Bailey et al. (2005) suggested that “*rates of instructional expenditures and student service expenditures have some positive impacts on graduation rates*” (p. iii). Similarly, Bailey et al. (2006) found that community colleges that contributed more toward instructional expenditures had higher degree completion rates. Specifically, Bailey et al. (2006) reported that “an additional \$1000 spent on instruction per FTE undergraduate improves graduation rates by 1.3%” (p. 511).

Although decreases in state appropriations (Kenton, Huba, Schuh, & Mack, 2005), may render the community college unable to allocate additional resources to certain areas, concerted efforts by the college to coordinate student services have been found to contribute to student persistence. In assessing institutional effectiveness at the community college level, Jenkins (2007) conducted interviews at six Florida community colleges, three identified as high impact and three identified as low impact, in terms of graduation, transfer, and persistence rates of tracked cohorts. Jenkins (2007) noted the importance of student services, but emphasized the alignment of student services and interdependency at the community college. According to Jenkins (2007), “to better promote success, it appears that not only do particular student support services need to be in place—including in-depth orientations, proactive advising, early warning systems, well-organized academic support services—but those services must be well aligned and coordinated across the campus” (p. 959).

To date, community colleges continue to improve and adapt student services to expand accessibility and better serve students (Denogean & Schwalbach, 2010; Kress, 2005). Disabled student services and childcare services are also accessible at the community college (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). As noted by Cohen and Brawer (2008), “child care services have become widespread, and offices have been opened to assist students with various types of disabilities” (p. 240). Given that 13% of community college students are single parents and that 12% of students have a recognized disability (AACC, 2012), certainly community colleges work to align student services with community college student needs.

In the following section, I discuss the emergence of the community college baccalaureate (CCB) and accompanying organizational shifts which extend, but perhaps also threaten, favorable student experiences and opportunities. As discussed in Chapter One, this is the main point of interest for my work. The literature that I have just synthesized is important in light of the CCB as early work centered on this function points to shifts in the way the community college has traditionally operated.

Community College Baccalaureate

Taken together, the community college has played a key role as an access point for a highly diversified and massive student population. Services and programming at the community college have reflected the desire to serve broadly; mostly this role has been played in terms of vocational and transfer education. Nevertheless, the community college has also been instrumental in expanding access to baccalaureate degrees through a variety of partnerships with colleges and universities including articulation agreements,

university centers, and university extensions (Floyd, 2005, p. 31). In recent years, however, the desire to serve has taken on new forms. Specifically, over the last three decades or so, the community college began to broaden its mission even further by adopting community college baccalaureate (CCB) degree programs. In the following subsections, I discuss reasons for the emergence of the CCB, perspectives centered on the CCB, organizational shifts and threats related to the CCB, and early outcomes of the CCB.

Reasons for Emergence of the CCB

As previously noted, the community college baccalaureate is “one coming from public community colleges or 2-year institutions that are approved to confer baccalaureate degrees in one or more areas” (Floyd, 2006, p. 64). Thus, rather than being the portal or “gateway” to the baccalaureate (Anderson, Sun, & Alfonso, 2006), community colleges across the country are increasingly becoming the hub. Some scholars contend that the community college baccalaureate was first advanced in 2001 when Florida’s state legislature approved some community colleges to offer the degree (Bemmel, Floyd, & Bryan, 2008). Nevertheless, as noted by Walker (2005), “it is difficult to identify the first instance in which a community college offered the baccalaureate” (p. 12). Other scholars date this growing trend back to the late 1980s and 1990s (Russell, 2010; Walker 2010). Russell (2010) identified West Virginia as approving its one and only community college baccalaureate program in 1989, followed by Utah in 1992.

As indicated in Chapter One, in 2012, Michigan became the 21st state to authorize its community colleges to confer baccalaureate degrees (Fain, 2013a). Moreover, California is currently considering this trend (Fain, 2013b). In 2010, a total of 18 states had approved a total of 54 institutions to award the baccalaureate (Russell, 2010). Collectively, these institutions offered a total of 465 baccalaureate programs, spanning various disciplines (Russell, 2010). Nonetheless, in addition to being dated, these numbers cannot be taken as certain for as maintained by Floyd (2006), “it is not a simple task to count and identify community colleges conferring their own baccalaureate as current systems of classifying these community colleges are imperfect” (p. 62). Accreditation requirements from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS), for example, that call for community colleges to “drop ‘community’ from their name and become classified as four-year colleges” (Floyd, 2006, p. 62), compounds our inability to maintain an accurate count of community colleges conferring the baccalaureate. What is certain, however, is that the number community college baccalaureate programs are growing in and within community colleges. Generally, when an institution has been approved to award one baccalaureate, other programs follow (Levin, 2004).

Bemmel, Floyd, and Bryan (2008) highlighted three main issues that have propelled the growth of the community college baccalaureate: 1) limited access to four-year institutions given increasing tuition rates and admission requirements; 2) increased credential requirements for various occupations; and 3) the need to expand access to the baccalaureate for students traditionally underserved by four-year institutions. Bemmel et

al. (2008) placed special attention on the need to serve students in rural areas. In discussing the history and rationale of the community college baccalaureate, Walker (2005) echoed the factors outlined by Bemmell et al. (2008). Similarly, McKinney and Morris (2010) noted as follows:

Changing student demographics are another external factor leading community colleges to launch 4-year degree programs. More low-income and place-bound students are pursuing higher education than ever before. As tuition and undergraduate admissions standards continue to increase at many 4-year institutions, low-income and place-bound students are threatened to be locked out of earning a bachelor's degree. The CCB can provide financial, geographical, and programmatic access to the baccalaureate degree for these students. (p. 191)

Unmet workforce needs have also been identified as a rationale for the expansion of the community college mission to confer baccalaureate degrees (Walker, 2005). As such, the most common baccalaureate programs include nursing, education, criminal justice, computer science, and business (Floyd, 2005). Furthermore, as highlighted in Chapter One, the community college baccalaureate is accompanied and motivated by a desire for increased prestige (Cook, 2000; Dougherty & Townsend, 2006; Eaton, 2005; Toma, 2012), which has historically been sought by the community college (Brint & Karabel, 1989). According to Dougherty and Townsend (2006) “the development of baccalaureate programs not only serves the goal of furthering educational opportunity, but also an interest in gaining greater prestige for their institution” (p. 9). Regardless of

the motivations, rationales, and/or explanations for the CCB, its emergence has generated different perspectives which I discuss in the next section.

Perspectives on the CCB

In addressing critical issues facing the community college, Mendoza et al. (2009), suggested that “perhaps the most popular issue is the heightened interest in, and expansion of, the Baccalaureate [sic] mission in community colleges” (p. 868). The expansion of the community college mission to confer baccalaureate degrees has spawned both support and criticism. On one end, the community college baccalaureate has been viewed as an effort to further democratize higher education (Walker, 2005). Given that the community college is widely known for responding to student and community needs, Walker (2005) countered arguments that the community college is shifting from serving its “core mission” (Manzo, 2001). In fact, Walker (2005) maintained that “offering the baccalaureate is a logical next step—the community college can provide it to more learners, at convenient locations, in a more learner-centered environment, and at greatly reduced cost” (p. 17). Walker (2005) further suggested that “missions should not reflect a bygone era, but rather respond, adapt, and grow in ways appropriate to changing communities” (p. 15).

Other perspectives question whether or not the community college is undermining and retracting from its main focus (Eaton, 2005; Glennon, 2005; Manzo, 2001). Questions and concerns centered on the community college ability to structurally and fiscally support the community college baccalaureate have been also posed (Cook, 2000; Wattenbarger, 2000).

Previously, the community college has been criticized for trying to be all things to all people without the necessary means (Dougherty, 2001). In discussing the need for structural reform at the community college, Dougherty (1994) discussed the contentious conception that the community college transform into a four-year college. The objections highlighted by Dougherty (1994) included the idea that “a four-year community college is unlikely to meet the needs of the 60 to 70 percent of community college entrants who are not baccalaureate aspirants, but rather looking for vocational education, remedial education, or adult recreational education” (p. 477). The community college baccalaureate has brought this discussion to the fore.

Wattenbarger (2000) argued that “there generally are not and will likely never be adequate financial resources at any given college to adequately support both two-year and four-year educational missions” (Wattenbarger, 2000, p. 4). Wattenbarger (2000) further maintained that “... traditional students of community colleges would be shortchanged by the only institution that was established to serve them in particular” (p. 4). In an interview with *US News and World Report*, president of the American Council on Education contended that “to compete, community colleges will have to expand their libraries, their labs, their faculties” (Brophy, 2000, para 4). Similarly, Russell (2010) maintained that “faculty must then be hired, libraries and facilities brought up to speed, and so on” (p. 2). Concerns regarding the baccalaureate are powerfully summed up by Cook (2000):

Influenced by perceptions of prestige or the realities of limited funding, a community college for instance could change its emphasis from remedial

to baccalaureate education. Such changes would then affect the community college culture, causing divisions among upper-and lower-division faculty on issues of workload, pay or emphasis on academic research versus applied and technical learning. Shifts such as these could also have a dramatic, if not negative, impact on state goals such as increasing postsecondary access for underserved populations or improving educational opportunities for welfare recipients. (p. 5)

Levin (2004), drawing from observations, document analysis, and nearly 180 interviews with “board members, administrators, faculty, both full-time and part-time, support staff, and students” (p. 6) at three community colleges in British Columbia and Alberta, identified a number of organizational changes that suggested that the adoption of the baccalaureate promotes the development of new organizational identities. Given the implementation of the community college baccalaureate, Levin (2004) suggested “...a potential for the development of a new institutional identity for those community colleges engaged in offering their own baccalaureate degrees” (p. 2). Similarly, Floyd (2005) maintained that “in reality, what we find in the field is the emergence of a new institutional type that embodies characteristics of different existing institutional types” (Floyd, 2005, p. 37).

Specifically, Levin (2004) found doctoral degree requirements followed by research expectations for faculty. Some administrators and faculty noted “factions of old and new” (Levin, 2004, p. 9) faculty. Furthermore, an administrator was quoting as stating “there is a tension between teaching and scholarship” (Levin, 2004, p. 9). Levin

(2004) suggested these implications were relevant to the United States. In the following section, I discuss case studies centered on US community colleges offering the community college baccalaureate that illuminate organizational shifts and threats related to the CCB.

Documented Effects Related to the CCB

Baccalaureate degree granting community colleges have experienced a number of organizational shifts in policies and practices. For example, Longanecker (2008) highlighted the case of Utah Valley University which was originally established as Central Utah Vocational School (CUVS). Based on its expanded associate degree offerings, CUVS became Utah Valley Community College and then Utah Valley State College once approved to award the baccalaureate. The university name and designation came upon approval to offer master level programs. Today, Utah Valley University's academic degree programs include 3, 63, 65, and 19, masters, bachelors, associates, and certificates and diplomas, respectively (Utah Valley University, 2011). Serving a primarily White student population (83.9%), Utah Valley University's full-time resident tuition and fees for fall 2011 was \$4,584. With an ACT composite average score of 21.1, 68.7% of its new students in fall 2011 required one or more developmental courses (Utah Valley University, 2011).

The characteristics of Utah Valley University point to the kinds of behaviors and shifts that are common in striving colleges and universities (O'Meara, 2007). For example, the number of bachelor degree programs offered nearly matches the number of associate degree programs. Furthermore, tuition and fees (\$4,585) is almost double the

average in-state tuition and fees (\$2,963) at public community colleges (AACC, 2012). The attention placed on test scores is also uncharacteristic of community colleges, as students are not necessarily required to complete entrance exams (Coley, 2000; Oudenhoven, 2002).

In the following subsections, I elaborate on the shifts associated with the CCB specifically related to financial costs, admissions, and faculty work expectations. Embedded in these subsections are discussions related to the threats these shifts/changes pose to the community college mission.

Shifts in financial costs. As colleges implement the community college baccalaureate, requirements from accreditation agencies such as the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) have forced institutions to upgrade and bring in additional resources (McKinney & Morris, 2010). A number of participants in McKinney and Morris' (2010) case study "...were surprised at how many additional resources the library would need to accommodate the new degree" (McKinney & Morris, 2010, p. 203). In addition to library costs, additional expenses associated with meeting Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) accreditation requirements, such as travel expenses for site visits, were also highlighted.

The costs associated with the implementation of the degree differ based on the type of degree being offered. For example, in addition to state accreditation requirements, teacher education programs at the community college level seeking national accreditation through the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), have noted the costliness of such requirements (Floyd & St

Arnauld, 2007). In exploring the implementation of teacher education programs at 10 “community colleges or former community colleges” (Floyd & St. Arnauld, 2007, p. 66), Floyd and St. Arnauld (2007) illuminated the additional costs associated with the national accrediting bodies such as NCATE and the need to find and secure additional revenue streams upon the exhaustion of startup funding. In their study, one interviewee noted the following:

I think that what we’ve learned is that the administration has to understand the costliness of bringing in a teacher education program that has to be nationally accredited. If it were just a [matter of] state accreditation and you only had to meet state guidelines, it would not be nearly as expensive. The other part of the expense goes along with not only hiring faculty, but with all of the supervision that has to be done with your public schools.... We’re responsible to a lot of stakeholders. (Floyd & St. Arnauld, 2007, p. 75)

Some baccalaureate programs, such as those in STEM areas, require additional amenities (e.g., laboratories) and equipment. As one administrator in Martinez’s (2012) study touted “our students use state of the art equipment, we have a brand new [said] building with all the latest equipment in the building...,” another discussed potential future tuition increases for students in four-year programs as the college “can’t sustain upper level laboratory courses, they are very expensive labs” (p. 14). The interviewees in Floyd and St. Arnauld’s (2007) work suggested that the need for such degree meant taking a “fiscal ‘leap of faith’” (p. 76). However, what if this ‘leap of faith’ were to go

belly up? Would the most likely and easiest response be an increase in student tuition which has become a common trend among community colleges (Cohen & Brawer, 2008)? Potential approaches identified by participants, in efforts to continue supporting the baccalaureate program included the establishment of a “baccalaureate fee” and the utilization of “private foundations monies” (Floyd & St. Arnauld, 2007, p. 75).

Although affordability has been touted as part of the access mission of the community college, possible tuition increases in light of the community college baccalaureate challenges students’ ability to finance their education (Bastedo & Gumport, 2003; Labaree, 2008; Morphew & Baker, 2004; Sacks, 2007). In their case study of two community colleges to broadly explore organizational changes that accompany the community college baccalaureate, McKinney and Morris (2010) highlighted the process of implementation, challenges faced by administrators, and changes in policies and practices. Among the challenges faced by administrators were issues related to budgeting. In efforts to contend with budgeting issues administrators noted the “importance of prioritizing existing resources and trying to find ways to creatively shift funds from other areas or projects on campus” (McKinney & Morris, 2010, p. 201). However, specific details in terms of how resources were reallocated were not provided in this study. It is important to understand which resources are being targeted where, in order to understand who and to what extent they are being impacted.

Despite these potential changes, colleges engaged in mission creep continue to make claims that the principle of access will continue to be the hallmark of community colleges (Martinez, 2012). In addition to fiscal concerns, the quality or value of the

community college baccalaureate has come under interrogation (Townsend, 2005; Wattenbarger, 2000).

Potential financial impacts for colleges and students. Currently, in general, community colleges are facing less than favorable financial circumstances. Community colleges are surpassing enrollment capacities, facing decreases in state appropriations, and consequently cutting programs and services, and most distressingly, closing their doors to countless students. The tightening of resources has led to limited opportunities for students. Based on the literature, some speculate that the community college baccalaureate has the potential to further limit opportunities (Cook, 2000; Eaton, 2005; Levin, 2004; Wattenbarger, 2000). For example, in terms of colleges offering the baccalaureate, in addressing “the road ahead for U.S. baccalaureate community colleges,” (p. 18), Levin (2004) cautioned that “for these colleges, resource stress will be considerable as college behaviors to fulfill an expanded mission lead to conflict over resource allocation” (p. 19). Levin (2004) further stated that “in the case of students, not only do baccalaureate students have needs and requirements that are different from those of nonbaccalaureate students—such as library resources and access to research opportunities with faculty—but the addition of new students also exacerbates already strained resources for programs and services for students” (p. 18).

As noted in the aforementioned literature, the direction in which resources are allocated has the potential to positively or negatively impact student experiences and opportunities (Bailey et al., 2005); therefore, it is important to assess if and how resources are being allocated. From what programs or services are resources being

pulled? Where are they being allocated? While reviewing baccalaureate degree proposals, Martinez (2012) found that intentions to allocate existing resources were clearly stated; nevertheless, specific details, again, were not provided. For example, one proposal stated as follows:

[said college] will reallocate existing funds to support the [said baccalaureate program]. The college will keep all departmental budgets flat and use excess funds generated from anticipated tuition increases to fund the program.

Shifts in admission policies. McKinney and Morris' (2010) study also illuminated that although the community college baccalaureate is being offered at an open admission/open door policy college, the degrees themselves are not accessible to all. Administrators highlighted a 'ranking system' (McKinney & Morris, 2010, p. 202) to help evaluate and admit students into the program. In addition to admission requirements, students faced the possibility of being denied due to limited capacity. For instance, although 250 students had applied to one baccalaureate program, only 70 positions were available. Counter to the colleges' open access mission, McKinney and Morris (2010) noted that administrators referred to their four-year programs as 'selective-access' (p. 202). Such practices appear to emulate those commonly employed at four-year institutions. In one of the colleges in Martinez's (2012) study, administrators acknowledged a higher GPA requirement for their baccalaureate program. In order to be admitted into the baccalaureate program upon completion of general education requirements, students were required to possess a 2.5 cumulative grade point average.

Potential impact on access. In addition to the possibility of inadequate resources limiting access, admission requirements linked to baccalaureate programs such as those discussed in the literature is cause for further concern. As noted by Levin (2004), “the baccalaureate-degree-granting community college possesses an identity that is obviously no longer simply a sub-baccalaureate institution, and possibly no longer a post-secondary institution that serves, as one of its main functions, marginalized and underserved groups as its primary client or customer” (p. 16). To this point, it is essential to explore which students are being served by four-year degree programs? Are certain students being shut-out? This notion is particularly important as community colleges in general have seen an increase in students that have not generally sought or utilized the community college as a point of entry into higher education.

Shifts in faculty work expectations. In addition to a fundamental shift in traditional community college admission practices, research has highlighted fundamental shifts for faculty work in light of the community college baccalaureate (Bemmel, Floyd, & Bryan, 2008; Floyd & St. Arnaud, 2007; Levin, 2004; Martinez, 2012; McKinney & Morris, 2007; Ross, 2007), which I discuss below.

Research and teaching. Traditionally, the primary role of community college faculty has been that of teacher (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Townsend & Twombly, 2007), as suggested in the earlier review of literature. According to Townsend and Twombly (2007), “given the community college’s overarching mission of providing open access to higher education, the most important role of community college faculty members is to teach, and they do teach” (Townsend & Twombly, 2007, p. 37). Similarly, Cohen and

Brawer (2008) contended that “no one speaks of the community college professor’s research load, scholarship load, or consulting load. Teaching is the ponderous portion of the profession, the burden to be carried” (p. 91).

Data from the 2004 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF) support these claims. For example, relying on this data set, Provasnik and Planty (2008) revealed that teaching was the main activity for 89% of community college faculty compared to 63% of public four-year faculty. Thus, it is no surprise that the same data set revealed a higher average number of classroom hours and student contact hours for community college faculty. Specifically, Cataldi, Bradburn, and Fahimi (2005) reported that full-time instructional faculty and staff at public associate’s institutions averaged 18.1 classroom and student contact hours per week, compared to 10.9 and 8.1 at public master’s and public doctoral institutions, respectively. The number of hours spent in the classroom is inextricably linked to community college faculty teaching load, which on average, is five three-hour courses per semester (Townsend & Rosser, 2007). Community college faculty also report five and four hours a week spent on tutoring and advising, respectively (Huber, 1998).

Conversely, research has not typically been a function of community college faculty work (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Padovan & Whittington, 1998; Townsend & Twombly, 2007) and when conducted, it is largely centered on curriculum and instruction in efforts to improve teaching practices (Padovan & Whittington, 1998). Huber’s (1998) study on faculty attitudes and trends found that some community college faculty members do engage in research, but it is not a primary activity. Huber’s analysis of the

1997 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching's National Survey of Faculty revealed that 5% of community college faculty reported "regular research activity" as an expectation of their current position (Huber, 1998, p. 81). This percentage, however, was significantly less in comparison to their counterparts at institutions in higher tiers on the academic hierarchy. For example, 92%, 84%, 69%, and 50% of faculty at research, doctoral, master's, and baccalaureate institutions, respectively, indicated "regular research activity" as an expectation (Huber, 1998).

However, drawing from interviews with community college administrators McKinney and Morris (2010) revealed changes in faculty work expectations which appear to emulate those of four-year institutions. Whereas community college faculty have generally viewed research as an "option" (Fugate & Amey, 2000), community college faculty in baccalaureate programs are currently being expected to engage in original research and publish (Martinez, 2012; McKinney & Morris, 2010). McKinney and Morris (2010) found that the community college baccalaureate brought along faculty expectations to "present and publish" (p. 204). The following quote by an interviewee illuminated this expectation: "I said, you know, I expect my faculty in the bachelor's degree programs to present and publish, and I said, well you know what, I will make sure that they do. I will show them how if they don't know how" (McKinney & Morris, 2010, p. 204). In a pilot study exploring what community colleges with a four-year function expect of their faculty and through interviews with community college administrators (e.g., dean, department chair, vice president for academic affairs, vice president for institutional effectiveness), Martinez (2012) found that in addition to expectations to

produce research and publish, community college faculty were expected to seek external sources of funding. In fact, when one of the participants in Martinez's study was asked if a potential faculty member was interviewing and they asked what was expected of them, he/she acknowledged that they had been asked that question by an interviewee and stated the following:

I told them that your responsibilities would be teaching in a quality [said] program, one in which you will help to develop and be able to put your personal mark on, that includes research with undergraduates, as well as teaching, developing the new courses that are needed for the program, and maintaining, seeking research dollars to maintain a research agenda. (p. 11)

Community college administrators in Martinez's (2012) study acknowledged the need to address and reduce the teaching loads of faculty teaching in the four-year programs, especially given that faculty also had expectations to write and submit grants. Whereas in Martinez's (2012) study release times had not come to fruition, Floyd and St. Arnauld (2007), noted decreased teaching loads for faculty in four-year teacher education programs due to the need for faculty to supervise internships and clinical experience required of students. However, Floyd and St. Arnauld (2010) did not indicate what a "lighter load" (p. 82) looked like. These findings clearly call for a more in-depth exploration into how faculty work expectations have been (re)structured in light of the community college baccalaureate. If and how faculty teaching loads are adjusted, also calls us to consider who will be depended on to cover faculty release time from teaching

and who will be assigned to teach in what programmatic areas. For example, will part-time/contingent faculty members be responsible for teaching in two-year programs while the full-timers teach in four-year programs?

In addition to decreased teaching loads (Floyd & St. Arnauld, 2010; Martinez, 2012) faculty development is essential (Ross, 2007). In assessing faculty development and needs at two year colleges offering four-year degree programming, Ross (2007) found that in addition to professional development opportunities/activities, faculty needed additional time for development, preparation, and delivery of upper division courses associated with the community college baccalaureate. In order to adequately teach third and four-year level courses faculty noted that time was required in efforts to stay up-to-date on the material being taught and accommodating different student learning styles (Ross, 2007). Given heavy teaching loads among community college faculty, diverse student needs, and that ultimately faculty work expectations impact the culture for student learning and engagement (Umbach & Wawrzynski, 2005), this topic must be critically assessed.

Advanced credentials. In addition to research expectations for faculty, the typically required 18 master's level credit hours in the subject being taught (Cohen & Brawer, 2008) are no longer sufficient. Due to accreditation requirements, the community college baccalaureate has been accompanied by increased academic credential requirements for community college faculty (Floyd & St. Arnauld, 2007; Levin, 2004; McKinney & Morris, 2010). For example, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, requires that at least 25% of faculty teaching in baccalaureate

programs possess a doctorate (McKinney & Morris, 2010). Consequently, colleges are working to attract and recruit faculty with terminal degrees (Floyd & St. Arnauld, 2007). Case in point, full-time faculty in the teacher education programs across the 10 different community colleges that participated in Floyd and St. Arnauld's (2007) study, were required to hold doctoral degrees or educational specialist credentials.

Generally, there has been reluctance and arguments against doctorally trained faculty at the community college (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Harrison, 1979; Jencks & Riesman, 2002). Concerns have been expressed given the cosmopolitan orientation of PhDs in comparison to the more locally oriented community college faculty (Wright, Assar, Kramer, Howery, McKinney, Glass, & Atkinson, 1998). In fact, Jencks and Riesman (2002) noted a "principled animus against 'Ph.Ds. who aren't really interested in teaching' and who are 'too snobbish to work with the average student,' the community colleges continue to recruit their faculty from a manpower pool only partly fed by university graduate schools" (p. 483). Today, however, as aforementioned, PhD or doctorate holders are now being recruited to teach the upper division courses associated with the baccalaureate degrees. In addition to recruiting individuals with a doctoral degree, community college faculty are being recruited "nationally" (Floyd & St. Arnauld, 2007, p. 78).

In assessing faculty commitment to the community college philosophy, Leslie (1973) concluded that "the goals of two-year colleges require faculty members to reorient to a student-centered educational atmosphere which runs counter to most previous educational experiences, and often to their previously held roles" (p. 60). Therefore, the

recruitment of doctorally trained faculty, the majority of which receive their preparation at research universities (Gaff & Lambert, 1996), and new research expectations (Martinez, 2012; McKinney & Morris, 2010) brings to light the highly noted, yet also contested, tension between teaching and research.

In their meta-analysis of the relationship between research and teaching, Hattie and Marsh (1996) concluded that "...the common belief that research and teaching are inextricably entwined is an enduring myth" (p. 539). Although they maintained that research production did not undermine teaching, other research, most of which has been conducted at four-year institutions, suggests that as faculty allocate more time to research, less value and time is dedicated to teaching (Massy & Zemsky, 1994), teaching-related activities such as advising and counseling (Milem, Berger, & Dey, 2000), and student contact (Olsen & Simmons, 1996). All of which, as noted in the literature, are important to community college student persistence.

Potential impact for faculty roles. Community college faculty members, in general, have always been overworked (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Townsend & Twombly, 2007); however, the new work expectations brought on by the CCB illuminate a greater level of "greediness" (Coser, 1974; Wright, Howery, Assar, McKinney, Kain, Glass, Kramer, & Atkinson, 2004) and perhaps contradiction at the community college. Will new expectations serve to enable the success of students through positive experiences and opportunities or will they counter such efforts? How will these expectations impact or influence faculty members who, as noted in the literature, have played a crucial role in positive student experiences?

According to Levin, Kater, and Wagoner (2006) “as community colleges move to awarding baccalaureate degrees...faculty will be challenged further in their status, professional development, and work” (p. 141). Given that faculty are at the center of community college student opportunities and experiences in that they head the classroom and that the realization of student services are partly due to their partaking (Kress, 2005) it is important to assess if and how the community college baccalaureate impacts or shapes their role as faculty, their work with students, and the ways in which they are evaluated.

In this section, I have presented recent findings centered on the community college baccalaureate and pointed to significant areas of question that need to be explored in terms of the implementation of this degree including financial costs, admissions, and faculty work expectations. In the following section, I note early outcomes of the CCB and then lay out the framework that helped me understand the adoption of the community college baccalaureate and what it means for community college student opportunities and experiences and additional stakeholders.

Documented Student Outcomes of the CCB

Although states are increasingly authorizing their community colleges to confer baccalaureate degrees, and both praises and criticisms have been put forward, little research exists on the outcomes of the CCB. For example, some have argued that “...the community college is not capable of offering a four-degree [sic] of the same quality as existing four-year institutions” (Townsend, 2005, p. 179). Wattenbarger (2000) has referred to the community college baccalaureate as “second class” credential

(Wattenbarger, 2000, p. 5). Nevertheless, in assessing employers' perceptions Grothe (2009) found that employers were satisfied with the work of students whose baccalaureate degree had been conferred by a community college. Graduates were considered adequately prepared and had the skills necessary for their current positions. Community college baccalaureate students were viewed as equally prepared as their four-year counterparts. In some instances graduates of the community college baccalaureate programs were thought to have "exceeded their expectations" (Grothe, 2009, p. 122). Moreover, some of the community colleges involved in Floyd and St. Arnaud's (2007) exploration of community college baccalaureate teacher education programs reported the highest licensure pass rates in their respective states. Positive student job placement outcomes were also reported. These findings counter the critics' assertions that the community college baccalaureate is subordinate to a baccalaureate from a four-year institution (Wattenbarger, 2000) and calls for further exploration of employer perceptions and community college baccalaureate completer's success in the workforce.

Section Summary

In this section, I highlighted potential threats that the CCB poses to the historical mission of community colleges via a discussion of theoretical and empirical literatures. Because much of this discussion rests on theoretical postulation, several critical lines of inquiry were also pointed out. It is critical to undertake these various areas of inquiry to explore if and how the CCB impacts the historical mission of the community college, which would innately impact student opportunities and experiences and additional stakeholders. Additionally, it is important to explore these lines of inquiry at community

colleges that have transitioned to four-year colleges. To this end, in the next section, I introduce the conceptual framework that guided the design of this study.

Conceptual Framework

According to Ravitch and Riggan (2012), “the purpose of a conceptual framework is to learn from the experience and expertise of others as you cultivate your own knowledge and perspective. A conceptual framework allows you to make reasoned, defensible choices about how you might explore research topics or themes heretofore underexplored...” (p. 14).

In this way, to explore Ardent’s transition from a community college to a four-year regional comprehensive college, I used O’Meara’s (2007) framework of striving post-secondary organizations. Based on the literature review, I believed the utilization of this framework was appropriate for this study. In fact, the review of the limited literature highlighted that some of the behaviors of baccalaureate granting community colleges are quite similar to the behaviors of O’Meara’s striving institutions. As suggested by Ravitch and Riggan (2012), “literature review allows you to survey what is known about a given topic, how that topic has been investigated, and the intellectual and analytic tools that might help you to understand it better” (p. 11). Utilizing O’Meara’s (2007) framework allowed me to systematically consider the ways that the adoption of the community college baccalaureate and subsequent transition into a four-year college, impact core operational areas of community colleges. Additionally, it helped me frame my study, making my line of inquiry sharp and precise. In the following section I discuss O’Meara’s framework in detail.

O'Meara's Framework

Based on perspectives from institutional theory, political economy, and resource dependency, O'Meara (2007) developed this framework to assist with the identification of striving colleges and universities. Although the notion of striving was developed to describe four-year, prestige-seeking, rankings-focused universities (O'Meara, 2007; O'Meara & Meekins, 2012), Gonzales (2012) noted that striving has some extensive parallels with "academic drift" (Clark, 1978; Geiger, 2011), which is variably referred to as "mission creep" or "mission drift" (Gonzales, 2012). For example, similar practices among drifters and strivers include the addition of advanced degree programs and intensification of research expectations for faculty (Morphew & Huisman, 2002; O'Meara, 2007).

O'Meara's framework works well with various points of view as to why community colleges are doing what they are doing. As previously quoted, Dougherty and Townsend (2006) maintained that "the development of baccalaureate programs not only serves the goal of furthering educational opportunity, but also an interest in gaining greater prestige for their institution" (p. 9). Similarly, Toma (2012) noted, "even aspirations at community colleges, while expressed in terms of access, are akin to those at other kinds of institutions" (p. 125).

Highlighting the work of Brewer, Gates, and Goldman (2002) on the pursuit of prestige, O'Meara (2007) explicitly described the community college as "reputation building" (p. 155). Consider, for example, the administrators in Floyd and St. Arnaud's (2007) work who indicated they were casting their nets to recruit faculty "nationally"

(Floyd & St. Arnauld, 2007, p. 78). Among the striving behaviors identified by O’Meara (2007) in terms of faculty recruitment, roles, and reward systems were concerted efforts by colleges and universities to hire ‘faculty stars’ (p. 131).

Similar to Floyd and St. Arnauld (2007), in addition to changes in faculty recruitment at baccalaureate degree granting community colleges, McKinney and Morris (2010) and Martinez (2012) noted changes in student admission requirements—another behavior recognized by O’Meara among striving institutions. Specifically, O’Meara (2007) suggested that striving institutions are likely to implement changes to five critical functional areas including: 1) Student Recruitment and Admissions; 2) Faculty Recruitment, Roles, and Reward Systems; 3) Curriculum and Programs; 4) External Relations and Shaping of Institutional Identity; and 5) Resource Allocation (O’Meara, 2007, p. 131).

In Table 2.1, I present O’Meara’s framework. In the first column, I list the various functional areas that O’Meara (2007) argued are affected when institutions strive. The second column highlights specific indicators of change or effect for each of the functional areas according to O’Meara’s argument. In the third column, I have mapped the evidence, as drawn from the literature review, which indicates that community colleges make shifts in ways that are similar to O’Meara’s striving post-secondary organizations. I included indicators of striving identified by O’Meara (2007) in efforts to illuminate my line of thinking in terms of the baccalaureate granting community colleges.

Table 2.1
O'Meara's Striving Framework

Areas of Institutional Operations	Indicators of Striving (O'Meara, 2007, p. 131)	Changes to Functional Areas at the Community College as Identified in Review of Literature
Student Recruitment & Admissions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institution increases selectivity over recent years, including high school rank, SAT & GPA • Increase in the use of early decision in admissions • Institution invites more National Merit Scholars and fewer Pell Grant recipients 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Four-year programs are 'selective-access' (McKinney & Morris, 2010, p. 202). • Increased GPA admission requirements for four-year programs (Martinez, 2012).
Faculty Recruitment, Roles, & Reward Systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater attempt to hire "faculty stars" with research emphasis, increase in faculty salaries, and in start up research packages • Faculty teaching load decreasing; increase in discretionary time, loosening of institutional ties; increased emphasis on disciplinary ties • Faculty report on expectations for research in tenure and promotion have increased • Rise in faculty grants, awards, and prestigious fellowships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PhD requirements for faculty (Floyd & St. Arnauld, 2007; Levin, 2004; Levin et al., 2006) • Research requirements for faculty including – presenting, publishing, and seeking grant funding (Martinez, 2012; McKinney & Morris, 2010) • Decreased teaching loads to tend to four-year program responsibilities (Floyd & St. Arnauld, 2007) • Efforts to recruit faculty "nationally" (Floyd & St. Arnauld, 2007)
Curriculum & Programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shift of emphasis and funding away from remedial and developmental programs & towards honors and programs for academically talented students • Institution is adding graduate program, shift in emphasis from undergraduate to graduate programs • Focus among faculty on making programs more rigorous and on preparing students for graduate school or prestigious career placements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoption of the community college baccalaureate (Levin, 2004; Russell, 2010; Walker, 2005) • Continued addition of baccalaureate programs at same institution (Levin, 2004)
External Relations & Shaping of Institutional Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional actors use language, speeches, websites, and symbols to shape the external image of the institution as more prestigious or 'on the move' • Institutional actors also work to shape an internal, institutional narrative about striving and use the language and rhetoric of striving to frame major decisions, goals statements, and directives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-identify as moving to the 'next-level' (Toma, 2012)
Resource Allocation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased spending on infrastructure and administrative support • Shift in resources from instruction to administrative support • Investments made in competitive amenities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State of the art equipment in labs associated with CCB (Martinez, 2012)

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented a historical overview of the community college and how it has operated in the field of higher education at large. Subsequently, I highlighted the multipurpose curriculum employed by the community college and introduced the

community college baccalaureate (CCB). Furthermore, I discussed what the CCB has meant for community colleges. Last, I introduced my conceptual framework. As maintained by Maxwell (2005), “the most important thing to understand about your conceptual framework is that it is primarily a conception or model of what is out there that you plan to study, and of what is going on with these things and why—a tentative *theory* of the phenomena that you are investigating” (p. 33). Accordingly, in addition to pointing to the main factors to be studied, this framework helped me focus my research questions, which in turn helped me determine the most suitable methods. In sum, as will be highlighted in the following chapter, O’Meara’s (2007) framework was “...a key part of [my] design” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 33).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter, I rearticulate the purpose of this study and enumerate my research questions. Then, I discuss my subjectivities. Specifically, I highlight the beliefs, assumptions, and experiences that shape my views and guided this study. In the third section, I describe the pilot study that helped inform the design of this study. Fourth, I describe my case study design and present data collection methods, data analysis procedures, strategies employed to ensure trustworthiness, and discuss transferability. Finally, after discussing the process of my case selection, I draw on some of my data sources to describe the setting, Ardent College, and its broader social, political, and economic context in order to situate the findings presented in Chapter Four.

Purpose of the Study

The highest degree awarded by the community college has generally been the associate in arts or the associate in science degree (Cohen & Brawer, 2008); however, an increasing number of community colleges have expanded their missions to award baccalaureate degrees (Levin, 2004; Russell, 2010; Walker, 2005). Although some community colleges have adopted the four-year degree function while maintaining their community college mission, others have become full baccalaureate degree granting colleges. In fact, this trend, as previously noted, contributed to the 70% increase in the number of baccalaureate colleges from 1995-2006 (Longanecker, 2008). Nevertheless, little research exists on what this process/transition looks like (Longanecker, 2008; Toma, 2012). As such, the purpose of this study was to explore/examine Ardent's transition

from a community college into a four-year comprehensive college. I was particularly interested in learning about what the transition entailed and possible implications for various stakeholders.

Research Questions

The specific questions that guided this study can be located in the interpretivist paradigm (Sipe & Constable, 1996). As noted by Sipe and Constable (1996), “interpretivists attempt to understand situations from the point of view of those experiencing the situations” (p. 158). In line with qualitative inquiry, my research questions have gone through several revisions or as referred to by Parlett and Hamilton (1976) “progressive focusing” (as cited in Stake, 1995, p. 9). As maintained by Stake (1995), “initial research questions may be modified or even replaced in mid-study by the case researcher” (p. 9). The questions that guided this study at the outset evolved in response to my experiences, observations, and what participants pointed to as relevant and important. The overarching research questions for this study were:

1. What does the transition from a community college into a four-year comprehensive college look like?
2. What processes are necessary to transition from a community college to a four-year regional comprehensive college?
3. How and to what extent has the transition impacted critical stakeholders (e.g., students, faculty, staff)?

As noted in Chapter Two, I used an adapted version of O’Meara’s (2007) framework to systematically study this transition. To recall, O’Meara explained that

striving universities are likely to exhibit changes in five major “areas of institutional operations” (p. 131): 1) student recruitment and admissions; 2) faculty recruitment, roles, and reward systems; 3) curriculum and programs; 4) external relations and shaping of institutional identity; and 5) resource allocation. Below, I present the specific questions related to each tenet which further guided this inquiry.

1) Student Recruitment and Admissions

- a. How and to what extent has the implementation of baccalaureate degree programs impacted admission policies and procedures?
- b. How do faculty/staff/administrators view student recruitment and admissions in light of the transition into a four-year comprehensive college?
- c. What are the admission standards for the college?
- d. Are admission requirements four-year program specific or have they transcended non-four year programs?

2) Faculty Recruitment, Roles, and Reward Systems

- a. How and to what extent have faculty roles, responsibilities, expectations, and hiring practices been impacted as a result of the college’s transition?
- b. How do administrators/faculty make sense of the (re)structuring?

3) Curriculum and Programs

- a. What programs are offered at the college?
- b. Have programs been implemented to support the transition?

- c. How and to what extent has the transition impacted the attention/emphasis placed on two-year and developmental education programs?
- d. How do administrators/faculty make sense of their curriculum/programs?

4) External Relations and Shaping of Institutional Identity

- a. How and to what extent has the implementation of four-year degree programs been used as a way to shape the college image?
- b. How and to what extent has the transition into a four-year college impacted the college image?
- c. What strategies has the college implemented to improve its image?

5) Resource Allocation

- a. How and to what extent has the transition influenced how resources are (re)allocated?
- b. If the transition has influenced the (re)allocation of resources, where are those resources being drawn from and committed?
- c. How do administrators/faculty/staff make sense of the (re)allocation of resources?

My Subjectivities

Who I am outside my identity as a researcher, influences every step of the research process (Glesne, 2005; Dyson & Genishi, 2005). As noted by Dyson and Genishi (2005), "...who we are outside our identities as university researchers influences the kinds of questions we ask....how we collect, analyze, and interpret data (pp. 57-58). Accordingly, I begin this section by noting that I approached this study as someone who

views the community college as a democratizing agent. I am a proponent of the community college. My interest, excitement, and support for the community college stem from my experiences as a staff member at a four-year regional serving university with strong and nationally recognized partnerships with the local community college. In my various professional capacities, among them program coordinator for the federally funded College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP) at The University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP), I came to realize that were it not for El Paso Community College (EPCC), several students in our region would be denied the opportunity to participate in or continue to participate in higher education.

For example, when some of my former CAMP students, the majority of them low-income first generation college students from migrant seasonal farmworker backgrounds—arguably one of the most underserved student groups in the US education system—did not meet the university’s provisional admission requirements after their first year, they would receive a friendly letter from the university encouraging them to enroll at EPCC, successfully complete 12 credit hours, and then consider reenrolling at UTEP. I clearly recall personally accompanying those students to the nearest EPCC campus to process a reverse transfer. Also, when UTEP reduced the number of remedial/developmental courses it offered, EPCC took on the responsibility to offer the lowest levels of remedial/developmental math that my students were likely to place into. During advising, these classes were commonly referred to as “EPCC Math” rather than Math 0300 or Math 0301, both courses which were necessary before students could enroll in the next level developmental math course—Elementary Algebra. Given these

experiences, I often asked myself, “What if we didn’t have EPCC?” “What would happen to these students?”

In addition to my professional experiences with the community college, I have had personal experiences that have shaped my views on the community college. Although I personally did not enroll in classes at EPCC, my brother occasionally took advantage of its lower tuition rate and articulation agreement with UTEP as an undergraduate student. Today, my younger sister, who is currently working towards her bachelor’s degree, has and continues to turn to EPCC during the summer semesters to stay on track. Given that one of EPCC’s multiple campuses is located less than 10 minutes from home makes it an attractive option. In addition to taking advantage of its affordability and convenient location (Cohen & Brawer, 2008), friends and family members have benefitted from its diverse continuing education courses as well as its English Language Program.

Again, in light of these experiences, I am a supporter of the community college and its various missions. I value its responsiveness to community needs. However, given the emerging body of empirical and theoretical literature that has illuminated the kinds of shifts in policies and practices that often accompany the community college baccalaureate (Bemmel, Floyd, & Bryan, 2008; Laden, 2005; Levin, 2003, 2004; Levin, Kater, & Wagoner, 2006; Ross, 2007; Skolnik, 2009), I have deep concerns about community colleges expanding their mission to offer baccalaureate degrees. My concerns are heightened by the actual morphing of community colleges into four-year colleges once they take on the four-year degree function (Longanecker, 2008; Toma,

2012). For instance, if a community college morphed into a four-year institution would they still offer Math 0300? Would the Intensive English Language Program persist? Would students still benefit from a lower tuition rate? If the community college was classified as an urban or rural-serving institution and therefore potentially the only postsecondary option within a large mile radius, what opportunities would be afforded to students? These experiences, hypothetical questions, and pilot study, which I discuss next, helped shape this study

Pilot Study

The pilot study for this study was a collective case study (Stake, 1995, 2000) of two baccalaureate degree granting community colleges. The purpose of the pilot study was to explore how the community college baccalaureate impacted community college faculty, particularly in terms of hiring, work expectations, and evaluative processes. I focused on this role given that, “the teaching faculty is the key to the community college’s work” (Cain, 1999, p. 47). This pilot study was guided by the following research questions:

1. How has the introduction of the community college baccalaureate impacted community college faculty work expectations?
2. How does the community college baccalaureate shape faculty careers both tacitly and explicitly?

The collective case study approach allowed me to foreground the phenomenon of the community college baccalaureate and faculty work and background the actual settings (Stake, 2000). Both colleges in this study were selected based on convenience sampling.

In the following sections I provide a description of the settings, data collection techniques, as well as findings and lessons learned.

Settings

This study took place at two sites in the southern U.S. where the CCB is offered: 1) Willowy College, and 2) Warring College⁵. Given accreditation requirements associated with the CCB, both colleges were recently bestowed state college statuses. However, when navigating the individual college websites, I found instances where, for example, Warring College continued to identify as “a two-year access institution.” Both sites were selected for this study because of the recent introduction of the community college baccalaureate. Willowy College began offering its first baccalaureate degree program in fall 2012. Warring College’s baccalaureate program began fall 2013. I chose colleges that had recently adopted the CCB under the assumption that in the early stages, administrators would be making sense of and enacting policies.

Data Collection

Data collection methods included semi-structured interviews with five college administrators (e.g., vice president for academic affairs, department chair, dean) across two colleges and the analysis of organizational documents accessed via college websites.

Interviews and participants. I targeted administrators involved in the implementation of baccalaureate degree programs. I specifically sought their perspective as they play a central role in crafting community college faculty work conditions (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Twombly & Townsend, 2008). Participants were identified through

⁵ Pseudonyms.

their college and/or program websites. For example, when perusing baccalaureate program sites they explicitly identified who to contact for more information. Additional participants were identified by their colleagues as individuals that would be helpful in informing my study. Therefore, participants were selected through a combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques.

All interviews were semi-structured (Alvesson, 2011). I elected to carry out semi-structured interviews in an attempt to gather insights and stories from participants, not to limit or impose on them. I began by asking broad questions regarding the introduction of the community college baccalaureate and how it was received by the faculty. I then centered on community college faculty work expectations. For example, I asked how the implementation of the CCB impacted faculty work, if there were any changes in the work that they were expected to do. Additionally I asked if there were any changes in how they were evaluated. I also asked what they personally expected of their faculty and if these expectations were different than before the baccalaureate was offered.

Interviews lasted between 30-60 minutes. Four out of the five interviews were digitally audio-recorded and transcribed in their entirety. One administrator agreed to participate in the study, but did not want to be recorded. Consequently, copious notes were taken during our interview (Brenner, 2006).

Document analysis. In terms of document analysis, I reviewed faculty handbooks, faculty resource pages, and baccalaureate program proposals submitted to the state's higher education governing board. In addition to providing valuable insights related to faculty work expectations, the results of my document analysis helped generate

additional interview questions. For example, in one case, the faculty handbook provided a copy of the faculty workload agreement which dictated how faculty should allocate their time; consequently, during my interviews I was able to ask if the percentages assigned to each area (e.g., teaching, service, professional development) had or were expected to change in light of the baccalaureate degree program.

Pilot Study Findings and Lessons Learned

Based on administrators' interviews regarding the implementation of the baccalaureate degree, in relation to their faculty, I constructed three major themes. Specifically, from their perspective, the community college baccalaureate introduced heightened work expectations, increased opportunities, and a new level of pride and prestige, for faculty members. The introduction of the community college baccalaureate shaped faculty work and careers at both sites in ways that closely emulated those of long established four-year colleges and universities, particularly based on the emphasis on research and grants.

After the study was completed, I was left with additional questions regarding the implementation of baccalaureate degrees at the community college. I became interested in learning about how the implementation of baccalaureate degree programs might impact other areas of the community college such as admissions. I also decided that it was important to gather insights and narratives from other individuals associated with the college such as faculty members. Given these new interests and insights, I decided to expand my focus and limit my study to one site. I believed this would allow for a more in-depth study of how the implementation of baccalaureate degree programs affected

other areas and stakeholders. I also found it pertinent to conduct my work at colleges offering more than one baccalaureate degree. Furthermore, the degrees needed to have been established for more than one year as the administrators in my pilot study were still trying to figure out the specifics/details of their newly implemented programs during our interviews. Assuming that change in higher education is slow (Siegfried, Getz, & Anderson, 1995), I believed time would allow for actual changes in the college to have played out as well as the impacts experienced by stakeholders. In summary, the pilot study allowed me to assess the potential research design, provided insights, and raised additional questions which ultimately helped reshape the dissertation.

Case Study Design

The design and methods for this study were determined by the questions to be explored. Grounded in the interpretivist paradigm (Sipe & Constable, 1996), this study was carried out using a qualitative case study design (Stake, 1995). Case study methods were appropriate for this study as they allowed for an in-depth examination and understanding of Ardent's ongoing transition from a community college into a four-year institution (Stake, 1995, 2000). Specifically, this research is an example of an intrinsic case study because I was interested in understanding this transition from a community college into four-year college at Ardent College in particular. As identified by Stake (2000), an intrinsic case study is one that is:

...undertaken because, first and last, the researcher wants better understanding of this particular case. Here, it is not undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular

trait or problem, but because, in all its particularity *and* ordinariness, this case itself is of interest. (p. 437)

Stake noted that (1995), “the case is an integrated system. The parts do not have to be working well, the purposes may be irrational, but it is a system” (p. 2). In this study, the bounded system (Stake, 1995) was Ardent College, a Minority Serving Institution (Gasman, Baez, & Turner, 2008) with aggressive aspirations to become a university. I was interested in the organization as a whole, which broadly speaking included academic affairs, student affairs, administrative affairs, and business affairs functions of the College. In the following section I discuss my data collection procedures.

Data Collection

During this seven month case study of Ardent’s transition from a community college to a four-year comprehensive college, I collected three sources of evidence: 1) interviews; 2) documents; and 3) participant observations. All three data sources and data collection procedures are discussed below.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews (Alvesson, 2011) were conducted with a total of 16 participants. I purposefully targeted administrators, faculty, and staff to participate in my study. I believed these participants could best help me address the purpose of this study given their position and relationship with the college, especially because “much of what we cannot observe for ourselves has been or is being observed by others” (Stake, 1995, p. 64).

An e-mail invite approved by Clemson’s Institutional Review Board as well as Ardent’s Institutional Review Board was sent out to those identified as potential participants. The invite was accompanied by a letter explaining the purpose of my project and an informed consent form. See Appendix A, Appendix B, and Appendix C, respectively. During this time, some individuals declined to participate; others indicated they were no longer with the college or that they would no longer be with the college after a stated date. Later in my study, I would come to understand why several individuals were no longer with the college or would soon depart from the college. A larger number of potential participants did not reply to my invite. Therefore, I sent out four follow-up emails asking potential participants to consider participating in my study. Overall, these efforts, as previously noted, led to a total of 16 participants. On one occasion, I had a participant personally reach out to me expressing interest in participating in my study. They learned of my study through a colleague who forwarded my invitation to participate.

Interviews were subsequently scheduled and conducted in a format preferable to participants, either face to face, via telephone, or through “face to face remote conversations” (King & Horrocks, 2010, p. 84) via Skype. A total of eight interviews took place face to face, seven were conducted over the telephone, and one was conducted via Skype. Face-to-face interviews took place in a location convenient and comfortable to the interviewees. Specifically, of the eight face to face interviews, only one took place off campus. All others took place in participants’ offices or nearby conference rooms. I began each interview by thanking the participants for their willingness to participate in

my study and reintroduced the purpose of my study. Each participant was also afforded the opportunity to ask questions and express any concerns. Some participants expressed concerns centered on issues of confidentiality. They relayed that their concerns stemmed from the political nature of the transition and ensuing tensions at the College.

Upon receiving permission from the participants, both verbally and through the signed informed consent form, I began recording the interviews. All participants allowed me to record the interviews. The interviews were conducted as two-part interviews. First, I began asking very broad questions related to Ardent's transition. For example, I simply started off by asking participants if they could tell me a little bit about Ardent's transition into a four-year college. Given the semi-structured approach to the interview, I was able to formulate questions based on themes or topics participants drew attention to or considered relevant (Alvesson, 2011). The second part of the interview was intended to focus more specifically on their role and work in relation to the transition. All questions were "issue oriented questions" (Stake, 1995, p. 65). Interview questions were generated based on the five tenets of O'Meara's (2007) framework which helped frame this study. Separate protocols were created for faculty, staff, and administrators. See Appendix D, E, and F for complete interview protocols.

As previously noted all interviews were recoded. All interviews were also transcribed. I personally transcribed 11 of the 16 interviews. In the interest of time, a transcriptionist was hired to assist with transcribing five interviews. Based on instructions from Clemson University's Institutional Review Board they were required to sign a confidentiality agreement. See Appendix G for copy of confidentiality agreement.

Participants. Participants included 10 administrators, 5 faculty members, and 1 staff member. Collectively, participants totaled approximately 85 years of experience/time at Ardent with the average being five years. I elected to carry out semi-structured interviews in an attempt to gather insights and stories from participants, not to impose upon them. As suggested by Stake (1995), “qualitative case study seldom proceeds as a survey with the same questions asked of each respondent; rather, each interviewee is expected to have had unique experiences, special stories to tell” (p. 65).

Potential participants were identified through the college’s online directory which provided names, titles, and email addresses. From the online directory I specifically sought individuals who held administrative positions that were highlighted in the college’s organizational chart, although I would later come to learn that the organizational chart was outdated and under continuous revision. Faculty members were identified through the directory based on the following titles: associate professor, assistant professor, and adjunct faculty. I considered adjunct faculty as potential participants because Ardent is heavily reliant on this group of academic professionals (Kezar & Sam, 2011). I intentionally targeted faculty associated with the baccalaureate degree programs at the College. I also reached out to faculty with assignments in non-baccalaureate degree programs. Staff members within the area of student services were also targeted.

Given some of the concerns expressed regarding confidentiality, I reiterated to participants that in addition to using pseudonyms, specific titles and academic profiles would be further disguised. For instance, someone who served as vice president for a

particular unit/division within the college would be referred to as an executive-level administrator. Furthermore, faculty disciplines, specific programs in which staff members were employed, and specific length of time with the college would not be identified. Demographic information such as gender, race, and ethnicity would also be excluded. Lastly, I confirmed with them that the actual state in which Ardent is located would never be referenced in my work. Given these assurances and my obligations and responsibilities as a researcher, participants were named/labeled utilizing the coding scheme presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Participant Coding Scheme

Category	Code	Examples of Positions	Participants
Executive-level administrator	ELA	organizational level	Jesse, Bobbie, Geri, Sam, Cameron
Mid-level administrator	MLA	departmental level	Angel, Frankie, Taylor, Kai,
Faculty	FAC	associates, assistants, adjuncts	Stevie, Gale, Jordan, Alex, Pat, Jamie
Staff	STF	directors, advisors, coordinators	Logan

As specific titles would not be revealed, I decided that a clear distinction needed to be made between organizational level administrators and departmental level administrators given the differences in their roles and responsibilities. These distinctions, which are highlighted in the literature, were underscored by participants in departmental level administrator positions who throughout their narratives continuously differentiated themselves by making references to the “the administration” or “the administrators.”

Document Collection

Based on my pilot study, document analysis proved beneficial in helping me fill in gaps in the study and generate interview questions. For example, as previously noted, the faculty handbook for one of my pilot study sites provided a copy of the faculty workload agreement which indicated that faculty work should be allocated as follows: 1) teaching, 60-70%; 2) service to the college and community, 10-20%; and 3) academic growth and professional development, 10-20%. As such, during my interviews with administrators, I was able to ask if the workload agreement/percentages assigned to each area had or were expected to change in light of their baccalaureate degree program.

Consequently, for the dissertation, I analyzed multiple documents in efforts to help advance my understanding of Ardent's transition, the context, and contribute to the level of description I could provide the readers. As noted by Stake (2000) "what detail of life researchers are unable to see for themselves they obtain from interviewing people who did see it or by finding documents recording it" (p. 445).

Specifically, I reviewed the following documents: 1) college vision and mission statements; 2) college homepage; 3) college viewbook; 4) job descriptions; 5) faculty handbook; 6) student handbook; 7) course catalogs; 8) class schedules; 9) media reports; 10) college newsletter; 11) Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) institutional profile; 12) strategic plans; and 13) Board of Regents meeting minutes.

In Table 3.2, I highlight the rationale for each document that was analyzed. Furthermore, I list the questions that guided my analysis.

Table 3.2

Rationale and protocol for document analysis

Documents	Code	Objective/Rationale	Guiding Analytical Questions
College vision and mission statements	VMS	evolution of Ardent's vision and mission values, goals, and objectives.	How has Ardent's vision and mission evolved? What are the values, goals, and objectives of the institution?
College homepage	HMPG	updates values, goals, and objectives	What are the values, goals, and objectives of the institution?
College viewbook	CVB	Admission requirements historical context values, goals, and objectives public image	What are the values, goals, and objectives of the institution? How does Ardent want to be perceived by external stakeholders? What is its institutional identity?
Job descriptions	JBD	work expectations preferred qualifications	What are the faculty work expectations? How are faculty evaluated? How and to what extent do expectations differ for faculty in two-year and four-year programs?
Faculty handbook	FHB	policies and practices	What are the faculty work expectations? How are faculty evaluated?
Student handbook	SHB	policies and practices services offered	What opportunities are available to students? What is expected of students?
Course catalogs and class schedules	CCC, CSC	program offerings program termination	What programs have been implemented, expanded, reduced, or terminated? What programs receive the most emphasis/attention?
Media reports	MDR	public image	How is Ardent perceived? What messages are being delivered/and or received?
College Newsletter	CNL	public image values	How is Ardent portrayed? What messages are being delivered?
IPEDS institutional profile	IPEDS	Student enrollment Faculty profile	Have student enrollment patterns changed? Has faculty profile changed?
Strategic Plans	STP	values, goals, and objectives public image	What are the values, goals, and objectives of the institution? What is the direction of the institution? What is the institution trying to achieve?
Board of Regents Meeting Minutes	BMM	updates values, goals, and objectives issues	What are some of the issues facing the college? How is Ardent responding to these issues?

Table 3.3 illustrates the specific areas in O'Meara's framework that each document helped me explore. For example, faculty job descriptions, the faculty

handbook, and board of regents meeting minutes helped illuminate, to some degree, faculty recruitment, roles, and rewards.

Table 3.3
Document analysis alignment with O’Meara’s (2007) framework

Functional Area (O’Meara, 2007)	V&M	HMPG	CVB	JBD	FHB	SHB	CCC	CSC	MDR	CNL	IPEDS	STP	BMM
Student Recruitment & Admissions			X			X	X		X				X
Faculty Recruitment, Roles, & Rewards				X	X								X
Curriculum & Programs							X	X			X		X
Resource Allocation	X										X	X	X
External Relations & Shaping of Institutional Identity	X	X	X						X	X			X

In addition to helping me understand the particularities, complexities, and circumstances of the case (Stake, 1995), the documents helped achieve triangulation (Stake, 1995; Tracy, 2010) and thus establish trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), which are discussed later in this chapter.

Participant Observations

According to Glesne (2005), “the main outcome of participant observation is to understand the research setting, its participants, and their behavior” (p. 51). Accordingly, I conducted participant observations at Ardent College during an entire week before the official start of the fall 2013 semester. My visit to campus was strategically scheduled to meet with administrators and faculty who were interested in a face to face interview. In

addition, several other events scheduled on campus during that week, such as convocation, were of interest to me. Prior to my arrival, I envisioned positioning myself as an observer based on the participant-observation continuum described by Glesne (2005). As an observer, "...the researcher has little to no interaction with those being studied...people do not know they are being observed" (Glesne, 2005, p. 50).

During my observations, however, I found myself at different points of the participant-observation continuum. Specifically, Glesne (2005) highlighted four main points along the continuum: 1) observer; 2) observer as participant; 3) participant as observer; and 4) full participant. In the following subsections, I discuss the participant-observation process in the various contexts and how my observations were recorded.

Fieldnotes. All my observations were documented in a field notebook. I opted to use a field notebook as opposed to other formats, in efforts to be less conspicuous. My fieldnotes were descriptive, analytic, and autobiographical (Glesne, 2005). Descriptive and analytic notes were taken during my actual observations. My notes described the setting and what was happening. I noted additional questions and hunches. My notes also consisted of direct quotes from the speakers at convocation and conversations in passing with members of the college community. Autobiographical notes were taken after I left the campus and reflected on my experience that day. As defined by Glesne (2005), "autobiographical notes are the personal journaling that situate [me], the researcher, within the research process" (p. 60). Consequently, my notes were in both bulleted and narrative form.

Convocation. According to Manning (2000) “campus rituals, traditions, sagas, myths, artifacts, and ceremonies have been researched in an attempt to expand our understanding of faculty, students, and administrators” (p. 1). Convocation ceremonies, in particular, serve to initiate that academic year, and are generally devoted to the welcoming of new college community members, a celebration of achievements, and articulation of organizational goals. To this point, I deemed it important to be present at this public event. During convocation, and more specifically, during the presidential address, I had the opportunity to learn about some of Ardent’s “promise and challenges” as well as the direction of the college and the efforts in place for “overcoming the odds” (fieldnotes, 2013), all topics which are pertinent to this study. The presidential address spoke to questions surrounding Ardent’s ability to remain viable as an independent four-year college.

Prior to my observations, I posed questions noted by Dyson and Genishi (2005) such as, “How will I dress? Where will I sit? “How much should I talk with people [at the event]...?” (p. 51). My goal during Convocation was to be an observer; nevertheless based on the observation continuum outlined by Glesne (2005), I ended up being a participant observer. Prior to my campus visit, “serendipity” (Holt, 2011) afforded me the opportunity to meet a few members of Ardent’s administration at a seminar centered on Minority Serving Institutions. I was scheduled to interview face-to-face these same administrators at Ardent the following month. As such, when I arrived at Convocation, I was immediately recognized and greeted by the administrators, introduced to some of the faculty and staff members nearby, and invited to join them for breakfast, which was the

first item on the agenda. The rest of the attendees learned of my presence at the event during the official welcome as one of the administrators introduced me along with members of the Board of Regents, and new faculty and staff members, as someone who “was studying what [they] are doing at Ardent” (fieldnotes, 2013).

The specific agenda items during Convocation that I was able to observe and/or participate in were: 1) breakfast; 2) presidential address; 3) presentation of faculty awards; 4) presentation of service pins; 5) presentation of staff awards; 6) a faculty speakers’ panel; 7) showcase of new initiatives on campus; 8) lunch; and 9) tour of new facilities.

During breakfast, I had the opportunity to sit at a table and converse with some of the faculty members I was initially introduced to by one of the administrators. Not surprisingly, they asked me what I was studying; I broadly explained my topic of study. Some acknowledged having received my invitation to participate in the study, and began sharing their perspectives on the spot. A couple faculty members highlighted items they felt I needed to focus on and were relevant to my study. When breakfast was over and we were instructed to head into the auditorium, I separated myself and took copious notes on the casual conversations and interactions I just experienced.

During the ceremony, I paid attention and took notes on the points highlighted by the president and other guest speakers, as well as interactions and reactions among those present. When awards were presented, I noted what specifically was being awarded and emphasized by those presenting the awards. For example, when the Faculty of the Year award was presented, the recipient’s achievements were research centered. Recent

scholarly publications were highlighted. Similarly, during the faculty panel, I noted that three of the four faculty members/panelists had doctorates and talked about their research agendas. The fourth faculty member, I would later come to find out was in the process of completing their dissertation. The same observation and notetaking protocol was followed throughout the remainder of the event.

Campus at-large. My observations on the campus at large allowed me to get a general feel of the campus and learn more about the organization. These observations were particularly important because as noted by Stake (2000) researchers should “describe the cases in sufficient descriptive narrative so that readers can vicariously experience these happenings and draw conclusions” (p. 439). As I made my way through the various buildings I noted the flyers on bulletin boards promoting various programs and services on campus. Other artifacts such as posters highlighting student statistics and demographics were also noted. Some colleges/departments had their individual mission and vision statements. During my visit while out in the community, I was also attentive to my surroundings. As such, for example, on my way to campus, I noticed a state road sign signaling the direction to “*Ardent Community* College” [emphasis added], not Ardent College. During this time I also had the opportunity to see interactions between students and faculty and students and student services professionals passing in hallways and at student services offices.

Alignment of Data Collection Methods and Research Questions

In summary, Table 3.4 highlights my different sources of evidence and how they align to help explore my research questions.

Table 3.4

Alignment of Data Collection Methods and Research Questions

	Interviews	Observations	Document Analysis
1. What does the transition from a community college to a regional four-year comprehensive college look like?	X	X	X
2. What does it take to transition from a community college to a regional four-year comprehensive college?	X	X	X
3. How and to what extent has the transition impacted critical stakeholders?	X	X	X

Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred continuously throughout this study. All data sources, including interview transcripts, organizational documents, and fieldnotes were manually coded and analyzed (Saldaña, 2009). First, all data were read through carefully. As I read through the data the first time around I began pre-coding (Saldaña, 2009). Specifically, I took notes in the margins and highlighted words, phrases, and/or sentences that responded to my questions. While O’Meara’s (2007) work provided me with concepts to look for, my meaning making was not constrained or limited by them. During the second reading, I began coding. Data were color coded (Creswell, 2009). This process was structured according to Saldaña’s (2009) code-to-theory model for

qualitative inquiry. Specifically, Saldaña provides this model as a map of the data analysis. See Figure 3.1 for an illustration of this model.

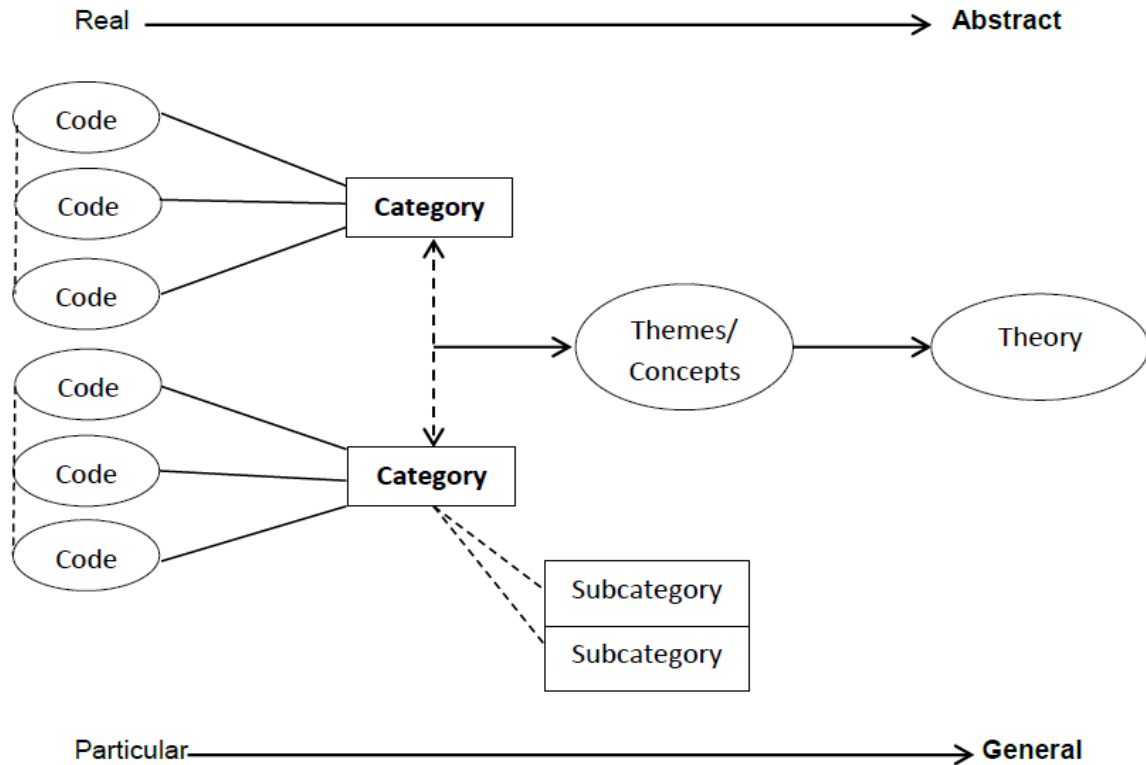


Figure 3.1. Saldaña’s codes-to-theory model for qualitative inquiry.

Following Saldaña’s model, during this process “a theme [was] an *outcome* of coding, categorization, and analytic reflection, not something that [was], in itself, coded...” (p. 13). Thus, from the initial codes, categories were constructed based on items that were related. For example, codes such as “chain of command,” “top heavy,” “hierarchy,” “executive team,” and “new positions” experts, experience, led a category named Growing Administration/Bureaucracy. The codes “deans,” “colleges,” “departments,” “direct reports” and “organizational chart” led to a category which I named Changing Structure. After rethinking through these codes and categories and

revisiting my data, I then created the Organizational Restructuring at Leadership Level theme. Figure 3.2 demonstrates this process. Codes in quotations were exact words used by participants.

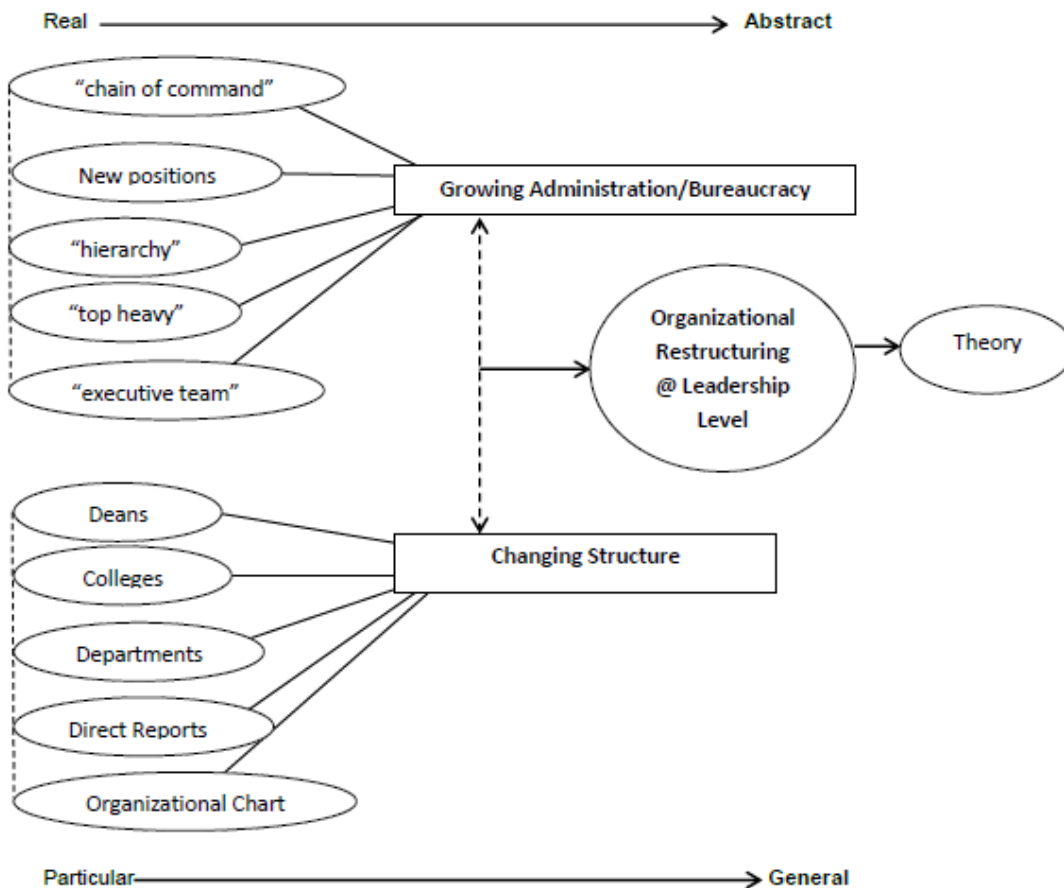


Figure 3.2. Example of utilization of Saldaña’s codes-to-theory model for qualitative inquiry.

Trustworthiness and Transferability

To ensure trustworthiness I employed various strategies. First, I achieved triangulation through the multiple data sources discussed above (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Tracy, 2010). As defined by Creswell and Miller (2000), triangulation is “a

validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study” (p. 126).

Secondly, I was explicit about my subjectivities by maintaining a research journal/audit trail. During the data analysis I worked to monitor my subjectivities so that they did not “skew, distort, construe, and misconstrue” the data (Glesne, 2005, p. 123). To facilitate this process, I sought a critical friend (Gordon, 2006) to critique and provide feedback. As noted by Gordon (2006), “the critical friend concept has the potential to reduce or even remove blind spots...” (p. 5) that stem from subjectivities, previous knowledge or lack of knowledge. Specifically, my critical friend was my dissertation chair whose research agenda/interests are centered on faculty work and careers in striving contexts. As an expert in the field, she has published extensively on this topic.

I also conducted member checking (Creswell, 1998). During this process, I shared interview transcripts with participants via email to provide them the opportunity to confirm the accuracy of the transcription. In total, six participants replied to my request via email. Only two participants provided “minor” changes. For example, one participant replied to my request as follows: “I have made one minor change to the transcript, it's on page 9.” The remaining participants responded with statements such as “this sounds like our conversation” or “it is always disheartening to see your own ramblings but I believe you were faithful to the recording.” One participant confirmed the accuracy of their transcript in person noting the incredible number of times “uh” was used (fieldnotes, 2013).

Lastly, I provided thick description or more specifically, “description that goes beyond the mere or bare reporting of an act (thin description), but describes and probes the intentions, motives, meanings, contexts, situations and circumstances of action” (Denzin, 1989, p. 39). The notes that I logged (audit trail) helped me provide such thick description and furthered contributed to the trustworthiness of this study. The level of description I provided in this study allows the reader to seek resonance, make connections with their own experiences, and ultimately determine transferability (Tracy, 2010). As suggested by Tracy (2010), “*transferability* is achieved when readers feel as though the story of the research overlaps with their own situation and they intuitively transfer the research to their own action” (p. 845). To conclude this chapter, in the following section, I discuss my case selection and provide a description of the setting.

Setting

I first learned about Ardent College during my search for community colleges offering one or more baccalaureate degrees, for one or more years. These were the inclusion criteria established based on my initial research questions and after completion of my pilot study, which I discussed above. Based on my reliance on a list compiled by the Community College Baccalaureate Association, “a nonprofit organization [founded] to promote the development and acceptance of community college baccalaureate degrees as a means of addressing the national problems of student access, demand, and costs; to chronicle further progress in this arena; and to share information and facilitate networking” (Walker, 2005, p. 20), Ardent met these criteria. However, as I perused Ardent’s organizational website for more information, I came to learn that Ardent was no

longer a community college and in fact explicitly aspired to become a “regionally recognized comprehensive university” (DOCA/VMS). The College’s new institutional categorization, aspiration, and Minority Serving Institution designation sparked my interest and prompted several questions. As I came upon instances on the college website and organizational documents that still referred to Ardent College as Ardent Community College, it presented a case I wanted to learn more about and better understand, specifically in relation to its transition into a four-year institution.

In the following section, I describe the setting in greater detail; however, particularities such as the state in which Ardent is located as well as specific years will not be provided in efforts to disguise the institution. Given my beliefs that Ardent, or any other organization, does not operate in a vacuum, I also highlight the broader social, political, and economic context in which Ardent is currently situated.

Ardent College

Ardent College is a former community college located in the Southwestern United States. In the mid-2000s⁶, Ardent College (AC) became the first community college in its state approved to implement one baccalaureate degree program in the field of Education⁷. Shortly thereafter, Ardent was legislatively approved to “offer four-year degrees in any program deemed necessary and appropriate” (DOCA/CCC). Today, Ardent identifies and is classified as a four-year college, offering 14 baccalaureate degrees in disciplines ranging from Fine Arts to Engineering. Nevertheless, based on the Carnegie

⁶ Exact years are not provided in efforts to protect the institution and those who will help inform this study.

⁷ Exact degree not provided in efforts to continuing disguising institution.

Classification system, Ardent's undergraduate instructional program remains Associates Dominant. Although Ardent Community College became Ardent College in the mid-2000s during my interviews in the fall of 2013, participants noted that Ardent was at the starting point of the transition. Taylor, for example, referred to it as "ground zero." Similarly, Jesse stated: "in terms of the evolution of the baccalaureate programs, it's really only started to take hold in the last probably four, three or four years, okay?"

As the only instate public four year post-secondary institution within a 100 mile radius, Ardent serves as a critical access point to higher education for its community. Situated in a historically marginalized region in its state, Ardent serves a culturally rich, yet economically poor and negatively stereotyped community. In addition to being identified as a Minority Serving Institution (Gasman, Baez, & Turner, 2008), Ardent students are likely to be low-income, first-generation, and academically underprepared. Thus, although Ardent is no longer classified as a community college, its student population continues to reflect what Mellow and Heelan (2008) referred to as the "tradition at community colleges" (p. 258).

Ardent College is also located within a larger higher education field that is marked by competition, commercialization, increased demand for accountability, efficiency, and productivity (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Furthermore, the field has been forced to respond to these pressures in light of decreased state support. I end this section by noting that during the time that Ardent began transitioning to a four-year college its state revisited its higher education funding model to underscore outputs rather than inputs. Specifically, instead of providing funding based

on the number of full-time equivalent students enrolled at the beginning of the semester, the state adopted a performance-based funding model.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed my research questions, subjectivities, pilot study, and design of this study. I also presented my data collection methods, data analysis procedures, and strategies employed to ensure trustworthiness. I ended the chapter by discussing the process of my case selection and describing the setting. Grounded in the interpretivist paradigm, as noted above, in this study I specifically sought to explore Ardent's transition from a community college into a four-year comprehensive college. In the following chapter, I describe the themes I constructed based on my multiple data sources.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

...it's not just about waking up one morning and saying okay now we're a four-year school, what does that mean?—Bobbie

The purpose of this study was to explore Ardent College's transition from a small local community college into a regional four-year comprehensive college. The primary research question guiding this study was: What does the transition from a community college into a four-year comprehensive college look like? Based on interviews with faculty, staff, and administrators, document analysis, and fieldnotes from participant observations, the main finding of this study is that Ardent's transition entailed an *organizational cultural shift in efforts to gain legitimacy*. For purposes of this study, legitimacy was defined as "... a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). As suggested by Rusch and Wilbur (2007), "legitimacy is the first concern of any college or university that wants to expand its mission" (p. 302).

Being viewed as a "desirable" or "proper" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574) four-year college was of utmost importance to individuals principally charged with steering Ardent's transition. Moreover, the perceptions of both internal and external stakeholders were equally valued. As noted by Jesse, an executive-level administrator, "to me it was very important to be viewed by our colleagues, our peers, as a four-year institution..."

Overall, Ardent's aims and actions exemplified Morphey and Huisman's (2002) account of legitimacy in practice. According to Morphey and Huisman (2002):

...a college is only a college when those inside and outside the organization view it as a legitimate version of such. As a result, the acquisition of normatively defined practices and structures is more important for the survival of institutional organizations than are practices that enhance the efficiency of their technical processes or the quality of their organizational outputs. (p. 496)

The search for legitimacy leads to the adoption of widely accepted and appropriately regarded rules, practices, procedures, and symbols, all which encompass organizational culture. Although I did not embark on this study examining or considering organizational culture, my participants coupled with other data sources pointed to a necessary, ongoing, and challenging shift in organizational culture to start "transitioning truly from a two-year to a four-year institution" (Jesse/ELA/INT)⁸. Explicitly related to organizational culture in higher education, Tierney (1988) maintained that "an organization's culture is reflected in what is done, how it is done, and who is involved in doing it. It concerns decisions, actions, and communication both on an instrumental and a symbolic level" (p. 3). Tierney (1988) then pointed to six "essential concepts" to be examined when studying campus culture and posed questions to consider related to each concept. Specifically, the concepts advanced by Tierney included: (a) environment; (b)

⁸ All data was tagged using the following system: Participant Pseudonym/Position/Data Source; For position, ELA – executive-level administrator; MLA – mid-level administrator; FAC – faculty; STF – staff; For data source: INT refers to interview and DOC indicates document analysis.

mission; (c) socialization; (d) information; (e) strategy; and (f) leadership (p. 8). See Table 4.1 for Tierney’s framework of organizational culture.

Table 4.1

Tierney’s (1988) “A Framework of Organizational Culture”

Environment	How does the organization define its environment? What is the attitude toward the environment? (Hostility? Friendship?)
Mission	How is it defined? How is it articulated? Is it used as a basis for decisions? How much agreement is there?
Socialization	How do new members become socialized? How is it articulated? What do we need to know to survive/excel in this organization?
Information	What constitutes information? Who has it? How is it disseminated?
Strategy	How are decisions arrived at? Which strategy is used? Who makes decisions? What is the penalty for bad decisions?
Leadership	What does the organization expect from its leaders? Who are the leaders? Are there formal and informal leaders?

Based on my analysis of data, I found Tierney’s (1988) conception of culture most suitable to help me depict Ardent’s cultural shift. In this work, I argue that the six elements of culture within Ardent were each influenced by *tightening operations* and *formalizing operations*. Stated differently, these two processes enabled the organizational cultural shift taking place as Ardent moved from a community college into a baccalaureate-degree granting institution. To understand the process of tightening

operations, one might imagine a metaphorical reference to contraction: not only did Ardent narrow and/or halt certain operations, but it also strategically enhanced and/or developed other areas, whatever action it took, though, it was clear that concerns of legitimacy had played into the decision. On the other hand, formalizing operations specifically referred to the establishment and enactment of normatively defined policies, practices, and procedures in the field of higher education at large.

In the following subsections, I illustrate how both of these processes—tightening and formalizing—played out in different ways and ultimately assisted Ardent in its quest for legitimacy. I first broach Ardent’s organizational mission as it not only guided and impacted the additional concepts stressed by Tierney, but is a central focus of this study.

Tightening Ardent’s Organizational Mission

“Mission statements are ubiquitous in higher education. Accreditation agencies demand them, strategic planning is predicated on their formulation, and virtually every college and university has one available for review” (Morphew & Hartley, 2006, p. 456). Serving both directive and legitimating purposes, mission statements are frequently revisited and rewritten (Morphew & Hartley, 2006). Consequently, it is no surprise that from the time Ardent was approved to offer its first baccalaureate degree in the mid-2000s to today, the College’s mission and vision have gone through various iterations. In this section, I highlight these multiple modifications and demonstrate how Ardent’s mission and vision, which were discussed interchangeably by my participants, were tightened in efforts to position/establish it as a legitimate four-year college.

As previously noted, Ardent Community College became Ardent College in the mid-2000s, yet during my interviews in the fall of 2013, participants held that Ardent was at the starting point of the transition. For example, Taylor (MLA) referred to it as “ground zero.” Similarly, Jesse (ELA) maintained “...the evolution of the baccalaureate programs really only started to take hold in the last probably four, three or four years.” The delay in Ardent’s transition seemed to be particularly linked to its desires and efforts to carry a “dual mission” (Pat/FAC/INT). Alex (FAC) explained Ardent’s dual mission dilemma as follows:

...I know at first when the college was thinking of moving into a four-year college from a community college there was thought that initially the institution could do both, that the institution could continue to have a community college mission and a four-year college mission and that was the vision from the previous administration who initiated the move, but I think that the realization that that was just going to be too hard finally manifested itself and the shift to a four-year college, the full commitment to a four-year college has been made, kind of leaving the whole idea of being both a four-year college and a community college, that idea has kind of wavered because I think the administration found that it was just going to be too hard to do that.

The “full-commitment” referenced by Alex (FAC), necessitated tightening Ardent’s mission. As a community college, Ardent’s mission and the mindset of individuals associated with the College was firmly grounded in the notion of being “all

things to all people”—an adage historically used to characterize the community college (Dougherty, 1994). In line with the basic commitments the American Association of Community Colleges (n.d.) suggested most community college missions have, Ardent was an open access, community-based, teaching centered organization offering wide-ranging educational programs and devoted to lifelong learning.

As noted by Taylor (MLA), “in the past [at ACC] you had lifelong learning students... it was like everyone come on, let’s get an education, whether you’re getting a degree or not!” Similarly, according to Alex (FAC), “community members took [courses] at \$30 a credit hour, you know they just took them to maybe learn more about weaving, or to learn more about math or computer science, they [didn’t] want to be in a degree program, they just wanted to take a class here and there.” Jesse (ELA) discussed this similar notion in relation to the College’s workforce development charge:

people clearly saw their role here as to help folks regardless of who came to us to get them through a class. There was no real discussion about putting them on a path for associates, getting an associate degree and then a bachelor’s degree...we were just offering classes and the mindset was very strongly embedded in the two-year community college mission that [said state] has and that is if you’re a two-year institution you’re really here to provide for workforce development, that is the purpose, one of the major purposes of community colleges here in [said state], and that was very very much the mindset... a lot of it really is driven by short classes, certificates, and of course some associate degrees...

ACC's widely adopted notion of being "all things to all people" is more extensively highlighted in the following quote as Jesse discussed the College's transition:

...a lot of the folks here and this is just common, they viewed our role as we're here to serve the community, and I'm not going to argue that, I think we are, but it was really an open door to anyone and everyone, just using the facility from the community as they wished and we really put ourselves, it was interesting, in the backseat when it came to even the use of our facilities for our own educational programs.... I was saying "guys if we need educational space, why do we lease it out? or not even lease it out...why do we take second sail, I don't understand that," to the community and the response was "because we're here to serve the community."

Until recently, the college continued to espouse a commitment to its community college mission. In fact, the goal to maintain the community college mission was explicitly noted in Ardent's vision statements from 2007-2012. In catalog years 2007-2009 Ardent's vision stated:

By the year 2010, [Ardent] will have six distinct colleges that each offer at least one baccalaureate degree and will be a regionally recognized college that will excel and expand in quality education *while maintaining the community college mission* [emphasis added].

From 2009-2012, Ardent's vision statement expanded to note desires to become a university. This idea was discussed by some participants as stepping into "bigger shoes"

(Jesse/ELA/INT) or “stepping up” (Alex/FAC/INT), a vision that permeates the field of higher education. As suggested by Toma (2012):

Despite the impressive diversity of institution types, the relative autonomy of individual universities and colleges, and the vast differences in respective resources available to them, higher education institutions in the United States tend to arrive at a common aspiration. They are eerily similar in vision, in fact, seemingly obsessed with ‘moving to the next level.’ Their common goal is legitimacy through enhanced prestige—and with it greater access to resources.... (p. 118)

Similar to faculty and administrators in Rusch and Wilbur’s (2007) work, members of Ardent knew “whom they wanted to ‘be like’” (p. 312). Although my study was focused on Ardent College, I learned about several of the surrounding four-year colleges and universities as participants often referenced or compared themselves to them. The process of comparing one’s status, processes, or performance is common practice among institutions seeking legitimacy (Toma, 2012). According to Toma (2012), “institutions are also active in benchmarking. In formulating strategy, they are typically able to readily identify their peer institutions, as well as the “aspirational ones they seek to emulate” (p. 141). For example, when asked “why a university?” Sam (ELA) replied:

And the question is, “Why not?” Really. I mean, you look at [said university], [said university], [said university], they’re all regional comprehensives. Why not Ardent?

Two of the universities noted by Sam in the statement above were also cited by Alex (FAC) who maintained that:

... [Ardent] should already be as big as other four-year colleges in our state and not the big level 1 research institutions, not like [said university] or [said university], but this college should be the size of [said university] in [said location], it should be like [said university] in [said location], [said university] in [said location], but it's not.

Despite aspirations to become a university, however, Ardent's vision continued to focus on "maintaining the community college mission," Specifically, the College's vision read as follows:

By the year 2015, [Ardent] will be a regionally recognized comprehensive university creating a culture of quality student learning that addresses student and employee needs *while maintaining the community college mission* [emphasis added].

Validating what may be viewed as "rhetorical pyrotechnics—pretty to look at perhaps, but of little structural consequence" (Morphew & Hartley, 2006, p. 456), participants drew attention to efforts by the College to maintain both a community college mission and four-year college mission, such as the implementation of a two-tier tuition rate and increased focus on developmental education.

In 2013, however, Ardent's new mission and vision, which were formally announced during the Presidential Address at Convocation (fieldnotes, 2013), no longer articulated a community college mission/vision. Pertaining to Ardent's new vision and

mission statements, one participant noted that Ardent would no longer claim a dual mission because it “gets confusing.” As our conversation continued, it became apparent that it was not simply about it being “confusing,” but rather about *being* confused for a community college—a recurrent issue faced by Ardent (fieldnotes, 2013).

While narrowing/tightening its vision to omit its long held community college mission, Ardent simultaneously expanded its focus from being regionally recognized to achieving national recognition. Unremitting attempts by local regional comprehensive and/or teaching colleges to achieve national recognition have been widely documented in the literature (Gonzales, 2012, 2013; O’Meara, 2007; O’Meara & Bloomgarden, 2011). Attempts to reposition themselves, however, have resulted in various consequences including, but not limited to the elimination of key programs that serve local communities as well as faculty “de-contextualizing” (Gonzales, 2012, p. 349) their work to reach a wider audience. See Table 4.2 for complete evolution of Ardent’s mission and vision statements retrieved from course catalogs.

Unsurprisingly, this decision was difficult and not entirely well received by various stakeholders. In fact, the overall decision to become a four-year college was met with some resistance. As observed on campus, highlighted in Board of Regent meeting minutes, and as discussed by participants, there was a lot of “pushback” and “reservations about letting go, you know what the two-year institution used to do and what they used to tell the public their purpose in life was” (Jesse/ELA/INT). Bobbie (ELA) even touched on a “depth of anger.”

Table 4.2

Evolution of Ardent's Mission and Vision Statements

Catalog Year	Mission	Vision
2005-2007	The mission of [Ardent] is to provide open access, affordable, quality educational opportunities in a modern technological environment by providing baccalaureate, associate degree, and certificate programs in liberal arts, career, workforce development, and lifelong learning programs that empower students to excel.	To achieve excellence in preparation of students to excel in the workplace of today and tomorrow.
2007-2008	[Ardent] College provides accessible, affordable, community-based quality learning opportunities that meet the educational, employment and enrichment needs of our culturally diverse region.	By the year 2010, [Ardent] will have six distinct colleges that each offer at least one baccalaureate degree and will be a regionally recognized college that will excel and expand in quality education while maintaining the community college mission.
2008-2009	[Same as 2007-2008 catalog year]	[Same as 2007-2008 catalog year]
2009-2010	[Same as 2007-2008 catalog year]	By the year 2015, [Ardent] will be a regionally recognized comprehensive university creating a culture of quality student learning that addresses student and employee needs while maintaining the community college mission.
2010-2011	[Same as 2007-2008 catalog year]	[Same as 2009-2010 catalog year]
2011-2012	[Same as 2007-2008 catalog year]	[Same as 2009-2010 catalog year]
Web-based Representation of Institutional Mission	The mission of [Ardent] College is to ensure student success by providing access to affordable, community-based learning opportunities that meet the educational, cultural, and economic	Ardent College is a [minority]-serving comprehensive institution that will be recognized nationally for cultural sustainability, quality student learning and developing economically strong communities among diverse

In relation to organizational change Levin (1998) suggested that organizational members can be seen as “preservers of traditions and practices; in other cases, they are viewed as resisters to progress and, in other cases, they are viewed as agents of change” (p. 49). Ardent’s transition engendered each of these three types. Logan (STF) discussed the lack of consensus as follows:

...there was a lot of discussion about a dual mission here at the College, and that was expressed over and over again, there was a lot of controversy, quite frankly, with a lot of the initial conversations that I had with people here for the first time. There were quite a few folks who were very direct about the fact that they did not believe that Ardent should have ever made, attempted the transition, it should have remained a community college, there were others that were advocating very strongly on behalf of the fact that it should be a four-year institution.

Some of the reservations, as explicitly expressed or alluded to by participants, included the potential impact on stakeholders (e.g., students, faculty, community members) and work environment. As noted by Alex (FAC):

one of the biggest challenges I think...has been a cultural shift on campus from a community college to four-year, and when I say a cultural shift, just a mindset of we’re a four-year institution now, for a lot of people that have been teaching here for many years, that was a big change, a big shift in their thinking, and so I think that’s been one of the biggest challenges

for [Ardent]. Hey, we're stepping up to a four-year college, we got to start thinking about what this means, how this affects us as faculty members, how it affects the students, what is this going to do to our associate degree programs, so as far as you know that's been a big challenge, is that general mindset, or that general culture of the workplace of shifting from a community to a four-year program.

The workplace and Ardent's overall environment was evidently impacted as the College worked toward gaining legitimacy. In the following section I discuss the tightening and formalizing of Ardent's environment.

Tightening and Formalizing Ardent's Environment

The progressive refocusing/tightening of Ardent's mission and vision for the goal of becoming a "comprehensive institution that is nationally recognized" (DOCA/HMPG) led to the reshaping of Ardent's environment which was broadly and variably described by participants as "dysfunctional" (Kai/MLA/INT), "loosey-goosey" (Geri/ELA/INT), "disorganized" (Angel/FAC/INT), "behind the times" (Sam/ELA/INT), "relaxed," and "lenient" (fieldnotes, 2013). More poignantly, Bobbie noted "[ACC] was run like a mom-and-pop shop."

Although the term "mom-and-pop shop" generally produces images of a small locally owned establishment that provides services necessary to residents, all the while being unconcerned with competing in the larger market and thus susceptible to displacement (Sanchez-Jankowski, 2008)—all characteristics reminiscent of Ardent Community College—Bobbie used the term "mom-and-pop shop" to describe the lack of

order, structure, prudence, and efficiency within the College. Accordingly, Bobbie noted that “each area needed to be *fixed*.” S/he elaborated as follows:

We didn’t know who our alumni were, you didn’t know who gave....We would find policies on pieces of paper written in hand that nobody had put in the official document, and we’d have four or five, we didn’t know which one was the real one. So, when you have a grievance, how do you handle the grievance? We were [also] out of compliance with the feds with some of our policies.

The terms “fix” and “clean up” were used by different participants in various contexts. Kai (MLA), Cameron (ELA), and Frankie (MLA), for example, pointed to problems surrounding Ardent’s curriculum and program articulation. “Hopefully this year we’ll fix the problem,” Kai concluded. Nonetheless, these terms were most frequently cited in relation to Ardent’s fiscal health. Jesse (ELA) concentrated on Ardent’s previous threat of state takeover and “fiscal watch” status. Of this Jesse noted:

...I was also able to get them to give us an opportunity to clean this up and I told them it’s not going to be a 12 months project, I said we’re looking at probably anywhere from 18-24 months, maybe even close to 2.5 years, to fix these things because these are issues you don’t fix overnight and they didn’t get created overnight.

As Ardent strived to be “all things to all people,” members of the community as well as non-profits and for-profit entities were “...just allowed to have essentially free reign of this institution” (Jesse/INT). Oftentimes, Jesse asserted, this meant “taking

monies out of our pockets to try to accommodate these [individuals].” Due to the lack of checks and balances, Jesse noted that monies were also used to support auxiliaries and programs that were more like faculty “hobbies” or programs based on topics that were personally “really liked.” The lack of checks and balances was also attributed to the loss of “two very large grants” (Geri/ELA/INT).

Ardent’s “mom-and-pop” shop environment was further underscored by participants who noted a lack of planning and ignoring of issues related to Ardent’s transition. As such, according to Jesse, “when they transitioned from the two-year to the four-year institution well of course everybody was kind of scratching their head and kind of scrambling to see what needed to be done to start really stepping into those shoes.”

Sam explained the transition as follows:

It wasn’t well planned. OK? That was the biggest issue. I think we said, “OK, we’re offering baccalaureate degrees.”.... We didn’t look at expanding. The initial award for us to offer baccalaureates, the legislation for us to offer baccalaureate degrees was for [said program], uniquely, and at that time we had policies in place that were primarily geared for the community college. And even those policies were, I don’t think, keeping in step with the changing educational [landscape].

Similarly Bobbie noted:

...there wasn’t a strong transition plan in place and you need that. And the resources were nominal, at best, and they hadn’t thought about policies that apply to two-year faculty, how would those apply to the four-year

faculty... there were some things that had been done, but a lot of it is what I would consider patchwork and not a real plan.

Bobbie continued and particularly drew attention to the lack of financial awareness and planning going into this transition. S/he shared as follows:

I read some memo, I can't remember, it said Ardent will not need any new dollars to implement the baccalaureate degree. That was naive because when you move to baccalaureate programing, you need to make sure, [for example], that you have labs in place.

The lack of financial planning or foreshadowing was also noted by Cameron as s/he offered recommendations for community colleges considering transitioning into a four-year college in light of the CCB:

...don't rush into it without really really taking the time to do the research, do the homework, because I think that's what happened here. We didn't look past the fact that we were going to be offering four-year programs. There was just so much excitement about the fact that we were going to offer four-year programs that nobody decided to look down the road and say "hey, what's going to happen in five years with these programs? What's going to happen in ten years with these programs? How much revenue do we need to have to continue to or even to offer student services?"

In response to the College's "mom-and-pop" shop environment, which inevitably led to conversations regarding Ardent's financial instability, Ardent's leadership invested

in the development of various infrastructures including: (a) financial infrastructure, and (b) grant and research infrastructure. Coupled together both forms of infrastructure helped bring some form of order to Ardent's environment. Moreover, given that financial stability and financial resources are widely accepted indicators of excellence (Shattock, 2010), the infrastructures assisted in Ardent's pursuit of legitimacy.

For purposes of this study, I borrow the International Finance Corporation's (IFC) definition of financial infrastructure. According to the International Finance Corporation (IFC), World Bank Group:

Financial infrastructure is the set of institutions that enable effective operation of financial intermediaries. This includes such elements as payment systems, credit information bureaus and collateral registries. More broadly, financial infrastructure encompasses the existing legal and regulatory framework for financial sector operations. (IFC, n.d., para. 1)

Grant and research infrastructure was centered on generating funding for the College. As stressed by Bobbie (ELA), "you can have all the vision in the world, but if you don't have a strong infrastructure, the vision won't go anywhere." I discuss each of these developments below.

Financial infrastructure. Ardent's institutional "fiscal watch" status declared by the state's higher education coordinating board, came shortly after Ardent became a four-year college. According to Jesse, "[Ardent] was having some very difficult times financially and they had a lot of issues that had essentially been ignored in their transition and it caught up to them." As such, the focus of executive-level administrators was

getting “finances turned around” (INT/Jesse). Efforts to improve Ardent’s financial situation involved creating a financial department, investing in administration and administrative support, and initiating a “recovery plan” (DOC/HMPG). Jesse explained this process at length:

So the initial resources that we started out the gate, were number one, let’s get finances turned around so we invested in the financial department. It resulted in us needing to increase our resources in there by five positions. They were so grossly understaffed. There was no way they could keep up with the work and they proved that. You don’t get behind on that many audits with ample resources, they had no resources....We didn’t have a VP of Finance, formally, but we kind of did here, they created that position more as a formal position, you know it was people with different titles that kind of might have been viewed as that role...

Ardent’s “recovery plan” or as referred to by Jesse in our interview “expenditure reduction plan” was explained as follows:

...we had many programs here at [Ardent] that drained and really used resources that we could have been using in the classroom, we had a number, a large number of auxiliaries here that I’ve now either done away with or we’ve tightened them up so much, because they were taking part of the state appropriations to run their activities, and one of the things I made very clear to these programs, if you’re an auxiliary you have to live within the dollars you bring in, it’s like a business. You have no business

dipping into state appropriations that we need for all the other academic activities or administrative activities because a small portion of that goes to that.

Examples provided by Jesse included the bookstore and some academic programs:

One example would be the bookstore, right, most institutions have a bookstore, and if they brought in \$100, they were spending \$120, but in our case it was thousands of dollars, tens of thousands of dollars, we had some of the academic programs, one in particular, when I talk about the pushback, who had created three auxiliary programs under [her/his] purview and all three of them were losing to the tune of \$100,000 a year, well that's not chump change, that's *a lot* of money.

To date, Ardent's investment in financial infrastructure has proved beneficial in some aspects. In addition to no longer being required to submit "monthly fiscal watch reports," towards the end of my case study, the state's higher education board, acknowledged Ardent's progress "toward improving fiscal controls" in decisions to approve its operating budget (DOC/HMPG). Nevertheless, these investments have received much criticism. Jesse explained as follows:

...so what [said executive-level administrator] really did in that first two years was get the resources to get our finances in order because that was critical and then get the [financial] administrative structure in place, which of course [s/he] got a lot of criticism for because you know there's folks in the hallways that are going to say s/he's spending all this money on

administration, but the long and short of it is if you do not have the proper infrastructure in place, administratively, you're going to have problems and that's essentially what [s/he] was trying to make sure we got in place. Grants and research infrastructure was also viewed as "proper" to support Ardent's transition.

Grants and research infrastructure. As state support for higher education continues to decline, grant-getting has become a prominent organizational target in higher education (Gonzales, 2012, 2013, 2014; O'Meara, 2007; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). In fact, the push to secure external grant dollars, has impacted the nature of faculty work (Gardner, 2012, 2013; Gonzales & Martinez, 2013; Gonzales, Martinez, & Ordu, 2013; O'Meara, 2007). Additionally, the attention placed on grant-getting has led to the (re)channeling of resources to grant-related infrastructure (Morphew & Baker, 2004). As in the field of higher education at large, grants are becoming increasingly important at Ardent.

Ardent's financial standing was a constant topic of conversation as participants shared their views and experiences related to Ardent's transition. When discussing Ardent's financial standing, Bobbie suggested "there needs to be three streams [of funding], your state monies, grants, and then private donations." Following this line of thinking, after devoting resources to financial infrastructures, Ardent transitioned its efforts to institutional advancement. Of this Jesse noted:

"...then we focused on the administrative infrastructure and that issue really related to we needed to create an advancement position, a VP for

advancement and someone to oversee all the grants and we've changed a lot of the structure since we got here.”

The focus on institutional advancement led the development of a grants office. Geri spoke of this investment as follows:

So we developed the grants office, we started with developing the position of the grants manager who would essentially be the clearinghouse, right, for all of the sub-awards coming in and for all of the information going out. So, we created that grants manager position. It started off being funded by a number of federal grants, but then the institution committed to funding it out of its budget, and then after we created the grants writer position so that we actually had a person who is committed to writing grants for the institution or at least taking the lead because these really rely on the expertise of the faculty if they are research specific, but somebody who had the technical expertise to align what they wanted to do with what these agencies were looking for. So, is it a grants office? It is, it's a two-person grants office, but they are responsible for the pre-post award services.

The increasing importance placed on grants at Ardent, is underscored by the institutionalization of costs associated with the management of grants. To date, Ardent has been successful in grant-getting. Ardent faculty members have been active writers and recipients of research-related grants from notable funders. Additionally, Ardent has

received funding from Title III and Title V. As noted by Sam, “I think we’ve been really fortunate in the past with grants because we do have a target demographic, right?”

Sam’s comment was fixed on Ardent’s minority student population, which is now explicitly acknowledged in Ardent’s new mission statement, and I would argue strategically acknowledged in efforts to position the College for funding allocated towards Minority Serving Institutions (Hurtado & Ruiz, 2012; Contreras, Malcolm, & Bensimon, 2008). As suggested by Morpew (2002), “mission statements are an example of higher education institutions’ attempts to secure important resources” (p. 212).

In addition to receiving grants, Ardent has regrettably lost grants. During our interview, Geri revealed that Ardent previously “lost two very large grants.” According to Jesse, they were not managed well:

...we had individuals here who had taken on grants, they’ve not managed them well, because we had some major issues with the fed and our auditors with the way we managed grants when I first got here, people that really used those as kind of its their back pocket resource and it really was managed poorly and in some cases they use it just to get increases in salary, we’ve implemented salary schedule now and you know we have certain things that we’re not going to do, just because you have a grant or you managed to bag a grant, the ground rules have changed quite a bit here...

Consequently, much emphasis was placed on policy implementation. Geri shared as follows:

We've also developed policies for that as well. We've adopted a robust set of policies for grants management, everything from time and effort reporting to how faculty are paid on grants, to you know everything in between really, what we spend, how we track our budget and this year we got a little cleaner and we're even implementing procedures for who we move through hiring grant funded positions and how we track our budget and expenditures, so that's there is kind of a checks and balance between us and the finance department. So, we're getting even cleaner with that.

To keep faculty and staff members abreast of these policies and practices a workshop focused on grants and special projects was held in conjunction with Convocation (fieldnotes, 2013).

Although grants are not currently an element of the tenure and promotion process, but expected to soon be, faculty are "encouraged" (INT/Sam) to work on securing grants. The importance placed on grants in relation to faculty is accentuated in the following statement by Jesse:

I'm not overseeing the academic side of the house, but that doesn't mean that I'm not interested in how our investment is being used and if they need additional resources, talk to me so I can see what I can do to help you out, especially with someone that's a producer, we want to make sure that their programs are successful, that doesn't mean that someone that's not a

producer isn't going to get things that they need, but I'm certainly going to have a lot more reservations about investing a dollar in someone that does nothing with it or doesn't produce on grants or doesn't produce on the things they are charged with, they're not going to get the same level of treatment and I'm being very honest about that.

As federal grants are more readily available in certain disciplines, the push for grants has created tensions at the College as discussed by Sam:

The sciences just have to do a little bit of effort and get funded. They get funded for equipment. They get funded for supplies, they get funded for professional development, and it creates this... "They're special [mentality]," right? And it's not really that the administration is favoring that...it's easier to get those, right? To get a humanities grant, you have to work really hard. The money is less, and then when you develop these things, they usually have a term life and it's harder to continue, because it's more, I don't know, there is a distinct difference. I don't know how else to say it. So, we have to find a way to encourage, particularly in the humanities, I think, we need to start finding a way to get more money because we're not going to get it from the state anytime soon. We have to rely on these external grants and we have to do it so that people will say, "OK, this is going to help us long term." We have some outstanding people in [Arts and Sciences] both of those areas and right now we have to find a way to provide some support.

As such, the College has made attempts to foster research through internal grants; however, this initiative was suspended due to the very issue it was trying to remediate—resource deficiency. Sam explained this situation in detail:

Last year, we did something very interesting. We actually created a professional development fund and we created an institutional directed research fund, so we had these pockets, not a whole lot of money, a lot for us. I think there's about 100K in each case, and we started to develop this process to give out awards for research and for publications and to do travel to enhance your skills, and unfortunately that came to a grinding halt...we talked about this to say, "This will help," and unfortunately we thought we had more money than we did. This year, we got funded, not enough, so those programs have been put out in a parking lot now and there's no money. So, in order to do research or professional development, we have to go to the grants and, again, I'm sorry, but the science has the money.

Overall, the development of financial infrastructures and grant and research infrastructures at Ardent was intended to bring order to the College's environment, but more importantly to help gain legitimacy. For example, accreditation, a widely accepted normative process in higher education that advances a narrow view of quality and excellence (Rusch & Wilbur, 2007), is predicated on financial stability (Eaton, 2012). As suggested by Eaton (2012):

Accreditation is the primary means by which colleges, universities and programs assure quality to students and the public. Accredited status is a signal to students and the public that an institution or program meets at least threshold standards for, e.g., its faculty, curriculum, student services and libraries. Accredited status is conveyed only if institutions and programs provide evidence of fiscal stability. (p. 2)

In the following section, I present how Ardent's strategy has been impacted by the desire to be viewed as a legitimate four-year college.

Tightening and Formalizing Ardent's Strategy

As a community college, Ardent's strategy was driven by its "open door to anyone and everyone" (Jesse/INT) and efforts to "try to be everything to everyone" (Geri/INT). Today, however, as Ardent no longer espouses a community college or dual mission, decisions at Ardent are arrived at by placing the acquisition of cultural resources (e.g., legitimacy) and financial resources at the fore. Ardent's new strategy is evident in its approach to: (a) curriculum and programs; (b) student recruitment and retention; (c) and tuition and fees. In the following subsections, I discuss how each of these operations have been tightened and formalized, fundamentally altering what was done and how it was done at Ardent Community College and prior to its "full commitment" to become a four-year college.

Curriculum and Programs

Since the implementation of baccalaureate degrees and transition into a four-year college, Ardent has continually revisited its curriculum and programs. These

considerations, for example, have led to the expansion of baccalaureate degree offerings at “the expense of some of the two-year programs” (Bobbie/HLA/INT), negatively impacting both students and faculty. Specifically, the termination of vocational and two-year programs has led to the dismissal of adjunct faculty, Ardent’s primary workforce. Additionally, some students have been displaced. Alex (FAC) illustrated this scenario as follows:

...some folks lost their jobs because their associate degree programs got dropped, some students who were pursuing certain degrees during the transition, their degree program got dropped, I think from what I heard the administration tried cycle through those students who in the transition were pursuing degrees in those programs that were getting dropped, I think they tried their best to try to graduate those students through, but I did hear of some students who had to go somewhere else because of the big change, and more specifically because of their degree programs no longer existing.

Terminating two-year degree programs and adjunct faculty contracts while developing four-year degree programs and hiring faculty for those programs, exemplify the tightening of operations at Ardent.

Ardent’s decisions regarding curriculum and programs are markedly signaling the College’s goals, strategy, and direction as a post-secondary organization. As suggested by Gumport and Pusser (1999), “as institutions reallocate resources and eliminate some of the functions they have traditionally provided, they make choices about what the future

priorities of universities should be” (Gumport & Pusser, 1999, p. 153). The following statement by Geri (ELA) supports this notion:

...it’s good to try to be everything to everyone and offer a program because there are four or five students in the [said location] who want to take it, but how do we strategically develop our programs? We can’t be afraid to backpedal a little bit, if it will help us in the long run. There’s nothing wrong with saying we have this program here, we were committed to it, we put everything into it and it didn’t work, we need to take a step back for a minute and refocus our efforts and our resources into these others. But we haven’t had those discussions around our four-year programs; we have with our two-year programs.

Although Geri maintained that such discussions and decisions had not yet been made in terms of four-year degree programs, Angel noted otherwise in her/his program. Specifically, Angel discussed the termination of one of its three bachelor degrees due to low enrollment. This revelation was supported through a review of Ardent’s course catalogs.

Less attention to pre-existing programs is a common practice of academic drift/mission creep and striving (Morphew & Huisman, 2002; O’Meara, 2007). However, as decisions centered on programmatic offerings at Ardent were also financially based, not all vocational and/or career tech programs were neglected and/or devalued. In fact, some vocational/career tech programs held more value than some of Ardent’s baccalaureate degree programs. For example, although the implementation of

baccalaureate degree programs have contributed to the loss of resources for the College in terms of student enrollment in part due to program termination and tuition increases, when asked if the baccalaureate degrees could help Ardent recover from its financial challenges, Geri confidently replied “there’s no question about it, only in the context of retaining and graduating students in those programs, that’s key.” As Geri explained the State’s funding formula which is now performance based, s/he noted the advantage of some career/tech programs over four-year degree programs based on return on investment:

There’s a matrix that the state uses.... [STEM] is where you have the most money. So anytime you have a student retained in [liberal arts or humanities], they may be worth \$239, whereas if you have one in [STEM] they might be \$765 or something like that...So our [STEM] programs and even some of our [career and technical education] programs are somewhere over here [Geri points to top tier of funding diagram drawn on whiteboard]...So, yes, they can help us if we increase our retention, specifically in these area, they’ll give us the return that we need to develop the others. But we need to structure ourselves like that as a budget, we need to know, we need to understand what each program costs, what it generates.

As noted earlier, decisions surrounding Ardent’s curriculum and programs are based on generation of both fiscal and cultural resources (e.g., legitimacy, prestige). Case in point, although during our conversation Geri noted the small return from the “arts,”

Ardent continues to foster its bachelor's degree in the Fine Arts. In fact, despite its low return the Fine Arts bachelor's degree program, among others, is more "well-developed" (Sam/ELA/INT) than Ardent's first baccalaureate degree program which was approved on the basis of community needs. In essence, a Fine Arts degree helps Ardent further distinguish itself from a community college as Fine Arts degrees are less common at the community college level (Schuyler, 1999; Shull, 2010).

In many respects, Ardent's decisions in terms of curriculum and programs parallel the actions of other striving colleges universities (O'Meara, 2007). For example, as Ardent plans to add additional baccalaureate degree programs, there is also increasing emphasis on graduate programs. In fact, graduate programs were part of the initial goals and conversations as Ardent transitioned to a four-year college. Although the prestige attached to master's degrees is what tends to be most attractive to drifters, creepers, or strivers, Ardent also embraced the financial incentives. Angel discussed at length the push towards offering graduate level programming, faculty "opposition," and current status of graduate education at Ardent as follows:

...the Dean [of said College] and the President of the College back then, they were pushing really, really, hard to move quickly to start offering masters programs. The reason for that is that back then the funding formula for universities and colleges in [said state] was based on enrollment, okay. It was not outcome based... so it was an economic incentive... for a lower division class in [said discipline] we used to get \$113 per credit hour... Well, one credit of a graduate level class in [said

discipline] back then was paying \$1400, \$1450, so you can see that's a difference by a factor of 12...but there was a lot of opposition from the faculty senate to move towards masters programs, the faculty senate was opposed because they said that there was no money to move forward and that this was a very quick movement, we were just transitioning to a four-year institution and then we were starting now to build master programs.

Given the opposition cited by Angel, the master's program approved by the state did not come to fruition. However, based on a federal grant that Ardent was interested in securing which required that the College offer some level of post-baccalaureate education, it moved forward with developing a post-baccalaureate certificate. According to Angel, "we put this post-baccalaureate certificate that basically was a subset of the courses that we were proposing for the master's program, so we took from the master program that we proposed a year before, we took 15 credits and we created this post-baccalaureate certificate."

Ardent successfully secured the grant, which Angel maintained has benefitted undergraduate students at the College. Of this Angel noted:

So, the post-baccalaureate certificate even though we had to increase the teaching load of some of our faculty on the one hand, actually the teaching load was never increased, it was refocused, it was *refocused*, some of our faculty started teaching graduate classes, but then on the other hand because of the money that we got for the post-baccalaureate certificate we were able to expand our undergraduate program. The reason is that many

of the classes that we offer at the graduate level are related with some 400 level classes, upper division classes, so at the same time that we are teaching a graduate level course, we have undergraduate students taking the same class, obviously the deliverables are different okay, but you know we are killing two birds with the same stone. And the other is that the labs we are using at the graduate program level, they can also be used at the undergraduate level so through this program we were able to bring state-of-the-art technology to our undergraduate programs as well, okay.

The state-of-the-art technology acknowledged by Angel has enabled Ardent to fulfill some of the requirements outlined by a discipline based accrediting body the College is intently pursuing.

Program curricula have also been developed by guiding principles put forward by highly regarded, legitimate associations. For example, in the following quote, Stevie (FAC) noted improvements made to her/his program for the purpose of accreditation. Specifically, the improvements were based on “guidelines by well-respected institutions.” According to Stevie (FAC):

What was needed back at that time was to put a solid program in place. It was really fragile and [there was] a lot to improve... so, what I did is I started reading documents online and guidelines because there are some guidelines by well-respected institutions. [Said association] is the institution for us. So, I read and I found that there were areas in [our] program that were not covered. Fundamental areas, so what needed to be

done back at that time was put on a program, a good program in place, if we wanted to be serious and if we wanted to be accredited.

Similarly, one of Ardent's program website states the following:

Ardent's [said] program is a unique and innovative curriculum based on [said expert's] Theory of [said practice]...

Although Ardent currently only continues to offer one post-baccalaureate certificate, faculty and administrators continue to express goals to expand post-baccalaureate degree options. In addition to adding graduate programs, similar to striving colleges and universities, Ardent has placed emphasis on preparing students for graduate school and rigor. Consider the following statement by Gale (FAC):

I feel that now that it's become a four-year institution, the focus of the departments seems a little bit [pause], like the goals and the visions are broader and are bigger, the visions are bigger, for each department. For example, in my department, there's a lot more emphasis being put on training students in research, where for an associate's degree it's pretty much like, train students to get a job and have an associate's degree and get a job as a certified technician. Where now we're in a four-year degree the department is pushing for scientific research to try and get students a bachelor's in the hope to get them a better job or to get them into graduate school.

The emphasis on graduate school is further emphasized by the curriculum options available to students in one of Ardent's four-year degree programs. In addition to

focusing on preparing students for graduate school, students face increased expectations.

Kai (MLA) explained as follows:

...the amount of work required for classes has just gone up, the bar that people set you know has gone up...I'm observing that my own standards have changed, I've asked more of students, probably every year I've been here I've asked a little bit more of students. And that's in terms of the number of pages read for each class, the difficulty of the readings. We do some extremely difficult readings. I compare our readings to almost any department at [said top-tier university]...

Jordan (FAC) also discussed increased expectations on students as a result of Ardent now being a four-year college:

I want to see my students get their thinking hat on, put the skull sweat to work, you know. If I had to estimate, I think that as time progresses, it's going to be more and more important that we make classes more competitive, if that makes sense....

Rigor was also emphasized by Frankie (MLA) as s/he discussed personal work responsibilities:

...student advisement, scheduling of courses to ensure that courses are available to students so they can graduate in a timely manner, evaluating the rigor of curriculum and the applicability to the field in which they are entering, making sure that our content is aligned with the latest and most up to date as well as inspiring them to do graduate research, making sure

that all the courses are taught by qualified individuals, ensuring the resources are available to ensure strong program.

Articulation agreements. While some of Ardent's four-year degree programs may be strong and legitimated, the College is still facing critical issues surrounding the curriculum. As noted by Cameron (HLA):

Curriculum issues were huge, and they still are, actually I think it's been about six years now since they've been a four-year institution, baccalaureate granting institutions, but there's still I hear and come across situations where we are still trying to work the bugs out. You know sometimes we're learning as a student runs into a roadblock or something that's impeding their progress, and we are learning and trying to fix that as we go, because we had never experienced that or had to deal with those issues before.

Specifically, participants pointed to a major oversight during the creation of its baccalaureate degree programs. Ardent's poor planning in terms of the implementation of baccalaureate degree programs is strongly noted in the lack of course articulation between its very own two-year and four-year degree programs. Although formalized articulation agreements have become common practice between community colleges and four-year colleges and universities (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Townsend & Wilson, 2006), and in some cases required by state policy (Anderson, Sun, & Alfonso, 2006; Ignash & Townsend, 2000; Roksa & Keith, 2008), course-by-course articulation was overlooked as Ardent developed its baccalaureate degree programs. The lack of articulation was often

highlighted when participants were asked about some of the challenges faced by Ardent in light of the transition. Frankie (MLA) expressed concerns as follows:

...it may not have been the initial vision, to ensure that the two-year programs align and articulate to the baccalaureate degree, so its assuring that when students are taking their certificates and their associates, that will be credentials, that they are stackable, that they are able to go easily into the baccalaureate degree, and the student is served the long way, so that they are not having to take the same type of math class, but actually growing in their ability to do that. So, they take a Math [101], it's the same Math [101] as if they were in the baccalaureate program. It sounds somewhat of a no brainer, but we just want to make sure that if they are taking [said course], even though it might be at the 200 level, I always encourage associate degree students to take the 300 level and make more demands on those who are tracking for the baccalaureate.

Kai also highlighted this problem:

...a lot of the students in the [said discipline] associates degree, end up going for their bachelors and the truth is if you're going to get in the field of [said field], probably you need a master's degree, right, unless you want to work at the very lowest levels. So, we do a pretty good job of moving people up the ladder, we have a pretty high percentage of our students are going to graduate school in [said field]. On the other hand, the associate's degree and the bachelor's degree do not yet line up as well as they should.

In other words there are some courses that you have to take for the associate level that don't apply to the bachelors. There's just something wrong with that picture.

In addition to ensuring that two-year programs align and articulate to the baccalaureate degree, the College is focused on improving student retention. This strategy is discussed next.

Student Recruitment and Retention

As previously noted, Ardent's state is one of an increasing number of states that has implemented performance/outcome based funding for higher education (Fain, 2013). According to Cameron "the old state funding formula was based on how many warm bodies you had on your campus at census." Geri expanded on the state's funding formula:

it essentially funded us to have students' asses in the seats for 40 days, and if they left after that nobody really cared, we just counted them at 40 days and we sent those numbers, that combined with the amount of square footage we were using for instructional activity, was generating our funding.

Conversely, as noted by Taylor (MLA) funding is now based on degree completion:

...it used to be in the past that you have life-learning students, that's bringing in income as well. It's great. "Everyone come on, let's get an education, whether you're getting a degree or not!" State funding formula has changed where they're looking for degree completion. That's where

the focus is. It's not so much on the life-learner anymore; it's more on degree completion, because that's how the money, the college is going to get funding—certificate completion, associate's completion, bachelor's completion.

Given new accountability standards, Ardent has sought and allocated resources explicitly focused on ways to ensure retention and degree completion. As noted by Morpew (2002), “we would expect public universities to pay relatively more attention to the planning and accountability demands of their state agencies and to include these realities in their structures and practices” (p. 213). Accreditation is also a regulative source of legitimacy that colleges and universities have to pay attention to, even when they do so just at the ceremonial level (Rusch & Wilbur, 2007). Specifically, in efforts to ensure retention and degree completion, which are ultimately about legitimacy, the college has tightened and formalized operations related to: (a) academic advising and orientation; (b) developmental education; and (c) athletics, residence halls, and additional amenities.

Academic advising and orientation. Academic advising, being one of the most frequently used retention strategies in higher education (McArthur, 2005; Wild & Ebbers, 2002), has received much needed attention at Ardent. As previously noted, prior to Ardent's transition, student advising at Ardent was limited. Bobbie suggested “there was not really an advising philosophy here or even, there was one advisor here who advised 1800 students, it was a mess.” Similarly, Logan noted advisors were “...just waiting for students to walk in...prior to [the transition] there was no plan for advisement, there was

no mission for advisement, it was just cobbled together, well you're going to advise students on top of what you already do."

Today, the advising center consists of full-time personnel and has adopted an intrusive advising philosophy. Building on the work of Earl (1987), Varney (2007) noted "intrusive advising involves intentional contact with students with the goal of developing a caring and beneficial relationship that leads to increased academic motivation and persistence" (para. 3). Varney (2007) continued, "intrusive advising differs from the more traditional prescriptive and developmental models of advising because advisors are not only helpful and encouraging of students, but they proactively make the initial contact with students...a pre-emptive strike of sorts" (para. 4).

Additionally, unlike before, each student at Ardent is assigned an advisor. Cameron explicitly linked advising, which unlike at Ardent generally falls under student services (Helfgot, 2005), with the state's funding formula:

Our advisement, that doesn't come actually [under] student services, that's really changed and the reason for that is because the old state funding formula was based on how many warm bodies you had on your campus at census...That has changed; we'll now be funded by how many students complete their coursework. So we've completely had to revamp what we thought was advisement, and look at first-year experience, so we've begun and we actually have a grant for that, but we've revamped that, we offer now first-year experience program, also a summer bridge program.

The existing advising center and its assignment under Institutional Advancement were realized after divestment or termination of the Department of Academic Support.

Geri discussed this process as follows:

at some point the Department of Academic Support had been created.... there was an interim dean of academic support and then the position was filled permanently about a year after that and that person was responsible essentially for academic advisement and other departments like dual credit, distance education, distance learning, things like that. So, it was determined, during the budget development process, that there wasn't enough successful outcomes for the investment in that department, right? We weren't seeing the need to financially support that department and that those responsibilities might be absorbed in various areas throughout the institution, simultaneously allowing for them to work better with other departments that overlapped.

A practice linked with advising and funding is that of encouraging students who are seeking a bachelor's degree to pursue the associate's degree in the process. Taylor expounded the process as it has been presented to them:

The process here that I've been told by administration is that every student will gain their associate's first and will graduate with their associates and they will continue and then will graduate again with their bachelor's, if they're involved in a bachelor's program. So, in essence, any student that's going to go for a bachelor's in [said major] here is going to graduate

twice, once with an associate's and once with a bachelor's. Now, if you look at the degree program, the associate's is the first two years of study, except for an extra [said requirement] or something, but it's the same exact, it's exactly the first two years of study. But they're doing it because of state funding formula. That's why they're doing that.

Stevie made sense of the process as follows:

...[a student may be in a bachelor's program] ,but at the same time, the second year, they can get another degree, the associate degree. So, it's just, the courses are articulated. So, if they want to stop at the second year, well, at least they have an associate degree. I think this is a nice model for the students of our area. In some way you're giving a safety net to those students that may drop out for one reason or another, because they are walking out of the college with a degree.

In addition to tightening and formalizing advising, Ardent has focused on improving or as suggested by Logan "reorienting" its orientation services. Prior to "reorienting" the orientation, it had been poorly attended and ineffectively serving students. Logan explained this dilemma at length:

the biggest challenge this year was how do we get students here, because my understanding, prior to when I came here each orientation that they had was attended by less than 30 students, and our incoming class, first time in college students, are anywhere from 300-400, so there is a tradition here of non-participation. And so this year what we tried to do was reach

out to high schools and counselors to invite the community and family members...we really had to think outside the box, and say you know what we are going to try and create a positive experience, period...and we literally stripped it down to basically it was welcome to the college, here are folks that you may want to know here at the college, it was a very fair like environment. There was tug-o-war, there was a BBQ, very family oriented, we had peer to peer mentors available to be able to give impromptu tours on a case by case basis, so again getting back to that really personalizing experience, and really keeping in positive.

The family oriented atmosphere described by Logan was captured on pictures featured on Ardent's Facebook page. Once students successfully enroll at the College, the next focal point has become meeting students' developmental education needs.

Developmental education. Developmental education is one of the most pressing issues facing higher education. Today, more than half of students enrolling in community college require some form of developmental education (Quint, Jaggars, & Byndloss, 2013; Rutschow, 2011). At Ardent, over 70% of students need remediation in at least one reading, writing, or math course. Nationwide, students that are academically underprepared rarely complete their developmental/remedial education course sequences (Quint, Jaggars, & Byndloss, 2013; Rutschow, 2011). Accordingly, they are less likely to graduate (Quint, Jaggars, & Byndloss, 2013; Rutschow, 2011).

As such, although one of the major concerns regarding the implementation of baccalaureate degrees at community colleges was the possible abandonment of

developmental education (Cook, 2000; Eaton, 2006; Townsend, 2005), a function generally linked or increasingly relegated to community colleges (Bailey, 2008; Bastedo & Gumport, 2003; Cohen & Brawer, 2008), the opposite has occurred at Ardent. Ardent's focus on developmental education is highlighted by Bobbie as follows:

...we do have a two-year mission and so developmental education will always be part of what we do and as long as we retain that mission.

Similarly, Pat shared:

...there are a lot of remedial [education] courses here, and that's been a thing that the President always wants us to remember, that we're still a dual mission institution, because we are offering those remedial courses, either from the basic reading and comprehension, all the way to the math, to the basic math course. They are still offered and they are very, very supportive of these classes.

Angel discussed how the emphasis on developmental education was directly connected to the state's funding formula:

I think there's a very strong emphasis for us on remediation and this is driven by an external factor, by the way. As I told you before the funding formula in [said state] was based on students coming here, on enrollment, so back then I can tell you maybe there was not a lot of emphasis on remediation, okay, that was true. I don't think people cared about that much back then. As long as the students come here, they were fine, but the funding formula has changed dramatically, now it is outcome based, so

now the money we get is measured by students who graduate and by students who complete classes, so now I think there is a very, very, strong emphasis on remediation, there is no way for us to graduate the students, there is no way for them to complete the classes, if they don't have a good background in math or English, so right now there are a lot of efforts on remediation at the college.

Specific developmental education efforts at Ardent include an accelerated math program in which Angel explained "some students are able, in 6 weeks of this intensive math, because its 3 hours a day, Monday through Friday, some students have been able to jump three levels of math. That typically will take a year and a half; some students have been able to do that in 6 weeks. This is really surprising for us." Angel and Stevie also explained the implementation of an Introduction to [said discipline] course to keep students motivated and enrolled. Angel elaborated on this course:

...for the remedial student it will take two, three years before they do something that is related to their program. So, by then, the student drops, you know "I'm just wasting time doing math, nonsense math," because they never see that this is leading them to something else. So through these first-year experiences, they are exposed to their field, obviously we need to tweak all these experiments, so they can understand and they can do them...but at least they are happy with this type of activity. I think they are satisfied, because they see it makes sense and by the way through these activities they start realizing that the math is important because in

the lab they discover that there are some pieces of the experiment that they cannot do if they do not have the math, so now there is an incentive for them to do better in the math, because ultimately if they want to solve these real life experiments they will need to know some type of math at some level, so this is also creating this incentive for students in performing well in the math.

In addition to the accelerated math program and introduction courses discussed, Jordan cited increased tutoring services, implementation of new software, and Compass Workshops. Compass is a math placement exam administered to students at Ardent. According to Jordan, “people who take this Compass training will place 1 to 3 classes higher, than if they just went and took the test.”

The abovementioned improvements in advising and developmental education are expected to help retain and support students to degree completion and consequently contribute to the monies allocated by the state based on their performance. Student housing, which is slated to open on campus in 2014, is another retention strategy that Ardent is employing. Residence halls and other efforts on campus centered on students are discussed next.

Athletics, residence halls, and additional amenities. As most community colleges, ACC served a highly non-traditional student population (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Mellow & Heelan, 2008). Kai (MLA), for example, described ACC as:

...a fairly small community college, about 2500 students, but many of those students were part-time students, older students, non-traditional

students, so the full-time equivalency was pretty low, it was more like, I mean just off the top of my memory, I'd say about 1200 or something. So, that's pretty small, not terribly well financed either and the tuition was extremely low.

Participants also noted the majority of ACC students were from low-socioeconomic backgrounds, academically underprepared, the first in their families to attend college, and oftentimes place bound. Although Ardent's small population size fostered a "sense of community" (Bobbie/INT), given students' family and work obligations, they seldom remained on campus after class. As such, ACC identified as a commuter campus, which impacted the campus environment. According to Cameron, "as a community college we were largely a commuter campus, so this place, there wasn't any student life during the day." Similarly, Geri noted:

...we were essentially a commuter campus; students would drive up to the department of [said discipline], get down, take their classes, and go and move on with the rest of the day. That was even secondary to work and family and things like that...

Accordingly, Ardent offered little to no student activities. When activities were offered, Cameron noted, "we only used to run them at night...there wasn't much participation at all." Logan particularly noted the lack of student participation during orientation, which was typically attended by 30 students. Overall, in addition to little low student participation, there was a deficiency in the quantity and quality of student

services at ACC, a characteristic not exclusive to Ardent and all too common in the community college sector (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Creamer, 1994).

Additionally, although an increasing number of community colleges offer on campus housing options (AACC, 2013; Moeck, Hardy, Katsinas, 2007), “dorms were never talked about” and sports teams “were things that [Ardent] couldn’t even dream of as a community college” (INT/Alex). Furthermore, Ardent had no “true bookstore” or “true union” (Bobbie/INT). Today, however, contributing to Ardent’s legitimacy as a four-year college are dorms, sports teams, and renovations to student union that are well underway. In fact, Ardent recently held its grand opening for the new “true bookstore.”

In addition to the residence halls being advertised on the College’s homepage, they were frequently mentioned in my interviews with participants. The decision to offer on campus housing was typically framed by participants as a way of expanding access to students who commuted long distances for school, lacked essential resources at home, or had previously expressed interest in Ardent, but had no place to reside. Correspondingly, Ardent’s website noted that, “the decision to offer on-campus housing is part of a strategic-planning initiative to grow enrollment and enhance student retention” (DOCA/HMPG). Athletics, although not explicitly stated by participants are potential avenues to help increase enrollment and promote retention. For example, in terms of athletics, during my visit to campus, TV monitors touted a new recruit for one of the athletic programs as well as a brand new athletic program.

Despite the fact that athletic programs, particularly for rural community colleges (Bush, Castañeda, Hardy, & Katsinas, 2009; Williams, Byrd & Pennington, 2008), and

residence halls have progressively existed nationally at the community college (AACC, 2013; Cohen & Brawer, 2008), participants inextricably linked both with Ardent's transition into a four-year college. Frankie referred to the lack of housing as "an artifact of being a two-year going to a four-year." When discussing the progress Ardent has made in the transition, Alex spoke about athletics as follows:

we now have sports teams, you know we have a growing athletic department, we have men's and women's [said sport], and [said sport], and so these are things that we couldn't even dream of as a community college.

Participants spoke of both athletics and dorms as programs and services fitting or expected of a four-year college, a view widely shared. As maintained by Toma (1999):

...college sports are significant in defining the essence of the American college and university. Higher education in the United States has never been just about the classroom or laboratory, but has embodied a romanticized collegiate ideal where academic endeavors coexist with the pursuit of campus community through customs and rituals, events and activities, and residence life and recreational facilities. (p. 82)

Community colleges are known for serving "non-traditional" student populations. The term non-traditional often refers to student characteristics such as socioeconomic status, family educational background, racial/ethnic categorization, and age. Although Ardent continues to serve a predominately low-income, first-generation racial/ethnic minority student population, since the implementation of baccalaureate degree programs,

the average age of its students has dropped significantly. This drop in age has been correlated with the College's recruitment efforts at the local area high schools, students' desire to earn a bachelor's degree closer to home, as well as the termination of some associate and certificate programs. Specifically, as indicated by Geri, the average student age has dropped from 33 to 22. The 11 year difference in its student age in recent years has brought with it an increase in student expectations and a change in the overall college atmosphere. Geri discussed this significant change as follows:

students would drive up to the department of [said discipline], get down, take their classes, and go and move on with the rest of the day. That was even secondary to work and family and things like that and in the last couple of years, we've seen a major shift in our student population. The average age has decreased dramatically from 33 to 22, so we see a lot more students who are coming directly out of high school, expecting a more you know, college experience, if you will, campus life, student support services, recreational services, things like that. So, those are some of the things that's driving the, you know, kind of the Facebook, the social media stuff, the Twitter, we've added things like text messaging alerts, we're just trying to respond to the students that are coming in...

Similarly, Cameron noted Ardent's changing student population and move from a predominately commuter campus to a more lively campus. Cameron provided specific examples as to how the College has responded to students' expectations:

As a community college we were largely a commuter campus...so this place, there wasn't any student life during the day. That was when I first got here. So our average age at that time was 33 years of age. We've really made an effort to recruit students coming right out of the high school, we still don't have housing to offer, but we're actually working on building some student housing, but our average age now, our student age now, has dropped to 23. So we have a different population, so as far as student services and student activities, we've had to really gear up that part of what we have to make sure that there's something for students who are here all day, because there are students that stay here all day now, something for them to do, other than study. We also have added a couple of athletic programs so that gives students another option, intramural we're running them day and night now, we only used to run them at night before, there wasn't much participation at all, but now those activities are packed. But, yeah, we're offering a lot more activities during the day.

Bobbie provided similar comments as s/he explained future plans to respond to student needs/expectations.:

what's happening now the college atmosphere is changing, it used to be, my first year, there were no students here during the day, they would take their classes and they would leave, they don't stay, because they have jobs, they have children, now with the younger ones, they are hanging out here, they want a student union, they need things. So, we're looking at all

those things. In fact, we are going to be doing some major renovations; we got money from the state, close to \$2 million dollars to renovate the administration building, because we don't have a true student union. So we are going to make that a student centered space, one stop-shop...we don't have a true bookstore, so we want a real bookstore, you know they want a "it's great to be a [said mascot]" whatever. We think that will bring spirit and bonding, so we are making a bigger bookstore, and we're going to have little cafés.

Although these changes in the college may be attributed to the kinds of new students attending Ardent and their preferences, it is important to acknowledge Ardent's organizational goals. As suggested by Brint and Karabel (1989), "any consideration of composition effects that does not take into account institutional goals and labor market conditions is bound to be incomplete and misleading" (p. 120).

As the student population has changed and is spending more time on campus, Cameron noted that more support is needed as before there "...there weren't the problems that you see when you have students on campus all day, we've begun to experience different kinds of problems." Additional challenges are expected with the upcoming residence hall, as suggested by Bobbie, "I think it's going to change all of what we know about student services, a residence hall." In a sense, the transition into a four-year college has changed all of what Ardent has known about various areas/tenets of the College. In the following section, I discuss Ardent's new strategy related to tuition and fees.

Tuition and Fees

As noted in Table 4.1, Ardent's mission and vision have continuously emphasized affordability. The focus on affordability is linked to its previous role as a community college, commitment to access, and the realities of the community it serves. Consequently, when Ardent first embarked on the transition into a four-year institution, it continued to charge its students at its established community college rate. Nevertheless, this decision was short-lived given costs associated with four-year degree programs. As suggested by Longanecker (2008), "as missions expand, therefore, tuitions must increase, institutional appropriations must increase, and the need for financial aid thus increases. More costs more." (p. 3).

Accordingly, and once again, in efforts to remain affordable, the College went to a two-tier tuition rate. However, in efforts to "survive," Ardent was forced to revisit its decision. According to Jesse, conversations, with colleagues went as follows:

look guys, I'm going to help you, but you have to do your part, there's absolutely no way you can exist as a four-year institution, address all the issues that you have on your door step without biting the bullet and start charging appropriately.

Charging appropriately meant a uniform tuition rate and significant hike in tuition rate for lower level courses, which some members of the community were adamantly against. "The common argument, the common phrase that I heard here *over and over and over* again was 'people in this community can't afford it,'" said Jesse. Cameron thoroughly explained this dilemma-filled process:

When we became a four-year institution we were charging \$43 a credit hour, so we weren't generating a lot of revenue... So, we went to a two-tier tuition rate... So, one tier level, 300 and 400 level courses, we were charging \$100 a credit hour and at the other level we were charging \$45.13 a credit hour. ... [said state higher education coordinating board], was saying, you still need to do something because we're not going to subsidize your courses, you have to be able to survive, you know stand on your own two feet and survive alone as an institution. We said okay, so we went to a \$100.45 in 2011 [for all level courses], two years ago ...this year, we were strongly encouraged to implement another tuition increase this year, so we went up \$14 to \$114, so it's a 14 percent increase.

Jesse noted that charging a reasonable amount of tuition was necessary to fully support the transition.

Those were all important if we were going to start really building the colleges, the programs, and drawing the people with the educational background or experience that we needed to start moving this institution forward, and that's where you saw a lot of the pushback also, when I was talking about that pushback on the academic side I think a lot of it had to do with folks being you know maybe threatened with the change or not wanting to buy into the changes that the president was hoping to get people to do as we started transitioning truly from a two-year to a four-year institution.

Table 4.3 presents the evolution of Ardent’s tuition and fees based on review of course catalogs. The 14% tuition increase experienced by Ardent for the current academic year, sparked a protest by students, faculty, and others as reported by one of the local newspapers (DOCA/MDR). Despite tuition increasing, some participants were quick to point out that tuition at Ardent was still relatively “cheap” (INT/Taylor) in comparison to other four-year colleges, but not community colleges. Of this Taylor noted:

...they’ve raised the tuition, but still this is rather cheap in terms of national standards. But when you tell that to people, a community that, there’s a lot of poverty around here, people with no money are still going to, you can tell them, talk ‘til their blue in the face and say, “Hey, we’re still the cheapest, one of the cheapest in the nation.” “Well, I still don’t have any money. You’re increasing the tuition”, and it’s huge for them. And then we have competition from [said] community College. They’re tuition is cheaper than us, *drastically*. So we’ve lost some students to [said] community college.

Table 4.3

<i>Ardent’s Tuition Trials</i>			
Catalog Year (Residents)	Lower Division Courses (1-2XX)	Upper Division Courses (3-4XX)	All Courses (1-4XX)
2005-2007	33.00	83.00	
2007-2008	36.00	85.00	
2008-2009	36.72	86.70	
2009-2010	41.13	95.37	
2010-2011	44.01	\$97.28	
2011-2012			\$100.45
2012-2014			\$114.50

In addition to tuition increases resulting in a drop in enrollment, Sam attributed Ardent's higher tuition rate to the drop in the average student age, referenced earlier in this chapter. Of this Sam said:

...our average age has gone down 10 years in the last...in the last [pause], since we started offering baccalaureate programs, we went from an average student age of 32 to now it's about 22, 21, something. And that's telling us something, so we're getting the young people. And it also has to do with tuition, because a lot of these older people were just taking courses for...you know, they would take art courses or even humanities courses or science courses just for interest. They don't need...they're not seeking a degree. But when we increased the tuition, I think they're saying, "Well, we don't really need it." And this is a group that's somewhere in between 40 and 50, so they don't qualify for...So, that's changed the age as well.

Ardent has not ignored this problem and has made efforts to provide students financial support. Currently, Ardent is by providing financial resources exclusively for baccalaureate degree seeking students (DOCA/HMPG). However, Bobbie acknowledged the need provide financial assistance to all students:

[we] need to enhance the number of scholarship dollars that we have for our students. I don't think we have enough. I would love to develop scholarship program for students to take one course a year, they don't qualify for anything. So if [we're] raising tuition [to] \$144 they may not

be able to take that course the next year, I know that. Especially with \$144 a credit, so do they have the \$500 to take the course?

Ardent's leadership has played a significant role in steering the transition from a community college to a four-year college. Nevertheless, the leadership itself has experienced both tightening and formalizing which I discuss in the following section.

Tightening and Formalizing Ardent's Leadership

Given some of the scenarios discussed thus far and as explicitly indicated by Kai, ACC experienced a "leadership crisis." Ardent Community College's decision making structure and process followed what Bobbie referred to as a "bizarre model." Specifically, both Geri and Bobbie noted that the president had a total of 24 direct reports. Bobbie added that "everybody was a director and nobody reported to them." Accordingly, decisions were primarily made by the president. According to Kai, "as a community college it had been a very much, a very top down institution, really just you know driven by the president you know sort of a one man operation and everyone else falls into line." Similarly, Bobbie noted, "I guess the president never spoke to anybody and everybody looked to the president for everything. I don't know what the provost did, I don't think they did anything."

The "leadership crisis" became more apparent as the college embarked on the transition. Kai explained as follows:

...that was a pretty big transition, a pretty big stretch for the institution and one that it really wasn't prepared for, many of the people in the administration and even on the faculty you know, just really didn't have

an idea of what a bachelors institution should look like, they lacked sort of the experience and the knowhow and so there were some profound leadership crisis in the administration, which are still going on.

Alex also noted the leadership's lack of experience in the four-year sector. According to Alex "the previous president had not had experience in four-year institutions, and so I think their perspective wasn't quite as wide and deep as somebody who had already had previous administrative experience at a four-year college." These narratives suggest that ACC's leadership impacted access to information as well as the socialization process.

According to a faculty handbook last revised in the late 2000s and currently pending approval of amendments from the College's Board of Regents (fieldnotes, 2013), "the organization of the College generally follows a standard college organizational structure.... the structure will change periodically as needs and resources dictate...and will be updated as needed" (DOC/FHB).

Indeed, since Ardent embarked on this transition, the organization's structure has undergone both tightening and formalizing. For some participants the organizational structure was the most notable organizational change in light of the transition. "I think the biggest difference is the organization, the hierarchy, how we follow [and] organize things," said Taylor. Similarly Alex noted, "the whole structure of the administration now that we're a four-year [college], new positions have been created... the whole organizational chart has changed from before." Geri expanded on the changes in

organizational structure, some which took place approximately one month prior to my campus visit:

...as we transitioned from a two-year to a four-year model the organizational structure of the institution really started to take shape....the organizational structure [is] something that has been an ongoing kind of project, if you will, so that we can kind of find something that fits well. In fact, just on July 1, again we introduced major changes in the organizational structure, from the executive level team, all the way down including moving away more direct reports from the president, so that s/he might be able to play a more external role for the institution.

As noted earlier, during the time Ardent was a community college a total of 24 individuals reported directly to the president. Although participants did not indicate who reportedly directly to the President, Figure 4.1 depicts Ardent's "flat" organization structure (Carzo & Yanouzas, 1969, p. 181) based on their narratives.

Moving away direct reports from the president resulted in "a case of bureaucratic accretion" (Gumport & Pusser, 1995, p. 493). Utilizing Weber's formulation of bureaucracy, Gumport and Pusser (1995) used this term to denote administrative growth as an adaptive response to organizational complexity. Specifically, Ardent has experienced a growth in administration on two levels: (a) executive-level, and (b) mid-level. This growth is in part a result of the development of new organizational

infrastructures which I discuss in the next section. Although Figure 4.2⁹ does not reflect the most recent changes to the organizational structure referenced by Geri, it reflects Ardent’s increasingly “tall” organization structure (Carzo & Yanouzas, 1969, p. 181).

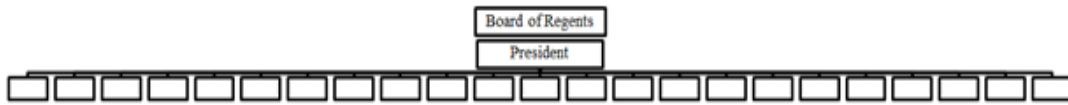


Figure 4.1. Ardent’s flat organizational structure depicting 24 direct reports.

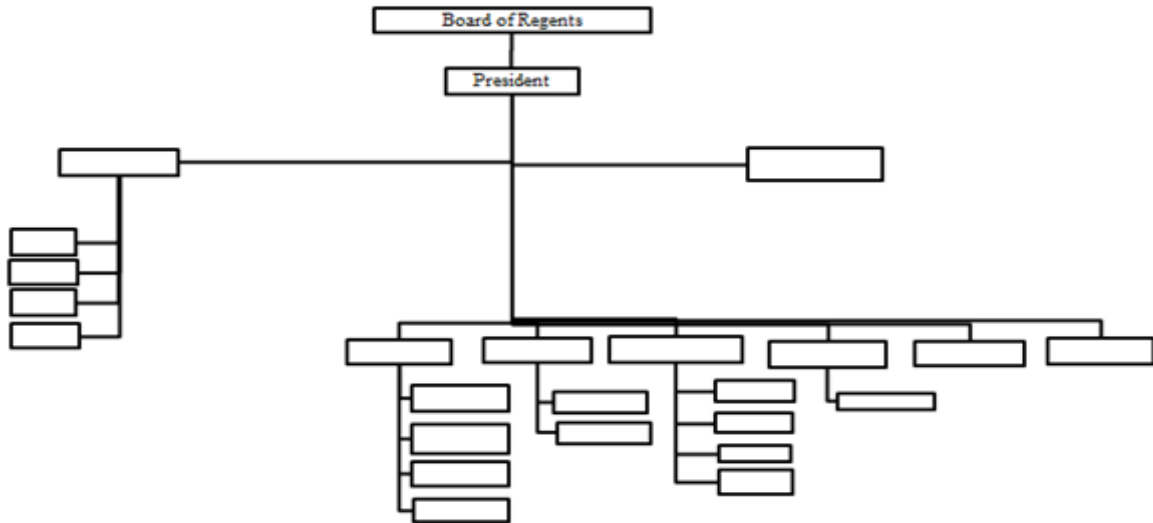


Figure 4.2. Ardent’s organization structure as of 2011.

In the following subsections I discuss both the executive-level and mid-level administrative growths. Throughout the discussion I point to the six elements of Weber’s (1952) ideal type of bureaucracy: (a) clearly defined division of labor and authority; (b) hierarchical structures of office; (c) written guidelines prescribing performance criteria;

⁹ Organizational chart (dated 2011) was located in a programmatic student handbook revised in 2013. The College’s search engine for “organizational chart” produced no results.

(d) recruitment to position based on specialization and expertise; (e) office holding as a career or vocation; and (f) duties and authority attached to positions, not persons (as cited in Jaffee, 2001, p. 90).

Executive-level Administrators

As noted in Chapter Three, Ardent's "executive-level team" is primarily made up of new members to the organization. While some were replacement hires, others were brought in to fill entirely new positions created to help "fix" (INT/Bobbie) inefficient and problematic areas and move Ardent forward as a four-year college. Irrespective, these individuals were recruited based on their assumed level of expertise and credentials, a major tenant of Weber's (1952) ideal type. Participants often pointed out the lack of experience and qualifications of those previously guiding the institution. Consider the following quote by Bobbie:

...the skill sets at this institution we're limited, people weren't ill intended they were just doing what they thought they needed to do. So, the board directed me to pull together a team of highly skilled individuals who could help us, that's how we discovered problems, that's how we fixed them.

Alex exclusively drew attention to the lack of four-year college experience possessed by the previous president, in comparison to the new president:

...we got a new president, one with experience at four-year institutions, our previous president had not had experience in four-year institutions, and so I think their perspective wasn't quite as wide and deep as

somebody who had already had previous administrative experience at a four-year college, so that was a big change.

When some executive-level administrators shared how they had come to the College, they too considered their individual qualifications. Experiences ranged from high-level positions in four-year institutions to business and government related occupations. One executive-level team member noted, “they brought me in as a visionary, that’s my strength.” Another executive-level team member concluded their list of credentials with “I know enough about a little bit of everything to be dangerous.”

These individuals were understood to have the knowledge and ability necessary to help Ardent transition into a four-year college. In essence, based on Levin’s organizational members’ typology centered on change, executive-level administrators were viewed as potential “agents of change” (p. 49). The majority can also be categorized as outsiders with no ‘institutional memory’ (Tuchman, 2009, p. 203) or “baggage” (Khurana, 2002 as cited in Tuchman, 2009, p. 73). In other words, they were largely unaware of the way it had once been at Ardent and had fewer reservations about implementing change. When discussing the power of outsiders, Tuchman (2009) noted:

Because they are strangers who may leave tomorrow, outsiders often find it easier than people promoted through the ranks to disband colleges and to dismiss subordinates. The new managerialism follows corporate practice. Because outsiders are not part of the existing organizational culture (and to bolster stock prices), many corporations seeking new CEOs and other top executives have turned to outsiders. (p. 73)

Coincident with Tuchman's assessment, under the new leadership employees serving in various capacities (e.g., faculty, staff), some for extended periods, were "let go" (INT/Gale). Additionally, as will be discussed in the next section, some departments were "absorbed" (INT/Geri) by others. Furthermore, colleges and departments continue to be disbanded and created, oftentimes with little input from faculty. The lack of faculty consideration was highlighted during interviews and brought to the attention of the Board of Regents as highlighted in minute meetings. Consider the following excerpt from meeting minutes:

...Faculty Senate President, pointed out that in [said year] the Board of Regents approved the language to committees in the Faculty Association By-Laws. He stated the Educational Policy Committee states that 'the duties of this committee will include examining the academic structure of the institution and changes in this structure, and providing advice on these matters to the President and the Board of Regents.' [Faculty Senate President] stated that this process was not followed; the dissolving of [said college] was not sent to the faculty senate. [Said executive-level administrator] stated that doing away with [said college] was primarily driven by a financial expediency in terms of supporting that particular college... [Said executive-level administrator] stated the Deans and Chairs have had discussions regarding this change and these individuals are involved with the faculty senate.... [Said executive-level administrator] stated that it is important not to confuse process and procedures with the

charter of a committee. It does not state in the faculty handbook that administration is required to submit items to the Faculty Senate Educational Policy Committee for vetting input. (DOCA/BMM)

As the College divested in some areas, investments were made towards attracting and retaining qualified individuals. As by suggested Alex:

...the administrators you know received pretty significant pay raises in order to keep them at this job and attract qualified candidates and that raised a little bit of controversy around the community.

Bobbie, who we learned earlier in this subsection, was charged with pulling “together a team of highly skilled individuals,” recognized the controversy and criticism:

I have been soundly criticized for that because, you know what? You have to pay for them. You have to pay for them, and quite frankly I still didn't pay as much as these folks would make at another institution, doing the same work.

Although as has been suggested “these folks” may have no “baggage” or “institutional memory” (Tuchman, 2009, p. 73) related to Ardent, they do carry along with them baggage and institutional memory from their previous organizations, in this case memories and understandings of what a four-year college should look like and operate. These memories, have consequently led to the creation of mid-level positions discussed next.

Mid-level Administrators

In efforts to reduce the number of individuals directly reporting to Ardent's president, new executive and mid-level administrator positions were created. Mid-level positions, as conceptualized in this study consist of administrators at the departmental level, including deans. As noted in Chapter Two, this distinction was specifically marked by the participants themselves. Although mid-level administrators include program directors and deans, the deans were the most often referenced by study participants. Alex discussed the dean positions as follows:

...as far as dean positions, yeah, that was completely new. There's a dean of the college of [said discipline] now, there's a dean you know of [said discipline], a dean in the [said discipline], a dean in the [said discipline], so dean positions were something completely new. The personnel committee had to add new language into the faculty handbook to create the position of a dean in response to that. And again that was part of the organizational chart changing, is now different disciplines were now being bundled into colleges. Whereas before it was just more like separate programs, and each program had a director, I mean the programs still have directors, but now there's the added position of the dean.

Kai elaborated on the thinking behind and creation of dean positions, which s/he suggested were not necessary for a college the size of Ardent. Kai also touched on Ardent's aspirations to achieve university status:

...they decided we needed deans at this college, and we needed to break up into different colleges, in order to form a university, and I think there was kind of a misunderstanding among some administrators. Well, if we want to call ourselves a university, we have to have deans, you know sort of the like the tail wagging the dog. We're not doing it because we really need it; we're doing it because you know someone just thinks that they can't call themselves a university unless they have deans and different colleges. Well, one of the issues has been that we've become very top heavy. You know, we're a very small institution and suddenly five people or professors became deans and don't teach anymore and just do paper work, I don't know if there's five deans, four or five, and so you know there's even been a recognition among a number of deans, that we're really not big enough to really truly need deans, you know, the whole darn college, you know the a number of full-time faculty at Ardent, is you know, that would be one department at [said top-tier research university]...

Although the College has moved forward with the creation of dean positions, Taylor suggested that the organization was still trying to figure out the roles and responsibilities of a dean:

When you become a community college, there's a different organization from the community college to a four-year college. Now, all of a sudden, you have deans...when I came here on campus, they been a four-year

college here for a little while, but they're learn[ing], they're still figuring it out. Well, what does a dean do? They're trying to figure out what exactly does a dean do, what are the roles of a dean?

As a result of the expansion of both executive-level and mid-level administrators, faculty members have become to a large extent managed professionals (Rhoades, 1998). As emphasized by Rhoades (1996) "American colleges and universities are increasing their numbers and proportion of part-time faculty at the same time they are increasing the numbers and proportion of full-time administrators and non-faculty professionals, suggesting a shift in the configuration of professional and production work in American higher education" (p.665). Given the increase in administration, participants noted less faculty governance. For example, when the topic of faculty governance emerged, Kai maintained:

...it's still the same problem we had before and maybe that part is even worse. There have been a lot of changes and there have been progress, but that's one of the, sort of last things, and it's been a real problem with the faculty governance, and things being violated on a pretty regular basis... So, for example, there have been some programs eliminated and moved around without adequate faculty input.

Ardent's organizational restructuring has also created more distance between administrators and members of the organization. The distance has been symbolically reinforced by a new door and reception area in the administration building. This "division" was pointed out by a member of the college community during my

observations on campus. Irrespective, of a door or a formal “chain of command” there is still much “structural confusion” (Tuchman, 2009, p. 163). As suggested by Kai:

...one of the primary dysfunction is people not quite knowing the chain of command or who has authority over something because there’s very arbitrary [pause], you know if somebody wants to get something, they often go around the process and straight to the president, rather than follow the process that’s in place so therefore, you know, there’s no, and I think that’s just a holdover from the old community college system.

Additionally, this confusion can be attributed to the constant updates to the organizational structure. What is certain, however, is that both mid-level and perhaps executive-level positions will continue to increase. This statement is supported through my review of Ardent’s employment opportunities via the College website, which is one of the various ways in which Ardent disseminates information. I discuss this process next.

Tightening and Formalizing Information

Although Ardent became a four-year college in the mid-2000s, it is still primarily considered and viewed as a community college. As expressed by participants, this perception is shared by individuals in local and broader communities. Admittedly, as highlighted in Chapter Three, I initially identified and viewed Ardent as a community college. Additionally, I personally came across community members referring to Ardent as a community college. For example, one evening after my visit to campus while ordering dinner at a small locally owned restaurant, I was asked by the cashier where I

was from and what I was doing in town. I imagined it was the town's size and remote location coupled with my question to another patron what they recommended off the menu that exposed me as an "outsider" (Merton, 1972). My response, "I'm visiting the college," was quickly and excitedly followed by "oh, the community college?" (fieldnotes, 2013).

Although I did not make any efforts to correct her, several participants noted instances in which they have found themselves tackling such misconception. Taylor, for example discussed how s/he is continuously "correcting" community members. Sternly, Taylor stated:

I'm constantly correcting community members, saying, "No, we're actually, we're a four-year college." They always refer to it as, "[Ardent] Community College." "No, we're not. That's incorrect."

Cameron and other participants shared similar experiences with community members, as well as colleagues in the higher education community, at large:

We still go out into the community and people refer to us as Ardent Community College. I still attend meetings with our sister institutions in the area and they still refer to us at Ardent Community College.

Pat noted her/his experience as a faculty member. Specifically, s/he highlighted attending meetings and conferences and still having to relay or clarify that Ardent is indeed a four-year college. According to Pat:

...sometimes the college has a mindset that it's already a four-year college, but sometimes nobody else knows, either the community, the

community who [is] still calling it a community college, everybody in the state was thinking that it was still a community college. So, it's hard to show up in a meeting or in a conference and say, "Okay, I'm from Ardent and it's a four-year institution. It's not a two-year." But at the same time, [I'm] going to a conference and saying, "I'm [at] a four-year institution, but I'm still doing things as a two-year institution, so it's kind of a bad problem."

During a follow-up question, Pat explained that "doing things as a two-year institution," meant primarily "teaching and lecturing," though s/he subsequently acknowledged "now it's transitioning more into more research projects and collaborations."

Given that both local and national perspectives continue to situate Ardent as a community college, several efforts, primarily driven by administrators, have been enacted to transform this view. However, before focusing on external views of Ardent and its four-year status, high-level administrators began by working towards (re)shaping internal views of the organization's status. Jesse, who again as with the majority of high-level administrators was brought in to facilitate the transition, discussed a conversation with the college community:

I told them look if you're going to walk the walk and talk the talk and you're going to say that you're a four-year institution, we really have to make sure that we all believe that and that we all talk that way.

Similarly, Bobbie noted, “I said if we’re going to be a four-year school, then we should look and act like one.” Looking and acting like one necessitated an investment in marketing, particularly in relation to external stakeholders.

Prior to Ardent’s transition to a four-year college there were little to no resources allocated to marketing. As suggested by Geri:

as a two-year institution there was very little of any resources dedicated to marketing and branding the institution, everything from our logos, to official colors, tag lines, presence within the community, and even intercampus communication, it was just all pretty stagnant.

Today, however, Ardent has become increasingly attentive to marketing. Marketing is active, financed, and continuously developing in hopes improving the organizational image and increasing enrollment, which according to participants primarily declined due to the termination of some associate and certificate degree programs and “drastic” tuition increases to be discussed in the next section. Even though enrollment in two year programs is critical to the survival of the institution, particularly as those students can earn their associates and continue in a baccalaureate program, marketing efforts are primarily geared towards baccalaureate degrees. Bobbie noted the poor level of marketing surrounding four-year degree programs and new efforts to promote them:

I think we’ve done a poor job promoting [baccalaureate opportunities].

Just historically, as I look at things, people still think we are a community college. They always call it a community college and so we’re embarking

on a major marketing campaign, and we only have one staff member in admissions, we're going to change that, we need several people in admissions to really talk about the baccalaureate opportunities.

Marketing efforts at Ardent are also aimed at improving the College's image/reputation which Kai summed up as "mixed:"

In some quarters I think our reputation has risen a fair amount...when I talk to other people I hear sort of references "oh," you know, they know something is going on that has something to do with Ardent or you know we have more high profile president than we used to have, that's made a difference. In other quarters I definitely run into people who have a pretty low opinion of Ardent. They've had an experience, you know, at Ardent, or know somebody at Ardent, that was pretty darn dysfunctional and that stuff gets around town, gets around the county in [said region]. So, it's very much mixed. And probably a lot of it has to do with, you know, I'm not sure that we have like one reputation the way [said top-tier research university] might or something. It's very much based on, there's not a lot of information about us out there, so it's very much based on a personal experience, did you have a brother or uncle that went there, and what happened to him while he was there, and the reputation is mixed.

The level of importance and attention placed on marketing has been frequently documented among prestige seeking institutions (O'Meara, 2007; Tuchman, 2010).

According to O'Meara (2007):

Because higher education institutions depend on external perception of their legitimacy and quality to survive, it is no surprise that campuses that are actively striving will engage in significant external relations and marketing to change and/or to improve their image. The campaign to reshape the external image of a college or university may include something as major as a name-change or smaller like a complete revision of a website and marketing materials. (p. 153)

In Ardent's case, its name change from Ardent Community College to Ardent College was a result of the implementation of baccalaureate degrees and desires to become a four-year college; however, its website and materials such as the college view book has been utilized as an essential tool for shaping its image and drawing attention the attention of prospective students. As suggested by Taylor:

...the Internet is a powerful tool, it is how most people find their information these days. And so, we've got the Internet, we're in the process of doing a brand new facelift for the whole college.

During the duration of this case study, the "facelift" referenced by Taylor to me was evident. To keep myself informed and updated about Ardent, I visited the website on a weekly basis. During this time, I witnessed the development of a more frequently updated, user-friendly, engaging, and reputation building website. The "News" and "Events" sections on the homepage, highlighted programs and student services, successful grant applications, faculty achievements, student recognitions, accreditation

announcements, upcoming student housing, and other successful celebrations/events on campus. Consider the following excerpt from a news release on the website celebrating one student's acceptance to present at an "exclusive" conference:

Not only was [said name's] research among the less than 30 percent accepted, but [s/he] will be one of the few, if not the only undergraduate to present at the conference.

The items publicized on Ardent's website speak to Toma's (2012) notion that "... instead of garnering prestige through admissions, endowment or research, nonselective institutions feature enrollment growth, relevant programs, and personal accomplishment" (p. 130).

Sam noted the importance of stories of accomplishments as s/he discussed the College's grant efforts:

Now we have to be able to sell it to these foundations like the Gates and say, "Why do you want to invest in Ardent? What is it that we can show?" And they're going to be very prudent with giving out money because they want to make sure that they have successes, right? So we have to market and find a way to sell that our students are going to be contributors and are going to be a story for Microsoft or Gates Foundation.

Similar news and updates were made on social media platforms such as Facebook, which I also continuously visited during this study. The intentional use of both the website and social media to grow enrollment was highlighted by Geri:

...there has been a concerted efforts to increase the number of students that come directly out of high school including redoing our entire website which we hope to launch probably in the next few weeks. So, we are really responding by providing kind of some of the social media and outreach that our students are used to responding to.

Ardent also marketed to external stakeholders through the city's transit system as talked about by Taylor:

I've seen some advertising. They're pushing the advertising here...I don't know if you've noticed the big commuting buses that go by and say "Ardent College." That's the first year we've done that. I mean, I hadn't seen that when I came here in...That's a brand new thing. So, I think they're slowly trying to do that.

During my visit I did not notice the buses referenced by Taylor; however, at convocation and visits on campus I did notice and receive Ardent paraphernalia and promotional products such as pins. The promotional products were tagged with slogans promoting and garnering support for Ardent, another common strategy among striving institutions (Gonzales & Pacheco, 2012).

According to Geri, shaping the way Ardent presents itself to external stakeholders has involved "a tremendous amount of resources, time, and energy." S/he explained how Ardent has made significant progress in terms of marketing and branding. Prior to these concerted efforts, as highlighted earlier in this chapter, "everybody had a different [said mascot], some of them were even facing the wrong way..." (INT/Geri). The process of

improving how Ardent presents itself to external stakeholders was described at length by Geri:

Now the marketing and branding stuff, some of the very first things that we came in and did was develop all of the policies and the media guides for the institution including approving changes to the logo, adopting an athletic logo, officially, things like that. Those things just hadn't been done; we were all very loosey goosey, everything from letterhead to envelopes, to correspondence, in the way we presented ourselves to our external stakeholders. So, one of the first things I came and I did, working with the communications and marketing stuff was develop the policies, the media guide, approve the changes to the logo, both the official academic logo like you see on our business cards, and the athletic logo that you see on the gym floor, and the policies and procedures for how all of these official logos and logo marks leave the institution.

The emphasis on Ardent's external relations, image, and identity led to the creation of a Communications and Marketing Office, whose expressed purpose is to help market the college with hopes of garnering resources. As noted by Geri:

The Communications and Marketing office is a resource for the colleges within the institution to develop all of their printed and electronic media, everything from brochures to what they need to recruit, etc. So we've kind of developed this resource for the institution that we think helps brand the colleges, helps the colleges you know communicate what they

are doing within the institution and without, including press releases, how we communicate to the media. And that takes us into the external communications, that's something that we never did very well either, centralize communication, so again developed all of the policies for everything from legislative affairs and the procedures and protocols for how we communicate with local media, developing the that PIO type of structure where this is one person who speaks for the institution.

As Ardent is actively engaged in recruiting through its new materials, recruitment and retention of new faculty members has influenced Ardent's socialization process which I discuss in the following section.

Tightening and Formalizing Socialization

As defined by Austin (2002), "socialization is a process through which an individual becomes part of a group, organization, or community. The socialization process involves learning about the culture of the group, including its values, attitudes, and expectations" (p. 96). Prior to Ardent's transition, socialization, mostly in terms of faculty, was an informal process. There were no formal structures/mechanisms to help newcomers learn the particularities of Ardent Community College. Additionally, informal socialization was notably challenging as there were little opportunities for observation of or interaction with colleagues to help facilitate this process. For example, one faculty member in passing noted that no one told them what to do when they arrived (fieldnotes, 2013). This same faculty member, who arrived at Ardent in the mid-2000s, suggested that full-time faculty came and went like adjuncts and were rarely seen on

campus (fieldnotes, 2013). The socialization process was further complicated by policies in the faculty handbook that were “not clear and contradictory” (Bobbie/INT).

Today, Ardent’s socialization process is facilitated through formal structures. For example, during my site visit in the fall of 2013 a new faculty welcoming reception was held, where new members to the organization were not only welcomed, but had the opportunity to interact with existing members of the College (fieldnotes, 2013). Additionally, Ardent’s faculty handbook was pending approvals from the Board of Regents. The new faculty handbook was expected to clarify and outline faculty work expectations, which as discussed by participants and highlighted in various organizational documents such as job descriptions, have been significantly altered since Ardent embarked on the transition into a four-year college.

Ardent’s faculty makeup prior to the transition embodied the community college professoriate as depicted in the literature (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Provasnik & Planty, 2008). In addition to a majority part-time faculty, most faculty members had either a masters or bachelor’s degree. Virtually, no faculty held a doctorate and essentially no faculty dedicated time to research. If they did, it was carried out as a “hobby” (fieldnotes, 2013) secondary to five-five teaching loads. In short, faculty recruitment, roles, and rewards aligned with and supported Ardent’s community college mission. In the following subsections, I highlight how these areas have been impacted since Ardent expanded its mission to award the CCB and became a four-year college. As suggested by Rusch and Wilbur (2007), “moving to the next level can involve redefining the mission of the institution which, in turn, usually redefines the professional worklife of its

members” (p. 301). In the following subsections, I highlight additional shifts in Ardent’s organizational culture related to faculty recruitment, roles, and rewards. As will be noted these components have been largely restructured by relying “...on the socially constructed norms and definitions used by agents and agencies that compose and organize the field of higher education” (Gonzales, 2013, p. 202)

Recruitment

Typically, as aforementioned, there has been a disinclination to hire doctorally trained faculty at the community college (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Harrison, 1979; Jencks & Riesman, 2002). As described by Frankie and other participants, such was the case at Ardent. Of this Frankie said, “there were times when having a PhD at the college, at the time when it was still a community college, I will say that I actually was told there were too many PhDs and there were only three...at the time.” Similarly, Alex noted “when the college moved to a four-year institution a lot of the faculty that were here they didn’t have a PhD, some of them they didn’t even have a master’s degree.”

However, the establishment of baccalaureate degree programs and subsequent transition into a four-year college has led to the recruitment and hiring of doctoral level credentialed faculty. While Frankie cited a total of three PhDs at Ardent Community College, during the time of my interviews, Geri estimated a total of “45 doctoral level faculty.” Sam indicated “30 plus.” Meanwhile, Kai noted “the percentage of PhDs here in the faculty has gone from you know, I don’t know what it was, three or four percent to 60 or 70 percent or something.” Specifically for the fall 2013 semester, Ardent welcomed seven new faculty members, which were recognized on Ardent’s main

homepage. Each new member's background and credentials were spotlighted. Of the seven, six newcomers were identified as doctoral level trained faculty.

As highlighted in Chapter Two, increased credential requirements as a result of the CCB are generally linked to accrediting standards (Floyd, 2006; McKinney & Morris, 2010). Geri acknowledged the similar case at Ardent as s/he discussed new faculty qualifications:

For example, right now one of the major barriers for moving forward with the accreditation of the [said] department is the number of doctoral level faculty; there are no doctoral level faculty. Well, prior to this year, we've hired one and the chair of the department is in a similar circumstance to you, kind of finishing up [their] doctoral work and getting that done. So, [we need] a cadre of faculty that would be credentialed to meet the expectations of accrediting agencies, not just [said regional accreditor], but those specific like [accrediting body for said discipline], and [accrediting body for said discipline], and [accrediting body for said discipline].

In addition to an increased focus on faculty credentials, Ardent is intent on hiring teaching and student-centered faculty. This decision was largely based on the need to retain and graduate students, which again is inextricably linked to the state's funding formula. Student-centered as conceptualized at Ardent involves mentoring, supporting, validating (Rendón, 1994, 2002), and operating from an asset rather than a deficit based perspective (Delgado Bernal, 2002) in relation to Ardent's student population. For

example, when specifically asked what they were looking for in new faculty, Sam responded:

I think the primary thing that we look at is teaching and being able to relate culturally to this population. I mean, there is no getting around the fact that this is a heavy minority [serving] institution...it reflects our community. So, we look at that, but we also want to bring in faculty that can inspire, faculty that can relate and help our undergraduates to move through the process to complete their baccalaureate, but also look at graduate programs.

Similarly, Angel summarized Ardent's desired faculty profile as follows:

...what we are looking for, we are looking for talent; we really want people who want to come to a teaching institution, people who want to sacrifice a little bit of the research because right now we are mainly a teaching institution. We want faculty who want to get involved in student learning assessment because this is crucial for accreditation purposes, and not every single faculty wants to do student learning assessment, especially being in [said field]...We try to focus on people who want to work with students, we have lots of issues of student retention, so we are looking for people who want to do recruitment, people who want to work with students that are not ready for college, people who want to work with students in their math, in remediation, and who come with new initiatives on how to recruit and retain.

In search of talent and appropriately credentialed faculty to ensure the College meets accreditation requirements, Ardent has cast the net widely in all recruitment and hiring activities. Accordingly, the majority of new hires are no longer from the local community as had largely been the case before. In fact, Ardent's recruitment efforts have brought in an increasing number of international faculty members, which Angel in part attributed to the College's inability to offer competitive salaries. Of this Angel said:

...for a 9 month [faculty] contract with a PhD the salary is \$44,000, so when we are trying to hire [faculty in said discipline], it's impossible to get them at this rate of pay and especially American citizens, okay, who have many opportunities in these types of fields..."

Faculty searches have also resulted in the termination of adjunct faculty, which as noted by Gale, has caused some discontent:

The people that are being hired, the faculty...have a post doc...a *research* post doc, so [they've] been doing research for many years, *only* research, when in the past I think most of the people that were hired were possibly adjuncts some just a bachelors, or just a master, but didn't really have a lot of other experience. And so just the people that are being hired, I mean, I know a lot of adjuncts were released, were not rehired this fall, and so I've been hearing from the community, how people are upset, especially in [said] department, because they're not rehiring adjuncts and they've hired two new PhDs, instead of hiring, giving several adjuncts two classes

they're hiring PhDs, they are releasing people that have been here *years and years* some of those who held master's degrees.

Stevie explicitly linked the termination of adjunct faculty to accreditation requirements. When discussing teaching loads, Stevie acknowledge the use of adjunct faculty within their department:

...to some extent, but less and less right now. And it has to do, because if we want to be accredited, we have to have a fine control on the courses and how those courses are being taught, so more and more we are relying less on adjunct, but we have very good adjuncts that we're really confident of them. We have three or four adjuncts that are with us.

Although fewer adjuncts are being rehired in some four-year degree programs, Ardent was and continues to be highly reliant on adjunct faculty. In fact, adjuncts currently teach the majority of classes in some of Ardent's programs and/or colleges. When the topic of adjunct faculty emerged, Kai noted Ardent relied on adjuncts to a "pretty overwhelming extent." S/he continued, "it's part of our lack of funding. In [said college], they calculated it [in the late 2000s] and it was 66% of all classes were taught by adjuncts.

The increase in the number of faculty with doctorates, in general has caused tensions in the College. Jamie discussed these tensions as follows:

It seems like the school is divided between the people who are new, who have a Ph.D. and experience doing research and the people who have been working in the community college for many, many years. They are

already tenured, but they don't have, some of them don't even have a master's degree. So, that makes conflict.

Kai also pointed to these tensions:

It causes a huge amount of tension. There's a sort of you know and I think, many people are not very sensitive to it, there can be a kind of classism, kind of looking, one group looking down at the other, which is extremely unfortunate, cause it's also true that some of our best teachers, best faculty members, you know only got masters degrees. Getting a doctorate degree in no way guarantees you're going to be a good human being, or a good teacher, or even that you're smarter than the next guy.

In addition to revisiting recruitment and hiring practices, faculty roles are continuously being reexamined. As suggested by Rhoades (1998), "the terms and position of faculty's professional labor are being renegotiated as managers seek to reform, reinvent, re-engineer, redesign, or reorganize colleges and universities" (p. 2).

Roles and Rewards

As in the field of higher education at large, faculty roles at Ardent have become increasingly complex (Gonzales, 2014; Gornall & Salisbury, 2012; Musselin, 2007). Although the primary focus remains on teaching, conversations surrounding faculty work now include service, research, and research related activities including publishing and grant-getting, which prior to the transition were near non-existent. To recall, as suggested by Sam:

As a community college, I think our faculty primarily just came in and taught courses. They did their advisement, they helped students, but they didn't have to do service. They didn't have to do university-related [service]...

In line with Clark's description of the community college professor, "they [did] not have upper-division students, let alone graduate students and research, placing them in a position of teaching mainly introductory materials to first-year, and a lesser number of second-year, classes" (p. 41). While ACC's work environment in relation to faculty was previously described as "relaxed" and "lenient" (fieldnotes, 2013), both Stevie and Kai described its current condition as "intense." Consider the following quote by Kai as s/he underscored Ardent's teaching focus and discussed faculty roles and responsibilities:

I'd probably say we are a teaching institution, and so really our reason for being has a lot to do with the small classes we offer and the one-on-one interaction that we give, that takes place between students and professors, which is enormously valuable to our kind of students, we often get feedback from students who have been at a large university like [said university] and got lost there and it's really important that they have a personal relationship, or personal is maybe not the right word, but that they are seen and heard by their professors and that makes a difference in their eyes. But, that's not to the exclusion of the other duties of a professor. So, you know on that traditional three legged stool in academia you know academic service, scholarship, and teaching, you know, because

this is a small institution, you have to be pretty active in all three of those, you really need people to be pretty active in all three of them and they all reinforce themselves you. So, it's a pretty intense institution in that way. Because we're so small everybody really has to carry their own weight, if not like twice the weight they carry elsewhere.

Similar to Kai and Gale, Stevie noted Ardent's emphasis on teaching and elaborated on expectations as discussed during the time of her/his appointment:

...the expectation when I was hired, they told me 'we don't [pause], we will not ask you for a research paper. No, we are not a research institution, but we expect from you excellence in teaching and curriculum development and to help us in accreditation and to put out a solid program.... I had to teach four classes per semester. I've even taught five classes in some semesters. Yes, fifteen credits.

The intensity of Ardent's faculty work environment has been acknowledged by administrators, particularly in terms of teaching loads, which is currently a point of contention at the college. Sam discussed this issue as length:

That is one of the contentions we have between the community college and university mindsets. Right now, it's 15 credit hours for everybody. And that varies within programs. For example, 15 credit hours is not the same for a program in career/tech, which is based on contact hours. So, for their courses, they're in, let me just pick on [said career/tech program] and [said career/tech program]. They're in their courses all week, six or

seven hours a day. I mean, that's a lot of hours if you try to equate that to credits, right? [Said applied discipline] is a different thing because they have clinical, they have credit hours, so they have a reduced credit hour load, but contact time, they're heavy. I guess, if you would look at [said discipline] and maybe [said applied discipline]. They have what we would consider traditional credit hours. And for the baccalaureate programs, we have unofficially, just said, "OK, do it at 12 hours. Make sure they have service. And make sure that that service translates primarily to advisement."

Relatedly, Sam explained an impending conversation with the Board of Regents to get faculty a reduced load:

It's not a community college anymore, so we have to give them a little bit of time, especially if we're going to expect the creativity or the research. In the sciences, there's no way to do that because the labs are typically two and a half hours per one credit, so if you give somebody 12 credit hours, that's really 18 contact hours compared to a humanities person so. We've been lucky to be able to do this for the last [said] years, to just sort of compensate within disciplines. Not that it doesn't create some tensions and envy among groups, because they say, "Why are you doing this? Why are you doing this?" And it's been an interesting observation...It's an interesting observation about how these tensions are developing in this institution. There is a move now by the Faculty Senate to just make it 12

credit hours officially, for everybody. And what that means is, that obviously, there's going to be a proportionate decrease for everybody in terms of direct teaching time. But does that translate to more effective service, research, etc.? I don't know. That's the challenge and again, now to put it in this context, where we have very limited financial support. Our Board of Regents is in one place, our faculty is in one place, and administration is in another. I think administration sees that we have to go to a reduced load if we want to get to a university model, our faculty clearly want that, the administration says, "Well, is it cost-effective?"

In addition to differing perspectives regarding teaching load among the Board of Regents, faculty, and administration, there were divergent views among Ardent's faculty in terms of the nature and meaning of faculty work. The differences were specifically noted between old and new guards, or "factions of old and new" (Levin, 2004, p. 9), which generally translated to non-doctoral credentialed and doctoral credentialed faculty members. Based on Gouldner's typology (1958, 1957), the latter group exhibited a slight cosmopolitan orientation with a greater loyalty to the field than the organization and interest in advancing their research. Of this Kai said:

...there's widely differing perceptions among newer faculty members, some are clearly like wanting to do the same level of research they would do at a let's say a big research university, like [said university]. But of course you know we have a pretty teaching load, we all teach 4 classes, so that's not necessarily all that practical, right, I mean, there's only so many

hours in the workday if you're putting more effort into the students and teaching more classes you're not really going to be doing the same amount of research. So, that's very much in flux, and I think, I don't know that the institution has really any clear guidelines or anything.

Like Kai, Sam was aware of these different orientations or "psychology" of new faculty members:

...there's a psychology that goes with the expectations that these faculty bring with them and so we need to somehow align all these policies, expectations, and mission with our faculty.

Although some participants "sacrificed" certain research/scholarly endeavors, to fulfill the mounting expectations, Stevie, for example, has continued with the level of research referenced by Kai. According to Stevie:

...research is/was something I didn't want to stop doing...I don't want to stop is doing research. I try to do [research] with my undergrad students or with some collaborators in some way or another...I think I had maybe 13, 14 papers in international conferences.

As previously noted, Ardent's policies and practices have been continuously revisited. Therefore, while at the onset of the transition faculty may not have been asked to produce a "research paper" or submit a grant proposal an intensification of research and research related expectations were explicitly noted and alluded to during participant interviews.

For example, now that Stevie's respective program has been established and has some release time, s/he has been asked to focus on grant writing. Of this Stevie said, "starting this year, academic year, I have to be more active [in writing grants]. [Said mid-level administrator] asked me to put a little bit of energy in that direction..."

Pat and Gale also discussed grant writing expectations in relation to expanding opportunities for students. Of this Pat said:

As a faculty member in [said] area, if you're just at a two-year college, it's more focused on the lectures, small activities, or projects, as opposed to being at a four-year college, you have to write more grants and be more involved in undergraduate research programs for the students. We always have to look for opportunities for the students to be involved in projects, either here or in collaboration with other institutions, research projects. Since we don't have all the infrastructure to fulfill the research expectations, that's why we need to write grants and to bring in some kind of scholarships for the students to be encouraged to do some research.

Gale discussed faculty work expectations including grants as follows:

You know the main emphasis, of course, was teaching, and I thought it was going to be all teaching, but they also emphasized doing research as a teaching method. [Grant writing], its encouraged, I think they are encouraging it more than before, and so I think by bringing in your research and trying to incorporate it somehow with the teaching, then it gives you more preliminary research to write a grant with, so that's the

idea, like we don't have money to pay students to work for you, but you can bring your research into the classroom, and get some of the students that are taking [pause], get course credit for it, and work on these research projects that could bring grants in...

In fact when the discussion of tenure and promotion emerged, Angel noted that grants had never been considered, but would be now. Of this s/he said:

...it has never been, but I think that it will be now....every faculty member needs to be much more proactive in writing their own grants, without expecting a lot of collaboration from the college, so I think eventually this is going to be something that we are going to be looking for, for tenure, but in the past [no], we have only two tenured faculty here [in the department]...when [they] applied for tenure, grants was not an issue, even though I mention grants, really the focus is teaching for tenure.

Concerns regarding grants and tenure in general were expressed by Jamie s/he spoke about the lack of clear guidelines in the tenure and promotion process. The lack of clear guidelines were acknowledged by both faculty and administrators, as such, according to Kai, "that's one of the things we want to do, is put out some clear guidelines to new professors, saying, you know, what are our expectations, and try to make it pretty transparent, so new professors know exactly how much they need to do." Jaime expressed the following concerns regarding tenure and promotion:

yes, they expect me to write grants...if I am able to get a grant, I know, for example, some other institutions, they consider, for example, if you write

a grant, it's almost a publication, because it's going to be peer-reviewed, it's going to be supported or not. It's a lot of work that you put in writing a grant, so it needs to be taken as similar to writing a paper for a journal, you know? But that is not clear here....it is very vague...I heard they are going to check your papers, you know, and see if you really deserve to be a tenured faculty, and I was in shock.

Jaime's shock in such formalization to some extent stemmed from previous conceptions of tenure. Specifically, tenure at ACC was largely based on how long one had been with the college. As noted by a faculty member during my visit, it was "expected" (fieldnotes, 2013).

Concerns expanded to the composition of tenure committees, particularly as non-doctoral credentialed faculty and individuals who have not historically engaged in research would be evaluating peers for tenure. As Jamie suggested "it's a very, very touchy subject." The touchiness of the subject was further exacerbated by the confusion regarding who was tenure track or not. When discussing tenure and promotion, Kai noted as follows:

...there's a number of people at the college where there's a lot of ambiguity whether they're tenure track or not, that should be something that is absolutely perfectly clear, and yet I know of at least several people, some professors on campus say they're tenure track, and some people say they're not. That causes a lot of friction and a lot of animosity and a lot of confusion. And if you go back through their files, I know of at least a

couple of those cases, “well, I have an offer letter, it talks about being a tenure track,” but their contract doesn’t or vice versa.... So, none of my colleagues at other schools have any kind of experience with something like that, it seems to be really unique to here, and you know has its historical reasons of growing out of a two-year college.

Throughout interviews and observations on campus, it became apparent that research taking place at the college was also a “touchy subject.” The intensification of research and research related activities noted is supported by the grant and research infrastructures developed by the College as well as observations I made during Ardent’s Convocation ceremony. As noted in Chapter Three of this study, when the Faculty of the Year award was presented, the recipient’s achievements were research centered. Recent scholarly publications were highlighted. Similarly, during the faculty panel, the main point of conversation was panelists’ research agendas. During this time, grumblings in an audience primarily composed of faculty and staff resounded. Bobbie reinforced my observations as tensions at the college were discussed. According to Bobbie:

...there’s been a lot of tension, there was tension before I arrived and there’s tension now. To hear the entire panel talk about research, you need to know that there were people in the audience cringing. Because they were saying, ‘I didn’t come here to do that,’ and I understand that. They came here to work at a two-year institution and so the rules change, and so you have people with master’s degrees who have problems with that .

These tensions, conflicts, level of discontent are not surprising. As noted by Mintrom (2008), “the move to enhancing research capacity also holds the potential to demoralize academic staff who have little experience of research but who have made important contributions through teaching and service. Here, a change in the emphasis on what matters in a university can create status competitions between staff who have thrived within established norms and those who are keen to promote new norms that place more emphasis on research contributions” (p. 240).

The tensions or conflicts have been exacerbated by the lack of an updated faculty handbook and clear tenure and promotion guidelines. As noted by Sam, “we have a handbook, a faculty handbook and this handbook is still, is addressed as a community college, not as a college, and that makes you know, a big difference.” The majority of participants pointed to the dated handbook the faculty was currently operating from and the emanating tensions as a result. To date, the College awaits approval of changes presented to the Board of Regents, which in general has struggled with the transition given deeply embedded understandings and traditions as stewards of Ardent as a community college. Alex explained as follows:

[the faculty handbook] urgently needs revising, which the personnel committee has done, but you know it just hasn’t been approved by the Board of Regents and I think that brings up another issues, is that we have members on our Board of Regents who were mostly here during the community college years and they are finding it a big difference now, a huge learning curve in becoming a four-year institution, they, from what

I've heard are completely against going from 15 contact hours to 12 contact hours for full-time faculty and as far as the faculty knows that's the norm for four-year colleges, is 12 contact hours, and they see it as why should we now let the faculty get away with less teaching...

Although Ardent's recruitment efforts have resulted in the hiring of talented individuals, these tensions have resulted in faculty turnover. As suggested by Kai:

It's sort of an upside down institution in which many of the people who seem to know best or have a clearer, the clearest idea, are the ones least listened to and you know that will take like a generation to change probably. And here at [Ardent] one of the things that's led to is a huge turnover in faculty, a lot of people come and want to stay, but just get frustrated with that and they leave, so our turnover rate has been pretty high with faculty and usually among, unfortunately it tends to be the best faculty that leave.

Sam also discussed the departure of new hires:

...we get some really good people. We don't necessarily keep them. I mean, we just lost a really outstanding faculty member that was from [said top tier university] and had a post-doc at [said top tier university] and there's not just here, [s/he] wanted to be here, but I think [s/he] had also some familial issues that [s/he] was dealing with. But I think if we had had a different context in terms of avoiding this tension between

community college mindset and university mindset, I think that individual would have felt more comfortable.

One participant discussed low faculty morale and satisfaction. They noted at one point wanting "...to quit, to move to some other place" and cited similar sentiments among colleagues. Low morale was in part linked to the administration's lack of acknowledging and praising faculty accomplishments.

Chapter Summary

Although in a rather "dysfunctional" and "loosey-goosey" manner, Ardent strived to be "all things to all people." Given this role, Frankie noted that "everyone recognize[d] that the College [was] an asset and a resource within our region..." Cameron similarly claimed, "the people around here always say this is the jewel of [Ardent's region]". Nevertheless, in efforts to "truly" transition into a four-year college, and be viewed both internally and externally as a "desirable, proper, or appropriate" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574) four-year college, a shift in organizational culture was necessary. In other words, Ardent could no longer continue trying to be all things to all people and could no longer "run like a mom-and-pop shop."

In this section, I demonstrated how Ardent's transition from a community college to a regional comprehensive four-year college entailed an organizational cultural shift in efforts to gain legitimacy. In line with the work of Rusch and Wilbur (2007), legitimacy was the first concern of individuals principally charged with steering Ardent's transition. Guided by Tierney's (1988) framework of organizational culture, in this section I highlighted how Ardent's mission, environment, strategy, leadership, dissemination of

information, and socialization process were reshaped by the two simultaneous processes: (a) tightening operations, and (b) formalizing operations. Stated differently, these two processes enabled Ardent's organizational cultural shift. To explain the process of tightening operations, I used a metaphor of contraction because not only did Ardent narrow and/or halt certain operations, but also strategically enhanced and/or developed other areas. Formalizing operations specifically referred to the establishment of policies, procedures, and practices.

Based on Tierney's conceptualization of culture, what was done, how it was done, and who was involved in doing it was fundamentally altered for enhanced legitimacy. In addition to striving for legitimacy, Ardent's transition entailed efforts to secure fiscal resources, both factors which have been identified as necessary for the survival of an organization. In following chapter, I discuss my findings, advance implications for leaders and policy, and provide suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study was to explore Ardent's transition from a community college into a four-year comprehensive college in light of legislative approval to offer an unlimited number of baccalaureate degree programs in high need and appropriately deemed areas. I was particularly interested in learning about what the transition looked like, what it entailed, and possible implications for various critical stakeholders (e.g., students, faculty). I embarked on this study as a proponent of the community college with concerns regarding the implementation of baccalaureate degree programs, and as in Ardent's case, their potential transition into four-year colleges.

For accreditation purposes some community colleges offering baccalaureates have been required to abdicate "community" from their name and become categorized as four-year colleges (Floyd, 2006); however, Ardent *sought* such categorization. Furthermore, Ardent also self-disclosed aspirations to become a university. Albeit not a new phenomenon, it has become increasingly common for community colleges to expand their mission to offer baccalaureates and develop into four-year colleges (Longanecker, 2008). Accordingly, with bachelor degrees from community colleges approved in 21 states and now on the "California horizon" (Murphy & Burgarino, 2014, para. 1), I found this study relevant, timely, and critical to U.S. community colleges and the field of higher education at large. I assert that this topic is of much significance given the intersection of community colleges, access, and underserved groups in society. In this chapter I discuss

my findings and advance implications for leaders and policy. I then conclude this chapter by providing suggestions for future research.

Discussion of Findings

In this study I have shown that to date Ardent's transition has entailed an organizational cultural shift in efforts to gain legitimacy. I emphasize "to date" because in addition to being complex, Ardent's transition is ongoing and as suggested by Geri (ELA) "if it'll ever end, I don't know." To recall, legitimacy is "... a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). For example, although Geri (ELA) stated "I have a certain level of acceptance for conformity to what other institutions do, it's good, other institutions are doing this, that's wonderful, but then we also have to find what's good for us at any given time," the majority of actions at Ardent, such as restructuring, benchmarking, and adopting best practices, demonstrated otherwise. In essence, as suggested by Gonzales (2013), "situated inside an institutional field where cultural resources, like legitimacy, matter most, alternatives seem much too risky" (p. 204).

Although conversations centered on legitimacy and prestige are typically related to four-year colleges and universities, as maintained by Toma (2012) "even aspirations at community colleges, while expressed in terms of access, are akin to those at other kinds of institutions" (p. 125). Similarly, as suggested by O'Meara (2007) "...no institutional type is immune to striving" (p. 157). In addition to pursuing legitimacy, the primary agents of Ardent's transition were concentrated on garnering fiscal resources. The notion

that cultural resources (i.e., legitimacy, prestige) yield financial resources, and vice-versa, was well understood and engaged (Gonzales, 2012; Gonzales, Martinez, & Ordu, 2013; Pusser & Marginson, 2012).

Utilizing Tierney's (1988) framework on organizational culture in higher education, I demonstrated how Ardent's mission, environment, strategy, leadership, socialization process, and access to/manner for disseminating information were all impacted by two simultaneous processes: (a) tightening operations, and (b) formalizing operations. I also showed how both of these processes were primarily driven by normatively institutionalized practices, rather than ways to enhance organizational efficiency. In other words, Ardent implemented a set of widely accepted and appropriately viewed practices and structures within the larger field of higher education that did not necessarily benefit its stakeholders. Recall the continued expansion of baccalaureate degree programs and initial push for master's degree programs, despite low enrollment and lack of articulation between its own two-year and four-year degree programs. The creation of dean positions is another example to consider. Moreover, I highlighted how as a result of adopting, and in some cases imposing, a different set of norms, rules, beliefs, and values, tensions at the college were either created and/or exacerbated.

In many ways, the results of conforming to accepted ways of "knowing and doing legitimacy" (Gonzales, 2013, p. 179), coincided with O'Meara's (2007) indicators of striving. For example, in addition to investing in new infrastructures and administrative support, Ardent invested in a "true union" (Bobbie/ELA/INT) and dorms. Related to

curriculum and programs, for example, in addition to a shift in focus from associate/certificate programs to bachelor degree programs, both rigor and post-baccalaureate education were stressed. A point of departure for Ardent in comparison to striving colleges and universities was the College's increased focus on developmental education, which as discussed previously, was financially motivated.

Faculty recruitment, roles, and rewards, primarily tightened and formalized based on requirements set forth by discipline-specific accrediting bodies, also matched those of striving institutions, such as an increased focus on research and decreased teaching loads. As highlighted by Rusch and Wilbur (2007):

In higher education, accreditation processes for institutions, disciplines, or professions are examples of highly scripted procedures for attaining and retaining legitimacy. In many cases, accreditation is merely a repeated event or periodic review that reaffirms that status of a university, college, or program. In other cases, accreditation represents an aspiration to attain status and legitimacy in order to belong to and mimic an entirely different set of norms, rules, beliefs, and values. (p. 302)

Lured by the promise of heightened legitimacy associated with external validation, Ardent sought to attract and hire doctoral-level trained faculty to meet accrediting standards. Additionally, Ardent restructured faculty work expectations. Nonetheless, these practices produced unintended consequences.

As a result of bringing in doctorate degree holders, some adjunct faculty members, Ardent's primary workforce, were not rehired. While some faculty members

had no choice, others left on their own accord. Specifically, although Ardent was successful in attracting and recruiting qualified or appropriately credentialed faculty to teach within four-year programs, in some instances the College was unsuccessful in retaining them. In addition to nonrenewal of faculty contracts and turnover, matters centered on faculty intent to leave, satisfaction, and morale surfaced. These issues were, to varying degrees, associated with the unavoidable tension between a community college and four-year college “mindset,” changes in faculty work expectations to emulate those of long established four-year colleges, a “classism” (Kai/MLA/INT) or caste system based on faculty credentials, and “uncertainty” about their future (Taylor/MLA/INT).

To this point, in many regards, efforts to gain legitimacy as a four-year college undercut the very reasons Ardent embarked on this transition. For example, as noted in Chapter Two, Hattie and Marsh (1996) concluded that “...the common belief that research and teaching are inextricably entwined is an enduring myth” (p. 539); however, other research, most of which has been conducted at four-year institutions, suggests that as faculty allocate more time to research, less value and time is dedicated to teaching (Massy & Zemsky, 1994), teaching-related activities such as advising and counseling (Milem, Berger, & Dey, 2000), and student contact/interactions (Olsen & Simmons, 1996; Wawrzynski, 2004). All of which, as noted in the literature, are important to non-traditional student persistence, learning, and engagement.

Steps taken in the transition to gain legitimacy have also undercut access. Expanding access to higher education was one of the primary ideologies that propelled the development of baccalaureate degree programs at Ardent. Its desires to become a

university were also grounded in notions of access. Related to the community college baccalaureate (CCB), McKinney and Morris (2010) noted as follows:

Changing student demographics are another external factor leading community colleges to launch 4-year degree programs. More low-income and place-bound students are pursuing higher education than ever before. As tuition and undergraduate admissions standards continue to increase at many 4-year institutions, low-income and place-bound students are threatened to be locked out of earning a bachelor's degree. The CCB can provide financial, geographical, and programmatic access to the baccalaureate degree for these students. (p. 191)

Yet, through tightening operations and formalizing operations at Ardent, financial, geographical, and programmatic access have in fact been narrowed. Specifically, some students have been displaced by the termination of certificate and two-year degree programs and increases in tuition. The expansion of Ardent's mission to award baccalaureate degrees and become a four-year college was intended to serve students who wanted to seek a bachelor's degree close to home. And though some students may no longer have to commute over 100 miles to pursue a bachelor's degree, other students are commuting in pursuit of more affordable tuition. Yes, as proudly touted in Ardent's viewbook, the College continues to offer the lowest four-year college tuition rate in its state, but as noted by participants, its tuition is no longer competitive with local community colleges. Consequently, rather than counter the threat of low-income and place-bound students being "locked out of earning a bachelor's degree" (McKinney & Morris, 2010, p. 191), Ardent's actions have reinforced this threat.

Certainly, Ardent's transition and the accompanying practices carry significant benefits to students. Some of Ardent's students have earned bachelor's degrees certified as meeting the professional standards of its respective field, some have participated in undergraduate research opportunities, and still others have successfully completed their developmental math sequences and received more intentional advising. Of those that have earned bachelor degrees from Ardent, some have gone on to pursue graduate studies, while others are currently earning incomes higher than those of the very households they grew up in (fieldnotes, 2013). In the near future, students will have the opportunity to live on campus, and continue cheering on Ardent's athletic teams as they don hoodies from the newly renovated bookstore. Candidly, during my campus visit I became excited as I learned about the opportunities being afforded to students who otherwise might not have such options. Nevertheless, these accomplishments were glaringly marred by the dire consequences related to the main finding of this study. In essence, access has been expanded at the expense of access. Accordingly, questions surrounding the CCB and subsequent transition into four-year colleges then become "Access for whom?" and "Access to what?" (Bastedo & Gumport, 2003).

These questions and critique are poignantly supported in the following quote by Alex as s/he forecasted the consequences related to Ardent's transition:

...for the community it means that you know, the associate degrees might be phased out in the future and this area may need a community college if [Ardent] continues to pursue the four-year mission wholeheartedly, you know. Where are those folks going to go to school now who maybe just want the associate's degree

or to take some basics at a cheaper price? So, I think there are still a lot of questions that haven't been answered...

Although as noted by Alex, several questions remain answered, given the findings of this study, Ardent presents a cautionary case for community colleges considering not only seeking approval to confer baccalaureate degrees, but also potentially transitioning into a four-year college.

I strenuously underscore the unintended nature of the consequences transpiring at Ardent as I firmly believe those primarily charged with steering Ardent's transition were not ill-intended. The participants' passion for and commitment to underserved students exuded during our conversations and interactions. I would venture as far as asserting that most, if not all, were aware of and lamented the consequences. However, rather than pushback, they recognized and reproduced rationales drawn from a field that dictates what success looks like or how an honorable four-year college should operate and function. To this point, in the following sections I outline implications for leaders and policy. Finally, I offer suggestions for future research.

Implications for Leaders

As noted in the introduction of this study, the community college baccalaureate (CCB) has champions and critics. While some individuals view the CCB as a "natural progression" (Walker, 2005, p. 16) of the community college mission, others believe it undermines the community college mission (Townsend, 2005). Nevertheless, both groups appear to have reached a consensus on two points: (a) the CCB is more than just an appendage to the community college mission, and (b) this trend is unlikely to slow. As

exemplified by Ardent, while some community colleges have adopted the CCB and retained their community college mission, others have transformed into full baccalaureate degree granting colleges. In either situation, leaders must proceed with caution.

Ardent's implementation of baccalaureate degree programs and subsequent transition from a community college into a four-year college was described by participants as "difficult," "not easy," "long," "slow," "chaotic," "painful," "extremely political," "never-ending," and riddled with "growing pains." Other participants described it as "exciting," "necessary," and "a longtime coming." Some participants expressed both kinds of sentiments as they shared their experiences and perspectives on Ardent's transition. In any respect, through each narrative it became evident that, although transitioning from a community college into a four-year college may appear attractive and promising, in addition to ongoing and complex, this process is highly problematic. Most notably, as previously highlighted, the steps taken to achieve such status may counter the overall purpose of the transition.

Transitioning from one institutional type to another requires difficult decisions which inevitably involve tradeoffs. In this particular case, what will happen to the students that can no longer attend Ardent? Who will be responsible for serving them? In light of these questions, during the decision making process, it is important to remain focused on the original intents and purposes of such shifts, even if remaining focused involves ignoring and pushing back against the norm. The complex and problematic nature of transitioning from a community college into a four-year college is magnified when the focus becomes legitimacy.

Rather than benchmarking and naming colleges and universities that one wants to resemble, leaders must focus on identifying, studying, and consulting colleges and universities that have undergone similar transitions. The implications of transitioning from a community college into a four-year college can only be understood by exploring similar cases. Only two participants in this study referenced a college that had undergone a similar transition – Utah Valley University (UVU). However, their knowledge of UVU came much later in Ardent’s transition process. Given the lack of planning prior to embarking on this shift, several of the actions taken by Ardent’s leadership reflected a reactive rather than a proactive strategy. Studying and consulting organizations that have engaged in similar behaviors, will help individuals plan, anticipate, and mitigate issues that may arise during the transition. It is crucial for leaders to recognize that this is a change that is going to entail deep, transformative change – cultural changes that will require a remaking of the institution from the inside out.

To this point, planning is imperative. As suggested by Cameron (MLA), “...don’t rush into [the transition] without really really taking the time to do the research, do the homework, because I think that’s what happened here.” Had Ardent’s transition been well planned, many of the tensions the College is currently experiencing could have potentially been avoided or tempered. Accordingly, the transition must be systematically and thoroughly thought out. All areas of operation must be considered. More specifically, leaders must pay particular attention to: 1) finances; 2) institutional advancement; 3) program articulation and accreditation; 4) faculty roles and rewards; and 5) student services.

Again, “it’s not just about waking up one morning and saying okay now we’re a four-year school...” (Bobbie/HLA/INT). As recommended by Geri:

...certainly there needs to be a very comprehensive plan that outlines what the financial implications are. There’s no question...you know, you could move through the political red tape, that’s very easy to do if you say the right things to the right people and you frame this in a way that really pulls a community behind you, that legislative support... so the political being easy, but for the financial implications for how the institution is going to transition from a two-year to four-year institution that increased cost for faculty salaries, for example. The increased costs of building the student centered types of programs and offices.

Similarly, before moving to hire faculty to teach within four-year degree programs for the purpose of accreditation, what is expected of them should already be highlighted in the faculty handbook. Discussions centered on how and to what extent expectations for faculty teaching within two-year and four-year programs will differ, if at all, must take place before transitioning. There is no acceptable reason for Ardent’s, or any other faculty to be operating under a handbook “addressed as a community college” (Sam/ELA/INT) if it is no longer a community college.

This planning process can also be facilitated by involving various stakeholders in discussions related to the transition. Their participation can ensure that all aspects are considered and that all voices are heard. Communication is key. Bobbie (HLA) echoed this recommendation as follows:

Don't treat it as an administrative change. I think you need to make sure that all the stakeholders are involved in the discussion before you can [move] forward. I think you need to have conversations with faculty, "how will this work if we moved in that direction?" staff, and students, and community and then you create it together...so that everybody feels valued and understands why this might really enhance [Arden], but more importantly the community...

Bobbie's recommendation to ensure that all stakeholders are involved in discussions centered on the transition also speaks to the fact that leaders must recognize that change is not mechanical. This process involves people and thus emotions (Gonzales & Rincones, 2013; Woods, 2009). For example, faculty members were not only fearful and concerned about job security, but also worried about whether or not their work would be viewed as legitimate (Gonzales, 2013; Gonzales & Rincones, 2012). Accordingly, carrying out such shifts requires a humanistic approach. Pat (FAC) alluded to this recommendation in the following statement: "don't try to do everything at once, like trying to jump right into the four-year program. You have to do it step by step, that way everybody has a soft transition." A soft transition can be further enabled through wider policies that monitor the development of community college baccalaureate degree programs and the transition of community colleges into four-year colleges, which I discuss in the next section.

Given the findings of this study and implications and recommendations presented in this section, it would prove beneficial for organizations to engage in evaluative thinking (Dunet, Gase, Oliver, & Schooley, 2012; Patton, 2003/2004). "Evaluative

thinking offers a way to consider problems and potential policy solutions through the lens of logical reasoning, explicit criteria, and data” (Dunet et al., 2012, p. 201). More specifically, this reflective process involves weighing evidence, considering contradictions, articulating values, and examining assumptions, among other practices (Patton, 2003/2004, p. 4). In partnership with internal and external stakeholders, such thinking would, for example, help leaders remain focused on the original intents and purposes of the transition particularly when making difficult trade-off decisions. If the transition was grounded in notions of access, is access being expanded or narrowed? If the transition was grounded in notions of economic development, have we conducted an economic impact study? If our focus is both access and economic development, how can we accomplish both? As a recurring process, this evaluation approach would support ongoing transitions such as Ardent’s.

Implications for Policy

As a four-year college, Ardent was granted permission to “offer four-year degrees in any program deemed necessary and appropriate” (DOCA/CCC). Nevertheless, some degree programs were created to attract students, rather than out of a necessity for them. In addition to policies monitoring the kinds of degrees that are offered, the progress of the programs must be monitored. Policymakers must establish suitable criteria for measuring program success. The development of additional programs should not be permitted unless current programs are fully functioning under criteria established by consensus among various stakeholders. Policymakers must also acknowledge the fact that authorizing community colleges to offer baccalaureate degrees may lead to their subsequent

transition/transformation into four-year colleges. As such, plans and discussions centered on who will take on functions and programs dropped by community colleges are critical. Who will serve students that will no longer be able to attend Ardent? Unless implications and recommendations discussed in the sections above are considered during the process of transitioning from a community college into a four-year college, the very populations such shifts were intended to serve will continue to be underserved.

Suggestions for Future Research

To help shed light on this type of behavior by community colleges, I suggest repeating this kind of work at other places. Furthermore, I suggest future research centered on faculty, students, staff, and administrative actions. As previously noted, Ardent's transition has created and/or exacerbated tensions at the College. These tensions raise concerns regarding faculty morale and satisfaction. One of the primary tensions identified was among faculty members with masters and bachelor degrees and doctoral level credentialed faculty as these individuals generally carry different "perceptions" (Kai/INT) regarding faculty roles and responsibilities. Based on Gouldner's (1958, 1957) typology, the latter group is likely to exhibit a cosmopolitan orientation with a greater loyalty to the field than the organization and greater interest in advancing their research than serving the college and the local community. Accordingly, in addition to studying faculty morale and satisfaction within this context, I suggest assessing faculty work time allocation, which ultimately carries implications for student learning, satisfaction, and faculty-student interactions, which are critical for the retention of nontraditional students. As this study did not include the student perspective, for future studies I also recommend

studies centered on student satisfaction and their views on faculty-student interactions. The staff perspective is also critical in such shifts as they are the ones responsible for carrying out many of the changes related to policy and practice. In terms of administrative behaviors, I recommend work focused on institutional expenditures that examines where resources are being drawn from and committed. Last, enrollment patterns should also be studied in efforts to understand and depict who is being served by community colleges that have transformed into four-year colleges.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I discussed the findings of the study related to Ardent's transition from a community college into a four-year comprehensive college. The findings were connected back to the literature and O'Meara's (2007) framework, which as noted in Chapter Two helped guide this study, but did not limit my analysis. Based on my findings, I noted that such transitions are both complex and problematic. I then drew out implications for leaders and policy. Last, I highlighted areas for future research to help continue to shed light on this type of behavior by community colleges.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

E-mail Invite

Dear Dr. XXXX,

Hello. My name is Edna Martinez and I am a doctoral candidate at Clemson University. I write to invite you to participate in a research project entitled “Exploring Organizational Shifts in Policies and Practices at Baccalaureate Degree Granting Community Colleges and/or Former Community Colleges” (Clemson University IRB#2013-055 & [Ardent] IRB).

Broadly stated, the purpose of this project is to learn about how the introduction of the baccalaureate degree programs has shaped organizational policies and practices at your college.

The details of the project can be found in the invitation and consent forms, which are attached to this email. However, if you would like to participate, the extent of your participation would include one interview. The interview will last approximately 60 minutes.

If you are willing to participate, please respond to me at edna@clemson.edu and we can set up an interview to be conducted in a format, time, and location that is most preferable to you.

Thank you so much for your time,

Edna

Appendix B

Invitation to Participate

February 4, 2013

Dear Dr. XXXXX.

Hello. My name is Edna Martinez and I am a doctoral candidate at Clemson University. I write to invite you to participate in a research project entitled “Exploring Organizational Shifts in Policies and Practices at Baccalaureate Degree Granting Community Colleges and/or former Community Colleges.”

Broadly stated, the purpose of this project is to learn about how the introduction of the community college baccalaureate has shaped organizational policies and practices at your college.

You have been identified as a potential participant given your position at the college. In addition, your name may have been provided by a colleague in the field.

Please note that your participation is completely voluntary. The extent of your participation would include one interview. The interview would last approximately 60 minutes. The exchange of information will be conducted in a format that is most convenient and preferable to you. With your permission, the interview would be audio recorded and transcribed. You could also be contacted via e-mail or telephone with any follow up questions or clarification after the interview. You and your college/university will be assigned a pseudonym.

If you are willing to participate, please e-mail me at edna@clemson.edu. Dr. Leslie D. Gonzales is the principal investigator and my dissertation chair. If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact her at leslieg@clemson.edu or 864-656-2062

Your time is greatly appreciated.

Thank you,

Edna Martinez

Appendix C

Informed Consent

Information about Being in a Research Study Clemson University

Exploring Organizational Shifts in Policies and Practices at Baccalaureate Degree Granting Community Colleges and/or former Community Colleges

Description of the Study and Your Part in It

Ms. Edna Martinez, doctoral student at Clemson University, supervised by Dr. Leslie D. Gonzales, Assistant Professor at Clemson University, is inviting you to take part in a research study. The purpose of this research is to explore how the introduction of the community college baccalaureate has shaped organizational policies and practices at your college.

Specifically, Edna Martinez would like to **interview** you about the community college baccalaureate at your college. Your participation will require approximately 60 minutes. The interviews will be conducted in a format preferable to you, either via telephone or face to face. Just the same, the time and location of the interview is of your convenience. With your permission, all interviews will be audio recorded. All recordings will be stored under lock and key and will be coded with a pseudonym. You could also be contacted via e-mail or telephone with any follow up questions or for clarification after the interview.

Risks and Discomforts

We do not know of any risks or discomforts to you in this research study as you and your institution will not be identifiable by name.

Possible Benefits

We do not know of any way you would benefit directly from taking part in this study. However, upon completion of the study, you will be provided with an executive analysis of an issue that is important to your institution. This research will also contribute to the limited literature on the community college baccalaureate.

Protection of Privacy and Confidentiality

We will do everything we can to protect your privacy and confidentiality. We will not tell anybody outside of the research team that you were in this study. Your name will never be used in any dissemination of the work (reports, analysis, articles, and

presentations, etc...). You and your college will be assigned a pseudonym. In addition, any particular or unique information that might make you identifiable will be excluded. Lastly, in efforts to protect confidentiality any data collected will be kept under lock and key and password protected. Upon completion of the study and dissemination of the results, recordings will be erased from both recording device and computer (Fall 2015).

Choosing to Be in the Study

You do not have to be in this study. You may choose not to take part and you may choose to stop taking part at any time. You will not be punished in any way if you decide not to be in the study or to stop taking part in the study.

Contact Information

If you have any questions or concerns about this study or if any problems arise, please contact Dr. Leslie D. Gonzales at Clemson University at leslieg@clemson.edu or 864-656-2062.

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights in this research study, please contact the Clemson University Office of Research Compliance (ORC) at 864-656-6460 or irb@clemson.edu. If you are outside of the Upstate South Carolina area, please use the ORC's toll-free number, 866-297-3071.

Consent

I have read this form and have been allowed to ask any questions I might have. I agree to take part in this study.

Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____

A copy of this form will be given to you.

Appendix D

Faculty Interview Protocol

Exploring Organizational Shifts in Policies and Practices at Baccalaureate Degree Granting Community Colleges

Faculty Interview Protocol

Interview description: Interviews will be semi-structured. The interview process will follow the subsequent protocol.

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Share purpose of study and provide informed consent form to interviewee
- 3) Provide interviewee with the opportunity to ask questions and express concerns
- 4) Upon completion of consent form begin recording and proceed with interview

The following questions will guide the interview:

- How and to what extent has the CCB impacted the student-population you work with?
- What does your work day/week look like? How do you allocate your time?
- How would you describe it before the CCB program?
- Have you had to make any adjustments to your work? [Probe: Do you place more emphasis in one area of your work?]
- What does the CCB program mean to you and your work?
- What does the CCB mean to your students?
- Can you describe your students?
- What are your responsibilities to students?
- Have your responsibilities and ability to carry out your responsibilities been impacted by the CCB?
- Do you mostly teach student in the general education population, students pursuing two year or four-year degrees?
- What do you hope/think the impact of offering this degree will be?
- Can you tell me a little bit about the college curriculum?
- What does the CCB mean to the curriculum?
- What are some of the programs you offer students?
- Are these programs available to all students?
- Were these programs available prior to the CCB?
- Has the CCB led to a shift in resources in any way? [Probe: Have resources been taken from one area and allocated to another or has there been an increase in resources?]

Appendix E

Staff Interview Protocol

Exploring Organizational Shifts in Policies and Practices at Baccalaureate Degree
Granting Community Colleges and/or Former Community Colleges

Staff Interview Protocol

Interview description: Interviews will be semi-structured. The interview process will follow the subsequent protocol.

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Share purpose of study and provide informed consent form to interviewee
- 3) Provide interviewee with the opportunity to ask questions and express concerns
- 4) Upon completion of consent form begin recording and proceed with interview

The following questions will guide the interview:

- What does it take for a student to be admitted into the college?
- Can you walk me through the admissions process?
- Is there a difference for admission into two-year and four-year programs?
- How and to what extent have these requirements impacted the student-population?
- Can you tell me a little bit about the college curriculum?
- What does the CCB mean to the curriculum?
- What are some of the programs you offer students?
- Are these programs available to all students?
- Were these programs available prior to the CCB?
- Has the CCB led to a shift in resources in any way? [Probe: Have resources been taken from one area and allocated to another or has there been an increase in resources?]
- How would you describe the public image of your college?
- Is the current image similar to that prior to the introduction of the community college baccalaureate?
- Were there intentional efforts to change the image of the college or did it occur naturally?
- How has this image helped or hindered the college?

Appendix F

Administrator Interview Protocol

Exploring Organizational Shifts in Policies and Practices at Baccalaureate Degree Granting Community Colleges and/or Former Community Colleges

Administrator Interview Protocol

Interview description: Interviews will be semi-structured. The interview process will follow the subsequent protocol.

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Share purpose of study and provide informed consent form to interviewee
- 3) Provide interviewee with the opportunity to ask questions and express concerns
- 4) Upon completion of consent form begin recording and proceed with interview

The following questions will guide the interview:

- How and to what extent has the CCB impacted the student-population your college serves?
- What do you, personally, expect of your faculty?
- How does the implementation of this degree impact faculty?
- In terms of faculty evaluation, were there any changes in how they are evaluated? [Probe: Is there more emphasis in one area of their work?]
- Do these changes to faculty work apply only to your program or do you see the same or similar kinds of changes across the board? Are they transcending across non- four year programs?
- What do you hope/think the impact of offering this degree will be?
- Can you tell me a little bit about the college curriculum?
- What does the CCB mean to the curriculum?
- What are some of the programs you offer students?
- Are these programs available to all students?
- Were these programs available prior to the CCB?
- Has the CCB led to a shift in resources in any way? [Probe: Have resources been taken from one area and allocated to another or has there been an increase in resources?]
- How would you describe the public image of your college?
- Is the current image similar to that prior to the introduction of the community college baccalaureate?
- Were there intentional efforts to change the image of the college or did it occur naturally?
- How has this image helped or hindered the college?

Appendix G

Confidentiality Agreement

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Transcription Services

I, _____ [NAME], acknowledge that I will be providing transcription services to Edna Martinez in connection with the following research:

Research Exploring Organizational Shifts in Policies and Practices at
Title/Description: Baccalaureate Degree Granting Community Colleges and/or former Community Colleges

Principal Investigator(s): Leslie D. Gonzales; Edna Martinez

I understand that I will be receiving sensitive and protected information in connection with my services. I accordingly agree to the terms of this Confidentiality Agreement, including the following:

- I will not disclose the information I receive to anyone who is not authorized by this Agreement.
- I will use precautions to prevent unauthorized parties from accessing the research-related information I have in my possession. Specifically, audio files will never be shared by email. Audio files will only be accessed via secured shared folder in Dropbox. Furthermore, these files will not be saved to my personal computer hard drive or other devices.
- Each audio file will be titled by a pseudonym. I will replace names mentioned in the audio with the pseudonym in the actual transcript.
- I will encrypt each transcript with a password assigned by the researcher. This password will not be shared with anyone who is not authorized by this Agreement.
- I will delete all files containing study related documents upon confirmed receipt of documents from researcher.

This Confidentiality Agreement begins on the date I receive research information or begin providing my services to Edna Martinez and it has no expiration date. I am aware that I can be held legally liable for any breach of this confidentiality agreement, and for any harm incurred by individuals if I disclose identifiable information contained in the audiotapes and/or files to which I will have access.

I AGREE TO THE TERMS ABOVE:

Signature of Service Provider

Address

Date

Name (printed)

REFERENCES

- Alvesson, M. (2011) *Interpreting Interviews*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- American Association of Community Colleges. (2014). *Community college fact sheet*. Retrieved from http://www.aacc.nche.edu/AboutCC/Documents/Facts14_Data_R2.pdf
- American Association of Community Colleges. (2013). *Community college fact sheet*. Retrieved from http://www.aacc.nche.edu/AboutCC/Documents/fastfacts13_full.jpg
- American Association of Community Colleges. (2012). *American Association of Community Colleges 2012 Community College Fast Facts*. Retrieved from the AACC website: <http://www.aacc.nche.edu/AboutCC/Documents/FactSheet2012.pdf>
- American Association of Community Colleges. (2010). *Fast facts*. Retrieved from <http://www.aacc.nche.edu/AboutCC/Trends/Pages/studentsatcommunitycolleges.aspx>
- American Association of Community Colleges. (n.d.). Mission. Retrieved from the American Association of Community Colleges website: <http://www.aacc.nche.edu/AboutCC/history/Pages/mission.aspx>
- Anderson, G. M., Sun, J. C., & Alfonso, M. (2006). Effectiveness of statewide articulation agreements on the probability of transfer: A preliminary policy analysis. *Review of Higher Education, 29*(3), 261-291.
- Austin, A. E. (2002). Preparing the next generation of faculty: Graduate school as socialization to the academic career. *Journal of Higher Education, 73*(1), 94-122.
- Bailey, T. (2009). Challenge and opportunity: Rethinking the role and function of developmental education in community college. *New Directions for Community Colleges, 145*, 11-30.
- Bailey, T., Calcagno, J. C., Jenkins, D., Leinbach, T., Kienzl, G. (2006). Is student-right-to-know all you should know? An analysis of community college graduation rates. *Research in Higher Education, 47*(5), 491-519.
- Bailey, T., Calcagno, J. C, Jenkins, D., Kienzl, G., & Leinbach, D. (2005). Community College Student Outcomes: What Institutional Characteristics Make a Difference?, Community College Research Center, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.

- Bastedo, M. N., & Gumport, P. J. (2003). Access to what?: Mission differentiation and academic stratification in U.S. public higher education. *Higher Education, 46*, 341-359.
- Bemmel, E. P., Floyd, D. L., & Bryan, V. C.). Perceptions and reflections of administrators: Community colleges transitioning to baccalaureate colleges. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice, 33*, 151-176.
- Bettinger, E. P., Boatman, A., & Long, B. T. (2013). Student supports: Developmental education and other academic programs. *The Future of Children, 23*(1), 93-115.
- Bowen, W. G., Kurzweil, M.A., & Tobin, E. M. (2005). *Equity and excellence in American higher education*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
- Boylan, H., Bonham, B., & Bliss, L. (1994). Characteristic components of developmental programs. *Research in Developmental Education, 11*(1), 1-4.
- Brenner, M. E. (2006). Interviewing in educational research. In: J. L. Green, G. Camilli, & P. B. Elmore (Eds.), *Handbook of complementary methods in education research* (pp.457-475). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Brint, S. (2003). Few remaining dreams: Community colleges since 1985. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 586*, 16-37
- Brint, S., & Karabel, J. (1989). *The diverted dream: Community colleges and the promise of educational opportunity in America, 1900-1985*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Britt, L. W., & Hirt, J. B. (1999). Student experiences and institutional practices affecting spring semester transfer students. *NASPA Journal, 36*(3), 198-209.
- Brewer, D. J., Gates, S. M., & Goldman, C. A. (2002). *In pursuit of prestige: Strategy and competition in U. S. higher education*. Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Brophy, B. (2000, September). Is a four-year degree from a two-year school right for you? *U. S. News & World Report*. Retrieved from <http://www.accbd.org/articles/index.php/publications/show/128>
- Bush, E. C., & Bush, L. (2010). Calling out the elephant: An examination of African American male achievement in community colleges. *Journal of African American Males in Education, 1*(1), 40-62.
- Bush, E. C., & Bush, L. (2005). Black male achievement and the community college. *Black Issues in Higher Education, 22*(2), 44.

- Bush, V. B., Castaneda, C., Hardy, D. E., & Katsinas, S. G. (2009). What the numbers say about community colleges and athletics. *New Directions for Community Colleges, 147*, 5-14.
- Cain, M. (1999). *The community college in the twenty-first century: A systems approach*. New York, NY: University Press of America.
- Calcagno, J.C., Bailey, T., Jenkins, D., Kienzl, G., & Leinbach, T. (2008). Community college student success: What institutional characteristics make a difference? *Economics of Education Review, 27*(6), 632-645.
- Carzo, R., & Yanouzas, J. N. (1969). Effects of flat and tall organization structure. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 14*(2), 178-191.
- Cataldi, E. F., Bradburn, E. M., & Fahimi, M. (2005). *2004 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF:04): Background characteristics, work activities, and compensation of instructional faculty and staff: Fall 2003* (NCES 2006-176). Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.
- Cejda, B. D., & Kaylor, A. J. (2001). Early transfer: A case study of traditional aged community college students. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice, 25*(8), 621-638.
- Cejda, B. D., & Rhodes, J. H. (2004). The role of faculty in promoting associate degree completion among Hispanic students. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice, 28*(3), 249-262.
- Cejda, B. D., Rhoades, J., & Casparis, C. (2002). *Influences of the educational decisions of Hispanic students enrolled in Hispanic serving institutions*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Council for the Study of Community Colleges, Seattle, WA.
- Chang, J. C. (2005). Faculty-student interaction at the community college: A focus on students of color. *Research in Higher Education, 46*(7), 769-802.
- Checkoway, B. (2001). Renewing the civic mission of the American research university. *The Journal of Higher Education, 72*(2), 125-147.
- Clark, B. R. (1980). The 'cooling out' function revisited. *New Directions for Community Colleges, 32*, 15-31.
- Clark, B. (1978). Differentiation in national systems of higher education. *Comparative Education Review, 22*(2), 242-258.

- Clark, B. R. (1960). The 'cooling-out' function in higher education. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 65(6), 569-576.
- Cohen, A. M. (1990). The case for the community college. *American Journal of Education*, 98(4), 426-442.
- Cohen, A. M. & Brawer, F. B. (2008). *The American community college* (5th ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Cohen, A. M., & Brawer, F. B. (1996). *The American community college* (3rd ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Cook, A. (2000). *Community college baccalaureate degrees: A delivery model for the future?* Denver, CO: Education Commission of the States.
- Coley, R. J. (2000). *The American community college turns 100: A look at its students, programs, and prospects*. Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service.
- Contreras, F. E., Malcom, L. E., & Bensimon, E. M. (2008). Hispanic-Serving Institutions: Closeted identity and the production of equitable outcomes for Latina/o students. In: M. Gasman, B. Baez, & C. S. V. Turner (Eds.), *Understanding minority-serving institutions* (pp. 71–90). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press
- Coser, L. A. (1974). *Greedy institutions: Patterns of undivided commitment*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Creamer, D. G. (1994). Synthesis of literature related to historical and current functions of student services. In: G. A. Baker, J. Dudziak, & P. Tyler (Eds.), *A handbook on the community college in America* (pp. 439-453). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory Into Practice*, 39(3), 124-131.
- Dassance, C. R. (1994). Student services. In: A. M. Cohen & F. B. Brawer (Eds.), *Managing community colleges: A handbook for effective practice* (pp. 281-300). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

- Dassance, C. R. (1986). Opportunities in legacy. *NASPA*, 6, 1-19.
- Delgado Bernal, D. (2002). Critical race theory, Latino critical theory, and critical race-gendered epistemologies: Recognizing students of color as holders and creators of knowledge. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 105-126.
- Denogean, A., & Schwalback, P. (2010). Student services transformed: Helping students to help themselves. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 34(11), 895-897.
- Denzin, N. (1989). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Derby, D. C., & Smith, T. (2004). An orientation course and community college retention. *Community college journal of research and practice*, 28(9), 763-773.
- Dougherty, K. J. (2001). *The contradictory college: The conflicting origins, impacts, and futures of the community college*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Dougherty, K. J. (1994). *The contradictory college: The conflicting origins, impacts, and futures of the community college*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Dougherty, K. J. (1992). Community colleges and baccalaureate attainment. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 63(2), 188-214.
- Dougherty, K. J., & Townsend, B. K. (2006). Community college missions: A theoretical and historical perspective. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 136, 5-13.
- Dunet, D. O., Gase, L. N., Oliver, M. L. Schooley, M. W. (2012). Evaluative thinking: A tool to inform policy impact evaluations. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 26(4), 201-203.
- Dyson, A. H., & Genishi, C. (2005) . *On the case: Approaches to language and literacy research*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Eaton, J. S. (2012). *An overview of U.S. accreditation*. Washington, DC: CHEA.
- Eaton, J. S. (2005, October 28). Why community colleges shouldn't offer baccalaureates. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from <http://chronicle.com/article/Why-Community-Colleges/22874>

- Fain, P. (2013a). Evolution or mission creep? Retrieved from *Inside Higher Ed* website: <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/01/22/michigan-lets-community-colleges-issue-four-year-degrees-amid-controversy>
- Fain, P. (2013b). California's evolving master plan. Retrieved from *Inside Higher Ed* website: <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/09/27/two-year-colleges-california-mull-bachelors-degrees>
- Fain, P. (2013c). Scorecard for scorecards. Retrieved from *Insider Higher Ed* website: <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/10/29/complete-college-america-report-tracks-state-approaches-performance-based-funding>
- Floyd, D. L. (2006). Achieving the baccalaureate through the community college. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 135, 59-72.
- Floyd, D. L. (2005). The community college baccalaureate in the U.S.: Models, programs, and issues. In: D. L. Floyd, M. L. Skolnik, & K. P. Walker (Eds.), *The Community College Baccalaureate: Emerging Trends & Policy Issues* (pp. 25-47). Sterling, VA: Stylus.
- Floyd, D. L., & Skolnik, M. L. (2005). Perspectives on the community college baccalaureate. In: D. L. Floyd, M. L. Skolnik, & K. P. Walker (Eds.), *The Community College Baccalaureate: Emerging Trends & Policy Issues* (pp. 1-7). Sterling, VA: Stylus.
- Floyd, D. L., Skolnik, M. L., & Walker, K. P. (2005). *The community college baccalaureate: Emerging trends & policy issues*. Sterling, VA: Stylus.
- Floyd, D. L., & St. Arnauld, C. (2007). An exploratory study of community college baccalaureate teacher education programs. *Community College Review*, 35(1), 66-84.
- Floyd, D. L., & Walker, K. P. (2008). The community college baccalaureate: Putting the pieces together. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 33(2), 90-124.
- Fugate, A. L., & Amey, M. J. (2000). Career stages of community college faculty: A qualitative analysis of their career paths, roles, and development. *Community College Review*, 28(1), 1-22.
- Gaff, J. G., & Lambert, L. M. (1996). Socializing future faculty to the values of undergraduate education. *Change*, 28(4), 38-45.

- Gardner, S. K. (2013). Women faculty departures from a striving institution: Between a rock and a hard place. *The Review of Higher Education*, 36(3), 349-370.
- Gardner, S. K. (2012). 'I couldn't wait to leave the toxic environment': A mixed methods study of women faculty satisfaction and departure from one research institution. *NASPA Journal About Women in Higher Education*, 5(1), 71-95.
- Garmon, J. (2003, May 22). Closing the degree divide. *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 20(7), 1.
- Gasman, M., Baez, B., & Turner, C. S.V. (2008). *Understanding minority-serving institutions*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Geiger, R. L. (2011). Optimizing research and teaching: The bifurcation of faculty roles at research universities. In: J. C. Hermanowicz (Ed.), *The academic profession: Transformation in contemporary higher education* (pp. 21-43). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Glenn, F. S. (2003-2004). The retention of black male students in Texas public community colleges. *Journal of College Student Retention*, 5(2), 115-133.
- Glennon, K. (2005). *Community college baccalaureate degrees: A review of issues, policies, and other states' programs*.
- Glesne, C. (2005). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* (3rd ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Gonzales, L. D. (2014). Framing faculty agency inside striving universities: An application of Bourdieu's theory of practice. *Journal of Higher Education*, 85(2).
- Gonzales, L. D. (2013). Faculty sensemaking and mission creep: Interrogating institutionalized ways of knowing and doing legitimacy. *Review of Higher Education*, 36(2), 179-209.
- Gonzales, L. D. (2012). Responding to mission creep: Faculty members as cosmopolitan agents. *Higher Education*, 64(3), 337-353.
- Gonzales, L. D., & Martinez, E. (2013). Possibilities and responsibilities: How faculty talk can (de)construct rankings and university striving. *Journal of Critical Thought and Praxis*, 2(2), doi: <http://lib.dr.iastate.edu/jctp/vol2/iss2/2>
- Gonzales, L.D., & Pacheco, A. (2012). Leading change with slogans: Border University in transition. *Journal of Cases in Educational Leadership*, 15(1), 50-65.

- Gonzales, L. D., & Rincones, R. (2013). Using participatory action research and photo methods to explore higher education administration as an emotional endeavor. *The Qualitative Report, 18*, 1-17.
- Gonzales, L. D., & Rincones, R. (2012). Interdisciplinary scholars: Negotiating legitimacy at the core and from the margins. *Journal of Further and Higher Education, 36*(4), 495-518.
- Gonzales, L. D., Martinez, E., & Ordu, C. (2013). Exploring faculty experiences in a striving university through the lens of academic capitalism. *Studies in Higher Education*. doi:10.1080/03075079.2013.777401
- Gordon, J. (2006). Critical friendship. *Medical Education, 40*(1), 5-6.
- Gornall, L. & Salisbury, J. (2012). Compulsive working, 'Hyperprofessionalism' and the unseen pleasures of academic work. *Higher Education Quarterly, (66)* 2, 135.
- Gouldner, A. W. (1957). Cosmopolitans and locals: Toward an analysis of latent social roles—I. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 2*(3), 281-306.
- Gouldner, A. W. (1958). Cosmopolitans and locals: Toward an analysis of latent social roles—II. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 2*(3), 444-480.
- Grothe, M. (2009). *The community college applied baccalaureate degree: Employers' and graduates' perspectives* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (3393685).
- Gumport, P. J. (2000). Academic restructuring: Organizational change and institutional imperatives. *Higher Education, 39*(1), 67-91.
- Gumport, P. J., & Pusser, B. (1999). University restructuring: The role of economic and political contexts. In: J. Smart (Ed.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research Vol XIV* (pp. 146-200). Bronx, NY: Agathon Press.
- Gumport, P. J., & Pusser, B. (1995). A case of bureaucratic accretion: Context and consequences. *Journal of Higher Education, 66*(5), 493-520.
- Hagedorn, L. S. (2005). How to define retention: A new look at an old problem. In: A. Seidman (Ed.), *College retention: Formula for student success* (pp. 89-106). ACE=Præger.
- Hagedorn, L. S., Perrakis, A. I., & Maxwell, W. (2007). The negative ten commandments: Ten ways urban community colleges hinder student success. *Florida Journal of Educational Administration & Policy, 1*(1), 25-33.

- Hagedorn, L. S., Perrakis, A. I., & Maxwell, W. (2006). The positive commandments: 10 ways community colleges help students succeed. *Community College Journal*, 76, 58-61.
- Hagedorn, L. S., Maxwell, W., Rodriguez, P., Hocevar, D., & Fillpot, J. (2000). Peer and student-faculty relations in community colleges. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 24, 587-598.
- Harrison, J. D. (1979). Ph.D. faculty in community colleges. *Community College Review*, 6(3), 24-28.
- Hattie, J., & Marsh, H. W. (1996). The relationship between research and teaching: A meta-analysis. *Review of Educational Research*, 66(4), 507-542.
- Henderson, B. B. (2009). Mission creep and teaching at the master's university. *College Teaching*, 57(4), 185-187.
- Helfgot, S. R. (2005). Core values and major issues in student affairs practice: What really matters? *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 131, 5-18.
- Holt, N. A. (2011). *Deep Involvement in the World of Warcraft: An" elfnography."* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
- Huber, M. T. (1998). *Community college faculty attitudes and trends*. Stanford, CA: National Center for Postsecondary Improvement.
- Hurtado, S., & Ruiz, A. (2012). *Realizing the potential of Hispanic-serving institutions: Multiple dimensions of institutional diversity for advancing Hispanic higher education*. San Antonio, TX: Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities.
- Ignash, J. M., & Townsend, B. K. (2000). Evaluating state-level articulation agreements according to good practice. *Community College Review*, 28(3), 1.
- International Finance Corporation. (n.d.). *Financial infrastructure*. Retrieved from http://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/Industry_EXT_Content/IFC_External_Corporate_Site/Industries/Financial+Markets/Financial+Infrastructure/
- Jaffee, D. (2001). *Organizational theory: Tension and change*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Jencks, C., & Riesman, D. (2002). *The academic revolution*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

- Jenkins, D. (2007). Institutional effectiveness and student success: A study of high- and low-impact community colleges. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 31(12), 945-962.
- Julian, T. (2012). *Work-life earnings by field of degree and occupation for people with a bachelor's degree: 2011* (ACSB/11-04). Washington, DC: United States Census Bureau.
- Keim, M. (1981). Retention. *New Directions for Community Colleges*. 36 89-97.
- Kenton, C. P., Huba, M. E., Schuh, J. H., & Shelley, M. C. (2005). Financing community colleges: A longitudinal study of 11 states. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 29(2), 109-122.
- Kerr, C. (2001). *The uses of the university* (5th ed.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kezar, A. (2012). Organizational change in a global postmodern world. In: M. N. Bastedo (Ed.), *The organization of higher education: Managing colleges for a new era* (pp.181-224). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Kezar, A., & Sam, C. (2011). Understanding non-tenure track faculty: New assumptions and theories for conceptualizing behavior. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55(110, 1419-1442).
- King, N., & Horrocks, C. (2010). *Interviews in qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kinhead, J. (2003). Learning through inquiry: An overview of undergraduate research. *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*, 93, 5-17.
- Kinzie, J. & Kuh, G. D. (2007). Creating a Student-Centered Culture. In: G. L. Kramer & Associates (Eds.), *Fostering Student Success in the Campus Community* (pp. 17-43). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Kress, A. (2005). Transforming educational services for a changing student population at Santa Fe Community College. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 29(8), 655-656.
- Labaree, D. F. (2010). Understanding the rise of American higher education: How complexity breeds autonomy. *Peking Educational*, 31(3), 1-20.

- Laden, B. V. (2005). Community college baccalaureate. In: D. L. Floyd, M. L. Skolnik, & K. P. Walker (Eds.) (pp. 153-178). *The Community College Baccalaureate: Emerging Trends & Policy Issues*. Sterling, VA: Stylus.
- Leslie, L. L. (1973). Acceptance of the community college philosophy among faculty of two-year institutions. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 9(2), 50-62.
- Levin, J. S. (2007). *Nontraditional students and community colleges: The conflict of justice and neoliberalism*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Levin, J. S. (2005). The business culture of the community college: Students as consumers; students as commodities. *New Directions for Higher Education*, 129, 11-26.
- Levin, J. S. (2004). The community college as a baccalaureate-granting institution. *The Review of Higher Education*, 28(1), 1-22. doi: 10.1353/rhe.2004.0029
- Levin, J. (2003). Organizational paradigm shift and the university colleges of British Columbia. *Higher Education*, 46(4), 447-467.
- Levin, J. S. (1998). Making sense of organizational change. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 102, 43-54.
- Levin, J., Kater, S., & Wagoner, R. L. (2006). *Community college faculty: At work in the new economy*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Longanecker, D. A. (2008, November). *Mission differentiation vs. mission creep: Higher education's battle between creationism and evolution*. Retrieved from http://www.wiche.edu/info/gwypf/dal_mission.pdf
- Lucore, R. (2012, September 7). Community colleges: An 'unsung' source of America's STEM talent. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/rebecca-lucore/community-colleges-answers_b_1861830.html
- Manzo, K. K. (2001). Community colleges: Breaking on through to the other side. *Community College Week*, 13(25), 6-8.
- Manning, K. (2000). *Rituals, ceremonies, and cultural meaning in higher education*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

- Martinez, E. (2012). *Exploring Faculty Work Expectations in Light of the Community College Baccalaureate*. Paper presented at 2012 Association for the Study of Higher Education (AHSE) Conference, Las Vegas, Nevada.
- Massey, W. F., & Zemsky, R. (1994). Faculty discretionary time: Departments and the academic ratchet. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 65(1), 1-22.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- McArthur, R. C. (2005). Faculty-based advising: An important factor in community college retention. *Community College Review*, 32(1), 1-18.
- McCabe, R. H. (2000). *No One to Waste: A Report to Public Decision-Makers and Community College Leaders*. Washington, D.C.: Community College Press.
- McKinney, L., & Morris, P. A. (2010). Examining an evolution: A case study of organizational change accompanying the community college baccalaureate. *Community College Review*, 37(3), 187-208.
- Medsker, L. L. (1960). *The junior college: Progress and prospect*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Mellow, G.O. & Heelan, C. (2008). *Minding the dream: the process and practice of the American community college*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Mendoza, P., Bashman, M. J., Campbell, D. F., O'Daniels, T. M., Malcolm, Z., Felton, S., Lebesch, A., & Douma, D. (2009). Missions, values, and 'flying monkeys': Critical issues for community colleges today and in 2019. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 33(11), 866-882.
- Merisotis, J. P., & Phipps, R. A. (2000). Remedial education in colleges and universities: What's really going on? *The Review of Higher Education*, 24(1), 67-85.
- Merton, R. K. (1972). Insiders and outsiders: A chapter in the sociology of knowledge. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(1), 9-47.
- Milem, J. F., Berger, J. B., & Dey, E. L. (2000). Faculty time allocation: A study of change over twenty years. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 71(4), 454-475.
- Mills, K. (2003). Community college baccalaureates: Some critics decry the trend as 'mission creep.' *National Crosstalk*. Retrieved from <http://www.highereducation.org/crosstalk/ct0103/news0103-community.shtml>

- Mintrom, M. (2008). Managing the research function of the university: Pressures and dilemmas. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 30(3), 231-244.
- Moeck, P. G., Hardy, D. E., & Katsinas, S. G. (2007). Residential living at rural community colleges. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 137, 77-86.
- Morphew, C. C. (2009). Conceptualizing change in the institutional diversity of U.S. colleges and universities. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 80(3), 243-269.
- Morphew, C. C. (2002). "A rose by any other name": Which colleges became universities. *The Review of Higher Education*, 25(2), 207-223.
- Morphew, C. C., & Baker, B. D. (2004). The cost of prestige: Do new research I universities incur higher administrative costs? *The Review of Higher Education*, 27(3), 365-384.
- Morphew, C. C., & Hartley, M. (2006). Mission statements: A thematic analysis of rhetoric across institutional type. *Journal of Higher Education*, 77(3), 456-471.
- Morphew, C., & Huisman, J. (2002). Using institutional theory to reframe research on academic drift. *Higher Education in Europe*, 27(4), 491-506.
- Murphey, K., & Burgarino, P. (2014, February 19). Bachelor degrees from community colleges on California horizon. Retrieved from *San Jose Mercury News* website: http://www.mercurynews.com/education/ci_25178226/bachelor-degrees-from-community-colleges-california-horizon
- Murray, J. P. (2002). The current state of faculty development in two-year colleges. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 118, 89-97.
- Musselin, C. (2007). *The transformation of academic work: Facts and analysis*. Retrieved from the Center for Studies in Higher Education website: <http://cshe.berkeley.edu/publications/docs/ROP.Musselin.4.07.pdf>.
- O'Banion, T. (1972). *Teachers for tomorrow: Staff development in the community-junior college*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- O'Meara, K. A. (2007). Striving for what? Exploring the pursuit of prestige. In: Smart J.D. (Ed.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research*, 22 (pp. 121-179). New York, NY: Springer.
- O'Meara, K. A., & Meekins, M. (2012). Inside rankings: Limitations and possibilities. Boston, MA: New England Resource Center for Higher Education. Retrieved from http://scholarworks.umb.edu/nerche_pubs/24/

- Olsen, D., & Simmons, A. (1996). The research versus teaching debate: Untangling the relationships. *New Directions for Institutional Research*, 90, 31-39.
- Oudenhoven, B. (2002). Remediation at the community college: Pressing issues, uncertain solutions. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 117, 35-44.
- Padovan, P., & Whittington, D. (1998). Rewarding faculty scholarship at two-year colleges: Incentive for change or perceived threat. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 22(3), 213-228.
- Pascarella, E. T., & Terenzini, P. T. (1998). Studying college students in the 21st century: Meeting new challenges. *The Review of Higher Education*, 21(2), 151-165.
- Pascarella, E. T. & Terenzini, P. T. (1991). *How college affects students: Finding insights from twenty years of research*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Patton, M. Q. (2003/2004). On evaluation use: Evaluative thinking and process use. *Evaluation Exchange*, IX(4), 4-5.
- Perez, J. A. (2003). Undergraduate research at two-year colleges. *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*, 93, 69-77.
- Phoenix, E. W., Flynn, T., & Floyd, D. L. (1986). Opportunities through interdependence. *NASPA*, 6, 37-54.
- Pincus, F. L. (1980). Community colleges: Class conflict and vocational education. *Harvard Educational Review*, 50(3), 332-361.
- Pope, M. L. (2006). Meeting the challenges to African American men at community colleges. In: M. J. Cuyjet (Ed.), *African American Men in College* (pp. 210-238). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Provasnik, S., & Planty, M. (2008). *Community colleges: Special supplement to the condition of education 2008* (NCES 2008-033). Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2008/2008033.pdf>
- Pusser, B., & Marginson, S. (2012). Power, politics, and global rankings in higher education. In: M. N. Bastedo (Ed.), *The organization of higher education: Managing colleges for a new era* (pp.86-117). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Quint, J. C., Jaggars, S. S., & Byndloss, D. C. (2013). *Bridging developmental education to scale: Lessons from the developmental education initiative*. New York, NY: MDRC.
- Ravitch, S. M., & Riggan, M. (2012). *Reason & rigor: How conceptual frameworks guide research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rendón, L. (2002). Community college puente: A validating model of education. *Educational Policy, 16* (4), 642-667.
- Rendón, L. (1994). Validating culturally diverse students: Toward a new model of learning and student development. *Innovative Higher Education, 19* (1), 33-51.
- Rendón Linares, L. I. & Muñoz, S. M. (2011). Revisiting validation theory: Theoretical foundations, application, and extensions. *Enrollment Management Journal: Student Access, Finance, and Success in Higher Education, 5*(2), 12-33.
- Rendon, Justiz, & Resta (1988) *Transfer Education in Southwest Border Community Colleges*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina.
- Rhoades, G. (1998). *Managed professionals: Unionized faculty and structuring academic labor*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Rhoades, G. (1996). Reorganizing the faculty workforce for flexibility: Part-time professional labor. *Journal of Higher Education, 67*(6), 626-659.
- Rhoades, G., & Slaughter, S. (1997). Academic capitalism, managed professionals, and supply-side higher education. *Social Text, (51)*, 9-38
- Rhoades, R. A., & Valadez, J. R. (1996). *Democracy, Multiculturalism, and the Community College: A Critical Perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge,
- Rivera, C. (2012, September 22). California's community colleges staggering during hard times. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/sep/22/local/la-me-college-overview-20120923>
- Roksa, J., & Keith, B. (2008). Credits, time, and attainment: Articulation policies and success at transfer. *Educational evaluation and policy analysis, 30*(3), 236-254.
- Ross, D. G. (2007). *Two-year colleges offering baccalaureate programming: Faculty development and support needs* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (3243744).

- Rusch, E. A., & Wilbur, C. (2007). Shaping institutional environments: The process of becoming legitimate. *The Review of Higher Education*, 30(3), 301-318.
- Russell, A. (2010, October). Update on the community college baccalaureate: Evolving trends and issues. Retrieved from the American Association of State Colleges and Universities website:
[http://www.aascu.org/uploadedFiles/AASCU/Content/Root/PolicyAndAdvocacy/PolicyPublications/AASCU_Update_Community_College_Baccalaureate\(1\).pdf](http://www.aascu.org/uploadedFiles/AASCU/Content/Root/PolicyAndAdvocacy/PolicyPublications/AASCU_Update_Community_College_Baccalaureate(1).pdf)
- Rutschow, E. Z., & Schneider, E. (2011). *Unlocking the gate: What we know about improving developmental education*. New York, NY: MDRC.
- Sacks, P. (2007). *Tearing down the gates: Confronting the class divide in American education*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Saldaña, J. (2009). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Sanchez-Jankowski, M. (2008). *Cracks in the pavement: Social change and resilience in poor neighborhoods*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Schuyler, G. (1999). A historical and contemporary view of the community college curriculum. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 108, 3-15.
- Scrivener, S., & Weiss, M. J. (2009). *More guidance, better results? Three-year effects of enhanced student services programs at two community colleges*. New York, NY: MDRC.
- Seidman, E. (1985). *In the words of the faculty*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Shattock, M. (2010). *Managing successful universities* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Shull, A. (2010, June 14). Kentucky arts school offers associates in fine arts degree. *Community College Week*, 29.
- Sipe, L. & Constable, S. (1996). A chart of four paradigms: Metaphors for the modes of inquiry. *Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education*, 1, 153-163.
- Siegfried, J.J., Getz, M., Anderson, K.H. (1995, May 19). The snail's pace of innovation in higher education. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from <http://chronicle.com/article/The-Snails-Pace-of-Innovation/84304/>

- Skolnik, M. L. (2009). Theorizing about the emergence of the community college baccalaureate. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 33, 125-150.
- Skolnik, M. L., & Floyd, D. L. (2005). The community college baccalaureate: Toward an agenda for policy and research. In: D. L. Floyd, M. L. Skolnik, & K. P. Walker (Eds.), *The Community College Baccalaureate: Emerging Trends & Policy Issues* (pp. 191-198). Sterling, VA: Stylus.
- Slaughter, S., & Leslie, L. L. (1997). *Academic capitalism: Politics, policies, and the entrepreneurial university*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Slaughter, S. & Rhoades, G. (2004). *Academic capitalism and the new economy: Markets, state, and higher education*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
- Slaughter, S., & Rhoades, G. (2000). The neo-liberal university. *New Labor Forum*, 6, 73-79.
- Snyder, T. D, & Dillow, S. A. (2011). *Digest of Education Statistics 2010* (NCES 2011-015). Retrieved from the National Center for Education Statistics website: <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2011/2011015.pdf>
- Stadtman, V. A. (1980). *Academic adaptations*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Stake, R. E. (2000). Case studies. In: N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.) (pp. 435-454). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Suchman, M. C. (1995). Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches. *The Academy of Management Review*, 20(3), 571-610.
- Taylor, B. J., & Morphew, C. C. (2010). An analysis of baccalaureate college mission statements. *Research in Higher Education*, 51, 483-503.
- Tierney, W. G. (1988). Organizational culture in higher education: Defining the essentials. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 59(1), 2-21.
- Tillery, D., & Deegan, W. L. (1985). The evolution of two-year colleges: Through four generations. In: D. Tillery, & W. L. Deegan (Eds.), *Renewing the American community college* (pp. 3-33). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

- Tinto, V. (1982). Limits of theory and practice in student attrition. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 53(6), 687-700.
- Toma, J. D. (2012). Institutional strategy: Positioning for prestige. In: M. N. Bastedo (Ed.), *The organization of higher education: Managing colleges for a new era* (pp.118-159). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Toma, J. D. (2010). Intercollegiate athletics, institutional aspirations, and why legitimacy is more compelling than sustainability. *Journal of Intercollegiate Sport*, 3, 51-68.
- Toma, J. D. (1999). The collegiate ideal and the tools of external relations: The uses of high-profile intercollegiate athletics. *New Directions for Higher Education*, 105, 81-90.
- Townsend, B. K. (2005). Community college baccalaureate. In: D. L. Floyd, M. L. Skolnik, & K. P. Walker (Eds.), *The Community College Baccalaureate: Emerging Trends & Policy Issues* (pp. 179-190). Sterling, VA: Stylus.
- Townsend, B. K. (2003). The two-year college as a first choice, second chance institution for baccalaureate-degree holders. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 27, 273-288.
- Townsend, B. K., & Twombly, S. B. (2007). *Community college faculty: Overlooked and undervalued* (ASHE Higher Education Report: Volume 32, Number 6). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Townsend, B. K., & Rosser, V. (2007). Workload issues and measures of faculty productivity. *Thought & Action*, 23, 1-14.
- Townsend, B. K., & Wilson, K. (2006). 'A hand hold for a little bit': Factors facilitating the success of community college transfer students to a large research university. *Journal of College Student Development*, 47(4), 439-456.
- Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight 'big-tent' criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(10), 837-851.
- Tsapogas, J. (2004). *The role of community colleges in education of recent science and engineering graduates*. Arlington, VA: National Science Foundation. Retrieved from <http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/infbrief/nsf04315/>
- Tuchman, G. (2009). *Wannabe U: Inside the corporate university*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Umbach, P. D., & Wawrzynski, M. R. (2005). Faculty do matter: The role of college faculty in student learning and engagement. *Research in Higher Education*, 46(2), 153-184.
- Utah Valley University. (2011). 2011 Fact Book. Retrieved from <http://www.uvu.edu/iri/additionalresources/annualreports.html>
- Valadez, J. R. (2002). Transformation of the community colleges for the 21st century. *Educational Researcher*, 31(2), 33-36.
- Varney, J. (2007). Intrusive advising. *Academic Advising Today*. Retrieved from <http://mam.msstate.edu/documents/Intrusive%20Advising.pdf>
- Vaughn, G. B. (2006). *The community college story* (3rd ed.). Washington, DC: Community College Press.
- Walker, K. P. (2005) History, rationale, and the community college baccalaureate association. In: D. L. Floyd, M. L. Skolnik, & K. P. Walker (Eds.), *The Community College Baccalaureate: Emerging Trends & Policy Issues* (pp. 9-23). Sterling, VA: Stylus.
- Wattenbarger, J. (2000, April 17). Colleges should stick to what they do best. *Community College Week*, 12(18), 4-5.
- Wawrzynski, M. (2004, November). *The impact of faculty behaviors on student engagement*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Kansas City, Missouri.
- Wild, L., & Ebbers, L. (2002). Rethinking student retention in community colleges. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 26, 503-519.
- Williams, M. R., Byrd, L., & Pennington, K. (2008). Intercollegiate athletics at the community college. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 32, 453-461.
- Wood, J. L., & Turner, C. S. V. (2011). Black males and the community college: Student perspectives on faculty and academic success. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 35, 1-17.
- Woods, C. (2009). Employee wellbeing in the higher education workplace: A role for emotion in scholarship. *Higher Education*, 60, 171-185.

Wright, M. C., Howery, C. B., Assar, N., McKinney, K., Kain, E. L., Glass, B., Kramer, L., & Atkinson, M. (2004). Greedy institutions: The importance of institutional context for teaching in higher education. *Teaching Sociology*, 32(2), 144-159.

Zwerling, S. (1976). *Second best: The crisis of the community college*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.