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The People's College? An Examination of Who Governs Community Colleges at the Local Level

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THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE? AN EXAMINATION OF WHO GOVERNS COMMUNITY
COLLEGES AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

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ABSTRACT

Community colleges are playing an increasingly important role in national and local postsecondary education and economic development policy arenas. These two-year institutions educate 46 percent of American undergraduates, including the majority of African American, Hispanic and Native American undergraduate students. However, community colleges are failing to graduate students, particularly students of color (AACC, 2012). Given the national demand for graduates, policymakers are struggling to help more under-represented groups succeed and complete their college degrees. Therefore, an examination of who is governing community colleges and making important policy decisions to address student success is critical.

While there are a variety of governing structures for community colleges, the majority of states employ local governing boards to provide some level of oversight, making these boards an ideal focal point for research (Polonio & Miller, 2012). Little empirical data exists specific to the composition of local community college governing boards in America.

Using descriptive representation as a theoretical framework, this dissertation analyzed data from a random sample of 91 local community college governing boards to determine to what extent local community college governing boards reflect the Black and Hispanic populations they serve, to what extent structural and environmental variables predict the presence of minority board members and examine the impact of minority board members on substantive outcomes for higher education. The results found that demographics have a strong relationship to the racial composition of the governing board, student body and graduating class. Using structural equation modeling, the data indicate the percentage of Black and Hispanic board members has an indirect causal effect on the percentage of Black and Hispanic graduates,

respectively. In addition, four case studies follow the quantitative analysis to provide rich context to the results and highlight the important contributions minority members make to their respective boards. These qualitative efforts also show the degree to which institutional programs, board member training, recruitment planning and even state laws can impact board composition and ultimately student success.

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CHAPTER 1: OVERVIEW

Some of America's most critical public policies on race are the product of our nation's higher education governing boards. In 1950, the Supreme Court ruled in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education* that Black students must not be segregated and must receive equal treatment. In 1978, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* found that race can be used as a factor in college admissions when it is given equal weight to all other factors (The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2015). In 1995, the University of California system Board of Regents' decision to eliminate affirmative action incited rallies, a hunger strike and a bomb threat (Wallace & Leshner, 1995; Williams, 2014; Wilson, 1995). In 1998, a federal judge ruled that trustees at Cuyahoga Community College would be personally liable if they continued a minority set-aside program for district-spending contracts (The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2015).

Higher education institutions are one of the most important policy vehicles to remedy quality of life and achievement gaps that have plagued America for generations (*Bridging the higher education divide*, 2013). The policies implemented at our nation's colleges and universities have the capability to hinder or help the amelioration of these wounds. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the scholarly community to examine who is making these policies.

Community colleges are playing an increasingly important role in national and local postsecondary education and economic development policy arenas. The National Governor's Association Center for Best Practices recently reported that almost a third of manufacturing companies were unable to find skilled workers while a growing number of American jobs will require education beyond high school (Assid, Goldberg & Schneider, 2011). Community colleges are expected to do heavy lifting to address these deficits and help enhance our nation's

economic status as a global powerhouse. President Barack Obama has tasked two-year schools with producing 63 percent of the college degrees necessary to raise the nation's postsecondary graduation rates to be first in the world by 2020 (*Bridging the higher education divide*, 2013).

Yet, by many measurements, community colleges are failing to graduate students, particularly students of color (AACC, 2012). Given the national demand for graduates, policymakers are struggling to help more under-represented groups succeed and complete their college degrees. As affordable, open-door institutions with few if any admission criteria, community colleges are the college of choice for many low-income and minority students. Approximately half of the nation's minority undergraduates and 40 percent of students living in poverty attend public community colleges (Mullin, 2012).

Lay boards of non-professional educators are part of every community college in the nation through local governing or advisory boards or state-level governing or coordinating boards (Polonio & Miller, 2012). However, many of these local bodies do not ethnically and culturally reflect the communities they serve, which may have further consequences for the types of policies and programs they champion (Gillett-Karam, 2013) or the executives they hire (Vaughn & Weisman, 1997).

An examination of who is governing community colleges and making important policy decisions to address student success is critical. While there are a variety of governing structures for community colleges, the majority of states, 33 to be exact, employ local governing boards to provide some level of oversight of community colleges (Polonio & Miller, 2012). Because one of the biggest advantages of local governance is the ability to tailor outputs to local needs, it is often assumed that the membership of these local boards reflects their communities. However, there is strong evidence suggesting that this is not the case. Existing literature on governing boards for all

forms of higher education institutions, including state and local community college governing boards, indicates that the individuals governing postsecondary education in America are for the most part White and male (Gillett-Karam, 2013; Hines, 1997; Moore, 1973; Vaughan & Weisman, 1997).

To better represent the needs of constituents and create policies that address the needs of underrepresented groups, some writers have stressed the importance of descriptive representation, “in which one person represents another by being sufficiently like him,” (Griffiths & Wollheim, 1960, p. 188). While this concept has its critics who argue that shared characteristics are not related to better representation of constituent groups (Pitkin, 1967), other scholars have found empirical support that descriptive representation of minorities and women in the community influences policy outcomes. For example, there has been a series of empirical studies of K-12 public education systems that have found increased minority participation on the school board is associated with policy outcomes, including increased student performance for minority and nonminority students (Hicklin, Meier, 2008; Meier, Wrinkle & Polinard, 1999). But few scholars have examined the representativeness of higher education governing bodies, and even fewer have looked at local governing boards of community colleges. This area is ripe for study given their popularity in postsecondary education, particularly for minority students (*Bridging the Higher Education Gap*, 2013).

Although two-year institutions are important to creating economic opportunities for minority and low-income students, there is little research on the composition of their governing boards. The prominence of descriptive representation as a theory of representation makes it ideal to serve as an analytical framework for this dissertation to examine the nation’s local community college governing boards to determine how representative they are of the minority communities

they serve. Before scholars can begin to investigate whether representation on these boards has policy implications, we must first understand who is serving on them and whether they reflect the demographics of their constituencies. This research serves to provide a foundation to begin to address the gap in existing literature on community college governance structures and paves the way for future research on the policy implications of the composition of these important boards.

Magnitude of the Problem

To better understand community college governing boards, one must first examine the descriptive elements of these two-year institutions, the problems facing minority and low-income students that community colleges can ameliorate and the role of local community college governing boards that can help or hinder that process.

The Community College

The community college, sometimes referred to as a junior college, is strongly tied to local government. An American invention, community colleges opened in the early 20th century to provide local postsecondary opportunities at a time when three-fourths of high school graduates did not go onto college and the nation required more skilled workers to further economic expansion. They answered a need among local governments to provide postsecondary education and training to residents, who did not want to leave their homes to attend the nearest universities or colleges and grew out of a tradition of extended public high school and private college programs that provided teacher institutes, vocational training or citizenship lessons. In the earliest days, these small colleges, equally split between public and private ownership, largely focused on liberal arts education (AACC, 2014a). Following World War II, the increased need for skilled workers and the passage of the G.I. Bill, these institutions became engines of economic development, providing workforce and vocational training to supply a workforce for

local industries (Townsend & Twombly, 2001).

The College of Choice for Women, Minority & Low-Income Students

Community colleges were designed to provide postsecondary education for under-represented groups. In the late 1940s, the Truman administration commissioned a report that called for the widespread creation of these affordable, two-year colleges to serve their local communities and provide a variety of cultural, academic and workforce training programs. This gave minorities, low-income and older students a chance to attend the “people’s college,” which then “reinforced postwar democracy by educating a new, nontraditional student body that included returning soldiers from World War II,” (Gillett-Karam, 2013, p. 38).

The majority of community college students select two-year schools because they are more affordable than four-year institutions. The U.S. Department of Education’s Beginning Postsecondary Students survey found that 63 percent of older students and 73 percent of recent high school graduates chose community colleges because of the price tag. Approximately 80 percent of community college students surveyed also chose their school due to its local nature and proximity to home, whereas going away to school and leaving work or family is not desirable for many community college students (Radford & Tasoff, 2009).

Due to their affordability and lack of admission criteria, community colleges are the gateway to postsecondary attainment for the nation’s minority and low-income students (*Bridging the higher education gap*, 2013; Mullin, 2012; Radford & Tasoff, 2009; Rose & Hill, 2013). The average annual tuition for a full-time student attending a community college in the United States is \$2,963 compared to \$8,244 at a four-year college with residency (AACC, 2012), meaning that federal Pell Grants for low-income students can more than cover yearly tuition. More than half -- 51 percent -- of the nation’s Hispanic undergraduates attend community

colleges, along with 44 percent of Black postsecondary students and 54 percent of Native Americans. Forty-two percent of community college students are first in their families to attend college, 57 percent are female, 13 percent are single parents and 60 percent are older than 22 years old (AACC, 2012).

More women attend community colleges than any other type of postsecondary institution. Of the 4 million female community college students, a million are mothers and half of those are raising children without a spouse. Thirty percent of female community college students are Black or Latina, compared to 25 percent at four-year institutions (Rose & Hill, 2012).

Community Colleges' Dismal Record of Success

While successfully providing postsecondary access to many groups that had been traditionally excluded from higher education, most community colleges are failing to graduate students and particularly those from under-represented groups, which represent a significant portion of their enrollees. In general, fewer than half of entering community college students who aspire to complete a degree or certificate have done so, have transferred or are still enrolled after six years. Fewer than half of entering freshmen even persist to the second semester (AACC, 2012). Although 81.4 percent of new students entering two-year schools intend to transfer to a four-year school to earn a bachelor's degree, only 11.6 percent of them do so within six years (Baum, et. al., 2013).

These rates are consistently lower for minority and low-income students. Officials with the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) reviewed completion and transfer rates between 1990 and 2009 and found that first-time entering community college freshmen that were Black or Hispanic achieved a degree or certificate or transferred to a four-year institution at lower rates than their White and Asian counterparts. Between 2004 and 2008, 30.1 percent of

White community college students had achieved a degree or certificate, while only 19.8 percent and 17.6 percent of Blacks and Hispanics had done so, respectively. During the same period of time, 23 percent of low-income students had completed, compared to 28 percent in the highest income brackets. While 52.2 percent of White first-time community college students had attained a degree or certificate or were still enrolled after five years, those percentages were 47 percent and 40 percent for Blacks and Hispanics, respectively, and 45 percent for the poorest students compared to 51 percent of the most wealthy (NCES, 2011, p 17 and p. 22). The success gaps grow more obvious at urban colleges and scholars have found a relationship between the environment of an institution and graduation rates (Gillett-Karam, 2013). These discrepancies between White and minority and wealthy and poor students transcend success at community colleges and have significant implications for the continued racial and socioeconomic stratification of our nation (*Bridging the higher education gap*, 2013).

The Role of Community College Governing Bodies

These gaps persist throughout a number of student success metrics and constitute a significant problem for policymakers charged with overseeing these two-year institutions. The structure of a governing system matters and plays a critical role in higher education. It sets the rules of the game and allows for the distribution of resources to solve these problems (Nicholson-Crotty & Meier, 2003).

Community college governance models range from highly centralized to decentralized systems. Although the relationship between these two-year schools and state and local governance vary significantly across the nation, lay governance is the backbone of most states' community college systems and the majority of community college governance structures include a local governing board of some kind (Polonio & Miller, 2012; Hines, 1997).

Public community colleges are governed by entities at the state or local levels and sometimes by both. There is a dizzying array of governance models and more definitions are available in Chapter 2. But these classification structures generally ignore local community college governing boards and focus on the state-level structures of four-year institutions.

In spite of the impressive number of minority students served by community colleges, there is a lack of diversity among community college board members or trustees. Few empirical studies have been done on community college governing board compositions and none are apparent in the literature on local community college governing boards. Surveys have been conducted that are decades old of all community college governing boards, including both local and state boards, that have found that vast majority are White and male. Most recently in 1995, Vaughan and Weisman (1997) conducted a national survey of all community college governing boards, including both state and local boards. With a 39 percent response rate, their results indicated that 86.6 percent of trustees were White. Among the sample, 7.9 percent identified as African American and 2.3 percent as Hispanic. However, it should be noted that even a cursory comparison of these boards demonstrates that their compositions vary, with some boards boasting far more diversity than others. Vaughan and Weisman also did not distinguish between state and local boards.

The advantages of local governance include the ability to tailor organizational outputs to the needs of local residents and having representatives that reflect the community and understand local nuances (Watt, 2006). There are 33 states that have some type of local governing board that has some degree of autonomy and oversight of community colleges (Polinio & Miller, 2012). These boards can set priorities, establish policies, determine funding, hire and fire college presidents and much more. They are often responsible for determining what academic and

workforce training programs to offer and may oversee millions of dollars of public funding (Hines, 1997; Moore, 1973; Polinio & Miller, 2012).

Appointed v. Elected Structures

The majority of state and local community college governing board trustees are appointed, which may contribute to their lack of diversity. As Carson and Lubensky (2009) noted, the selection criteria and process for most governing board appointments are rarely methodical or transparent and “existing conservatism with selection is perpetuated by a recruitment process that is also designed to protect the status quo,” (p. 88).

Table 1.1 States with Local Community College Governing Boards

Appointed Boards	Elected Boards	Appointed & Elected Boards
1. Florida	1. Arizona	1. Arkansas
2. Georgia	2. California	2. Kentucky
3. Maryland	3. Colorado	3. Missouri
4. Massachusetts	4. Idaho	
5. Mississippi	5. Iowa	
6. New Jersey	6. Kansas	
7. New York	7. Michigan	
8. North Carolina	8. Montana	
9. Ohio	9. Nebraska	
10. Oklahoma	10. New Mexico	
11. Pennsylvania	11. Oregon	
12. South Carolina	12. South Dakota	
13. Utah	13. Texas	
14. Washington	14. Wyoming	
15. West Virginia		
16. Wisconsin		

Source: (Polinio & Miller, 2012)

In their research on Black representation in urban school districts, Stewart, England and Meier (1989) found that Black residents were more likely to be proportionally represented on school boards with district elections than on school boards that had an appointment process to select members or in districts with at-large elections. A lack of diversity on a governing board may lead to many problems, including uncontested groupthink and conservatism or inertia

(Carson & Lubensky, 2009). In Engstrom and McDonald's (1981) research to find the most precise statistical method to analyze the selection method's impact on the diversity of city councils, they underscored the practical implications of their work, noting that it is far easier for cities to change selection methods than underlying factors such as socioeconomic inequalities and voter biases.

The fact that community college governing boards may not reflect the characteristics of the constituencies they serve could have significant policy implications that hinder the progress of students from under-represented groups. The lack of research on local community college governing boards is potentially problematic. If community colleges are the primary provider of postsecondary education to low-income and minority students, it is important to understand who is governing the majority of these institutions and what impact that may have on board activities.

Research Problem & Purpose of Study

This study examined the composition of local community college governing boards within the context of descriptive representation theory, which suggests that a representative body that mirrors the outward, physical characteristics of its constituency also supports policies and awareness of issues affecting its minority populations (Mansbridge, 1999). A central tenant of this concept holds that when a representative shares characteristics with a class of persons, he or she will act as every member of the class would (Mitchell, 1997; Birch, 1971). This dissertation also examined the factors associated with boards that are more proportionally representative of the consistencies they serve. The four research questions addressed were:

1. What is the relationship between population demographics and Black or Hispanic representation on local community college governing boards?;
2. What factors may explain minority selection for local community college governing boards?;
3. What is the relationship between board composition and the selection of a Black or Hispanic college president?; and

4. What is the relationship between board composition and the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates?

Descriptive Representation

The concept of representation has been given prominence in government for decades. As Sowa and Seldon (2003) noted, the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 called for a civil service that “reflects the nation’s diversity,” (5 U.S.C. 7201) and required agencies to measure the representativeness of their workforce and ameliorate for under representation. Many scholars have written about the effects of descriptive or mirror representation, the idea that the composition of a governmental body should mirror the population it serves (Buhlmann & Schadel, 2012; Griffiths & Wollheim, 1960; Pitkin, 1967). However, few have addressed the descriptive representation of community college governing boards and in particular local community college governing boards. A review of the relevant literature found some descriptive information regarding community college trustees but and little specific to the diversity of local community college governing board members, the factors that might contribute to more representative boards and the impact of board diversity on board activities.

Research Procedures

This research relies on a variety of primary and secondary variable sources from which data on community college local governing board members and demographic information were collected from the counties those boards serve. The unit of analysis is the county containing a campus of a public community college or vocational school with a local governing board. A variety of statistical methods were also utilized, including Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression, ordered logistic analysis, logistic regression and structural equation modeling, to determine the representativeness of local community college governing boards in the sample, the impact of environmental and structural variables on the selection of minority board members and

the impact board diversity has on the selection of minority college presidents and the percentage of minorities graduating with associate degrees. Finally, four case studies were conducted to provide a qualitative and contextual analysis of the connection between descriptive and substantive representation. These studies examined four separate local governing boards and the impact or role their diversity and representativeness of the community they serve played upon access and completion for minority students.

Contributions of the Study

This study contributes to academia in several ways. It expands the research about local community college governing boards. Community colleges serve the most minority and low-income postsecondary students in the nation and the local governing board is one of the most prevalent forms of governance for these institutions. Understanding how representative these boards are of the populations they serve is an important contribution to help scholars determine if the ethnic and racial representation of these institutional boards matters. The literature is littered with many scholars questioning the significance of representatives' ethnic, social and cultural backgrounds in determining the policy decisions for which their respective boards are responsible (Griffiths & Wollheim, 1960; Pitkin, 1967; Stewart, England & Meier, 1989; Young, 2000). But there is little devoted to the governance of community colleges and more specifically local community college governing boards.

The research contributes to the literature on descriptive representation by analyzing this concept in the realm of community college governing boards, an area of government on which there is little empirical research. If descriptive representation is important, it should permeate the numerous local and regional boards and commissions employed in our democracy, including those overseeing these important institutions. In addition, the methodology of this study

promotes awareness of some of the challenges in the empirical study of descriptive representation and the need for new ways of looking at minority representation and its effect.

Finally, local community college governing boards are often overlooked politically and academically for their contributions to our national, state and local economic development goals. As discussed, community colleges are expected to play a significant role in our nation's efforts to produce more college graduates by 2020.

Organization of Study

Chapter 2 presents a discussion on community college governance, an examination of governing boards, their structures and composition. This will be followed by a review of the analytical framework of this analysis, descriptive representation, and the literature on environmental and structural variables that impact the selection of under-represented groups to governing bodies. Chapter 3 describes the methodology used, including hypotheses, models, data collection procedures, analytical techniques and explanatory variables. Chapter 4 describes the findings and results of the quantitative research analysis, followed by Chapter 5, which provides case studies to more fully discuss the context of board representation and policy outcomes related to the research questions. The final chapter, Chapter 6, includes a summary of the dissertation, research limitations and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The History of Community Colleges

The first community college in the nation, Joilet Junior College (JJC) in Illinois, serves as an example of the evolving function of these two-year institutions. The superintendent of Joilet Township High School came together with the president of the University of Chicago to create JJC in 1901. As an experimental postgraduate high school program, the college provided the first two years of a four-year college or university degree, designed to accommodate students who lived within the community and did not want to leave to pursue a college education. It began with six students and within a few years, the concept of "community" had expanded to students outside the high school district.

Following the implementation of the G.I. Bill after World War II, America's community colleges exploded as soldiers returned home and required retraining to enter the workforce. In 1965, around the time that many states were establishing their community college governance systems, the Illinois Legislature voted to create specific community college districts that could raise their own funds to support their institutions. Two years later, the people of 12 high school districts voted to establish Illinois Community College District 525, with its own elected Board of Trustees, which oversaw JJC. Overtime, the college expanded to many new campuses and sites within the district. With 35,000 credit and non-credit students, JJC is now one of 40 community college districts statewide that fall under the purview of the Illinois Community College Board, which is under the Illinois Board of Higher Education (History of Joilet Junior College). There is no other state system like it. While not every community college's story is the same, the tale of growth and expansion and simultaneous evolution of a state and/or local governance system is a shared experience across much of the nation.

Definitions and Taxonomies of Governance Systems

Although community colleges began with close affiliations to school districts, the American community college lies in between the realms of K-12 and colleges and universities that grant four-year and higher degrees. In the first half of the 20th Century, these institutions were referred to as junior colleges, two-year colleges, or if they were part of a municipal district, a city college (Cohen & Brawer, 2003). A general characteristic shared by these institutions is that they provide the first two years of college. Although some two-year postsecondary institutions are privately funded, the “community college” is generally publically funded (Rauh, 1969; Gleazer, 1963). Cohen and Brawer (2003) define community colleges as “any institution regionally accredited to award the associate in arts or the associate in science as its highest degree,” (p.5). But there are a growing number of community colleges that have begun to offer four-year degrees in fields in which there is high demand (Marcus, 2014). Today, community colleges offer certificates and two-year associate degrees in the trades and a complement of liberal arts and science courses, certificates and degrees designed to allow students to transfer to bachelor-degree-granting universities or colleges. They also provide adult basic education, English-language courses for non-native speakers, personal enrichment, dual-credit opportunities for high school students, non-credit workforce training related courses such as contract courses to meet the needs of local-employers, and courses that teach computer literacy or other workforce skills. There are 1,132 community colleges nationwide, 1,600 including branch campuses. There are 986 community colleges that are publically funded institutions (AACC, 2014b).

Community colleges are grouped into two different forms: 1.) Single and multi-campus institutions, each led by a single president who reports to a board of trustees and; 2.) Community

college districts, composed of many colleges or campuses, each with its own president who reports to a chancellor, who reports to a board of trustees (Levinson, 2005).

Governance is the central decision-making entity for an organization. For community colleges, it is typically exercised through faculty, staff, administrators and students through a shared-governance process and lay boards or non-professional educators (Lovell & Trough, 2002, 2004; Amey, Jessup-Anger & Jessup-Anger, 2008). The latter is the focus of this research. These representatives are often referred to as trustees or regents (McGuinness, 1997).

State governing systems vary in how they incorporate lay boards. States with consolidated governance systems have one board that governs all public two- and four-year institutions or one board for all four-year institutions and a separate one for all community colleges. Segmental systems have separate boards governing distinct types of postsecondary institutions, such as research universities, state colleges and community colleges. Campus-level boards have authority over individual campuses that are not part of consolidated or segmental systems and public institution governing boards, which are modeled after private college and university lay boards, have authority over single colleges. While there is a perception that most colleges and universities have their own lay boards, 65 percent of U.S. higher education students attended multi-campus institutions that had governing boards that oversaw multiple campuses (McGuinness, 1997).

The term statewide coordination refers to formal policies, plans and guidelines that states employ to ensure postsecondary institutions across the state align with state priorities and usually involves a coordinating mechanism (McGuinness, 1997; Polonio & Miller, 2012). Agencies representing the entire state's higher education priorities are typically called coordinating authorities, boards, committees or councils. These entities represent a formal mechanism to

ensure collaboration among states' higher education institutions and conduct statewide planning, review academic programs, allocate resources, disburse financial aid, implement statewide initiatives or projects and protect against mission creep. Although the responsibilities of governing and coordinating entities seem similar, governing boards are distinguishable by their responsibility to hire and fire college presidents (Lovell & Trough, 2002; McGuiness, 1997; Polonio & Miller, 2012). Statewide systems can also include mechanisms for local control (Lovell & Trough, 2002; McGuiness, 1997; Richardson, 2014).

States may allow for local control of community colleges through advisory and governance boards that are established through legislation or approved by voters. Local governing boards are generally created by statute and deal with policy making, not day-to-day management. Members may receive salary or no compensation for their service (Mitchell, 1997). Establishing a community college district and special bonding or tax levies has also been accomplished directly by voters through the ballot box (Zoglin, 1976).

The selection of trustees for higher education and community college governing boards at state and local levels varies in each state. There are three methods: appointment, election and service by virtue of the position. The governor, legislature, local elected officials or members of the board itself may appoint trustees. The citizens of the state, or residents of specific districts may elect them to serve through non-partisan elections and some states have laws requiring that certain public officials serve, often in an ex officio capacity, by virtue of their position. Some higher education governing boards have members who are selected by all three of these methods (Kohn & Mortimer, 1983; Polonio & Miller, 2012).

Table 2.1: U.S. Public Community College Governing Board Trustee Selection

Governor Appointed	Publically Elected	Both
31 States	14 States	5

Source: (Polonio & Miller, 2012, p. 6)

Higher Education Governing Boards

Higher education lay boards date back as early as 12th Century Italy, when city states appointed citizen boards to mediate between students and faculty. The first higher education lay board began in America when John Harvard bequeathed his library to create the endowment for a university and a group of clergy and laymen was created to ensure its continuity. This was in direct contrast to the senior faculty governance boards of Oxford and Cambridge. William and Mary and what is now called Yale University then followed suit. In the late 1700s, states created lay boards to oversee their public universities and some states such as Michigan and Nevada enshrined these governance boards in their constitutions to protect these institutions from political influence (Zwingle, 1980).

The average higher education board size includes 11.8 voting members. For community college governing boards, the average size was 9.7 voting members, according to a 2010 survey of 195 college and university governing boards, including 14 community colleges, conducted by the Association of Governing Boards of Colleges and Universities. Typically, community colleges have smaller boards than statewide higher education systems or boards at universities and colleges, according to the report. The college's chief executive officer served as a member of the governing board at 10 percent of community college respondents' institutions. The governor of the state did not serve as a member of any community college respondents' boards, compared to gubernatorial representation reported at 11 percent of responding bachelor-degree granting institutional boards, 20 percent of master's degree institutional boards and 20 percent of system

boards. A student was found to be a voting member of 14.3 percent of community college respondents (0 percent reported having a non-voting student member). This is dramatically different from bachelor's- and master's-degree-granting institutional boards for which 84.2 percent and 73 percent, respectively, had a student as a voting or nonvoting member. In addition, 0 percent of survey respondents from community colleges had a faculty member on the board, compared to 47.3 percent of bachelor's degree and 17.4 percent of master's degree respondents.

Local board oversight of public entities such as community colleges is a product of the Progressive Era when, in the early 1900s, elected officials representing political parties were viewed with skepticism as beholden to political machines. It was during the good-government movement that America experienced an increase in nonpartisan citizen lay boards with fixed terms, which were viewed as a way to make government more accountable and democratic (Mitchell, 1997).

The governance structure is important, whereas it determines lines of authority and accountability and establishes the rules of the game that create outcomes for higher education. Governance systems evolve as their higher education institutions grow to meet the needs of the constituencies that they serve (McGuinness, 1997). There are many factors that shape higher education governance structures, including mission, conflicting organizational goals, local, state and federal legislation and politics, community needs, available resources, public scrutiny, competition, attitudes and values of key decision makers, organizational cultures and the preferences and values of the board members (Amey, et. al, p. 6, 2008). The design of the structure also sets the budgeting process; the framework for performance measurement and quality assessment; the institutional mission and the parameters that incentivize collaboration with other colleges and universities in the system (Richardson, 2004).

Higher education governing boards generally share three common responsibilities, including hiring, firing and evaluating the president, establishing policies and ensuring fiscal accountability (Minor, 2008; Smith, 2000; McGuinness, 1997; Hines, 1997). Additional responsibilities may include clarifying the institution's mission, overseeing academic programs, enhancing the college's public image, interpreting the community's needs to the college and preserving institutional dependence (Nason, 1980; Smith 2000). Governing board members can protect campuses from external political pressures and other intrusions, prevent the college from pursuing narrow institutional interests and ensure that public needs and values are served. (McGuinness; 1997; Hines, 1997; Smith, 2000).

Classification Systems

A national trend separating community colleges from K-12 schools combined with the dramatic growth and popularity of community colleges in the 1960s led to the establishment of many state and local community college governing boards. State boards sprung from a desire to coordinate entire systems or districts of community colleges. Some states, such as Hawaii, North Dakota and Nevada, placed responsibility for all coordination of postsecondary institutions under a single statewide governing board, while others bifurcated the responsibility for community colleges to separate coordinating boards or agencies and local governing boards. A few states have assigned sole governing authority of their community colleges to local governing boards. Although states have continually played a more important role in funding community colleges and account for between 75 percent and 90 percent of colleges' total revenues in some states, the majority of community college systems have a local governance mechanism that still plays a significant role in the policy and control over these institutions (Richardson & de los Santos, 2001).

To understand how colleges and universities within a state relate to each other and its governing authorities, scholars have created multiple classification systems for higher education (Lovell & Trough, 2004). The Education Commission of States (ECS) undertook the first effort to categorize community college systems in 1997, which provided an important contribution to the literature on community college governance and the most widely used taxonomy to date (Lovell & Trough, 2004; Richardson & de los Santos, 2001). They developed six categories: 1.) States in which a state board of education coordinates and regulates community colleges; 2.) States in which a consolidated governing board oversees two-year and four-year institutions; 3.) States in which a coordinating board for all postsecondary institutions coordinates community colleges that are governed at the local level through local governing boards; 4.) States in which independent state boards coordinate community colleges and technical schools; 5.) States in which independent state boards govern community colleges and technical schools; and 6.) States in which four-year institutions have two-year branch campuses. These categories are non-exclusive and some states, such as South Carolina for example, fit into multiple categories.

In 1999, Tollefson expanded upon ECS' work and created a taxonomy with five categories, which organized community colleges by the type of state board responsible for their oversight, including 1.) States in which community colleges fall under a State Board of Education along with K-12; 2.) States in which community colleges are responsible to a state higher education board or commission; 3.) States in which community colleges fall under a statewide community college coordinating board; 4.) States that have a state community college governing board; and 5.) States that have a single Board of Regents for all postsecondary institutions, including community colleges.

In their 2012 report for the Association of Community College Trustees, Polonio and Miller classified the community college governance model in each state, noting that many states employ multiple layers of governance. Their structure highlights the importance of the local governing or advisory board for a single community college as one of four forms of governance. The other three include a community or technical college governing board at the state level that governs or coordinates; A state governing board that governs or coordinates all postsecondary institutions; and a university governing board that directly governs some or all community and or technical colleges. Colorado is the only state to employ all four. There are 33 states with local community college governing boards, 15 of which have local governing boards and a community or technical college governing board at the state level. There are four states – Arizona, Michigan, Nebraska and New Jersey – that have only a local governing or advisory board for each community college.

While these classification systems exist, it is important to note that no state community college governance system is exactly like another; each has its own nuances (Martinez, Farias & Arellano, 2002). Although these classifications help scholars and policymakers describe and compare certain systems, additional research is needed to determine how effective each structure is. But the most important takeaway from the present classification structures for community colleges is the emphasis on the state level. While these institutions were founded to serve localities, the classification systems are focused on state governance and to what extent the state model has centralized or decentralized control of community colleges (Polonio & Miller, 2012; Tollefson, 1999), further indication that more research is needed on local community college governing boards to understand their perspectives and impact.

Diversity of Higher Education and Community College Governing Boards

Scholars widely accept that higher education boards lack racial diversity (Kohn & Mortimer, 1983; Policies, practices and composition, 2010; Smith, 2000; Vaughan & Weisman, 1997). Most of what is known about the composition and characteristics of local community college governing boards comes from more general surveys of all higher education governing boards. The majority of research specific to community college governing boards is outdated and does not distinguish among state and local governing boards. Much of the most recent data on all higher education governing board composition does not break down race by type of institution, blending all public institutional lay boards together. The data that are specific to community college trustees' race also does not differentiate between state and local boards, selection methods or region.

Among the first surveys on all higher education governing boards, Rauh (1968) noted the lack of scholarly research in this area and surveyed a stratified random sample of doctoral-granting universities, private non-doctorate-granting institutions, public and private four-year institutions and public and private two-year institutions. He sent 74-item questionnaires to the governing boards of 536 institutions, including 67 public community colleges. Of the 546 questionnaires mailed to community college trustees (on state and local boards), 48 percent responded. Rauh did not produce all tables of data and so the descriptive characteristics specific to community college trustees are not available for most of his variables. He noted in his narrative that the vast majority of higher education trustees were White, male Protestants that had a bachelor's degree or higher. Although he did not provide the specific racial breakdown of community college trustees, he noted in the narrative that 1.9 percent of them were African American, 30 percent of community college trustees had less than a bachelor's degree and 52

percent were Republicans at the time (Rauh, 1969). Again, those numbers did not distinguish between state and local community college governing boards. Kohn and Mortimer (1983) cited Gomber and Atelsek's 1977 study of public college and university trustees that found 85 percent were male; 93 percent were White; 65 percent were 50 years or older; 90 percent had a baccalaureate degree and nearly 75 percent worked in business, education and other professions.

Longitudinal research on the composition of higher education governing boards, including universities, colleges and community colleges from the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges (AGB) suggests these boards are slowly becoming more diverse. The AGB conducts a regular survey of public higher education governing boards. The most recent AGB survey in 2010 presents a far different picture than Rauh's 1969 survey. The AGB found that the majority of higher education governing board trustees are still White, but there were far more minorities on boards, with Asian, Black and Hispanic trustees comprising 23 percent of all board members. More specifically, higher education trustees were 15.8 percent Black, 4 percent Hispanic, 2 percent Asian or Pacific Islander and 1 percent American Indian/Alaskan Native members. Women also made gains, comprising 28 percent of board positions (Building Public Governing Board Capacity, 2013).

In the 1970s, a handful of scholars conducted research specific to community college trustees' demographics, aggregating results for those on local and state boards. In 1971, the *Junior College Journal* published the results of a survey that found 95 percent of community college trustees were White, 85 percent were male, 98 percent had never graduated from a junior college, 77 percent were Protestant, 68 percent considered higher education a privilege and not a right, 70 percent earned more than \$15,000 annually and 88 percent were older than age 40 (Moore, 1973).

“To tell it ‘like it is,’ community college boards are, for the most part, 50-year-old conservative WASP male managers earning more than \$25,000 annually, who listen to ‘the people’ speak in his golfing foursome at the local country club and over the tinkle of martini glasses at ‘sophisticated’ cocktail parties,” Moore wrote (p. 173) more than four decades ago.

By 1995 when Vaughan and Weisman conducted another survey of community college governing board trustees whose institutions were members of the American Association of Community College Trustees, not much had changed. Their efforts drew a 39 percent response rate from 618 trustees. Among them, the authors found that 86.6 percent were White, 7.9 percent were African American and 2.3 percent were Hispanic. Approximately two-thirds of trustees were men. They also surveyed community college presidents and received a much higher response rate of 74 percent from 680 community college presidents. They found that 85.6 percent of community college presidents were White and 82 percent were men, leading Vaughan and Weisman to question whether the lack of diversity on community college governing boards is related to the lack of diversity of their chief executive officers, given these boards’ roles in the hiring, evaluating and firing of college presidents (Vaughan & Weisman, 1997). This survey is still cited in more recent works on community college trustees, including Smith (2000).

“Bluntly stated, is the predominantly white ‘old boys’ club’ alive and well among trustees and presidents, leaving women and minorities on the periphery of the presidential selection process?” (Vaughan & Weisman, 1997, p. 6).

More research needs to be done to help policymakers understand why the composition of these boards remains stubbornly homogeneous and how to achieve a more representative board, whereas a board representing diverse racial perspectives may lead to increased benefits for under-represented minorities. In its 2013 state policy brief to governing boards, the AGB

stressed the importance of appointing trustees that are representative of the state's population and the importance of constituents perceiving that they are represented on those boards in terms of gender, sexual orientation, race and ethnicity. The AGB concluded the briefing by noting that much more reform in this area must take place (Building Public Governing Board Capacity, 2013). The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has also advocated for higher education board membership to reflect the constituencies served by the institution (Gable, 1980).

In relation to the research questions posed in this paper, none of the survey research done to date on community college trustees specifies between state and local governing boards, nor does it provide any insight into how other environmental or structural factors may contribute to more diverse boards. The diversity of governing boards has symbolic importance, particularly for two-year schools that are their communities' colleges. A diverse board comprised of people of different sexes, races, creeds, ages, occupations and perspectives adds to a board's legitimacy (Kohn & Mortimer, 1983). Finally, the representation of local governing boards, given their responsibility to promote the community's perspectives, is arguably more important for local governing boards of single institutions than for state boards that oversee multiple colleges spanning diverse geographic areas.

Community Colleges as Localized Institutions

Zoglin (1976) compared the relationship of a two-year college to its community as a marriage, noting that the college must offer meaningful educational and workforce training to residents in a designated area and the community must provide the resources to sustain it, whether they attend its courses or not. Because financial obstacles generally prohibit residents from attending colleges outside their locale, Zoglin emphasized the importance of local input and that it is "essential that local residents be able to create the kind of college that best serves their

particular needs,” (p. 27). It was local community conditions and interests that led to the development of community colleges. “As they were formed, schoolteachers became college professors and school superintendents became college presidents, a significant force for building an institution that would accord prestige to its staff and its township. Prior to midcentury, the notion of statewide systems or a national agenda hardly existed,” (Cohen & Brower, p.11, 2003).

Analytical Framework: Descriptive Representation

Much more can be learned about community college local governing boards once it is understood who serves on them and in what context. The literature on representation includes a dizzying array of theories and empirical works that may be applied to this governmental body. This review will cover the history of scholarly work surrounding the theory of descriptive representation, a theory of representation that has developed over time to mean a representative body that mirrors the appearance and shared experiences of its constituents (Griffiths & Wollheim, 1960; Mansbridge, 1999; Pitkin, 1967; Young, 2000), followed by a discussion of the environmental and structural variables that may impact the racial composition and descriptive representativeness of governing boards. It is this theory that is most relevant to the research questions related to the composition of local community college governing boards and serves as the lens through which local community college governing boards and their racial composition will be examined.

The theory of descriptive representation dates back to discussions surrounding the founding of the American republic. In advocating for a representative form of government over a direct democracy, John Adams and James Wilson advanced the concept of legislative bodies as mirror-like portraits of constituents during the Constitutional Convention.

The development of a theory called proportional representation arrived next. In the 1800s

and across the sea, John Stuart Mill argued for a parliamentary system in which members would reflect the nation's economic classes with mathematical accuracy (Pitkin, 1967). To him, such representation was necessary to prevent against an uprising of an underrepresented faction of society – the working poor -- and ensuring their interests were represented in proportion to their numbers. In a May 30, 1867 address to parliament, Mill advocated unsuccessfully for legislation to increase the diversity of representation.

No working man whom I have conversed with desires that the richer classes should be unrepresented, but only that their representation should not exceed what is due to their numbers: that all classes should have, man for man, an equal amount of representation. He does not desire that the majority should be alone represented. He desires that the majority should be represented by a majority, and the minority by a minority; and they only need to have it shown to them how this can be done.

But I will go further. It is not only justice to the minorities that is here concerned. Unless minorities are counted, the majority which prevails may be but a sham majority. (Mill, May 30, 1867).

At the beginning of the 20th Century, the theory of representative bureaucracy began to take route among scholars studying the public administrators that implement the policies of elected representatives. The theory examines the extent to which our public employees mirror the society they serve (Hong-Hai, 2006; Riccucci, Meyers, 2004; Kingsley, 1944; Mosher, 1968; Meier, 1975; Meier, Wrinkle and Polinard, 1999). Kingsley (1944) is one of the founding researchers in this area, having released an extensive review of the British Civil Service after World War II. He theorized that government administration generally reflects social class and power structures and predicted that dangerous situations arise when it fails to keep up with changing demographics. He warned that, “bureaucracies are responsible today to the extent that they are broadly representative,” (p. 279). In his *History of the United States Civil Service* (1958), Paul Van Riper took a step further and described the benefits of an ethnically and racially representative bureaucracy in its ability to increase the status of minorities and demonstrate the

open competition within and transparency of government.

In 1960, Griffiths and Wollheim were the first to coin the phrase ‘descriptive representation,’ (Pitkin, 1960; Mansbridge, 1999) as a concept of representation in which someone represents another by being like him.

I am a descriptive representative of my generation – a sample specimen, or analogue – when I am sufficiently like my fellows for someone to be reasonably safe in drawing conclusions about the other members of my generation from what they know about me (Griffiths & Wollheim, p. 188, 1960).

This concept is distinguished from other forms of representation, such as symbolic representation, in which constituents have ascribed a thematic set of attitudes to an individual or accredited representation, in which a representative negotiates something, e.g. a law, on behalf of constituents.

Pitkin (1967) highlighted descriptive representation in her book exploring the many theories of representation and used the term interchangeably with mirror representation. In contrast to descriptive representation, she presented the idea of substantive representation, in which legislators vote or make policy decisions on behalf of the groups they purport to represent. From 1975 to the early 2000s, political scientist Ken Meier conducted a number of empirical studies to link the impact of the descriptive representation of racial minorities to substantive benefits (Meier, 1975; Meier & England, 1984; Stewart, England & Meier, 1989; Meier & Stewart, 1992; Meier, Juenke and Wrinkle, 2005).

In Richard Fenno’s *Home Style*, the importance of congressional representatives’ descriptive connections to their constituents is an important theme, but Fenno’s qualitative case studies also show how voters appear to use these characteristics as informational short-cuts to understanding their representatives’ character (Sass, 2000). In fact, voters, particularly in low-information races, use race and gender as cues to attribute ideology and issue positions to

candidates (McDermott, 1998).

Common demography between representatives and constituents can also produce other outcomes beneficial to the maintenance of a productive democratic government, including increased communication, empathy and trust among groups, increased legitimacy of under-represented populations, an appearance of a successful and inclusive democracy and prominence of traditionally under-represented interests and perspectives in deliberative discussions (Mansbridge, 1999; Sass, 2000; Young, 2000; Sowa & Seldon, 2003; Hong-Hai, 2006). But most importantly, there is little argument that minorities and women are less likely to represent in even the most contemporary and progressive democracies. Social and economic obstacles have excluded them from influential political discussions for generations. Combined with selection mechanisms that favor non-descriptive representatives, these inequalities have hindered their ascent into the governing ranks (Young, 2000). The marginalization of these groups undermines Democracy's iconic promise of equal opportunities and Young (2000) argued that increased inclusion of disenfranchised groups could help society confront and ameliorate longstanding structural inequalities. As Mill emphasized (1867), without the minority's participation in government, the majority's authority is illegitimately exercised.

But among those who subscribe to the normative theory of representation as standing in a position for someone, descriptive representation has many critics. Although Pitkin highlighted descriptive representation among the many prominent theories of representation, she concluded that political representation is most efficacious when representatives act in the interest of their constituents. She was critical of descriptive representation because she argued it does not require representatives to do anything. Rather, she said it depends on an elected official "being" something, (p. 61). While descriptive representation does not necessitate substantive

representation, she stated non-descriptive members are equal to the task of representing groups to which they do not belong.

In 1999, Jane Mansbridge expanded upon the scholarly definition of descriptive representation, providing a solution to Pitkin's qualm. Prior to Mansbridge's writings, few commentators noted that physical descriptors, such as race or gender, are often tied to shared experiences among those with similar characteristics. A shared experience involves similar backgrounds, upbringings, socialization or education and provides a similar lens with which members of these groups use to interpret events around them (Mansbridge, 1999; Young, 2000). It is this shared experience, Mansbridge argued, that is fundamental to descriptive representation (p. 629) and provides the basis for legislative discussions that represent the group in question and that would not occur among solely non-descriptive members.

A second frequent criticism of the descriptive representation theory also points out that it is impossible for a government body to represent all groups and the challenge of deciding which groups to represent when it comes to making critical decisions that impact the health and welfare of constituents. Pennock (1979) was one of the first to raise these questions and his adage, "No one would argue that morons should be represented by morons," is often cited by critics of descriptive representation (1979, p. 314). Others have pointed out that constituents expect their government to be smarter and have more expertise in the field in which they are making decisions than the average voter (Meier, 1975). As Young (2000) noted, the assumption that representatives must be identical to constituents or represent every group with which they affiliate is an impossible requirement. But Mansbridge's analysis articulated how to decide which groups should be represented to increase the efficiency of the democratic process. Using left-handers as an example of an under-represented group, she wrote, "The perspectives and

interests of left-handers should be represented in deliberation when their perspectives are relevant to a decision (e.g., in decisions regarding the design of surgical instruments) and in aggregation when their interests conflict with those of others,” (p. 635). She noted that non-descriptive representatives can easily represent left handers’ interests if there are reelection incentives. Normative democratic theory poses that power on behalf of specific interest groups must only be used in proportion to the size of their constituency. But Mansbridge argued that a left-handed representative has more commitment to preparing, proposing and supporting left-handed legislation. She argued that only someone who has lived the gauche life can overcome the historic mistrust between left handers and right-handed legislators and maintain effective deliberation between representative and constituents and among representatives on left-handed issues. “In deliberation, perspectives are less easily represented by non-descriptive representatives ... the open-ended quality of deliberation gives communicative and informational advantages to representatives who are existentially close to the issues,” she wrote (p. 635-636).

But ultimately, critics of descriptive representation, she advocated, should judge the theory based on how well it explains substantive representation or the public policy decisions that protect the interests of under-represented groups. Empirical research in this area also varies. Some of the first studies examining Black or women members of Congress found that the descriptive representatives in these cases did not see themselves as representing Black or women interests (Mansbridge, 1999: See Irene Diamond, 1977 and Carol Swain, 1993). In her 2014 analysis of the 111th Congress, Sophia Wallace found that partisanship is the key to determining a member’s voting behavior, not race, ethnicity or constituent demographics and that Black and Democrats provided Latinos with considerable substantive representation on the issues of social security, immigration, labor and education. However, other scholars have found empirical

support, indicating that White lawmakers differ from minority legislators in ways that underscore the importance of descriptive representation (Gonzalez Juenke & Preuhs, 2012; Grose, 2005; Hicklin & Meier, 2008; Minta 2009; Tate, 2001). While conceding that non-descriptive representatives positively respond to minority constituent preferences, Gonzalez Juenke and Preuhs (2012) advocated that minority legislators provide an additional level of substantive representation through votes on bills considered important to minorities. In their study of 50 state legislatures in 1999-2000, Eric Gonzalez Juenke and Robert Preuhs (2012) found that minority legislators expressed additional ideological variation unique to their racial and ethnic backgrounds. For example, a review of hearing transcripts from the 107th Congress found that minority members of Congress were more likely than White legislators to participate in racial-oversight hearings (Minta, 2009). In 2001, Katherine Tate found that Black constituents expressed higher levels of satisfaction with their members of Congress if they were Black.

In 2008, Hicklin and Meier argued the body of research confirming the importance of descriptive representation is substantial enough to explore descriptive representativeness at every level of government. Scholars have created an impressive litany of research to support that the extent to which local elected officials mirror their communities in terms of gender and ethnicity matters in state legislatures, local city councils and school boards (Hicklin & Meier, 2008; Riccucci & Meyers, 2004; Meier, Wrinkle & Polinard, 1999; Stewart, England & Meier, 1989).

At the local level, Stewart, England and Meier (1989) found a relationship between the descriptive representation of school boards and diversity of school administrators and that there was a distinct positive relationship between the percentage of Black school administrators and Black teachers, showing an indirect connection between the racial composition of the board and faculty. After analyzing data from 350 Texas school districts over six years, Meier, Wrinkle and

Polinard (1999) found a relationship between representative bureaucracy and organizational outputs for minority and nonminority students. They found that White and minority K-12 students both do better and had higher pass rates in schools with more minority teachers. The impact of minority teachers on students' test performance is not large, however, and the authors noted that environmental factors have a far more significant impact on school performance.

To wrap up this section, minority representation on policymaking boards is an important symbol of democracy and its promise of equity. There is enough research on the relationship between the racial composition of local governing bodies and substantive outcomes to examine local community college governing boards, their racial composition and the impact of minority representation.

Variables that Impact Board Diversity

Selection Method

Scholars have long debated the merits of appointing versus electing members of governing boards (Minor, 2008; Gale, 1980; Zwingle, 1980). The majority of higher education governing boards that oversee community colleges are comprised of appointed individuals. Gubernatorial appointment with legislative approval is the most common method to select trustees of public higher education institutions. Kohn and Mortimer (1983) estimated that 70 percent to 75 percent of public four-year institution trustees were selected in this manner. However, of the 33 states that have local governing boards for community colleges, only 16 – just about half -- are appointed (Friedel, Killacky, Miller & Katsinas, 2014; Polonio & Miller, 2012). Political culture and tradition play a significant role in the appointment process and politics surrounds elections. In many instances the party in power uses the positions for patronage to loyal members and donors (Hines, 1997; Kohn & Mortimer, 1983). In a few cases,

trustees are screened prior to appointment, but even when screening committees are part of the process, elected officials have in cases bypassed their recommendations. Kohn and Mortimer (1983) cited several instances that demonstrate the politics and power involved in the selection of public higher education trustees, including a yet-to-be-inaugurated governor who convinced the legislature to block all appointments of the previous governor to a university board. In another state, an education official promised a party loyalist that if he served a term on the state college board, he would be appointed next to the more prestigious university board. Elected officials responsible for appointments often argue that they are accountable to voters at the end of the day for the board's performance and must appoint people that they can trust to do the job effectively (Kohn & Mortimer, 1983). Appointed members may be selected to represent ethnic, racial, religious, economic, social or political groups. Or if the appointing authority has enough of the political majority to ignore certain groups, members may be appointed to represent a single perspective (Moore, 1973). Shoulder tapping is a significant problem accompanying appointments (Minor, 2008). In 1973, the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges conducted a survey and found that more than two-thirds of the 800 respondents felt that elected officials often fail to appoint the ablest candidates on public institutional boards (Gable, 1980).

Given the lack of accountability and perception of cronyism surrounding appointments, the election of governing board trustees appears far more democratic and equitable. However, trustees who must run for office must often be entrenched in local and state party politics to win nonpartisan elections. Kohn and Mortimer found that in Michigan, where the support of labor unions in the 1980s was critical to winning office, most of the candidates hoping to serve on higher education boards had to be longtime Democrats with a relationship to the UAW's political

leader (p. 33). Advocates of election as a board selection method argue that those who go through the process of running for office are far more likely to rigorously protect it from political interference. But critics note that those who may be most qualified to sit on these boards have little time or lack the resources to conduct a successful campaign (Kohn & Mortimer, 1983). There is particular controversy surrounding at-large elections and whether they disenfranchise minority candidates. Decades of scholarly research has been devoted to this subject with mixed results (Engstrom & McDonald, 1981).

The selection method that most effectively produces a representative board is a question scholars continue to study. The political science literature is ripe with empirical evidence that at-large elections disadvantage minority candidates in a variety of other venues. Following the Voting Rights Act of 1965, there was a series of successful court challenges to at-large systems, starting with the landmark U.S. Supreme Court Case of *White v. Regester* (1973). The justices' decision in that case defined when at-large elections were appropriate and prescribed ward-based systems as the remedies, which then led to the transformation of a number of the at-large municipal election systems or multi-seat districts in the South to district or ward systems (Davidson & Korbel, 1981). Sass (2000) found evidence to suggest that district elections provide an appropriate remedy and are associated with increases in Hispanic representation in municipal government. His work supported that of others, including Engstrom and McDonald (1981), Bullock and MacManus (1990) and Alozie and Manganaro (1993), who also found support that district elections were empirically associated with increases in Black or Hispanic representation on city councils.

At the K-12 district level, Robinson, England and Meier noted that access to appointed board positions requires access to elected officials (1985), which highly qualified individuals

from traditionally under-represented groups may not possess. In their study on the representation of African Americans on U.S. urban school district boards, Stewart, England and Meier (1989) found that ward elections within school districts were more likely to contribute to a representative board than an appointive system or districts with at-large elections, which both were strongly related to the under-representation of Black members on these bodies.

Region

Region is a significant factor in explaining diversity and representativeness in the literature. Stewart, England and Meier (1989) are among good company when it comes to researchers finding region to be a significant factor related to the composition of policymaking bodies (Davidson & Korbel, 1981; Heppen, 2003; Hero, 1998; Key, 1949). The South stands out with its historical concoction of voter disenfranchising methods, i.e. poll taxes, literacy tests, grandfather clauses, White primaries and gerrymandering that combined with later elements of de jure segregation have traditionally limited minority access to the polls and elected positions. Southern local government entities also relied heavily on at-large elections prior to the 1970s (Davidson & Korbel, 1981). Key (1959) identified unique political elements that he related to the racial composition of Southern states and counties. In fact, when using region as a variable, some scholars have relied on a dummy variable South/Non-south to explain variation (Hero, 1998). Stewart, England and Meier (1989) constructed their regional variable based on those states that maintained a de jure segregated school system in 1954. Those that did were considered Southern and the variable had a strong negative correlation to the number of Black school board members.

Board Size

The good government era of the early 20th Century aspired to take party politics out of local governments and help them run more efficiently. One of the techniques to do so was to

make governing boards smaller, which had the adverse and perhaps intentional impact of making them less diverse. Empirical research has since shown that larger bodies are more likely to be diverse (Bullock & MacManus, 1991; Davidson & Korbel, 1981).

Board Prestige

It is unclear the extent to which board prestige has any relationship to board diversity. Scholars have opined that the more prestige a governing body has, the more competitive a position on it is, and therefore, the more resources needed for an interested individual to acquire membership. This would then have an adverse impact on the selection of members from groups that had been oppressed, disenfranchised or subject to de jure racism. Some research on women in city politics, for instance, has found an inverse relationship between the selection of female candidates and highly sought board seats (Welch & Karnig, 1979). In 2010, the Delta Cost Project reported that between 1998 and 2008, America's private and most prestigious higher education institutions increased the number of administrators by 36 percent, while only increasing faculty by 22 percent. Combined with the rising cost of higher education, there is at least a perception that in higher education, prestige is associated with a hefty administration (Ginsberg, 2011).

Service Area Population

In 1998, Hero argued that the ethnic and racial compositions of individual states within a region influence politics and policies and that social diversity has an impact on state-level and sub-state level institutions. Elazar (1994) found that state's political subcultures were derived from dominant ethnic and religious groups, suggesting that local political cultures may vary based on the diversity of constituents. Empirical research suggests that the diversity of a jurisdiction is related to the diversity of its governing bodies. Grose (2005) noted that scholars

studying the relationship between minority legislators and minority constituents must be wary of the two variables having a high correlation in any statistical analysis involving the two variables. That said, there is research to support that those areas with greater African American populations are more likely to elect African Americans (with a similar positive relationship between Latino populations and legislators) and those jurisdictions that are homogenous with small minority populations are far less likely to do so (Hero, 1998; Davidson & Korbel, 1981; Grose, 2005; Stewart, England & Meier, 1989).

Socioeconomic Variables

Engstrom et. al (1981) took umbrage with contemporary works that they felt downplayed the importance of selection methods on the level of minority representation. MacManus (1978) looked at other causal variables that might impact equity of minority representation. After conducting a correlational analysis on the election plan and representation of more than 200 city councils, she found that any relationship between the two disappears when controls are included for socioeconomic characteristics. Specifically, she found that education, median income, ethnicity, age of city and region have stronger relationships with equity of minority representation than councils' election plans. Latimer (1979) also found that socioeconomic variables influence the representation of minorities.

Conclusion

In summary of this chapter, the local governance model providing oversight to the majority of states' community colleges has evolved from individual state needs that are unique to their localities. While local community colleges have close-knit relationships to their constituents and enroll approximately half of minority undergraduate students in this nation, the governing boards that run them have historically been homogenous and unreflective of the diversity they

serve. Using a theoretical framework of descriptive representation, this research seeks to provide a contemporary evaluation of these boards. It focuses specifically on the composition of local community college governing boards, how well they mirror the populations they serve, what environmental and structural variables impact their diversity and the relationship, if any, between more diverse boards and their policy outcomes. Using a combination of research methods that will be discussed in the next chapter, this paper seeks to add to the little scholarly work in this area and examine descriptive representation within the context of these unique, local governing bodies.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research seeks to explain the representativeness of local community college governing boards and examine the impact of racially diverse representation through the theoretical lens of descriptive representation. Using 91 counties that contain a community college with a local governing board, this dissertation examined the relationships between board members' ethnicity compared to the minority populations they serve, the environmental and structural variables that impact the likelihood of minority members sitting on these boards and the impact board diversity plays on key responsibilities of the governing body. In addition to the empirical analysis of the data, this paper also includes multiple case studies to qualitatively examine the details surrounding highly representative and under representative boards. Unlike previous research on the diversity within community college governance that aggregated local and state boards, this work is specific to local community college governing boards. It also explores the context of environmental and structural characteristics that may lead to more diverse memberships and seeks to provide empirical and qualitative information to help the scholarly community better understand these boards and their impact. Given the few empirical analyses available on community college governing boards, this paper seeks to understand the following research questions:

1. What is the relationship between population demographics and Black or Hispanic representation on local community college governing boards?;
2. What factors may explain minority selection for local community college governing boards?;
3. What is the relationship between board composition and the selection of a Black or Hispanic college president?; and
4. What is the relationship between board composition and the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates?

The literature on descriptive representativeness stresses environmental and structural factors that may inhibit or facilitate the selection of racial minorities (Bowler & Donovan, 2005;

Davidson & Korbel, 1981; Engstrom, McDonald, 1981; Kohn & Mortimer, 1983; MacManus, 1978; Meier, Gonzalez Juenke, Wrinkle & Polinard, 2005; Moore, 1973; Sass, 2000; Stewart, England, Meier, 1989). The theory of descriptive representation has evolved as scholars have tested it and there is strong support for a relationship between the representativeness of the board and substantive representation, meaning there is evidence that minority board members vote or promote issues that benefit their specific racial communities. This paper tests A.) Whether descriptive representation exists in the context of local community college governing boards and B.) The relationship between descriptive and substantive representation to examine the potential impacts of racial diversity on these governing boards.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: The local community college governing boards in the sample will be representative of the populations they serve.

Descriptive representative theory assumes that voters will select candidates that look like them and whom they expect will vote like them (Griffiths & Wollheim, 1960). There is also strong empirical support for racial voting, in which a member of a self-identified group votes for “someone like me,” particularly in a majority White or majority African American population (Stein, Ulbig & Shirley Post, 2005, p. 158). Therefore, although historic surveys of higher education governing boards show little diversity, one would expect a similar ratio between the percentage of Black residents in the population and the percentage of Black members on governing boards and similar ratios for Latino board members and residents.

Scholars can measure descriptive representation using statistical analysis, comparing the source of origin of individuals and the degree to which they replicate society (Hong-Hai, 2006). Past studies have used a representation index, consisting of the percentage of minority seats divided by the percentage of minority population that the governing body represents. Other

scholars have also used a subtraction method to calculate the differences between these percentages. The results of these different methods are easily skewed based on the size of the minority population and outcomes have varied, particularly when scholars have introduced control variables, such as electoral structures (Engstrom & McDonald, 1981; Stewart, England, Meier, 1989). For example, when studying extremely small minority populations where there is a member of the minority on the elected board, the index score method will produce an extremely large representation index score, skewing the results¹. Another commonly used method to study descriptive representation, the subtraction method, will produce the same score for a council with no minority representative and a population of 10 percent minorities as a council with 35 percent minority members in a municipal population that is 45 percent minority (Engstrom & McDonald, 1981).

This paper measures representation as a relationship between the percentage of board members of two separate minority populations and their respective percentages in the population in the county in which the college is located. This is Engstrom and McDonald's (1981) well-established approach that is used in most empirical studies of descriptive representation to date (Meier, Gonzalez Juenke, Wrinkle & Polinard, 2005) and has been the preferred approach to studying descriptive representation on school boards (Meier & England, 1984; Stewart, England & Meier, 1989; Meier, et. al, 2005). The Engstrom-McDonald method uses the percentage of minority members on the board as the dependent variable and the percentage of minority residents in the population as the independent variable. The slope then provides a more robust representative measure. A slope of 1.0 means that the minority population on the board is exactly

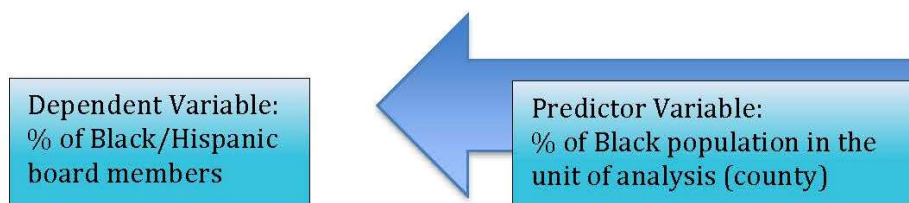
¹ Note that on a board with five seats in which one was held by an African American to oversee governance of an institution that serves a population with 0.5 percent African Americans produces a representative index of 4, whereas the same board with one African American that oversees governance of an institution that serves a population with 20 percent African Americans would have a representative index of only 1.

representative of the population it serves. A slope of less than one indicates under representation and a slope greater than one means that there is over representation (Stewart, England and Meier, 1989; Engstrom & McDonald, 1981).

The following model, as shown in Figure 3.1, was used to determine how representative the sample of local community college governing boards was of the counties they serve for African American populations. The analysis was then repeated for Hispanic populations. All of the analyses were conducted separately for African American and Hispanic populations, which is consistent with the literature. Empirical evidence has shown that environmental and structural variables impact Black and Hispanic populations differently (MacManus, 1978; Sass, 2000; Stein, et. al, 2005). The equation for this regression is as follows:

$$Y (\% \text{ of Black/Hispanic board members}) = b_0 + B_1 (\% \text{ of Black/Hispanic members of the population})^2$$

Figure 3.1. Hypothesis 1 Model: The local community college governing boards in the sample will be representative of the minority populations they serve.



If close to 1 and significant, the slopes provided by this equation for Black and Hispanic populations will support the hypothesis, which would indicate local governance reflects the racial compositions of the Black and Hispanic populations they serve.

Hypothesis 2: Certain structural and environmental variables will help explain the prevalence of minority board members.

- 2a. The boards that employ district elections as the selection method are more likely to have one or more minority members.

² Then repeat for $Y (\% \text{ of Hispanic board members}) = b_0 + B_1 (\% \text{ of Hispanic members of the population})$

- 2b. The larger the board, the more likely the board will have one or more minority members.
- 2c. The more prestige the board has, the less likely it is the board will have one or more minority members.
- 2d. The higher the median education level for the county, the more likely it is the board will have one or more minority members.
- 2e. The higher the median family income for the county, the more likely it is the board will have one or more minority members.
- 2f. The larger the percentage of minority members in the county, the more likely it is the board will have one or more minority members.
- 2g. If the county in which the college sits is located in the South, the less likely it is the board will have one or more minority members.

Because the lack of minorities on community college governing boards has been a historic problem based on the literature (Moore, 1973; Vaughan and Weisman, 1997), this second hypothesis addresses what factors may impact the selection of minority candidates to local community college governing boards.

As discussed in the literature review, there are environmental and structural barriers to representation for minority groups. Among the environmental and socioeconomic obstacles, a population's median education level, median family income, ethnicity and regional location have all been found to have significant correlations to the diversity of representation (MacManus, 1978). Among the structural barriers, the size of the board has been found to impact board diversity with smaller boards offering fewer opportunities for service (Bullock & MacManus, 1991; Davidson & Korbel, 1981). Board prestige may also play a role, whereas some research on women in city politics has found an inverse relationship between the selection of female candidates and the prestige of the board (Welch & Karnig, 1979). Finally, Stewart and Meier (1989) showed that district elections were more powerful than at-large elections and appointments in terms of increasing the diversity of school district boards. In addition, the empirical research surrounding non-partisan elections for school boards and city councils

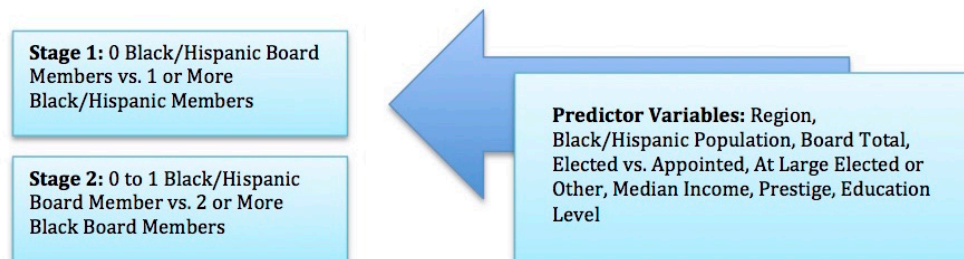
indicates that race is tantamount to political party in terms of cuing voters' decisions (Meier, et. al, 2005).

In the case of local governing boards that are appointed, appointing authorities consider the political repercussions of their appointments (Moore, 1973; Minor, 2008).

Although appointing authorities may be motivated to select individuals desired by various racial voting groups, this hypothesis questions whether elections by district will have a stronger relationship to minority selection on boards than appointments or at-large elections.

For this research question an ordered logit analysis was selected as the most appropriate statistical method. Figure 3.2 depicts the model to investigate Hypothesis 2, including an ordinal dependent variable to allow researchers to examine the impact of the independent variables upon the likelihood of there being one or more Black or Hispanic members of the board. While a binary logit was originally selected for this method, the ordered logit was later identified as a better model due to the non-normal distribution of the dependent variable.

Figure 3.2 Hypothesis 2 Model: What factors may explain minority selection for local community college governing boards?



Logit models estimate the probability of an event happening. When a dependent variable has multiple categories, the values of which are in sequential order, then an ordinal logit model is appropriate. This allows one to predict probabilities of several stages, in this case, predicting the

probability of there being one or more minority board members and then of there being two or more (Williams, 2015).

This benefit of examining how the explanatory variables impact the likelihood of there being 1 or more Black or Hispanic board members compared to boards that have none and the impact of the variables in increasing the likelihood of having two or more Black or Hispanic board members versus boards with 0 to 1 Black or Hispanic board member has the potential to show structural and environmental variables that might interact differently depending on whether there are no board members of color or multiple members.

For this method, the dependent variable was measured on a three-point scale (0 = no Black or Hispanic board members; 1 = 1 Black or Hispanic board member and 2 = 2 or more Black or Hispanic board members). The explanatory variables derived from the literature include region (South or Non-south), the percentage of Black or Hispanic residents in the county, the total number of seats on the board, the selection method (district elections vs. appointed and elected at large vs. not), the median income of the county, the board prestige and the percentage of residents with at least an associate degree. With the exception of the dummy variable for region, in which non-southern states are the reference group, the dummy variable indicating whether at-large elections occurred or not, for which boards that are not elected at large are the reference, and the prestige of the board, the remaining variables were expected to have positive influences on the likelihood of having one or more Black or Hispanic members on the board.

Gologit2, a generalized ordered logit program in Stata, written by Richard A. Williams at the University of Notre Dame, was used to evaluate the data for this question. A major asset of this program, which allows researchers to examine the proportional odds of an ordered dependent variable, is that it is a less restrictive approach compared to the traditional ordered

logit programs, such as ologit, and allows for the computation of estimated probabilities. The more stringent restrictions for ologit include the proportional odds or parallel lines assumption, dictating that the effects of the explanatory variable be mirrored in their application to each category of the dependent variable (Williams, 2005a). In other words, using a traditional ordered logit program, one should see the same coefficients, with the exception of sampling variability, when one compares the relationships of the independent variables to the category of 0 to 1 Black board members as they would for the relationship of the independent variables to the dependent category of 1 to 2 or more Black board members. Gologit2 provides the capability to relax the parallel lines constraint for those variables that violate that assumption by constraining their effects to meet the parallel lines assumption (Williams, 2005b).

The third and fourth research questions attempt to empirically assess the substantive impact of minority members on these boards. For this analysis, two separate statistical models were employed: A binary logistic regression to determine if a significant relationship exists between Black/Hispanic board members and Black/Hispanic college presidents, using dummy variables for presidents (1 = Black president; 0 = Other; 1 = Hispanic president; 0 = Other); and a path analysis to examine the relationships between higher percentages of Black and Hispanic graduates and the racial compositions of the boards while accounting for other environmental and structural variables that might impact minority graduates.

Hypothesis 3: There is a positive relationship between the percentage of Black or Hispanic board members and the selection of Black or Hispanic college presidents.

In their 1997 work, Vaughan and Weisman surveyed community college presidents and board members across the nation and found a lack of diversity among both groups. Stewart, England and Meier (1989) found a relationship between the percentage of Black school board members and Black school administrators. As discussed in the literature review, one of the key

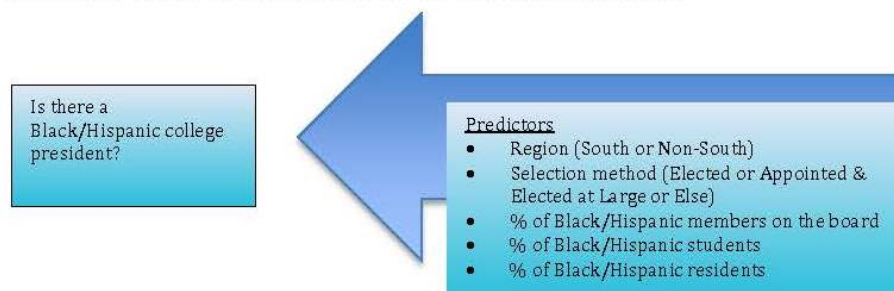
responsibilities of any community college governing board is the hiring, evaluation and firing of the college president (Minor, 2008). If Hypothesis 1 is valid and individuals are more likely to select candidates of their own shared experiences and backgrounds, one could expect that a board with more African American or Hispanic members is more likely to appoint an African American or Hispanic president, respectively. Other variables, including the percentage of Black residents or the region may also play a role (Stewart, England and Meir, 1989).

Figure 3.3 depicts the model for this logistic regression used to investigate this hypothesis. The following equations were then utilized to determine if specific board or environmental characteristics had a relationship to the ethnicity of the college president, as Stewart, England and Meier found in their study of school district boards and superintendents (1989).

$$(\text{predicted DBPRES}) L_i = B_0 + B_1 (\text{South or Non-South}) + B_2 (\text{Elected or Appointed}) + B_3 (\text{Elected At Large or Not}) + B_4 (\text{Percentage of Black Board Members}) + B_5 (\text{Percentage of Black Students}) + B_6 (\text{Percentage of Black Population})$$

$$(\text{predicted DHPRES}) L_i = B_0 + B_1 (\text{South or Non-South}) + B_2 (\text{Elected or Appointed}) + B_3 (\text{Elected At Large or Not}) + B_4 (\text{Percentage of Hispanic Board Members}) + B_5 (\text{Percentage of Hispanic Students}) + B_6 (\text{Percentage of Hispanic Population})$$

Figure 3.3. Hypothesis 3: The percentage of Black or Hispanic board members impacts the likelihood of the selection of a college president from the same minority group.



The odds ratios were then used to determine the probability of selection of a minority president given the percentages of Black or Hispanic board members.

Hypothesis 4: Local governing boards with larger percentages of Black or Hispanic board members are more likely to have higher percentages of Black or Hispanic graduates.

Another chief responsibility of any college governing board is the creation of college policies that impact students and employees (Minor, 2008). As discussed in the literature review, descriptive representation scholars have empirically shown that minority board members in some governmental arenas make policy decisions that benefit members of their race or ethnicity (Meier & England, 1984; Meier, et. al, 2005; Meier, Wrinkle & Polinard, 1999; Riccucci & Meyers, 2004; Stewart, England, Meier, 1989; Tate, 2001). In addition, among all higher education governing boards, Minor (2008) found a relationship between states with top performing higher education systems and board selection methods. This hypothesis examines the relationship between college performance, i.e. graduating students with associate degrees, and board composition, as well as structural and environmental variables.

Structural equation modeling (SEM) was used to examine relationships between the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates and the percentage of Black and Hispanic board members, in the context of the board's selection method, board prestige, region, the percentage of African American or Hispanic residents, the percentage of African American or Hispanic students, median income and education level within the county. Path analysis is the foundation of SEM and allows researchers to estimate, "unknown parameters given a set of simultaneous equations, and of mapping out the interrelations among a pre-determined network of variables," (Dennis & Legerski, p. 2, 2006). Path analysis allows for causal modeling to explain complex models or systems, using ordinary least squares regression. However, unlike regression analysis, which shows the impact of all variables on one dependent variable, path analysis determines mediating variables and allows researchers to tease out indirect and direct effects that help explain each variable's relationship within a system to a dependent variable. It will also allows

for covariances or variables that have a relationship to other variables in the system but whose ‘causes’ are not included in the model (Berman, 2007).

Research Sample

The original data for this study were collected from a random sample of 400 U.S. counties out of 3,000 total. Of those, 19 percent had populations of 100,000 or more residents, matching the same ratio of counties with populations of 100,000 or more residents nationally, according to 2012 U.S. Census data. Of those 400 counties, 107 were found to contain campuses or centers governed by a local community college governing board³. Because some of those 107 counties included campuses that were part of the same college, with the same local governing board, duplicates were eliminated, paring down the sample to 98 colleges. Finally seven of those 98 were eliminated due to missing ethnicity data for those boards, leaving a sample of 91 unique colleges⁴. These 91 colleges have no missing data.

The unit of analysis is the county containing a single main, branch or extension campus of a public community college or vocational school with a local governing board. Over a three-month period in the spring of 2014, researchers used college websites, the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) 2012-13-year data, and interviews with college public information staff to obtain data and determine which counties among the 400 in the random sample of U.S. counties had a community college campus with a local governing board within its boundaries. They found 107 counties that did, including main, branch or extension campuses and sites. The governing board associated with branch or extension campuses may be comprised partially or completely of residents outside the county in which a branch or extension

³ Counties with community colleges governed by state and not local boards, counties with multiple community colleges governed by separate boards and counties that were served by community colleges but did not have a physical center, site or campus were excluded.

⁴ For these missing cases, information was not available on websites and college staff either did not return multiple emails and calls for data or declined to provide the information because it is not considered public information.

campus was located. However, it was determined that those sites should be included in the sample because they are selected to provide access to higher education to the county residents in which they reside and therefore descriptive representation theory still applies, whereas those residents would want their perspectives represented.

Variable Descriptions

Once a college campus was identified in a county within the sample, researchers then used websites or contacted college public information officers to determine the racial composition of the sitting board and the total number of board members, excluding ex officio members, as well as record the selection method. Race refers to the person's physical characteristics, such as hair, eye and skin color (Powers Dirette, 2014). These data were used for three of the four dependent variables. The other dependent variable includes the ethnicity of college presidents in the spring of 2014, which was collected for each individual college via the web or interviews with public information officials. More information about the dependent variables is included in Chapter 4. The appendix includes the measures of central tendencies for the independent variables. The ordinal independent variables include percentage of Black residents in the county population, the percentage of Hispanic residents in the county population, the total size of the board, the median income of each county, the prestige of each board as measured by the percentage of administrators divided by the percentage of full-time staff at each college, and the percentage of county residents with at least an associate degree. is followed by a description of how they were selected. The dichotomous independent variables include one indicating whether the board is elected at large (1 = elected at large; 0 = board members are selected any other way); a variable indicating whether the board is appointed or elected (1 = elected; 0 = appointed); and a variable for region (1 = South; 0 = Non-South).

The percentage of Black and Hispanic populations, the median income and the percentage of residents with at least an associate degree for each county were identified using the 2012, three-year estimates from the U.S. Census American Community Survey (ACS). Each governing board's size was determined using the college's website or governing documents. Non-voting members were excluded. The IPEDS database's most recent final data at the time was for the year 2012-13. These data were used to extract the ethnic population of each college's student body, the racial composition of its associate degree recipients and the percentage of full-time administrators among the college's total employees for 2012-13. Finally, both SPSS and Stata were used to analyze the data. SPSS was used to analyze the data for questions 1 and 3. However, SPSS did not allow for the type of ordered logit desired for this dissertation – gologit2 – and path analysis and so Stata was used to analyze the data for questions 2 and 4.

Case Studies

In an effort to further explore the research questions, four institutions within the sample were selected to serve as case studies to better examine boards that were over and under representative of Black and Hispanic populations. Two major outcomes of higher education were explored as part of this, including the board's impact on access and completion. For the purpose of this paper, access was analyzed by examining the composition of the student body at each institution and the percentage of its Black or Hispanic students. Completion was examined by looking at the percentage of Black or Hispanic students graduating. The methodology for these case studies is more thoroughly explored in Chapter 5. Interviews were conducted to provide qualitative data to further explain the quantitative results and provide much needed context to indicate how and why some college governing boards are more effectively promoting access and completion than others at community colleges.

Summary

The methods outlined in this section have support in the literature on descriptive representation and allow for additional insight into the research questions. The first two research questions look at descriptive representation, examining 1.) Are local community college governing boards representative of the communities they serve, using a simple bivariate regression to look at the relationship between the percentage of Black and Hispanic board members compared to their respective county populations to provide current data on the representativeness of these local community college governing boards; and looking at 2.) What variables contribute to minority selection for these positions, using an ordered logit model to provide insight as to what factors can increase the probability of a Black or Hispanic board member's selection. The third and fourth research questions and methodology assess the practical application of descriptive representation for local community college governing boards. They assess whether 3.) Board composition has a relationship to the selection of Black or Hispanic college presidents using a logit regression; and 4.) If board composition has a relationship to the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates, using a path analysis. Finally the four case studies included in Chapter 5 further explain the empirical data collected and analyzed to provide an alternative method of approach to studying local community college governing board composition and enrich the quantitative results.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS & DISCUSSION OF QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

This chapter includes the analysis of the data on local community college governance through the lens of descriptive representation and the role of board diversity on two key outcomes of governing board activities in higher education, specifically the selection of a Black or Hispanic president and the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates out of the total graduating class. This chapter provides four sections, including a summary of the sample data of 91 colleges, a section on the measures of central tendency for the four dependent variables, the results of the statistical analyses and a final section summarizing those results.

The four research questions that this chapter examines are:

1. What is the relationship between population demographics and Black or Hispanic representation on local community college governing boards?;
2. What factors may explain minority selection for local community college governing boards?;
3. What is the relationship between board composition and the selection of a Black or Hispanic college president?; and
4. What is the relationship between board composition and the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates?

Summary of the Sample

As described in the preceding chapters, the original data for this study were collected from a random sample of 400 U.S. counties out of 3,000 total. Of those, 19 percent had populations of 100,000 or more residents, matching the same ratio of counties with populations of 100,000 or more residents nationally, according to 2012 U.S. Census data. Of those 400 counties, 107 were found to contain campuses or centers governed by a local community college governing board⁵. Because some of those 107 counties included campuses that were part of the same college, with the same local governing board, duplicates were eliminated, paring down the

⁵ Counties with community colleges governed by state and not local boards, counties with multiple community colleges governed by separate boards and counties that were served by community colleges but did not have a physical center, site or campus were excluded.

sample to 98 colleges. Finally seven of those 98 were eliminated due to missing ethnicity data for those boards, leaving a sample of 91 unique colleges⁶. These 91 colleges have no missing data. Out of 36 states across the country that have local community college governing boards of some kind, the sample colleges are spread out among 28 states, representing 56 percent of the nation (Polonio and Miller, 2012). Table 4.1 includes descriptive summary data about their sizes, urban-rural classifications and regions, as determined by the U.S. Census Regional Divisions within the United States. The urban-rural classifications, as discussed in the methodology section, are based on the U.S. Department of Agriculture's 1 to 10 scale, in which 1 is a highly urban population and 10 is extremely rural. The majority of the counties in the sample are concentrated in the Midwest and southern regions, with the largest group – 37 percent -- of the counties in the sample classified as highly urban with a 1 or 2 rating -- followed by the next biggest percentage – 34 percent of the counties in the sample – classified as a 6 or 7 in mid to very rural ranges.

⁶ For these missing cases, information was not available on websites and college staff either did not return multiple emails and calls for data or declined to provide the information because it is not considered public information.

Table 4.1 County Descriptive Data

	Frequency	
County population size	Mean: 138,686.758 Median: 63,949 Min: 2,979 Max: 992,394 Std. dev.: 174,154.272	
Urban-rural classification	Frequency	Percent
1 <i>Highly Urban</i>	13	14.3
2	21	23.1
3	9	9.9
4	7	7.7
5	5	5.5
6	15	16.5
7	16	17.6
8	3	3.3
9 <i>Highly rural</i>	2	2.2
Total	91	100
Region	West: 20 Midwest: 34 South: 29 Northeast: 8	

Among the 91 counties in the sample, 40 have college governing boards that are appointed and 51 that are elected, among which 18 boards have members who are elected at large. There is one elected board – Northwest Community College in Wyoming - with multi-member voting districts.

In terms of board size, the median size of the boards in the sample is nine members, which as indicated in table 4.2 below describes 23 percent of the college boards. For this variable, there are two modes, boards with seven and nine members, each of which account for 23 percent of the sample. The smallest boards have five members and the largest has 30 members.

Table 4.2 Frequency of Board Total

Total Number of Board Members	Frequency	%
5.00	11	12.1
6.00	5	5.5
7.00	23	25.3
8.00	6	6.6
9.00	23	25.3
10.00	3	3.3
11.00	4	4.4
12.00	4	4.4
13.00	1	1.1
14.00	3	3.3
15.00	4	4.3
19.00	1	1.1
20.00	1	1.1
27.00	1	1.1
30.00	1	1.1

Central Tendency Measures for Dependent Variables

The following section describes the central tendency measures for each of the dependent variables used in the four research questions. Histograms of each of the dependent variables showed they lack normal distribution and are skewed to the left toward 0 due to a lack of Black and Hispanic board members, Black and Hispanic presidents and Black and Hispanic graduates in the sample.

The lack of Black and Hispanic board members in the sample supports Vaughan and Weisman's (1997) national survey findings of community college boards, which also included statewide community college governing boards. Among the 91 local community college governing boards in the sample, nearly half – 44 -- had at least one Hispanic or Black board member. Of those 44 boards in the sample with at least one Black or Hispanic board member, 35 had at least one Black member on the board and 15 had at least one Hispanic member on the

board. Out of 834 total board seats in the sample, 40 (4.8%) of those were held by Black men, 22 (2.6%) were held by Black women, 23 (2.8%) were held by Hispanic men and seven (0.8%) were held by Hispanic women. Table 4.3 shows the frequency of boards with Black and Hispanic members. Tables 4.4 and 4.5 show the frequency of their respective percentages on the boards in the sample and are the dependent variables used in question 1.

The 62 percent of boards with no Black members and the 83.7 percent of boards with no Hispanic members create a non-normal distribution as described in Table 4.3, below, which shows the frequency distribution of boards with Black and Hispanic members. The dependent variable used to examine the research questions, however, is percentage of Black board members and percentage of Hispanic board members. This variable was constructed by dividing the number of Black members of the board by total board members (and similarly constructed for Hispanic board members). Those frequencies are provided in tables 4.4 and 4.5, respectively. The median and mode for both of these variables is 0 with a standard deviation of 8.76039 for the variable indicating the percentage of Black board members and 13.22209 for the variable indicating the percentage of Hispanic board members. An attempt to normalize these two variables applied squared, log and inverse transformations. However, these efforts could not normalize the data due to the large number of 0s in the sample.

Table 4.3 Frequency of Boards with Black and Hispanic Members

Variable	Description	Frequency	Percentage
Total Black Board Member	00	56	62%
	1.00	18	19.6%
	2.00	11	12%
	3.00	4	4.3%
	4.00	1	1.1%
	6.00	1	1.1%
	Total	91	100%
Hispanic Board Members	00	76	83.7%
	1.00	9	9.8%
	2.00	1	1.1%
	3.00	4	4.3%
	7.00	1	1.1%
	Total:	91	100%

Table 4.4 Frequencies for Dependent Variable – Percentage of Black Board Members -- for Question 1

What is the percentage of Black board members?	Frequency	Percentage of Sample
0%	56	61.5
6.67%	2	2.2
8.33%	1	1.1
9.09%	3	3.3
10%	3	3.3
10.53%	1	1.1
11.11%	6	6.6
14.29%	5	2.2
15.38%	1	1.1
16.67%	1	1.1
20%	4	4.4
21.42%	1	1.1
22.22%	4	4.4
28.57%	2	2.2
37.5%	1	1.1
Total	91	100

Table 4.5 Frequencies for Dependent Variable – Percentage of Hispanic Board Members -- for Question 1

What is the percentage of Hispanic board members?	Frequency	Percentage of Sample
0%	76	83.5
5%	1	1.1
8.33%	1	1.1
9.09%	1	1.1
10%	1	1.1
11.11%	3	3.3
12.5%	1	1.1
14.29%	1	1.1
23.08%	1	1.1
33.33%	2	2.2
40%	1	1.1
42.86%	1	1.1
100%	1	1.1
Total	91	100

For the second research question, the number of Black and Hispanic board members was used again. This time they were each recoded into ordinal variables in which 0 = no Black/Hispanic board members, 1 = 1 Black/Hispanic board member and 2 = 2 or more Black/Hispanic board members to create the dependent variable. The ordinal dependent variable is suited for an ordered logit analysis to determine the odds ratios necessary to examine what environmental and structural factors help explain minority selection. Similar to the percentage of Black board members and the percentage of Hispanic boards members, this ordinal variable is also skewed toward 0, due to the number of boards in the sample with no minority board members. The statistical model, gologit 2, described in more detail below, can better accommodate this problem than linear methods.

Table 4.6 Frequency for Question 2 Dependent Variables

Variable	Description	Frequency	Percentage
Ordered BlckRep	0 = No Black board members	56	61.5%
	1 = 1 Black board member	18	19.8%
	2 = 2 or more Black board members	17	18.7%
	Total	91	100%
Ordered HispRep	0 = No Hispanic board members	76	83.5%
	1 = 1 Hispanic board member	9	9.9%
	2 = 2 or more Hispanic board members	6	6.6%
	Total	91	100%

For the third research question, a logit regression was used to determine the impact of board diversity -- among other environmental and structural variables' impact -- upon the presence of a Black or Hispanic college president. For this research question, dummy variables were used, for which 0 = no Black or Hispanic president and 1 = the presence of a Black or Hispanic president. The table below demonstrates the few cases of minority representation within the sample of college presidents.

Table 4.7 Frequency for Dependent Variables for Question 3

Variable	Description	Frequency	Percentage
Black President?	0 = No Black president	85	93.4%
	1 = A Black president	6	6.6%
	Total	91	100%
Hispanic President?	0 = No Hispanic president	86	94.5%
	1 = A Hispanic president	5	5.5%
	Total	91	100%

The fourth research question examined the impact of board diversity and other environmental and structural variables described in the literature on the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates in the graduating class. Chapter 3 described how these values were collected, using U.S. Department of Education IPEDS data for the class of 2012-13. Because the percentage of Black and Hispanic graduate variables were heavily skewed toward 0, transformations for this dependent variable were also attempted but not utilized for the analysis because they did not normalize the data.

There are 10 explanatory variables hypothesized to have an impact on the dependent variable, some of which have mediating or indirect effects. A multiple regression method used in this situation would only explain the direct impact upon the dependent variable, percentage of Black/Hispanic graduates. Therefore, structural equation modeling, or path analysis was selected as the statistical method to create a more nuanced understanding of the strength and direction of these relations.

Table 4.8 Frequency for Dependent Variables for Question 4

Variable	Description	Frequency	Values
BASSOC	Percentage of African American graduates in the graduating class	Mean: 6.3130 Median: 3.7759 Mode: 0.00 Std. Dev.: 7.77578 Min.: 0.00 Max.: 42.27	Valid: 91 Missing: 0
HASSOC	Percentage of Hispanic graduates in the graduating class	Mean: 9.6264 Median: 4.1359 Mode: 1.52 Std. Dev.: 13.87425 Min.: 0.00 Max.: 78.5	Valid: 91 Missing: 0

Results

Question 1: What is the relationship between population demographics and Black or Hispanic representation on local community college governing boards?

While previous studies on the diversity of higher education governing boards have shown few minority members, as stated in the last chapter, descriptive representative theory assumes that voters will select candidates that look like them and whom they expect will vote like them (Griffiths & Wollheim, 1960). Therefore, it was hypothesized that high percentages of minority populations would have a positive relationship with higher percentages of minority board members.

As described in the previous chapter, the slope is the metric of interest for this analysis. Meier and other descriptive representation scholars have advocated the best way to study descriptive representation of governing boards is the approach articulated in Engstrom and McDonald's (1981) research on city councils. They used a simple regression equation as a way to study the relationship between the percentage of minority council members to the percentage

of their board's respective minority populations. They stated this helps avoid the anomalies experienced in the ratio and subtraction methods of calculating descriptive representation discussed in the literature review and also ameliorates problems with an arbitrary minority population threshold.

The rationale, of course, is that there must be at least a minimum level of black population before the black community can have a realistic chance of electing one of its own to the council under any electoral arrangement. There has been no consensus on what that threshold should be, however. Analysts appear to have made little more than intuitive judgments on this matter, judgments that may reflect concern for sample size as well as minority population. Most have adopted a fixed percentage, requiring the black population to be at least 5, 10 or 15 percent of the total population (Engstrom & McDonald, p. 345, 1981).

The two scholars argued there were no clearly defined guidelines for determining these thresholds and proposed the regression method as an alternative solution, i.e. regressing the proportion of council members who are Black onto the Black proportion of the population. If the slope coefficient has a value of 1.0, the relationship between the percentage of minority members on the board and the percentage of minority residents in the population is directly proportional. A slope greater than 1.0 would mean the percentage of minority members on the boards exceeds the percentage of the minority group in the population and is over representative. A slope of less than 1.0 would mean the board is under representative.

Treating proportionality as a relationship across cities also obviates the need for a threshold. The use of a threshold is based on an assumption that only when the black population of a city exceeds a certain level can blacks expect to hold a seat on the council. In a regression-based analysis, this a priori assumption may be treated as an empirical question (Engstrom and McDonald, p. 347, 1981).

As this research sought to replicate the Engstrom and McDonald approach on local community college governing boards, it was also hypothesized that slopes would be close to 1, indicating the boards were representative of the populations they served.

The variables were assessed to determine if the overall model was appropriate. Upon visually inspecting scatterplots, as shown in Figures 4.1 and 4.2, there was a moderately positive, although somewhat skewed relationship between the percentage of Black board members and the percentage of Black county residents, and the percentage of Hispanic board members and the percentage of Hispanic residents. The Durbin-Watson statistic for both Black and Hispanic equations was 2.1, indicating support for a linear regression as a suitable model.

Figure 4.1 Scatterplot of Percentage of Black Board Members and Percentage of Black Residents

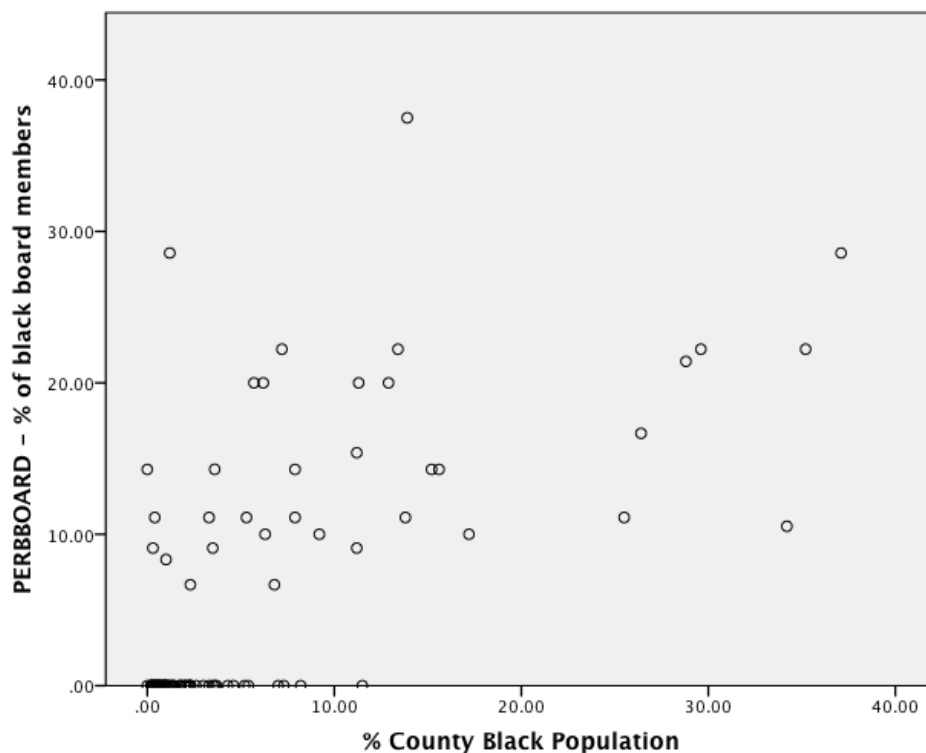
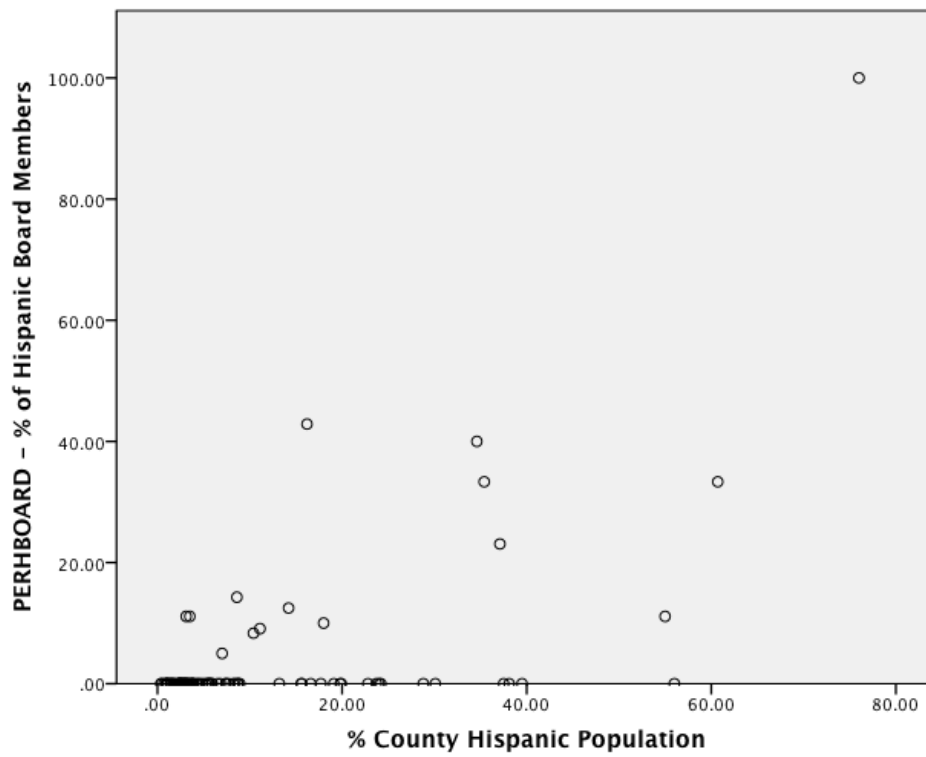


Figure 4.2 Scatterplot of Percentage of Black Board Members and Percentage of Black Residents



Q1 Results:

$$Y (\text{Percentage of Black Board Members}) = B_0 + B_1 (\text{Percentage of Black Population})$$

The linear regression model was statistically significant, $F(1, 89) = 63.950$, $p = 0.00$ and the slope was 0.669, indicating the null hypothesis was correct and college boards in the sample were under representative of the Black populations they served. The percentage of Black residents in the county accounted for 42 percent of the explained variance in the percentage of Black board members. The statistically significant ($p = 0.00$) regression equation was:

$$\text{predicted } (\text{Percentage of Black Board Members}) = 1.969 + 0.669 (\text{Percentage of Black Population})$$

Using this equation, the amount of under representation would continue to widen as the Black population increases, similar to what Engstrom and McDonald (1981) noted in their sample of Black city council representatives (p. 347).

$$Y (\text{Percentage of Hispanic Board Members}) = b_0 + b_1 (\text{Percentage of Hispanic Population})$$

The linear regression model examining this relationship among Hispanic variables was statistically significant, $F(1, 89) = 53.089, p = 0.00$ and the slope was 0.543, indicating the boards in the sample were under representative of the Hispanic populations they served. The percentage Hispanic county residents accounted for 37 percent of the explained variance in the percentage of Hispanic board members. The statistically significant ($p = 0.00$) regression equation was:

$$\text{predicted } (\text{Percentage of Hispanic Board Members}) = -2.39 + 0.543(\text{Percentage of Hispanic population})$$

Through the application of the Engstrom and McDonald (1981) technique, the results show a lack of representativeness of both Blacks and Hispanics on local community college governing boards in the sample. However, there are several problems interpreting these results. The negative intercept in the resulting equation for Hispanic board members, for instance, indicates the results are spurious, whereas it is not possible to have fewer than 0 board members or a population less than 0.

The large number of cases with 0 for the percentage of minority board members demonstrates a larger problem with the Engstrom and McDonald method in that it is not effective when the dependent variable violates a key assumption of linear regression and lacks normal distribution. The many 0s for Black or Hispanic board members creates a non-normal distribution. Although squared, log and inverse transformations were applied, none could rectify the dominance of 0 for percentage of Black board members and percentage of Hispanic board members. The percentages of Black and Hispanic members on these boards are also not true continuous, unbounded variables, whereas the size of these boards cannot go into infinity. The

statistical power is weak in these equations. Tabachnick and Fidell suggest that the ratio of cases exceed the number of independent variables +104 (Warner, 2013). The 91 cases in the sample are below this recommended N.

Finally, an assumption of the Engstrom and McDonald (1981) regression model was that the intercept must be close to 0 for the slope to be a determinant of descriptive representation. Although the equations in this research had intercepts of 1.969 and -2.39 for Black and Hispanic regression equations, Engstrom and McDonald's results included regression equations in which the intercept ranged from 0.4 to 11.630, and there is ambiguity surrounding how close to 0 the intercept should be and how it impacts the results.

Despite these problems, the resulting slopes indicate what can clearly be observed by looking at the dependent variable frequencies. Establishing under representation of Blacks and Hispanics on local community college governing boards in the sample is a helpful first step to understanding the greater research questions about how different environmental and structural variables impact board diversity and whether minority representation has a substantive impact.

Question 2: What structural and environmental factors may be related to the presence of one or more Black or Hispanic board members on local community college governing boards in the sample?

The literature cited in Chapter 2 prompted the hypothesis that the percentage of minority population, board size, median education level and median family income would have positive relationships with the presence of Black or Hispanic board members (Hero, 1998; Davidson & Korbel, 1981; Grose, 2005; Stewart, England & Meier, 1989; Bullock & MacManus, 1991; Davidson & Korbel, 1981; MacManus, 1978; Latimer, 1979). Prestige and at-large elections were anticipated to have negative relationships to the presence of minority board members, given the literature that prestigious boards are more competitive and

more challenging to obtain membership and that at-large elections make campaigns more expensive and competitive (Welch & Karnig, 1979; Sass, 2000).

With so many boards in this random sample having no Black or Hispanic board members, the next logical question to ask is why. The regression equation used for question 1 to determine the relationship between county demographics and Black and Hispanic board members is, as discussed in the previous chapter, based off the work of Engstrom and McDonald's (1981) descriptive representation studies of local government. However, the non-normal distribution of the two dependent variables, which violates a key assumption of linear regression, prompted the need for a new dependent variable and statistical method to examine the second research question about what structural and environmental variables explain minority representation. Therefore, for the second research question, an ordered logit analysis was selected as the statistical method. The relaxed assumptions of this method, as discussed in the previous chapter, combined with its production of an odds ratio made it ideal (Williams, 2006).

To further examine what makes a board more likely to have one or more minority members, an ordinal dependent variable was selected to describe boards with no Black or Hispanic board members, boards with one Black or Hispanic board member and those with two or more Black or Hispanic board members.

The categorical (as opposed to dichotomous) dependent variable makes a generalized ordered logit model more appropriate than a binary logistic regression method. There are a variety of ordinal logit models available to compare categories of ordinal dependent variables in two different stages. For example, in this case, the method shows the impact of explanatory variables on boards with 0 Black/Hispanic board members and boards with 1 or more Black/Hispanic board members in the first iteration and boards with 0 to 1 Black/Hispanic board

member, compared to boards with 2 or more Black/Hispanic board members. A key assumption for these approaches is that the correlations between independent variables and the separate categories of the dependent variable will remain the same in both iterations (Ari and Yildiz, 2014). Gologit2 in Stata was determined to be the most appropriate technique because of its ability to test for the parallel lines assumption and correcting for violations. Developed by University of Notre Dame Sociology Professor Richard Williams (2006), this method overcomes the stricter assumptions of ologit and may show important relationships between categorical dependent variables and explanatory variables that ologit can obscure. In this case, there is the added benefit of examining how the explanatory variables impact the likelihood of there being 1 or more Black or Hispanic board members compared to boards that have none and the impact of the variables in increasing the likelihood of having two or more Black or Hispanic board members versus boards with 0 to 1 Black or Hispanic board member. This has the potential to show structural and environmental variables that might interact differently depending on whether there are no minority board members or multiple members. It should also be noted that the gamma parameterization of the model was used to shed light on if and where assumptions may be violated. If the gamma for a variable is 0, then it meets the parallel lines assumption (Williams, 2006, p. 19). Although Gologit2 can correct for this violation, all of the variables in the equation met this criteria.

For this method, the dependent variable, as mentioned above, was measured on a three-point scale (0 = no Black or Hispanic board members; 1 = 1 Black or Hispanic board member and 2 = 2 or more Black or Hispanic board members). The eight explanatory variables derived from the literature include region (South or Non-south), the percentage of Black or Hispanic county residents, the board size, the selection methods (elected or appointed and elected at large

or not), the median income of the county population, prestige of the board and the percentage of county residents with at least an associate degree. With the exception of the dummy variable for region, in which non-southern states are the reference group, the dummy variable indicating whether at large elections occurred or not, for which boards that are not elected at large are the reference, and the prestige of the board, the remaining variables were expected to have positive influence on the likelihood of having one or more Black or Hispanic members on the board.

Finally, it is important to remember that odds ratios are created by dividing the odds of there being one or more minority board members by the odds of there being no minority board members. If the odds ratio is significant and greater than 1, then the likelihood of there being a minority member would increase. If it falls below 1, then the odds of there being no minority member on the board decrease. Subtracting the odds ratio from 1 produces a positive or negative percentage that describes the increased or decreased effect of the intervention on the dependent variable (Davies, Crombie & Tavakoli, 1998).

Q2 Results

The results in Table 4.8 below indicate the model was significant with $X^2(16) = 80.24, p = 0$. The model explained 47 percent of the variance (Pseudo R^2). Of the eight independent variables, only one was statistically significant in terms of increasing the likelihood of having at least one Black board member. For every 1 percentage point increase in the Black population, it increased the odds by 47 percent of the board having at least one Black member. This supports the findings of the first research question, acknowledging that demographics are important and yet, not the only variable that matters when it comes to increasing board diversity.

Board size and Black population had positive and significant relationships to boards with two or more Black board members, meaning that once a board had at least one Black member,

the larger the size of the board increased the odds of have two or more Black board members. For every additional seat on the board, it increased the odds by 31 percent of the board having two or more Black board members and for every 1 percentage point increase in the county's Black population, the odds that the board would have two or more Black board members increased by 21 percent.

The results for the Hispanic variables, as indicated below in Table 4.8, were also significant with $X^2(16) = 55.53, p = 0.000$. The model explained 55 percent of the variance (Pseudo R^2). The percentage of Hispanic population was significant in terms of its impact on increasing boards' Hispanic membership from no Hispanic board members to 1 or more. No additional explanatory variables were significant in the second iteration, increasing the odds of having two or more Hispanic board members.

Table 4.9 Board Member Odds Ratios and Significance for Black Board Members

	Variables	Odds Ratio	Coefficients	P Values
0 Black Board Member vs. 1 or More Black Board Members	DREGION	1.53785	0.4303854	-----
	BLPOP	1.474662	0.3884288	0.000
	BOARD TOTAL	1.254528	0.2267595	-----
	DELECT	0.5083659	-0.6765593	-----
	AT LARGE	0.182933	-1.698635	-----
	MEDIAN INCOME	0.9999494	-0.0000506	-----
	PRESTIGE	0.0017308	-6.359192	-----
	ASSOC ED	1.052514	0.0511817	-----
	_Cons	0.1168885	-2.146535	-----
0 or 1 Black Board Member vs. 2 or more Black Board Members	DREGION	3.594391	1.279374	-----
	BLPOP	1.208072	0.1890255	0.005
	BOARD TOTAL	1.310108	0.2701094	0.043
	DELECT	2.241906	0.8073265	-----
	AT LARGE	1.15e-07	-15.97954	-----
	MEDIAN INCOME	1.000071	0.0000709	-----
	PRESTIGE	298.7852	5.699725	-----
	ASSOC ED	1.063591	0.0616512	-----
	_Cons	3.61e-06	-12.53071	0.004

Table 4.10 Board Member Odds Ratios and Significance for Hispanic Board Members

	Variables	Odds Ratio	Coefficients	P Values
0 Hispanic Board Member vs. 1 or More Hispanic Board Members	DREGION	0.3861809	-0.8301129	-----
	HISPOP	1.092095	0.0688259	-
	BOARD TOTAL	1.090896	0.0760579	0.0000
	DELECT	0.2080399	-1.3658929	-----
	AT LARGE	0.5361972	-19.81358	-
	MEDIAN INCOME	1.000007	4.20e-06	-----
	PRESTIGE	0.0058622	-6.440217	-
	ASSOC ED	1.025228	0.0243931	-----
	_Cons	0.0406739	-2.848983	-

0 or 1 Hispanic Board Member vs. 2 or more Hispanic Board Members	DREGION	25.66817	40.88264	-----
	HISPOP	1.092095	4.577372	-
	BOARD TOTAL	1.090896	0.6721254	0.000
	DELECT	14.1533	-227.5523	-----
	AT LARGE	0.5361972	311.9929	-
	MEDIAN INCOME	1.000007	-0.00739	-----
	PRESTIGE	0.0058622	-583.6802	-
	ASSOC ED	1.025228	14.40028	-----
	__Cons	0.0001864	-96.53963	-

				-

				-

				-

				-

				-

Results of Model 3: What relationship does board composition have to the selection of a Black or Hispanic college president?

Based on the literature, it was hypothesized that within a descriptive representation framework, the greater presence of Black or Hispanic board members and Black or Hispanic populations would be associated with an increased likelihood of a minority president, whereas the hiring and evaluation of the college president is a key responsibility of the governing board

and places with larger percentages of minority populations should have larger percentages of minority board members. It was also hypothesized that election in districts (as opposed to appointed or elected at large), higher percentages of minority students and location in a region outside of the South would be associated with increased incidents of Black or Hispanic college presidents, whereas those are also found in the literature to be associated with increased minority representation on the board (Stewart, England & Meier, 1989).

To test the relationship of these predictors with the dependent variables, bivariate correlations were conducted to determine potential associations. As indicated in Table 4.11, the presence of a Black college president had significant and positive correlations with the percentage of Black board members and the percentage of Black students. Three variables had significant and positive relationships with the dummy variable for Hispanic presidents as indicated in Table 4.12. These significant correlations provide support for further analysis.

Table 4.11 Correlations for Dependent Variable: Black President

Variable	Description	Pearson Correlation
% of Black Board Members	What is the total percentage of Black board members?	0.319**
% of Black Students	What is the total percentage of Black students?	0.228*

Table 4.12 Correlations for Dependent Variable: Hispanic President

Variable	Description	Pearson Correlation
% of Hispanic Board Members	What is the total percentage of Hispanic board members?	0.503**
% of Hispanic Students	Percentage of Hispanic students enrolled at college?	0.349**
% of Hispanic Population	Percentage of Hispanic population in the county?	0.213*

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The following equations were then utilized to determine if specific board or environmental characteristics had a relationship to the ethnicity of the college president, as Stewart, England and Meier found in their study of school district boards and superintendents (1989).

(predicted DBPRES) $L_i = B_0 + B_1$ (Percentage of Black Board Members) + B_2 (Elected or Appointed) + B_3 (Elected At Large or Not) + B_4 (Percentage of Black Population) + B_5 (South or Non-South) + B_6 (Percentage of Black Students)

(predicted DHPRES) $L_i = B_0 + B_1$ (Percentage of Hispanic Board Members) + B_2 (Elected or Appointed) + B_3 (Elected At Large or Not) + B_4 (Percentage of Hispanic Population) + B_5 (South or Non South) + B_6 (Percentage of Hispanic Students)

Q3 Results

The results, as described below in Table 4.13, show that none of the six variables derived from the literature were significant in either equation. This was unexpected due to the Pearson's correlations displayed above. The lackluster results in this model may be due to the fact that so few cases of minority presidents exist within the dataset with only six Black college presidents and five Hispanic college presidents.

Table 4.13 Logistic Regression with Dependent Variable: Black President

	B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 ^a Region (South or Non-South)	-2.342	1.844	1.613	1	.204	.096
Elected or Appointed	.464	1.194	.151	1	.698	1.591
Elected At Large or Not	-17.238	8977.359	.000	1	.998	.000
Percentage of Black Board Members	.066	.054	1.495	1	.222	1.068
Percentage of Black Population	-.033	.103	.103	1	.748	.968
Percentage of Black Students	.108	.112	.937	1	.333	1.114
Constant	-3.947	1.288	9.395	1	.002	.019

Table 4.14 Logistic Regression with Dependent Variable: Hispanic President

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 ^a Region (South or Non-South)	.047	1.451	.001	1	.974	1.048
Elected or Appointed	.379	1.634	.054	1	.817	1.460
Elected At Large or Not	.942	1.650	.326	1	.568	2.566
Percentage of Hispanic Board Members	.099	.065	2.324	1	.127	1.104
Percentage of Hispanic Students	.035	.082	.177	1	.674	1.035
Percentage of Hispanic Population	-.088	.085	1.074	1	.300	.916
Constant	-3.662	1.254	8.532	1	.003	.026

Further analysis of the data to examine the racial composition of the boards with Black and Hispanic populations showed no support for the hypothesis. Two of the six Black college presidents in the sample served a board with no Black board members. Similarly, two of the five Hispanic presidents served boards with no Hispanic members and it was concluded that the small number of minority presidents in the sample hinders a comprehensive evaluation of this research question.

Table 4.15 Black Board Members and Black College Presidents

Black President? * Total black board members Crosstabulation

Count		Total black board members						Total
		.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	
Black President?	None	54	17	10	2	1	1	85
	Black President	2	1	1	2	0	0	6
Total		56	18	11	4	1	1	91

Table 4.16 Hispanic Board Members and Hispanic College Presidents

Hispanic President? * Total Hispanic board members Crosstabulation

Count		Total Hispanic board members					Total
		.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	7.00	
Hispanic President?	None	74	8	1	3	0	86
	Hispanic President	2	1	0	1	1	5
Total		76	9	1	4	1	91

Q4. What is the relationship between the board composition and the proportion (percentage) of Black or Hispanic graduates?

Critics of descriptive representation should judge the theory based on how well it explains substantive representation or the public policy decisions that protect the interests of underrepresented groups (Mansbridge, 1999). Much of the literature on descriptive representation advances the theory that minority representatives are more likely to act in the interest of the groups whom they represent. As described in previous chapters, numerous studies

have examined voting and other behaviors of federal, state and local officials and concluded there is a significant difference in the activities of minority officials compared to non-minorities (Gonzalez Juenke & Preuhs, 2012; Grose, 2005; Hicklin & Meier, 2008; Minta 2009; Tate, 2001). Therefore it was hypothesized that colleges with larger proportions of Black or Hispanic board members would make more decisions that benefit Black and Hispanic students, respectively. Under this assumption, benefits would be decisions that help students succeed, i.e. graduate, and in a culture in which Black and Hispanic students were succeeding they would make up larger percentages of the graduating class than colleges with fewer minority representatives on the board. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the percentages of graduates were collected from IPEDS data for the class of 2012-13.

This question sought to determine the structural and environmental impact of variables associated in the literature with increased minority representation on the percentage of Black and Hispanic graduates in the sample to better understand the relationship between the percentage of minority board members and substantive benefits for minority groups. Based on the literature, there are 10 collected variables that could have direct or indirect effects on the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates.

Because of the anticipated presence of mediating variables, a structural equation model, represented through a path analysis, was used to examine the direction and strength of the relationships. Path analysis allows for causal modeling to explain complex models, using ordinary least squares regression. For each model, the impact of each variable is denoted by a beta coefficient. Whereas regression analysis shows the impact of all variables on one dependent variable, path analysis determines mediating variables with indirect impacts that help explain the cause of a dependent variable. It will also show covariances or variables that have a relationship

to other variables in the system but their ‘causes’ are not included in the model (Berman, 2007).

Each effect or endogenous variable in the system receives an error term, which implies the variances that predictors did not predict (Zurbriggen, 2009).

Figure 4.3 Q4 Hypothesized Model 1 for Percentage of Black Graduates

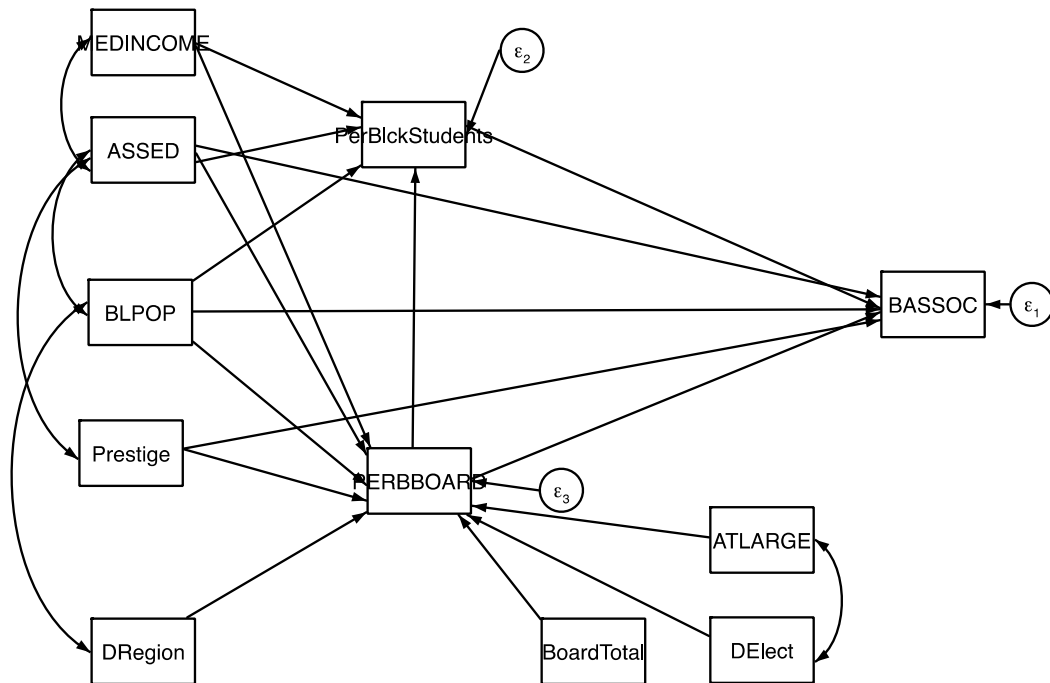
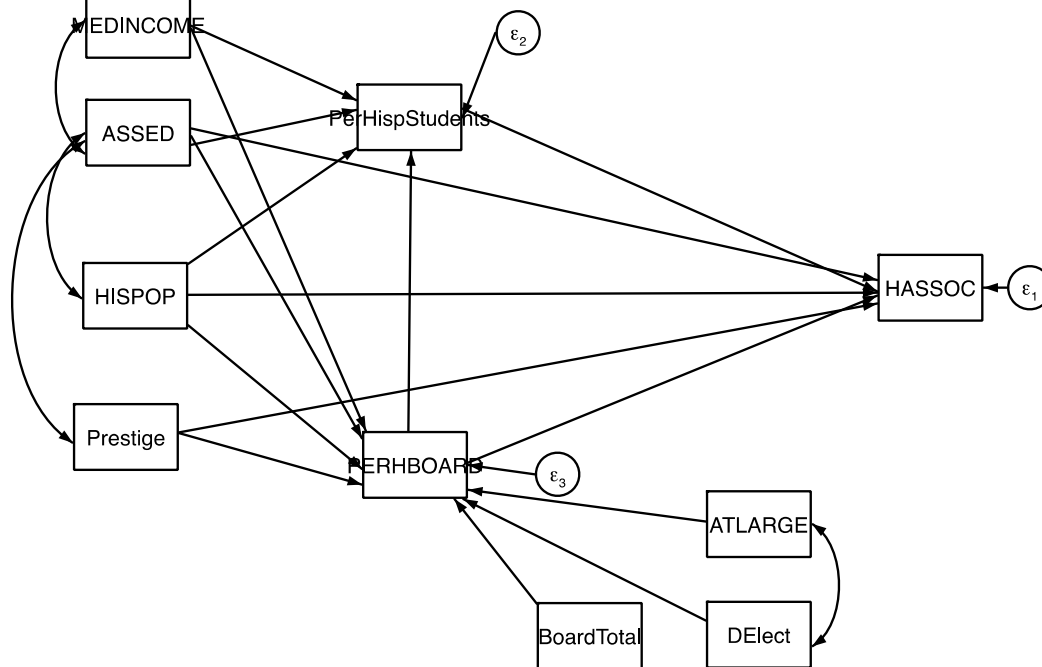


Figure 4.4 Q4 Hypothesized Model 1 for Percentage of Hispanic Graduates



The conceptual model, Model 1, depicted above in Figures 4.3 and 4.4, was specified based on the literature and results from questions 1 and 2.

This proposed path analysis model hypothesized how the percentage of Black/Hispanic governing board members impacts the percentage of Black/Hispanic graduates. The percentage of Black/Hispanic board members is theorized to have a direct and indirect impact on the percentage of Black/Hispanic graduates. The mediating path depicts the percentage of Black/Hispanic board members also impacting the percentage of Black/Hispanic students, which then has its own direct relationship to the percentage of Black/Hispanic graduates. Three exogenous variables are included in the system, involving structural variables associated with the boards. These are elected at large or not (At Large = 1; Else = 0), elected or appointed (Elected = 1; Appointed = 0) and board size, the latter of which was found in the results of question 2 as having a significant impact on the number of Black board members elected. The median income of the surrounding county was predicted to have a mediating impact on the percentage of Black

graduates, by having a direct impact on the percentage of Black students enrolled and the percentage of Black board members. The education level of the county was predicted to have a direct impact on the percentage of Black graduates and an indirect effect through its theorized influence on the percentage of Black board members. The percentage of Black/Hispanic population was theorized to have mediating impacts on the percentage of Black/Hispanic graduates by influencing both the percentage of Black/Hispanic board members and the percentage of Black/Hispanic students. Board Prestige, as operationalized by dividing the percentage of administrators at each college by total full-time employees, was theorized to have a direct impact on the percentage of Black/Hispanic graduates and a mediating impact on that variable through its influence on the percentage of Black/Hispanic board members. Region (South = 1; Non-south = 0) was hypothesized to have an indirect effect on the percentage of Black graduates through its impact on the percentage of Black board members. This was not included in the Hispanic variables' model because the literature did not support any association between Hispanic population, students or graduates and the South. Covariances were predicted between the variables indicating those colleges with boards elected at large (At Large = 1; Else = 0) and elected (Elected = 1; Appointed = 0); the median income and education levels of the county populations; the education levels and percentage of Black/Hispanic population and prestige of the boards; the percentage of Black/Hispanic population and region (only for the model involving African American populations).

The statistical results for the initial path analysis model in Figures 4.3 and 4.4 are reported below in Tables 4.17 and 4.18 for the dependent variables for Black and Hispanic graduates, including the standardized coefficients and *p* values of the structural relationships. The standard errors are noted in parentheses. The total R^2 values for the equations are listed

below each table explaining 79 percent of the variance of the percentage of Black graduates and 89 percent of the variance for the percentage of Hispanic graduates. The method of estimation used was maximum likelihood and each of the SEM models were specified using Satorra-Bentler corrected test statistics, which provide more robust standard errors for non-normal data from which to construct the parameters (Stata FAQ).

Table 4.17 Results for Percentage of Black Graduates (Model 1)

Variable	Model 1
<i>Percentage of Black Graduates</i>	
Percent of Black Students	0.748*** (0.065)
Percent of Black Board Members	-0.043 (0.336)
Percent of Black Population	0.07 (0.094)
Education Level	-0.091** (0.034)
Prestige	-4.42 (3.458)
_cons	3.315** (1.173)
<i>Percentage of Black Students</i>	
Percentage of Black Board Members	0.281** (0.093)
Percent of Black Population	0.793*** (0.118)
Median Income	-0.000 (0.000)
Education Level	-0.012 (0.069)
_cons	3.795 (2.63)
<i>Percentage of Black Board Members</i>	
Percent of Black Population	0.629*** (0.107)
Elected At Large (1)/Other (0)	-3.74 (1.94)
Elected (1)/Appointed (0)	0.58 (1.993)
Board Total Size	-0.011 (0.175)
Region South (1)/Non-South (0)	1.176 (1.82)
Median Income	0.000 (0.000)
Education Level	0.084 (0.127)
Prestige	0.539 (10.409)
-cons	-3.599 (6.124)

R² 0.79

*** Significant at the p < .001 level. ** Significant at the p < .01 level.

*Significance at the p < .05 level.

Table 4.18 Results for Percentage of Hispanic Graduates (Model 1)

Variable	Model 1
<i>Percentage of Hispanic Graduates</i>	
Percent of Hispanic Students	0.372*** (0.099)
Percent of Hispanic Population	0.491*** (0.094)
Percent of Hispanic Board Members	0.126* (0.051)
Education Level	-0.018 (0.036)
Prestige	-3.098 (4.9)
_cons	-0.033 (1.305)
<i>Percentage of Hispanic Students</i>	
Percentage of Hispanic Board Members	0.293* (0.142)
Percent of Hispanic Population	0.685*** (0.106)
Median Income	0.000 (0.000)
Education Level	-0.064 (0.1)
_cons	-1.910 (2.38)
<i>Percentage of Hispanic Board Members</i>	
Percent of Hispanic Population	0.561** (0.228)
Elected At Large (1)/Other (0)	-2.075 (4.433)
Elected (1)/Appointed (0)	-0.546 (1.81)
Board Size	0.05 (0.162)
Median Income	-0.000 (0.000)
Education Level	0.04 (0.126)
Prestige	-1.05 (10.39)
-cons	3.094 (5.743)
R ²	0.9

*** Significant at the p < .001 level. ** Significant at the p < .01 level.

*Significance at the p < .05 level.

Although the proposed path analysis for both Black and Hispanic graduates showed the percentages of Black and Hispanic graduates were influenced by a combination of significant relationships, the goodness of fit statistics, which are discussed more thoroughly later in this chapter, indicated that neither was considered ‘full rank’ for Black or Hispanic graduates. This means that not all parameters were specified. In structural equation modeling, this indicates there are more unknowns than knowns in terms of the variances and covariances of the measured variables. If the parameters in the model are all identified, then the ‘rank’ of the information – as it is systematically placed in a matrix of derivatives – is considered full. If not all the parameters are identified, then the rank is considered deficient, as occurred with the hypothesized Model 1 (Rigdon, 1997). Specification error in SEM can lead to inaccurate estimates and faulty conclusions about the models (Schreiber, 2008).

To remedy this problem, a nested model was attempted. Nested or adjusted models in SEM are generally created after researchers analyze their hypothesized model and add or remove variables to improve specification (Schreiber, 2008). Model 2, discussed below, depicts more streamlined, parsimonious models for the percentage of Black and Hispanic graduates. The following variables and their pathways were removed from the initial hypothesized models based on the fact that their pathways were not significant: board total size, elected vs. appointed, elected at large vs. other selection methods, region, prestige and median income. The connection between education level and the percentage of Black board members was also removed, but education level’s relationship with the percentage of Black graduates was maintained due to its significance. Because education level was not significant for Hispanic variables, it and its paths were removed for the Model 2.

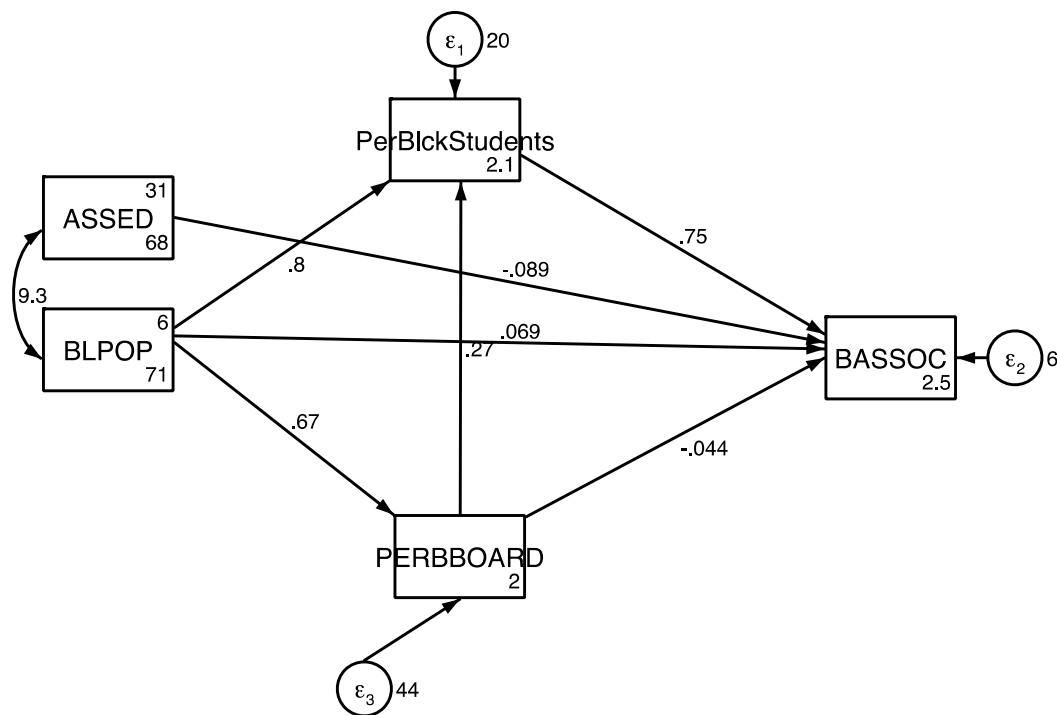
The results below are first discussed for African American graduate models and then for Hispanic graduate models.

Results for Nested African American Graduate Models

Figure 4.5 below shows the standardized Beta weights along the arrows, the direction of the relationships and the standard intercepts, located in the lower right hand corners of each variables' box. Endogenous variables that are caused by at least one other variable in the model include error terms, denoted by the circle "e" which indicate the measurement error or set of unspecified causes for the dependent variable. It is similar to a residual in predictive equations and treated as a latent variable in SEM (Kenny, 2011).

The structural relationships are shown in Table 4.19 below.

Figure 4.5 Estimated Model for Percentage of Black Graduates (Adjusted Model 2)



The Stata SEM program allows researchers to break the structural coefficients into direct and indirect or mediating results, which are discussed for this adjusted Model 2 for Black graduates below. The ability to compute direct and indirect effects allows researchers to go beyond OLS multiple regression to learn more information about causal relationships. After the percentage of Black graduates model is discussed, then the paper will discuss the results for Hispanic graduates.

Table 4.19 Results for African American Graduates (Adjusted Model 2)

Variable	Model 2
<i>Percentage of Black Graduates</i>	
Percent of Black Students	0.748*** (0.063)
Percent of Black Board Members	-0.044 (0.034)
Percent of Black Population	0.069 (0.089)
Education Level	-0.089** (0.034)
_Cons	2.543 (0.988)**
<i>Percentage of Black Students</i>	
Percentage of Black Board Members	0.271** (0.091)
Percent of Black Population	0.797*** (0.116)
_cons	2.06*** (0.462)
<i>Percentage of Black Board Members</i>	
Percent of Black Population	0.669*** (0.086)
-cons	1.97 (0.749)**

R² 0.77

*** Significant at the p < .001 level. ** Significant at the p < .01 level.

*Significance at the p < .05 level.

The above model was considered full rank. Model 2 showed that the percentage of Black board members was not a significant influence upon the percentage of Black graduates (although it was a significant influence on the percentage of Black students). The Beta weight for the

influence of Black students upon the percentage of Black graduates was very strong (0.748), positive and significant with $p < 0.001$. While the percentage of Black population did not have a statistically significant effect on the percentage of Black graduates, it did have one on the percentage of Black students. Finally, the education level of the county was a significant and negative influence on the percentage of Black graduates.

Direct Effect for African American Graduates (Model 2)

Upon examination of the direct and indirect effects of this system, a variety of relationships were revealed, including direct and indirect or mediating effects. The percentage of Black graduates, the percentage of Black students and the percentage of Black board members each had their own set of relationships that interacted. The percentage of Black students and the percent of the county population with at least an associate degree had a direct, significant impact on the percentage of Black graduates. The percentage of Black population was not significant as a direct effect on the percentage of Black graduates and neither was the percentage of Black board members. This means that the data did not support either as a significant direct cause of the percentage of Black graduates. That said, both had significant indirect relationships to the percentage of Black graduates, which is discussed below.

The percentage of Black population had a direct effect on the percentage of Black students and the percentage of Black board members, which was expected based on the literature and the results from questions 1 and 2, respectively. The Beta weight was large and the Variance Inflation Factor tests for these two variables (and with Hispanic graduate relationships as well) showed low risk for multi-collinearity. The percentage of Black board members also had a direct, positive effect on the percentage of Black students, indicating a causal connection between the

racial composition of the board and diversity of the student body, which then, as discussed above, had a direct and positive causal connection to the percentage of Black graduates.

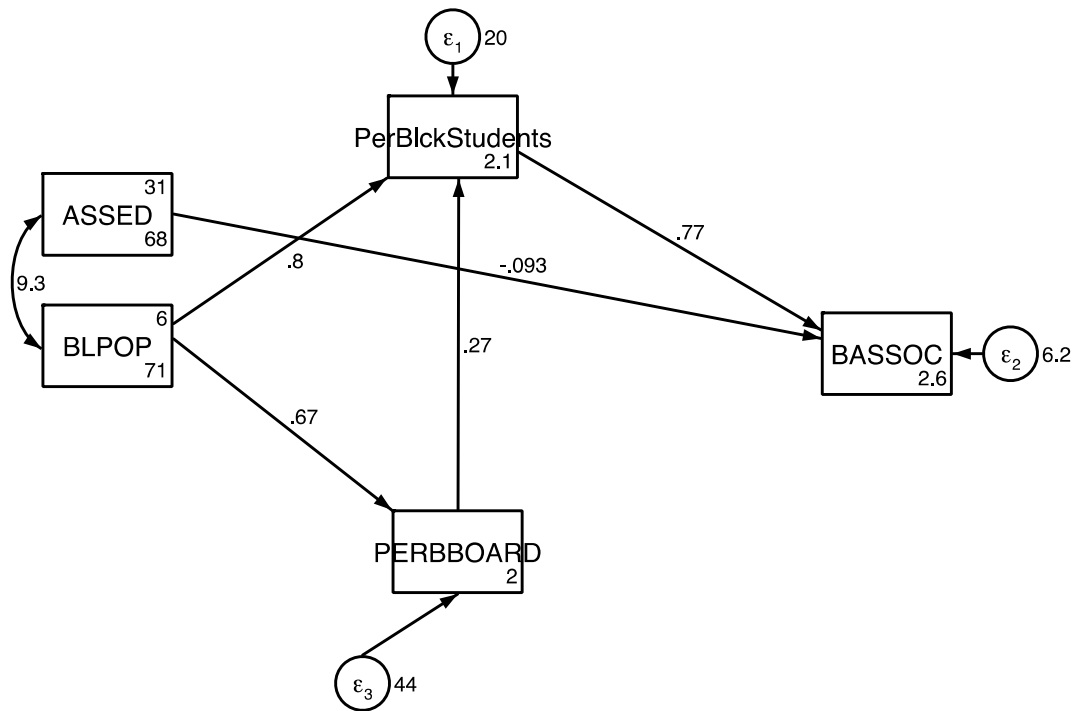
Indirect Effect for African American Graduates (Model 2)

The percentage of Black board members had a positive, indirect effect on the percentage of Black graduates, confirming this variable's status as a mediating effect on the success of Black students at completing college. The percentage of Black population also had an indirect effect on the percentage of Black graduates. The percentage of Black students and education level had no indirect effects. The percentage of Black board members had no indirect path to the percentage of Black students' mediator (only a direct path as mentioned above), supporting that this variable is not a mediating but a direct effect on the racial composition of the student body. The percentage of Black board members was not influenced indirectly by any other variables in the model.

The R^2 for the second model, as reported at the bottom of the table, was 0.77. This is very similar to the hypothesized path analysis, but Model 2 for both Black and Hispanic graduates had full rank, meaning all parameters were adequately specified.

Further modifications to this model for Black graduates were attempted to see if the removal of the imposed direct pathway between the percentage of Black board members and the percentage of Black graduates, and the direct path from the percentage of Black population to the percentage of Black graduates improved the model further due to the fact that there were no significant *direct* pathways found between these two sets of variables (only an indirect pathway between the mediator of percentage of Black students). Figure 4.6, below, depicts this third nested model for percentage of Black graduates.

Figure 4.6 Estimated Model for Percentage of Black Graduates (Adjusted Model 3)

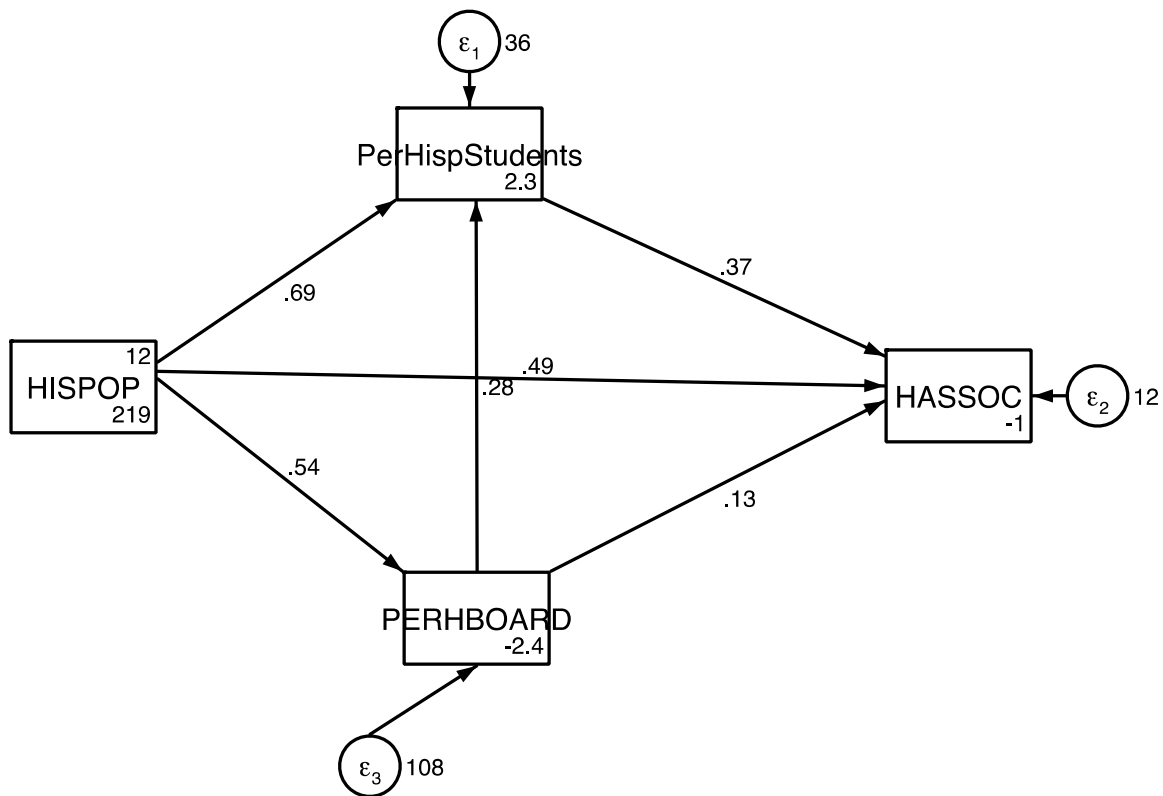


Two coefficients changed between Model 2 and Model 3 and increased in weight. The positive, direct effect of the percentage of Black students on the percentage of Black graduates went from 0.75 to 0.77. The negative effect of education level upon the percentage of Black graduates decreased from -0.089 to -0.093. The overall R^2 remained the same at 0.77. This third version also improved the goodness of fit statistics, indicating it is a better model for the data than its previous iterations, as discussed below.

Results for Hispanic Graduate Nested Models

The below model depicted in Figure 4.7 is considered full rank and shows the nested or adjusted version of Model 1 for Hispanic graduates. The results for this more parsimonious theorized model are explained below in Table 4.20.

Figure 4.7 Estimated Model for Hispanic Graduates (Adjusted Model 2)



There are a number of significant relationships in this model as displayed in Table 4.20 below. The percentage of Hispanic board members was a significant effect on the percentage of Hispanic graduates. That said, the coefficient was small and on the lower-end of significant. While the coefficient for the influence of Black students upon Black graduates discussed above was 0.748, the coefficient for the influence of Hispanic students upon Hispanic graduates, as seen below in in Table 4.20 was much smaller at 0.374 and significant with $p < 0.001$. The percentage of Hispanic population in the sample had a very strong, positive and significant impact upon the percentage of Hispanic students and a moderate, positive effect on the percentage of Hispanic graduates.

Table 4.20 Results for Hispanic Graduates (Adjusted Model 2)

Variable	Model 2
<i>Percentage of Hispanic Graduates</i>	
Percent of Hispanic Students	0.374*** (0.098)
Percent of Hispanic Board Members	0.126* (0.051)
Percent of Hispanic Population	0.493*** (0.091)
_Cons	-1.019 0.0298**
<i>Percentage of Hispanic Students</i>	
Percentage of Hispanic Board Members	0.281* (0.144)
Percent of Hispanic Population	0.689*** (0.105)
_cons	2.311** (0.848)
<i>Percentage of Hispanic Board Members</i>	
Percent of Hispanic Population	0.543* (0.219)
_cons	-2.4 (1.816)
R ²	0.89

Direct Effect for Hispanic Graduates (Adjusted Model 2)

A more detailed perspective emerges once the direct and indirect relationships within the proposed adjusted model are computed in Stata. Similar to the nested models for African American graduates, the adjusted Model 2 for Hispanic graduates, depicted in Figure 4.6 showed that the percentage of Hispanic students had a significant and direct effect on the percentage of Hispanic graduates. The percentage of Hispanic board members had a significant but small direct pathway to the dependent variable (unlike what the results showed above for direct effects for the percentage of Black graduates). The surrounding Hispanic population also had a positive, significant and direct influence on the percentage of Hispanic graduates.

The percentage of Hispanic board members and the percentage of Hispanic population also played positive, significant and direct influencing roles on the percentage of Hispanic students.

Finally, the percentage of Hispanic population served as a direct, positive influence on the percentage of Hispanic board members with a strong weight.

Indirect Effect for Hispanic Graduates (Model 2)

The percentage of Hispanic board members and the percentage of Hispanic population both had positive, significant and small indirect influences upon the percentage of Hispanic graduates. The percentage of Hispanic students had no indirect pathway to percentage of Hispanic graduates, indicating it was a direct influence and not a mediator.

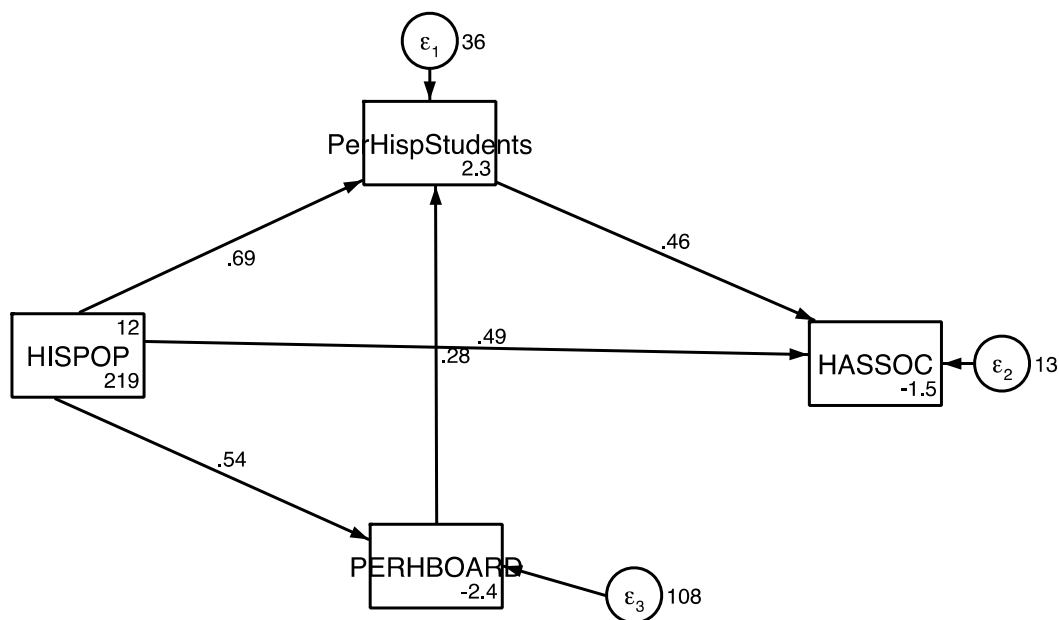
The percentage of Hispanic population had a positive, significant and indirect relationship to the percentage of Hispanic students, while the percentage of Hispanic board members had no indirect pathway, meaning it was only a direct influence upon the racial makeup of the student body.

Finally, the percentage of Hispanic board members was not influenced by any indirect effects in this model.

All variables in Model 2 for Hispanic graduates had significant, direct pathways. The model was also deemed full rank. However, as discussed in more detail below, goodness of fit measures indicated that the model did not fit the data well. Results for Model 2 for the percentage of Hispanic graduates showed 0 degrees of freedom, indicating a specification problem (Yu, 2009). To adjust the model further, the direct pathway from the percentage of Hispanic board members to the percentage of Hispanic graduates was removed. Although it was significant, it had the weakest *direct* relationship of any explanatory variables in the model.

Recall from the table above that it had a structural coefficient of 0.126 and was significant at 0.051. Therefore, an adjusted Model 3 for Hispanic graduates, as depicted below in Figure 4.8, was created. This improved the fit metrics and strengthened the coefficient between the percentage of Hispanic students to percentage of Hispanic graduates from 0.37 in Model 2 to 0.46 in Model 3. The overall fit for the model went from 0.89 in Model 2 to 0.88 in Model 3.

Figure 4.8 Estimated Model Percentage of Hispanic Graduates (Adjusted Model 3)



Goodness of Fit Measures

While the significance of directions and coefficients is important to understanding the validity of the relationships within the model, the ability to determine if the theoretical models are supported by the data in the sample and generalizable to the population is assessed through goodness of fit measurements (Schreiber, 2008).

There are numerous fit indices for SEM that provide an indication of how well the collected data fit the theorized models. Based on SEM literature, three frequently used goodness

of fit statistics were selected that are best suited for non-normal data and described below.

Schreiber (2008) recommends that researchers use multiple indices to judge the overall fit of a model.

Chi-squared values are the standard default measurement provided for SEM. However, Chi-square-based goodness of fit measures rely on normally distributed data, which is not available in this case. Chi-squared values are extremely sensitive to non-normal data, which lead to inflated Chi-squared values (Bryant, Satorra, 2012). Therefore Stata recommends the use of Satorra-Bentler corrected test statistics to obtain standard errors that are robust to non-normal data (Stata 14, Satorra-Bentler). The Satorra-Bentler method corrects the Chi-squared values and lowers them based on the size of the observed Kurtosis. The Chi-square fitness statistic is often referred to as a ‘badness of fit measurement,’ and in this case, researchers are looking for a significance above 0.05 to show goodness of fit. A so-called ‘badness of fit measurement,’ Chi-square measurements with an insignificant *p* value indicate the theorized model fits well with the data (Schreiber, 2008).

A frequently used goodness of fit measurement is the Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation (RMSEA). This is a Chi-squared based index from 0 to 1. The higher the value, the worse fit the data are to the theorized model. Researchers look for a measurement of less than or equal to 0.06, which indicates a close or good fit (Schreiber, 2008). In this case, Stata provides a Satorra-Bentler corrected RMSEA value for the data, which was utilized.

A Tucker-Lewis Index is a non-normed fit index based on a scale of 0 to 1, also based on Chi-squared values. Models with a TLI between 0.9 and 1 are considered a good fit, while those scoring below 0.9 should be re-specified. This type of fit index is a good choice for smaller samples and non-normal data like that used in this dissertation, whereas it is less sensitive to

sample sizes and multivariate assumption violations (Hu & Bentler, 1998). Again, a Satorra-Bentler corrected version of this test statistic was used.

The measurements for each model are listed and described below. It should be noted that the Satorra-Bentler test statistic was applied to each of the fit indexes to correct for non-normalized data as recommended in SEM literature (Schreiber, 2008; Stata FAQ).

Table 4.21 Goodness of Fit Statistics for Models

	Model 1 Black	Model 1 Hispanic	Model 2 Black	Model 2 Hispanic	Model 3 Black	Model 3 Hispanic
Fit Statistic	Value					
Chi-square (SB)	70.59	20.5	3.026	0.000	4.642	3.19
$p > \text{Chi } 2$	0.091	0.9979	0.22	-----	0.326	0.074
Degrees of Freedom	-----	-----	2	0	4	1
RMSEA (SB)	-----	-----	0.075	1.0	0.042	0.155
Tucker- Lewis Index (SB)	-----	-----	0.982	1.0	0.994	0.867

The initial hypothesized model for the percentage of Black and Hispanic graduates was not consider well-fitted, meaning the data did not fit the theorized model. As mentioned earlier, Model 1 for Black and Hispanic graduates was deemed not full rank with parameters not fully specified. Therefore, Stata was unable to compute a number of the recommended fit indices for this model.

Model 2 for the percentage of African American graduates can be summarized generally as a good fit. The non-significant $X^2 = (2, N = 91) = 3.026 = p = 0.22$, means that the theorized model was consistent with the data. However, the RMSEA was 0.075, which was higher than the desired level of 0.06 or lower to indicate a good fit. The TLI measurement was close to 1, indicating close to perfect fit with a little room for improvement.

Model 3 for the percentage of Black graduates showed the strongest results in terms of goodness of fit. The non-significant $X^2 = (4, N = 91) = 4.642 = p = 0.326$. The RMSEA was stronger than it was in Model 2, below 0.06, indicating the data were an appropriate fit for the theorized model. The TLI was also stronger than in Model 2 and closer to 1. These improvements indicate Model 3 was a better fit than Model 2 and is appropriately specified.

Model 2 for the percentage of Hispanic graduates must ultimately be considered a poor fit. The Chi-squared value was 0. The degrees of freedom was also 0 and therefore Stata was unable to compute a p value for the Chi-squared measurement. The RMSEA is 1, indicating the worst possible fit and the TLI was 1, indicating a perfect fit. The 0 degrees of freedom indicated there was a problem with the specification of the model. While technically a 0 degrees of freedom indicates the slope goes through all data points and is a perfect fit, it also means the data have no capacity to vary. In such cases, the literature recommends that alternative models be explored (Ho & Yu, 2009).

Model 3 for the percentage of Hispanic graduates showed an insignificant Chi-squared measurement, indicating goodness of fit. However, the other indices showed weak results with the RMSEA above 0.06 and the LTI just below 0.9.

Summary of Quantitative Results

The results from the four research questions indicate that the local community college governing boards in the sample are under representative of the Black and Hispanic populations they serve and that minority representation on these boards impacts, although indirectly, substantive outcomes for these governing bodies. This supports the literature and scholarly work on descriptive representation in local governing bodies and the more recent work of Meier on local school districts. However, the problems discussed in this chapter with the statistical

method, endorsed by Meier and based on Engstrom and McDonald's (1981) work, show a need for further research and perhaps a new perspective on descriptive representation. Populations with low percentages of minorities and governing bodies with few minority members are problematic for the regression method, which requires normal distribution. It should be noted that for this research question efforts were made to try to replicate Engstrom and McDonald's (1981) well-established statistical approach, which is used in most empirical studies of descriptive representation (Meier, Gonzalez Juenke, Wrinkle & Polinard, 2005) and has been the preferred approach to studying descriptive representation on school boards (Meier & England, 1984; Stewart, England & Meier, 1989; Meier, et. al, 2005). Other potential methods to empirically evaluate the descriptive representative nature of these boards to the populations they serve were not attempted.

In areas of governance such as higher education, where minorities have not made significant gains in the last few decades, the use of a regression model may create spurious results as indicated here.

Furthermore, many of these boards serve small populations of minority residents, making descriptive representation physically impossible given the size of the boards. Nonetheless, as scholars have pointed out, the perspectives of under-represented student populations are still important, particularly on boards that oversee critical services to minority populations (Young, 2000). Although Engstrom and McDonald advocated that the regression method bypasses the need for researchers to exclude cases based on minority population percentages, these thresholds played an important role in the data. Approximately 59 percent of the boards in the sample could not have been representative given the percentages of Black populations they served and the size

of their boards and 45 percent of the boards in the sample could not have been representative of the Hispanic populations they served.

Given Stewart, England and Meier's (1989) findings, indicating a positive relationship between Black school boards members and Black school administrators and the subsequent relationship between Black administrators and Black teachers, the relationship between the local community college governing board's minority composition and presidential ethnicity should continue to be examined further, perhaps with a larger sample in which there are more Black and Hispanic college presidents.

The fourth and final research question led to interesting results that show the importance of minority representation on these boards. The percentages of Black and Hispanic board members had positive indirect and statistically significant relationships to higher percentages of Black/Hispanic graduates in the sample. The racial demographics of the county played important roles in each: An indirect role in the effect on the percentage of Black graduates and direct effect on the percentage of Hispanic graduates, a direct impact on the percentage of Black and Hispanic board members and a direct impact on the percentage of Black and Hispanic students. The significant and direct relationship of both Black and Hispanic board members to Black and Hispanic student populations is also interesting, whereas providing access to under-represented groups is a key component of community college missions. This could be because the boards in the sample with more Black/Hispanic board members incite or emphasize more board discussions about minority students' needs and policies in ways that boards with no minorities do not. It also suggested that perhaps boards cannot expect demographic shifts and growth in minority populations alone to create descriptively representative student bodies and graduating classes.

The R^2 of the question four models which accounted for at least three-fourths of the variance of the dependent variable of percentage of Black and Hispanic graduates is a reminder that minority populations, minority student populations and minority membership on the board are inter-related and important.

Finally, the ability to generalize the final model for Black and Hispanic graduates to the general population, based on goodness of fit measurements, is an indication of the importance of Black and Hispanic board members in terms of influencing the racial composition of community college student bodies, which then directly impacts the percentage of Black and Hispanic graduates. While these might seem logical assumptions, providing empirical evidence is a key step to further deducing the importance of minority members on these local, community college governing boards.

The results also prompt a number of questions that these equations did not and could not have addressed based on the organization of the research study, such as the historical context and demographic shifts that may play a role in increasing or discouraging minority board members' presence on these governing bodies. Are there Black or Hispanic candidates interested in serving? Do they have adequate resources to run for election or receive appointment? How and to what extent do/can White board members address issues to help Black or Hispanic students access postsecondary institutions and graduate? The next section will examine four colleges in the sample more closely using qualitative data from case studies. For the purposes of this section, a college that had an under-representative board of the Black population in its service area, a board that was under representative of the Hispanic population in its service area, a board that was over representative of the Black population in its service area and a board that was over representative of its service area's Hispanic population were selected to further examine these

issues. The case studies will provide more robust information as to how the board's structural and environmental factors impact board diversity and the impact of minority board members on substantive outcomes.

CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDIES

The results from Chapter 4 show that local community college governing boards' racial composition matters in terms of student outcomes. The percentage of Black and Hispanic board members had a direct causal effect on the percentage of Black and Hispanic students and an indirect causal effect on the percentage of Black and Hispanic graduates, respectively. This chapter serves as the second stage of investigation of the descriptive representation of local community college governing boards presented in this dissertation. It includes case studies on four separate local community college governing boards that were selected from the sample and was designed to complement the quantitative analysis discussed in Chapter 4 to provide more context and a rich examination of the four research questions:

1. What is the relationship between population demographics and Black or Hispanic representation on local community college governing boards?;
2. What factors may explain minority selection for local community college governing boards?;
3. What is the relationship between board composition and the selection of a Black or Hispanic college president?; and
4. What is the relationship between board composition and the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates?

The first section of this chapter provides background on the methodology for these case studies. That is followed by each of the four case studies and the chapter is concluded with a summary of the qualitative findings. Finally, it should be noted that these case studies do not identify the colleges or names of interviewees. After several test interviews with subjects, it was determined that granting interviewees anonymity allowed them to speak more openly about the role of race in governance.

Methodology

A major challenge to the study of community college governance is the variation that can occur among the structural and environmental variables impacting the boards and their diversity. The racial and ethnic composition of the board itself, board member, selection method, board size, socioeconomic conditions, region, population diversity and the prestige of the college board among other variables not explored in this dissertation vary greatly among community colleges. Case studies provide illustrative examples that provide realism and depth to the quantitative results (GAO, 1990.) Case studies may account for the historical context that might impact board diversity or its impact on important outcomes. The case studies approached in this research employed semi-structured interviews with college presidents and board leadership as the main method of data collection. A semi-structured interview uses a set of prepared questions that help the researcher ensure continuity among the interviews but allow the researcher and interviewee to veer from the list of questions into new areas (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Annual reports, board minutes and news stories were also collected to help provide thick descriptions and triangulations to ensure themes were reflected through multiple sources.

Case Selection

Using the wrong basis for selecting cases can be fatal to a case study and therefore efforts were made to select boards based off purpose (helping to explain the key research questions addressed in this dissertation) as is consistent with best case study practices (GAO, 1990). To select the four college boards, all of the 91 colleges in the sample were categorized into four separate groups: under representative of Black populations; under representative of Hispanic populations; over representative of Black Populations and over representative of Hispanic populations. This helped ensure that four separate college boards would be selected, each with its

own purpose, to help explain racial composition and its impact on important board outcomes. Then, an effort was made to select colleges in different states and regions, with different selection methods, sizes and population demographics where possible. For instance, one college board was selected within its category on the basis of it having a minority president. The intent was to provide further data to better examine the relationship between race and presidential selection, even though minority presidents are rare in the sample.

Participant Recruitment

At each participating college, interviews were requested with the college president and board chair. Each subject received an official interview request and a consent form via email. These forms clearly outlined the research purpose, methodology and interview format. When the subjects replied to the email to establish the interview date and time, they provided their consent. At some colleges, more than one board member was approached for interviews to help triangulate information and provide broader context. In one case, the board chair was ill and unavailable for an interview and the budget committee chair was interviewed instead.

Anonymity was provided to all subjects, whereas in test cases with college presidents and board members, prior to collecting data, the subjects indicated a preference for anonymity due to the sensitive nature of race and ethnicity and to more fully and openly respond to the questions. Therefore, information in the case studies below is limited to protect the anonymity of the subjects and their institutions.

Semi-structured Interview Questions and Structure

The interview process as described below was submitted to the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Institutional Review Board for review and was exempted by the committee. College presidents and board chairs were contacted first via email with a request to participate in a 25 to

30-minute interview via telephone to provide data for a case study on their board. In that email, they received information about the dissertation and research questions. They were also notified that their interview would be voluntary and help enhance quantitative and qualitative data collected on a random sample of local community college governing boards, their structures, board members' race/ethnicity, surrounding county population demographics and student data. Attached to the email, they received an informed consent document, which provided more detail about the research and explained that by replying with an email to set up an interview, they would provide a record of their consent to participate and their understanding that doing so was completely voluntary.

The semi-structured interview questions for the board members and presidents are included in the appendix of this dissertation. The research purpose was again explained at the start of the interview as well as the interview process and the anonymity provided and its purpose.

The questions were developed based on the four research questions. Effort was made specifically to produce responses with rich historical and contextual details with the hope that they might inform the results found in Chapter 4. Consistent with the literature on descriptive representation, it was important to create questions that explored how board members view themselves as representatives of diverse constituencies and how they did or did not deal with issues surrounding race. They were asked about how they view their service area and constituents, including demographics. They were also asked about how or if the board discusses issues of race and diversity and whether the board or the college administration drives policy in this area. Interviews lasted anywhere from 25 minutes to two hours. In every instance, the

college president's staff facilitated the interview with the college board in helping to establish a date and time for the interview or contact information for the board chair.

Case Studies

Under Representative of Black Population: College A

“We are among the top 100 community colleges in the nation in terms of associate degrees for African American students and above the national average when you look at community college completion overall ... As a whole, our outcomes are probably better. I don't think race is an issue.” – College A president

Background:

College A was selected among the category of institutions in the sample that were under representative of the Black populations they served. This college stood out among the category for having a board size much larger than the average board in the sample. It also had multiple Black board members, although not enough to match the high proportion of Black residents. The college serves multiple counties, all with high percentages of African Americans over 20 percent and low percentages of Latino residents. The board is large because it includes the superintendents of each school district in the service area and each county's elected board gets to appoint a specific number of representatives based on state statute. As the service area for the college expanded over decades, so has its board and the number of appointed members.

The percentage of African American and Latino students attending the college was slightly higher than their respective percentages in the population. The percentage of Black and Latino students in the graduating class was proportional to the percentage of students. The overall graduation rate for the institution was higher than the national average.

Unemployment is rampant in the service area, which in general, is a low-income area with pockets of extreme poverty. The area also has a lower percentage of college-educated residents than the sample's mean. The college is older than most community colleges and began

as a high school. Dormitories were established at the time because the service area of the high school was so broad, and families had no mechanism to transport their children to and from the school. Today, the service area is still largely rural, and includes many farming families and several poorly funded K-12 education systems. There is no history of any type of industrial base in the area. The few employers that do exist include transportation and distribution warehouses, wood products, healthcare and agriculture.

The lack of job opportunities may be a motivating factor for students. The community college is extremely unusual with three-fourths of students attending full time and higher-than-average graduation rates. The college president indicated that most students intend to obtain their associate degrees and transfer to a state university outside the service area to obtain a bachelor's degree. About a quarter of the students are on a career track, most of who are training in the healthcare field for local jobs.

Just under 10 percent of the college's student body participates in athletic programs and receives highly structured academic support services, including on-campus housing and required study time at the library. The county newspaper regularly features the college's athletic programs and the teams are a source of local pride. The college board is also covered closely by the paper, where fundraisers and tryouts for sports teams, college awards and the president's speech to the local senior's social club are highlighted with fanfare.

What is the relationship between population demographics and Black or Hispanic representation on local community college governing boards?

Although the percentage of Black board members is in the double digits, it is not proportional to the large percentage of African Americans in the population served by the college. According to the college president, who grew up in the area, the ratio of African American to White trustees has been relatively stable for some time.

The board trustee interviewed for this case study had been on the board for over a decade. He is White and a former banker of 30 years. He said he felt very confident in representing other races and socioeconomic classes. “I have, I think, a sympathetic or empathetic nature and it doesn’t matter to me whether someone is economically deprived, those who are not White or not bankers,” he said. That said, he acknowledged that race and ethnicity are a lens through which trustees view higher education policy. “I have never been anything other than what I am ...I think it (race) has to have an impact on your view of most things.”

What factors may explain minority selection for local community college governing boards?

The percentage of African Americans on the board has been relatively stable for many years, according to both the trustee and the college president. Both pointed to the appointment process as a causal factor. Nearly half of the county elected officials in the service area were African American and all of the counties have at least one African American member. But the process is political and decisions on appointments seem to be based on relationships and qualifications, not race or policy agendas, the president said.

“It is a prestigious thing to appoint someone. I rarely have someone come to the board with an agenda. Most of them are former educators who are retired,” the college president said. “It’s amazing. I almost never see it coming, how or why they (the county officials) got to that individual.”

The majority of the board members are also alumni of the college and the trustee noted they have a lot of pride in the school. The board trustee and the college president said they felt like minority nominees were fairly considered in the region for positions on the board. The board trustee added that if the appointing authority changed to, for example, the governor’s office or a

higher elected office than the county, they might sacrifice the local connection that so many of the board members affiliate with the college.

The college president and board trustee said the large board meets once a month for 10 months out of the year and always has a quorum. The size of the board, interestingly, is a result of legislation requiring county representation and the expansion of the college's service area over time. Board members are engaged and the trustee stated that board meetings are typically covered by the local newspaper. The board trustee said he felt that seats were desirable positions for which many people would aspire to serve.

What is the relationship between board composition and the selection of a Black or Hispanic college president?

Racial diversity was not a factor in hiring decisions among the board during the last presidential appointment process, according to the trustee, and the local nature of the current president seemed to be an important theme. The current president, who is White, has been in his office for nearly a decade and at the community college for more than two decades. He grew up in the area and according to newspaper articles was a successor to his predecessor who served as president for more than a decade and at the college for three decades. The sitting president's ascent to higher offices within the college, culminating with the presidency, was covered by the local paper with much focus on his local roots. At the time of the former president's departure, the trustee said the board did not discuss the race or ethnicity of the next chief executive officer and was concerned with selecting the most qualified and competent candidate. The president stressed that a key decision-making lens for him was his local perspective. He grew up there and shared many similar experiences with the constituents, including major changes in social, economic and environmental norms.

“I have a sense of the dynamics of what people are going through more than other (potential candidates). Whether that is accurate or not is up for debate. I didn’t come from an affluent background and I understand the struggles some people in our community face, regardless of race. I’ve seen entire industries close and Blacks and Whites were affected ... I am not saying someone else couldn’t do it better, but the culture of higher education to bring in someone else from the outside – I grew up in the system and for better or worse it gives me a different perspective,” he said.

What is the relationship between board composition and the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates?

Both the president and board trustee stated that race and diversity are not frequently discussed topics at board meetings. Policies designed to ensure under-represented students can access and succeed at the college are driven by the college’s administration. When asked about the board’s discussions and actions to ensure under-represented students have access to the college, the trustee said, “I cannot recall discussing that. I feel like the administration, and again, we have a super president, I feel like (the president) has some procedures in place to make sure that is happening.” When asked a similar question about ensuring under-represented students graduate, he added, “I am supposing that we defer to administration on that.” The main issues the board deals with he said include financial, capital improvements, building programs and education coursework, “in terms of what to teach and where to teach it.” He said he felt his most important role as a trustee was a fiduciary responsibility. The single most important activity of the board to ensure the access and success of under-represented students, he said is to hire competent people “that understand that as part of their jobs as administrators,” students should be treated fairly. He also found it important that the college have a racially diverse administration.

The college president agreed and noted several minorities that serve on his cabinet and stated that the college president and administration drive the agenda and bring issues forward to the board so they can discuss and vote on them. The college board has a large number of Black board members and rarely discusses race, the college president said; there are, however, far more conversations about socioeconomic issues and poverty. “I think the result is we have one of the largest associate-degree graduation rates in the nation. We have been successful in what we are doing. Our issues are far more economic. When we increase tuition, it impacts all of our students almost equally.”

With a majority of students receiving need-based financial aid, College A has graduation rates that are an anomaly among the nation’s community colleges. What sets the college apart, the president said, is the sizeable population of students who live on the campus, combined with a larger-than-normal student athlete population that also does very well academically and student support services that help students navigate college processes and provide students with tutoring. This has created a culture of success on campus, he said. “I have students in the dormitories, whose housing situation is far better here than what they have at home,” the president said.

Under Representative of Hispanic Population: College B

“I can try to increase my self-awareness about my race and my sex, but it is a constant need. I think we all, myself included, just need to shift our viewpoint to see from other people’s vantage points. I am not a first-generation college student. It was always expected that I would go to college. It was always expected that I would pay my own way. I have to remind myself that I had it easy compared to my students who struggle, not because they lack the brains, but because they lack some of the navigational system tools.” – College B president

Background:

College B was selected among the colleges for which the boards were under representative of their Hispanic populations. At the time of data collection, the board had no

Hispanic board members. However, a Hispanic board member has since joined the board. He became the first Latino to ever serve. The college was selected to examine his impact on the board and how the presence of a minority board member has influenced board discussions and activities. The board has approximately an average number of members compared to the sample mean and is elected by district.

The college serves a growing Hispanic population; in some counties within its service area, the Hispanic population is more than 20 percent of the population. On the other hand, some parts of the service area have few minorities (under 5 percent) and are predominantly White. The percentage of Latino students attending the college is under 20 percent and not proportional to the population in the county with the highest percentage of Latino residents. Although the college itself has a higher graduation rate than the national average, its graduating classes indicate that far fewer students of color – less than 10 percent of Latino students – make up the graduating class.

The college has a service area slightly larger than the state of Maryland, including multiple counties, the majority of which have majority-minority school districts. One county, which is extremely rural, is mostly Caucasian. The local paper depicts a small-town atmosphere in which the weather is always a salient topic and the wrong-way driver arrested on the freeway is a top story (no injuries were reported).

The region boasts a successful agricultural industry for both food production and processing and the agricultural associate degree is one of the most popular degrees at the college, following transfer and business degrees. The growing Latino population is a result of the agricultural industry, which provides year-round work raising and processing crops. “There was lots of work and there remains (a lot of work). Even with advancements in technology and

mechanized systems, it is still very labor intensive. That work is a necessity and they (the largely Latino workforce) are highly valued members of the community,” the college president said. One of the biggest challenges for the college, according to the Hispanic board member, is to reach out to those communities to tell them about the college, its services and the benefits of a college education. “We need to expose more of them to the college,” he said. “We can’t just be in our meetings once a month. It is like a business, you have to expose it to the people so they know what you do,” he said.

What is the relationship between population demographics and Black or Hispanic representation on local community college governing boards?

There is a significant disparity between the proportion of Hispanic residents in the service area and the proportion of Hispanic board members. As noted above, at the time of data collection, there were no Hispanic board members and had never been. The first Hispanic member was appointed to fill a vacancy approximately a year ago and has since successfully campaigned for election to that seat for a full term. Previously, a Native American had served on the board for one term, making this individual the second minority to serve on the board.

The Hispanic board member said he sees himself first and foremost as a leader and volunteer for his community. Apart from running a small business, he chairs a Hispanic advisory council for a local municipality. Every year, he leads the planning of the city’s Cinco de Mayo festivities. He serves as a member of a local Hispanic scholarship foundation. He also runs a Saturday radio program, called The Voice of the Community. “I’m trying to cut back,” he said of his commitments, adding that he also sees himself as a dad and has two grandchildren. He said he felt very capable of representing the entire district, including different races. “The color of my skin doesn’t affect me because I look White,” he said. “I am concerned about the education of the Latino community.”

He said other Hispanics in his community were curious about his role on the board but did not seem interested in running for office. He hoped his leadership as the first Hispanic college trustee would encourage other Latinos to run in the future. The college president also hoped that he had broken a barrier that would lead to more Latino candidates in the future.

The Board chair, who identifies as Caucasian, said he views himself first and foremost as a public servant. He is an alumnus of the college who grew up in the region and was a leader in local law enforcement, prior to retiring. His wife also worked in the college's administration for many years prior to his running for election, giving him a unique insight into the internal workings of the college, he said. "I'm a representative of just about everybody," he said. "I was raised poor. I'm currently upper, middle class ... I'm a registered Cherokee Indian, so I have some ethnic background. So I say, I represent all parties."

What factors may explain minority selection for local community college governing boards?

The college president, board chair and the Hispanic board member all described a board with low notoriety and elections with little competition as a critical factor explaining why there had been so few minority members in the past. The board chair said he does not feel that the public knows what the board does and how important the work is. While his friends and family were glad he ran for the position, he said, "Most people don't care, unless it affects them directly. They want it done. They just hope someone else will do it." The first time he ran for a seat on the board, he ran against a candidate, whom the union supported and was defeated. When his opponent didn't run for a second four-year term, he filed for the seat and was uncontested. The last time he ran, he said, he spent \$150 on his campaign. That said, he acknowledged he had name recognition as a retired former public safety official. From time to time, the board has had to recruit individuals to run. When no one filed for election for a trustee position recently, several

of the board members convinced an individual who had helped the college with a bond measure into serving. “There were enough people who wrote his name on the ballot, that he won,” the board chair said.

The college president helped recruit the Hispanic board member to fill a vacancy. “I saw it as a wonderful opportunity to find someone who was Hispanic to come and serve on the board. I sat with a small group of individuals and we made a short list and we were successful in getting the first person we asked. My approach to a board member’s resignation is to always be in front of that and to not leave it to an unknown election. I have more than two board members up in 2017 and I will have the conversation with them, who in your mind should follow you, and work at advancing more diversity on the board because that is an opportunity not to be missed,” the college president said.

A leader on education issues in the local Hispanic community and a local business owner, the Hispanic board member first got involved with the college as part of the presidential search that selected the current college president. His own education background includes graduating high school and two years of vocational training. His expertise, he stated, comes from his involvement in the community.

“I consider myself very privileged. They didn’t have too many people who wanted to serve on the board,” the Hispanic board member recalled. “I don’t know why people don’t want to get more involved. I think people are worn out for some reason.” His election for the post was uncontested. But to get elected to any position, he noted takes time. Getting elected takes name recognition and “you have to go to a lot of informational meetings so people can get to know you.” He said that a lot of members in the Hispanic community do not feel they have enough time to participate in the process. He said he believed more Latinos would be interested in

running for seats with more outreach from the college. He also said he felt changing the selection process to an appointment process would deter many Latinos from considering the post. “It would put a little fear in them. They might think, ‘I don’t have much education, how can I serve on the board as part of the college?’ Leaving it at the local level, they have more opportunity to be on the board,” he said.

He noted that the college has a history of former college administrators who have served on the board and that bringing racial and professional diversity to the board is an important endeavor.

What is the relationship between board composition and the selection of a Black or Hispanic college president?

At the time of the current president’s search process, the board was comprised of all Caucasian members. The president selected was White. As stated above, the Hispanic member served on a committee, prior to his appointment to the board, and helped interview finalists for the position. He said he appreciated the current president’s response to his questions about Hispanic outreach and acknowledged a shared vision for further collaboration.

“I invited (the president) to our community meetings and the radio program. She is very dedicated and determined to do outreach to the Latino community,” he said.

The college president said her race and background impact the lens through which she views higher education policy, but that she strives constantly to consider different viewpoints in her approach to decision making. “Until I went through my doctorate, I didn’t really realize the impact of privilege,” she said, noting the diverse and very close-knit cohort of graduate students exposed her to new perspectives.

What is the relationship between board composition and the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates?

The board of College B looks to the administration to drive policies, regarding the access and success of under-represented student populations, all three subjects said. The college president said she is working with the board to encourage them to more actively engage with the administration and ask difficult questions when it comes to race, ethnicity and student success.

The board recently participated in an Association of Community College Trustees governance institution, which helped trustees probe their understanding of first generation, low-income students and their challenges. The training helped underscore that asking critical questions did not indicate a lack of respect for the administration, the college president said.

“What I said to my board chair is, ‘I need you to ask these hard questions and I won’t be unhappy or mad. If we are not thinking about it, you should be,’” she said. “We have a board that wants to be a policy board and doesn’t want to get involved in administration.”

The new Hispanic board member is helping to bring some of the issues of Latino student success to the table for discussion. She noted he is “still in a learning mode” and at this time does not want to “rock the boat.”

The board chair said the board has not experienced any pressure from racial or ethnic communities or groups to act on any specific agenda issues. He said they have typically relied on the president and administration to make them aware of student success issues and policies impacting under-represented students. “When there is a need, (the president) makes sure we are darn aware of it,” he said. While he said he felt his most important role as a trustee was fiscal accountability, he discussed the growing need for the board to be more engaged in student success issues. “No. 1 is to take care of the folks’ money and equally as important is that we are doing it for the right reasons. We’re there to serve the students.”

The Hispanic board member said he felt the board is concerned about providing services that match the demographics of the area and has encouraged the college to hire more Latino faculty. He stressed more than once that patience was necessary and that it was going to take time for the culture of the board and college to change to more effectively integrate and support the Latino community and for the board and college staff to reflect the demographics of the service area. He emphasized that he felt positive strides were being made at the college with his fellow board members and in the local government. His recommendation to create a college soccer team was positively accepted by the board and implemented. “The Latino community, they love (soccer). They have a passion for it. I mentioned that to the board and they got on it and this is going to be the first year that we are going to have a soccer program,” he said. He said he believed this would be an effective outreach tool to the Hispanic community and had other ideas as well. “One of the things I have recommended to the board is we have to focus on educating parents,” about financial aid and other avenues to help families afford college.

The board, he said, has been open to his concerns and suggestions and he feels the other members respect him. “I feel so privileged sometimes, I have to pinch myself,” he said. “They are very highly educated and very wise.”

Over Representative of Black Population: College C

The racial composition of the community college governing board “matters in different ways. With regard to providing a visual representation of diversity, yes, that matters. But there are some folks of color who are far more conservative than their often younger, white counterparts who think about students differently. Then you also have class issues. But this concept of having folks who look like your folks is not sufficient ... Those kinds of images are not complete enough ... You have to have people who can speak boldly about the topic and not just from a place of emotion. The age of ethnic identity politics is over and should have been over in the 1980s. People still cling to it because we have not replaced it. Really understanding the entire community is what it is all about,” – College C president

Background:

Community College C was selected from among the category of colleges in the sample for which the percentage of Black board members exceeded the percentage of Black population. At the time of data collection, about a third of the board members were African American and the service area in the sample had a population of about 15 percent African Americans. That said, the college represents a far larger Hispanic population and there are no Hispanic board members, which seemed to be the main focus of the interviews conducted for this case study, rather than the over-representative nature of the board in terms of African Americans. This college was selected within this category based on the fact that the college president was a minority. The board has an average number of members compared to the sample who are elected by district.

This community college covers multiple counties, urban and rural environments and is very racially diverse, including a large Asian population. Although the enrollment percentages for the college mirror their population demographics, both Black and Hispanic students have low graduation rates well under 5 percent.

The growing Hispanic population in the region is fairly recent due to economic industry changes in the area, particularly growth in agriculture and food production. The service area also includes one of the hardest hit areas in the nation during the recession and a city that almost went bankrupt. Workload reductions at a nearby major federal agency and the housing crisis hit the service area particularly hard, leaving many of the students attending the institution with financial challenges. Unemployment still hovers over 10 percent. The major employers include agriculture and food processing, tourism, the federal government and a nascent but growing biotech industry.

What is the relationship between population demographics and Black or Hispanic representation on local community college governing boards?

At the time of the interviews, the board had two African American members and according to the board chair and college president, the number of Black members has remained fairly consistent with the same two African Americans having served on the board a number of years. There are no Hispanic members and it was unknown if they had ever had a Hispanic board member. Professionally, the board is comprised of teachers, professors, a lawyer and a farmer. The lack of diversity – in terms of Hispanic representation – is cause for concern, according to the board chair, who represents a district with a growing Latino population.

“The Hispanic population is not represented. They don’t run for positions,” said the chair, who is White, grew up in the area, and graduated from the college, prior to receiving his bachelor’s degree.

He identified with many aspects of his Hispanic constituents, as a first-generation college student and the son of a farmer. He said he grew up among impoverished agricultural workers. He attended community college because he could afford nothing else and had to hitch hike to class. “I did it through the school of hard knocks, going through the junior college system and then to the university and paid my way by working and I think that sets me apart from most people who sit on boards,” he said. “I went from the bottom up. I understand how they feel.”

Apart from racial diversity, he said the board lacked a diverse array of board members from different professional and career fields.

“Very few business people become trustees at least as far as I’ve seen,” he said.

The board members, he said, are collaborative in nature and tend to think of themselves as delegates, not trustees, in terms of their representation models. “I am in a heavily Hispanic

district and some are in heavily Black communities. By us melting them together, we can form some opinions.”

What factors may explain minority selection for local community college governing boards?

College C’s board is elected by districts and some races have been competitive with multiple candidates vying for a seat. “There is a sense that this is our college in our county and we’re going to take care of it,” the president said, adding that when called upon people will run for a vacant seat. The terms are for four years and there are no term limits. She noted the growth in the Hispanic population, related to growth in certain industries, was recent.

The board chair attributed the required time it takes to run for election and serve as a factor in explaining the lack of Hispanic candidates, the lack of younger candidates, the lack of low-income candidates and the lack of business professional candidates.

“It is hard to get elected. It takes money. It is hard for people of a poor background to even run for an office and so right away that is discouraging for people. Just to put my statement on the ballot last time was \$800. Then you need money for signs,” he said.

He emphasized that the current board needs to consider their potential replacements and encourage diverse candidates to run. A challenge, he said, is that many Latinos in their 20s and 30s are raising families and do not have time available to run. Older generations of Latinos that he knows are often on fixed incomes and cannot afford to do so.

If the board were to be appointed or expanded, he did not think that would change the racial or socioeconomic composition of the board. He felt that appointed boards are far more political than elected ones, due to the connections necessary for individuals to obtain appointments to college boards.

“When it becomes more political, it gets further from the people. I think if you are elected you have to go out in the community,” he said. “(Appointments) are a status symbol and I don’t like that too much. If you’re not in the right caste, you’re not going to be appointed.”

What is the relationship between board composition and the selection of a Black or Hispanic college president?

A search committee comprised of a large group of faculty, staff, students and community members presented four finalists, including two minority candidates, to College C’s local governing board last year to replace the outgoing college president. The selected president, a Latina, had worked at almost every level of the community college in her more than 25 years of experience in the field. The board chair said her race was never discussed by the board.

“I don’t personally believe race or gender was a factor. We were looking for the best candidate,” he said. “When we interviewed her, she was by far and away the best candidate. I wouldn’t expect any less.”

He added that the community member he appointed to the search committee, confirmed after the appointment that they had picked the candidate the committee felt was also the best.

The College C president, for her part, said her shared experience as a Latina completely informs how she thinks about serving students and what academic equity looks like. At one of her first board meetings, she said she asked a researcher to bring data on student outcomes. “I wanted everyone to look at these numbers and be uncomfortable with them. I wanted it to linger and for them to think, ‘OK, now what do I need to do to make a significant shift in what is happening to our students?’”

What is the relationship between board composition and the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates?

There are several board members, including the two African Americans, who drive discussions and policy on race and ethnicity in concert with the College C president. Authority to address racial inequities in terms of student access and success is shared equally between the board and college administration, the college president and board trustee said. While she said she keeps under-represented minority students at the forefront of policy discussions and the board is very engaged, she noted that there is “a group of faculty here, particularly, younger faculty, who also play a role in keeping them at the forefront.”

The board meets twice a month and discusses issues confronting under-represented students frequently. For instance, it has approved a five-year student equity plan to help increase opportunities and access for minority and low-income students. The board chair stressed that race and ethnicity are a theme throughout all meetings and that the conversation is mostly centered around finances and access to the institution.

“A lot of students, they sacrifice food to go to class. I have given rides. Bus routes are not convenient for them,” he said.

What is frustrating for him, he said is that “Colleges don’t change overnight. When you have shared governance, decisions are made in slow motion. That was hard for me at first. Decisions take so long and have to go through so many people and one person can throw a wrench in the whole thing. The most important thing is that everyone works together. We don’t have to like each other, but we must work toward student success.”

The two Black board members serve as important drivers of policy discussions on diversity, said a student government senator whose role was to advocate for students on the issue of diversity. They attend diversity meetings with faculty and staff as well. He said that he perceived the board and college administration focusing much of their efforts on diversity toward

increasing faculty of color, so that students from diverse backgrounds could identify and relate better to their professors, which in turn will help the students succeed. He said he felt this was an important focus and described a recent English course in which the students had to write a research paper on race. “It was really awkward because the instructor was Caucasian and the majority of the class was African American and you could tell there was a barrier. It made it really difficult to talk openly about the topics.”

As a self-identified Middle Eastern Asian international student, he said he and other students of color perceive a racial bias in certain predominantly White communities within the college’s service area. The race and ethnicity, therefore, of the board members and the college president, matter significantly to students. “Students feel more comfortable when they see someone that looks like them, someone who talks like them. Someone who acts like them,” he said. “It makes it easier for them to relate and gives them more confidence.”

Over Representative of Hispanic Population: College D

“I think minority representation has been critical to our board ... I do think they bring the perspective of all minorities, not just of their own descent by any means. I think there have been some really, really, great connections with the community and ensuring the board is paying attention to the needs of the minority students. I don’t think our Caucasian colleagues - we look out for that and we try to look out for all aspects -- but when you don’t have that cultural, that definite connection, you don’t have that connection that those representatives bring.” – College D Board of Trustees Chair

Community College D was selected among the category of institutions in the sample with boards that were over representative of the Hispanic populations they served. The board is slightly larger than the sample average and its members are appointed by the county commission leadership for the counties it serves. It was selected to further examine the impact of a minority board member on an all White board in a predominantly White community that due to the size of the board and small Black and Hispanic populations could never be proportionally

representative. The board's composition is also dictated by statute, which requires it to include at least one minority member.

The college is relatively small and the graduation rate for the entire college is far higher than the national average. The college enrolls smaller percentages of Hispanics and African Americans than their respective percentages of the population and graduates even fewer of these students.

The service area falls outside a major metropolitan area and is therefore part suburban/urban and part rural. The main employers in the area are food processing and manufacturers, including several international manufacturing companies' headquarters, and the college has popular advanced manufacturing and business programs that are well regarded in the community. There is also a nationally renowned athletic course, which attracts many tourists in the area, and so hospitality and resorts also employ the college's graduates.

The area's culture and history are the product of a large German immigrant population. A growing agricultural industry, including dairy farming, has attracted a new Latino population to the area, the college president said. The service area also includes a large Hmong population, which immigrated to the region in the late 20th Century with assistance from local churches.

What is the relationship between population demographics and Black or Hispanic representation on local community college governing boards?

Community College D serves a small percentage of Latinos in the community (under 5 percent) and a small percentage of minorities in general (under 8 percent of the entire district's population). The board size is equal to the sample average. It has one Hispanic board member and therefore the percentage of Hispanic board members greatly exceeds the percentage served by the population.

A state law requires community college boards give consideration to the minority populations they serve and create and update representation plans with appointing county commission leaders. It also stipulates that at least one position be filled by a minority member if the service area population includes more than a certain percentage of minorities. The law also requires a certain number of seats go to women and people of different professions. Therefore, College D's board is required by law to be over representative of at least one of its minority populations. In the past, there have been more than one minority member, and recently there were two minority members serving at the same time whose terms expired.

What factors may explain minority selection for local community college governing boards?

The board chair and college president both agreed that there are usually several nominees for each vacancy that arises, which they attributed to the high prestige of the college in the community. However, the board chair noted they seem to have far fewer minorities applying for positions than Caucasians. That may be because of the time it takes to serve, lack of interest or because of the small number of minorities in the community, she said.

The college president noted the current minority representative is also an employee of a local business and therefore meets two of the requirements of the college's representation plan, approved by the county commission leaders who appoint the board's members. "It is a tough position to fill, a minority employee. Getting an employee is tough enough. They don't have enough flexibility in schedules to serve as someone who is, say, a business owner," the president said. Individuals who are not impacted by the college also likely to have little knowledge of board activities, he said. Agendas are posted online and in the local newspaper but the board's activities are rarely covered in the paper.

From time to time, he said the college has received pressure from different community groups, representing specific racial and ethnic groups. “We have had to deal with – like probably a lot of colleges – undocumented students and over the years we have had pressure from certain Hispanic groups to increase services and support,” he said. The college created a multicultural advisory committee, comprised of different racial and ethnicity-related community groups that meets periodically to provide feedback. It is that group that now works positively with the institution when changes are advised by community groups, he said.

The president and board chair stressed the importance of a minority member’s perspective to the governance process. The board chair, however, said she felt proportional representation of all minority groups was impossible and, if required, would detract from the need to represent other groups unrelated to race, such as professional, gender, geographic and socioeconomic groups. “I would say that (proportional representation of race) is too black and white. I don’t think it is necessary. You are looking for an overall board representation of the population you service. That includes business owners. People have connections to various regional parts of their counties,” she said. “I think it is great when you have minorities that represent multiple categories. If you mandated proportional representation, we might lose other qualities that make us represent who we serve.”

What is the relationship between board composition and the selection of a Black or Hispanic college president?

The college president, who is Caucasian, has led the college for 13 years, following a national search with more than 50 applicants. He was unaware if his race was discussed during the search process and neither was the board chair. But he said he was asked questions about diversity and its importance. He started at the college as a finance officer. The previous president and former supervisor had also been an internal hire and served for more than 10 years.

What is the relationship between board composition and the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates?

The college president stressed the importance of having a minority perspective on the board to ensure under-represented communities are considered in future plans. A recent example, he cited, was earlier in the year as the college had to execute layoffs due to budget shortfalls. “One position we were considering laying off was our diversity coordinator. It wasn’t that we were eliminating the service, but we were realigning it. Our minority member, who was a former student, spoke up and talked about how important that position was. The services were important and the fact that we had someone on campus that could be identified in that position,” he said. “That caused us to re-examine and ask more questions. We ended not reducing that position.”

He and his administration drive policy and implementation when it comes to student success, which he said his board tended to parse more often into socio economic groups rather than racial or ethnic ones. “That seems to span race,” he said. “It doesn’t seem to be limited to one race or another.”

The board assigns objectives to ensure the college is accessible and meeting workforce needs and he regularly reports to them on how his team is working to meet those. He’s evaluated twice each year. Right now, he said he’s working on increasing language support services for non-native speakers and upgrading employees’ cultural competencies.

The board chair said minority representation on the board is critical to ensuring those perspectives are discussed as part of the board’s decision-making processes. She was glad that representation was mandated by law and feared the board would lose that perspective if it was not. But she said, she did not believe that under-represented students’ abilities to successfully access and graduate from the college are related to the racial composition of the board. “I think what impacts that more are the plans in place to help minority students succeed,” she said. “It is

the awareness of the needs of the constituents and students and what they need to be successful and ensuring those things are being put into place.”

Summary

The four case studies provide further context to the quantitative results discussed in Chapter 4 as to the impact of minority board representation on local community college governing boards. Even those boards considered over representative of Black or Hispanic populations were under representative of other racial groups, which was a cause for concern among some of the college officials interviewed. Common themes as to why boards lack minority representation include the lack of saliency of the boards, disinterest among minority communities in serving, either as a function of time or fiscal resources, and an absence of outreach to minority communities seeking representation. The use of recruitment as a tool to increase representation of the Latino community by College B’s president and the state statute requiring minority representation in the case of College D have ensured a minority perspective on two otherwise all-White boards. The following summary includes a systematic review of each case study exploring the functions of each board’s representativeness and its contribution to student success outcomes and their relationship to the quantitative results in Chapter 4.

In the case of College A, the board’s racial composition, according to interviews, has been less a product of the population demographics and more a result of the selection process. The county commissioners in the service area select the majority of the board members and descriptive representation of African Americans did not appear to be a priority. The appointment process was more a function of prestige and appointing a qualified individual, according to the college president.

In spite of the board's under representation of its Black population, College A demonstrated positive student outcomes for its African American students. The board trustee and college president indicated race and ethnicity of students was not discussed by the board and attributed the college's high enrollment and high completion rates of African Americans to programs in place at the college.

Community College B's under representation of its Latino population was described as a function of the board's lack of prominence in the community and the resources required to run for office. The first-ever Latino member and the board chair attributed the lack of diversity on the board to community-wide apathy for public service and the fact that many Latinos, who might run, likely feel they do not have the time to do so. Years of scrambling to find willing candidates to run for election by the all-White board may have also led to similar White candidates being encouraged to run. The college president's recruitment strategy targeting a Latino appointee to fill a vacancy, who then later campaigned for election and won, broke the mold. She said she hopes the new Latino member will serve as a model that might inspire other Latinos to run.

The board's lack of representation of the Latino community was an important factor that had been discussed by college officials. The new Latino member was praised for bringing new perspectives and ideas to the board to reach out to the Latino community and help Latino students succeed. The board's positive reception and openness to the new members' ideas was also praised as an important contribution to an environment where a diverse member can positively contribute. Obtaining more Latino candidates was a worthy goal according to the college president, who placed a premium on diverse perspectives.

College C's over representation of its African American population was attributed to historical context and certain members who had had longstanding membership on the board. The two Black board members were highly active in the community, involved in college activities, and were well known by the students. The lack of Latino membership on the board, given the college's service to a growing and large Latino population, was a prominently discussed topic among college officials and the board chair. The board chair attributed this to the resources needed to run for election, including time and money. The board chair stressed the need to recruit Latino candidates and to have a board composition plan going forward.

The two African American members were praised by all interviewed for representing issues of diversity affecting all minority students, not just African Americans. The student diversity senator felt that their active presence on campus and in diversity-related discussions and activities impacted all students of color. The presence of a Latina college president he said also helped students because they could see people like themselves running the college, he said.

The over representation of Latinos in College D was a function of a state statute mandating a minority member. This college served a Latino population so small, it could never be descriptively representative in a proportional manner. If the minority appointed to the board had been Hmong or African American, this population would be under represented, according to the theory.

College D officials indicated that a minority representative was critical to the board's activities. Without a state mandate for a minority member, the board chair feared that perspective might get lost. She and the college president praised the statute for its composition requirements and felt the law was helpful to governance. The perspectives minority members brought to the board impacted the college's activities, such as the retention of a college diversity officer, and

ensured that diverse perspectives were considered. That member was expected to represent all students of color and not only the racial group to which she responded.

The quantitative results from Chapter 4 indicated that population demographics play a significant, direct role in determining the board's racial composition. But the case studies show that demographics cannot account alone for the level of descriptive representation of these boards. One needs to better understand the motives behind the appointment of members, the saliency and prominence of the board, the amount of resources required for selection and statutes that govern the board, all of which can also impact racial composition as demonstrated by these colleges. Race and diversity in the context of student success were not actively discussed at College A and largely at College B until the election of a Latino member. At these institutions, which were under representative of the African American and Latino populations, respectively, there were mixed results for student outcomes. In both cases, the college boards deferred to the college administrations to drive policies that ensured minority students could access the college and complete their programs. At College A, the African American students were enrolled and succeeding at impressive levels; At College B, that was not the case for Latinos. This indicates there is more than the board and student body's racial and ethnic compositions at play when it comes to minority student success.

Although colleges C and D were both over representative of one population, they were not over representative of all minorities in their service areas. Although these boards were far more active on issues of race and diversity, these two cases highlight the concept that a minority representative, whether Black or Hispanic, brings attention to minority issues, a fact not accounted for in Chapter 4 whereas the models only looked at African American board membership and its relationship to Black population, students and graduates, and Hispanic board

membership and its relationship to Hispanic population, students and graduates. Minority students felt more comfortable and confident at College C with a Latina as president and board that had several African American representatives.

Although some of the White presidents and trustees interviewed acknowledged their existential limitations and that individuals from under-represented groups represent the needs of minority students best, these individuals also expressed that they felt capable and were eager to explore alternative perspectives in decision making to ensure they adequately represented their minority constituents and students. The mindset that they must make additional efforts to seek diverse perspectives may also make an impact on minority student outcomes not explored in the Chapter 4 models.

With much of the research on descriptive representation focusing on the comparison of the racial demographics of the service area versus the percentage of that population on the governing board, it would be easy to miss the rich nuances brought out through these case studies. The board's racial and ethnic composition has a lot to do with the availability of minority candidates. In places with large and small percentages of minorities, such as in the case of College B and College D, Black and Hispanic candidates were hard to find, according to those interviewed. The results of Chapter 4 show that the success of minority students may be indirectly affected by the percentage of minority members on the board. The case studies support that finding in that minority members were praised for highlighting diversity and equity related issues. Furthermore, they show it also is a function of the selection of leadership and the college policies and programs as well as resources in place to help those students. The tactics applied to solicit minority membership on these boards – whether it was a recruitment committee that made a short list of Latino candidates or a state law mandating minority membership again as seen in

the cases of College B and College D, respectively – indicate the importance of minority membership at the governance table. Finally, each of the case studies demonstrated the benefits of having at least one member of color. Interviews at colleges A, B, C and D revealed information that indicated members of minority groups are more likely to highlight the need for services and programs that will help under-represented students, providing further support to the quantitative results that the racial composition of these boards matters.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

There is a dearth of research on local community college governing boards and how representative they are of the communities they serve. The data and subsequent analysis have helped establish a foundation for further research in this area to add to the scholarly body of knowledge on this topic, including the substantive impacts of minority representation on student outcomes. This chapter contains a summary of the dissertation. The first section will summarize the problem and methodologies applied, followed by a review of the key conclusions and a discussion of their practical implications. The final section will identify future research topics to help build the body of knowledge in this arena of local governance.

Problem Statement & Methodology Review

Community colleges educate approximately half of the minority undergraduates in the nation and yet little is known about who governs them. While there are multiple structures of governance for these two-year postsecondary institutions, this dissertation focused on local community college governing boards.

Descriptive representation research on federal, state and local governing bodies has provided evidence that the race and ethnicity of representatives impacts various governing activities. Therefore, this dissertation sought to duplicate descriptive representative scholars' methods to examine local community college governing boards and determine how representative they are of the communities they serve, what environmental and structural factors influence the minority composition of these boards and if the racial composition of these boards matters. The research questions were:

1. What is the relationship between population demographics and Black or Hispanic representation on local community college governing boards?;
2. What factors may explain minority selection for local community college governing boards?;

3. What is the relationship between board composition and the selection of a Black or Hispanic college president?; and
4. What is the relationship between board composition and the percentage of Black or Hispanic graduates?

Data were collected on a random sample of locally governed community college boards throughout the nation, including the race and ethnicity of board members, the population served by the college, its student body, president and its 2012-13 graduating class. Other environmental and structural variables were also collected, including information about the education and income levels of the populations served, the region, whether boards were appointed, elected, or elected at large, the size of the boards and the prestige of the colleges.

Various statistical methods were applied to examine each research question. The contemporary methodology to examine whether boards are descriptively representative of the populations they serve is an OLS regression, using the percentage of minority board members as the dependent variable and the percentage of minority representatives in the service area as the independent variable. An ordered logit analysis was applied to look at the impact of the various environmental and structural variables on the presence of one or more Black or Hispanic board members. Two additional statistical models were then used to examine the substantive impact of minority representation, including the selection of a president and the racial composition of the graduating class. A logit model was applied to examine if boards with more Black or Hispanic members were more likely to select a Black or Hispanic president, respectively. A path analysis was then utilized to examine the causal relationships among board ethnicity and other variables on the racial composition of the graduating class.

Key Conclusions

This section divides key conclusions into three categories. The first part of this section summarizes the important findings related to the literature. The second portion provides an

overview of the quantitative analysis of the sample. Finally, the third agenda of this section is to summarize key data from the case studies that adds context to the quantitative results.

A Review of the Literature

Community colleges are important organizations worthy of further study for their role as postsecondary providers in America. President Barack Obama has tasked two-year schools with producing 63 percent of the college degrees necessary to raise the nation's postsecondary graduation rates to be first in the world by 2020 (*Bridging the higher education divide*, 2013). Furthermore, they are the college of choice for minority and low-income students (Mullin, 2012). Yet, by many measurements, community colleges are failing to graduate students, particularly students of color (AACC, 2012). Given the national demand for graduates, policymakers are struggling to help more under-represented students succeed and complete their college degrees. Therefore, an examination of who governs these two-year institutions is timely.

Existing literature on governing boards for all forms of higher education institutions, including state and local community college governing boards, indicates that the individuals governing postsecondary education in America are generally White and male. The most recent literature specific to community college governing boards' ethnicity is based on a 1995 survey by Vaughan and Weisman (1997) that found that 86.6 percent of community college trustees were White, 7.9 percent were African American and 2.3 percent were Hispanic.

A Review of the Quantitative Results

A key finding from this dissertation is that boards are still under representative of the Black and Hispanic populations they serve. Local community college governing boards in general have a long way to go to be representative of the populations in their service areas. But when these boards are examined in more detail, it is apparent that many community colleges do

not serve diverse populations and that proportional representation is impossible given the small percentages of minorities in the community and the small number of seats on the boards. For instance, a seven-member board could only be descriptively representative of a minority racial group that makes up at a minimum 14 percent of the population. The lack of diversity among the boards also presented challenges to the contemporary statistical method of choice – the Engstrom and McDonald (1981) regression approach – to study descriptive representation. When the dependent variable lacks normal distribution, the regression method fails to produce valid results that measure what they are supposed to measure. The lack of minority chief executives at colleges in the sample also confounded efforts to obtain meaningful, significant results on whether boards' racial composition has a relationship to the race or ethnicity of the college president.

In examining the factors that may explain minority selection for local community college governing boards, a key finding of this research was the strong and significant role that racial demographics play in determining board membership. While the size of the board also had a significant role in determining whether boards had one vs. two or more Black board members, the percentage of Black and Hispanic populations was a strong and significant predictor in determining the likelihood of there being one or more Black or Hispanic board members.

The fourth and final research question, examining the relationship between the percentage of Black and Hispanic board members to the independent variables, provided path analysis models that help explain the role that the racial composition of boards plays in affecting important metrics of success in higher education. The final models show the percentages of Black and Hispanic populations were direct and significant causal factors in explaining the percentage of Black or Hispanic board members and the percentage of Black and Hispanic

students accessing these institutions. The percentage of Black and Hispanic board members was a positive and direct influence on the percentage of Black and Hispanic students. That variable, the percentage of Black or Hispanic students, was then a direct and significant causal effect for the percentage of Black and Hispanic graduates. The percentage of Black and Hispanic board members therefore had a significant, positive indirect, causal relationship to the percentage of Black and Hispanic graduates, respectively. Goodness of fit measurements indicated these relationships are generalizable to the greater population of local community college governing boards throughout the nation.

Review of Case Study Results

Interviews with College A, which had a board that was under representative of the large African American population it served, depicted a board that was not focused on issues of racial diversity or on the access or success of certain minority populations. Instead, the college president and board leadership indicated that they discussed socioeconomic disparities. They indicated that the high percentage of African American graduates and graduation rate of that population support their approach.

College A also highlights the importance of the college's history and environment that seem to influence the success of minority students in far more apparent ways than the racial composition of the governing board. The dormitories, which were necessary in the college's early days when it served as a high school in an expansive rural region, keep a large percentage of students on campus in an environment far more conducive to academic success than many of the students' homes. The lack of jobs in the service area may also be a factor in the high percentage of student success, whereas students are incentivized to do well academically to get out of the community to a job or to pursue a four-year degree.

College B showed that the introduction of a minority member to a historically all-Caucasian board can have beneficial impacts, including diversifying the perspectives the board considers and introduction of policies and programs that increase minority students' access to the institution and success. The first-ever Hispanic board member highlighted the need for outreach to the Latino community and programs that serve the Hispanic community's needs.

This case study also demonstrated the important role that professional development can play to help local community college governing boards address racial disparities. The ACCT training that the board received encouraged members to explore issues of racial diversity and develop expertise on the topic of student success. This training can ultimately help shape board behavior to help members hold college officials accountable for ensuring the access and success of under-represented populations to the best of their abilities. Without a proactive, competent president, boards that defer too heavily to administration to handle issues involving racial disparities may cause more harm to communities of color.

College B also demonstrated what happens when boards are elected and races have low saliency. The board chair recalled a recent vacancy in which no one filed for the seat. After filing had closed, board members were able to fill the position by launching a successful write-in campaign for an individual community member, whom they had convinced to serve. The result of such apathy toward service and of board members recruiting candidates may be that the same types of candidates are encouraged year after to year to run for office. Without a history of minority representation or role models, growing minority populations may be slow to take their place at the governing table as they work to establish their community and cultures. This could have adverse consequences if the board is not actively addressing diversity issues.

Finally College B also showed the role a White college president can play in challenging the status quo and the importance of recruiting and encouraging minority candidates to serve. Aware of her diverse constituency and under-served populations, the college president took initiative to recruit an active member of the Latino community interested in improving policies to encourage Hispanics to enroll at the college and succeed. She acknowledged the importance of her race and upbringing in shaping her perspective and emphasized the need to proactively seek different perspectives. Furthermore, she highlighted the important role recruitment can make in bringing more diversity to the board. While demographic shifts might have eventually resulted in the first Hispanic board member to run, her initiative to encourage an individual in the Latino community sped up the process and could be used to create more descriptively representative bodies throughout higher education.

College C was one of the colleges in the sample that was over representative of the Black populations it served. It showed that while a board may have representation of one minority community, the lack of representation of another group, in this case Latinos, was a significant cause for concern. The board chair and college president noted the growing Hispanic population in the service area and need for Hispanic representation on the board. The African American board members, however, played an active role in driving policy discussions about diversity and equity that were praised by the board, students and the college president.

College C also highlighted the importance of a minority president. The college president said her experiences as a Latina shaped her perspectives on higher education policy and helped her keep under-represented students prominent in her decision-making. She also felt comfortable bringing these issues to her board and leading college leadership out of their comfort zones to discuss student success policies and address achievement gaps. Interestingly, she saw descriptive

representation as passé and discussed the need for decision-makers to see the needs and perspectives of all groups. In a way, she expressed a sentiment similar to Pitkin's (1967) criticism of descriptive representation, in that it is not enough to merely look like a certain constituency. Recall that Pitkin criticized the theory because it did not require representatives to do anything. But the college president went beyond Pitkin to say it is not enough to substantively represent one group. She stressed that representatives have to approach their duties as trustees with a mindset to reflect the needs of everyone in their community.

Finally, the board chair, as he contemplated his eventual retirement from the board, emphasized the importance again of recruitment to facilitate descriptive representation. He stressed the need for board members to have succession plans that consider the racial, socioeconomic and professional makeup of the entire board as a way to ensure healthy governance of the college and the success of its students.

College D was selected among the institutions that were over representative of Hispanic populations. It was identified as a case study to allow for further exploration of colleges that serve such small minority populations as to render descriptive representation impossible. However, an interesting twist was that state law requires the board to include at least one minority member, making the board over representative of one minority group. The board chair expressed the importance of that seat's perspective on the otherwise all-Caucasian board and that the minority member has traditionally attempted to represent all racial minority groups. Having a representative for each of their minority populations, including Hispanics, African Americans and Hmong, on the board, she said would likely exclude other important perspectives that also need to be represented on the board, including socioeconomic, professional and geographic viewpoints.

Discussion of Findings

This dissertation, which includes extensive analysis of primary and secondary data, as well as in-depth interviews with local governing board trustees and college presidents, establishes a foundation for further research in the area of community college governance. It supports historical research about higher education governing boards in general and provides evidence specific to local community college governing boards that these bodies are under representative of the minority populations they serve. More importantly, it shows that the racial composition of the board matters and has an impact on minority student access and success at these two-year institutions.

While the results demonstrate the importance of large minority populations within the colleges' service areas in determining the racial composition of the boards, students and graduating class, as expected based on the literature, they also indicate that demographics are not the only factor at play. Policymakers hoping to improve outcomes for minority students cannot depend on demographic shifts alone.

The direct and indirect causal roles of minority board members on the percentage of minority students enrolled and graduating supports the work Meier, et al., have done in the context of local school boards and shows support for the substantive impact of descriptive representation (Meier & England, 1984; Stewart, England & Meier, 1989). There was a direct causal link between the percentage of Black and Hispanic board members on the percentage of Black and Hispanic students enrolled, respectively. Attending college, regardless of completion, reaps many individual and collective benefits within a community. For example, a recent study found that individuals working full time with some college but no degree earned 14 percent more than those with only a high school diploma (Baum, Ma & Payea, 2013). The direct influence of

minority board representation on minority student enrollment should not be overlooked. As the student senator from College C stated, “Students feel more comfortable when they see someone that looks like them, someone who talks like them. Someone who acts like them. It makes it easier for them to relate and gives them more confidence.” The indirect link then of the board’s racial composition to that of the graduating class is also a key finding. The percentage of African American and Hispanic board members had a positive, significant indirect causal effect on the respective percentages of African American and Hispanic graduates, indicating that race matters. The case studies support this finding and add value to the quantitative results, underscoring the importance and difference that even one minority board member can make on a homogenous board. They also shed light on variables not accounted for in the quantitative analysis that impact boards’ racial composition and success outcomes for minority students as discussed in the next two sections.

The results, therefore, provide valuable insights for policymakers examining community college outcomes. The key findings on the impact the percentage of Black and Hispanic board members have on the percentage of Black and Hispanic students (significant, positive and direct) and the percentage of Black and Hispanic graduates (significant, positive indirect effects) have important implications for the success of community colleges. Ultimately minority board members make important contributions to their respective boards highlighting the need for lawmakers to examine the environmental and structural variables impacting minority representation on local community college governing boards. As these two-year institutions become more salient in higher education and workforce development policies, and they become more diverse in terms of the students and populations they are serving, lawmakers can use this research to better understand how the composition of the governing boards impacts the access

and success of under-represented students. This research indicates that looking at the demographics of the population, the size of the board, the saliency and attractiveness of the positions and board recruitment plans will provide important clues to help lawmakers ensure these boards are both inclusive and effective.

Limitations of Research

There are a number of research limitations in this study that are important to discuss. The size of the sample is problematic. With only 91 cases, a bigger sample size would be preferable to satisfy Tabachnick and Fidell's (2007) suggested ratio of cases for multivariate statistics, in which N is greater than 105 (Warner, 2013).

The sample would have been larger if not for the parameters selected at the start of data collection. The sample of locally governed community colleges was derived from a randomly selected group of 400 counties. It was determined at the start of data collection that researchers would only collect data for this project on counties with a locally governed community college and only counties with one community college could be included. These parameters were selected to better model Meier's research examining the descriptive representation of local school boards. However, the exclusion of counties that had community colleges governed only by state boards and counties that had multiple community colleges within their boundaries narrowed the sample size and impacted the distribution of the variables. Several racially diverse counties were excluded, including Orange and New York counties, which had multiple community colleges within their boundaries, some with boards that had multiple minority members and African American and Hispanic presidents.

Any cross-sectional analysis using data collected at one point in time has limitations (Gujarati, 2006). A longitudinal study that examines the racial composition of these boards, their

student bodies and their graduating classes over time might provide more robust results.

Demographic shifts clearly play an important role in minority composition of boards. Therefore, an examination of those variables over a duration of years might prove more informative.

The study assumes the presence of minority candidates for selection and does not explore factors that may inhibit candidates of color from vying for these seats. As the case studies indicate, many local community college board elections have low saliency or may not be attractive to minority communities due to other commitments. Looking at board saliency, time required to serve, median age of minority populations, attitudes about the board, the motivation behind appointments, compensation for board members, whether board composition is dictated in statute, whether boards have recruitment plans and the prior existence of minority members who might inspire other minorities to serve may influence the prevalence of Black and Hispanic board members. The case studies highlight the need for future quantitative research on local community college governing boards to collect and analyze variables that indicate if board positions are volunteer or paid positions, which can impact recruitment of minority candidates.

The anonymity granted to interview subjects for the case studies also presented a limitation and challenges in discussing the cases. Specific data could not be included that would allow for the identification of the four college boards from the sample. This was a tradeoff for more informative interviews in which board trustees and presidents did not need to fear that their perspectives would be publically scrutinized.

Finally, researchers identified board members' race, rather than allowing members to self-identify themselves via a survey or the use of medical records. These three methods – observation of physical characteristics, self-identification and medical records – comprise the main methods for determination in research involving race as a variable. In this case, web photos

and third-party public information officers were contacted to determine and validate board members' race. No method of determination is perfect and in this case, the data were limited by the perceptions of the researcher (Powers Dirette, 2014). The racial categories of Black and Hispanic are also broad and do not allow for inter-group disparities that may be more apparent with narrower categories, i.e. Mexican, Cuban or Caribbean. In addition, the data collection also did not allow for multiracial categories.

Future Research

With so little research accumulated on locally governed community college boards, this study lends itself to the compilation of a research agenda on community college governing boards.

The case studies elicit a number of questions about how these boards view themselves in terms of their governing responsibilities and to what extent they defer to administration. Most of the board leaders interviewed expressed that they felt their chief responsibilities were fiduciary. In the case studies, the boards that did not actively address race and diversity issues also deferred heavily to college presidents and administrators. Further research might explore the implications of those boards that do not actively address race and diversity in the context of student success and those boards that drive policies in that area. The role of professional development and training for members might also be another focus of study and how that impacts effectiveness in addressing issues such as racial achievement gaps and student success.

The relationship between board ethnicity and the selection of minority presidents requires further consideration. Although the sample for this dissertation did not allow for comprehensive analysis of this question, the positive and significant correlations and the findings of Meier et al., on a connection between the percentage of Black school board members and Black

superintendents provide support that a relationship may exist in the arena of community college boards.

A related topic of additional research might also explore Meier's research on descriptive representation and probe the differences between school districts and higher education institutions in terms of minority candidates. As an example, researchers might examine whether more minority candidates are likely to run for secondary or postsecondary boards and voter attitudes about these two boards. Given that secondary boards govern a universal or compulsory program and postsecondary boards oversee a discretionary service, the level of interest for selection to these boards and voter turnout may differ significantly.

The significant negative pathway between education level and the percentage of Black students and Black graduates found in Chapter 4 is also cause for further research. This finding may be due to areas with more educated populaces that either have fewer minorities or larger percentages of minorities enrolling at four-year institutions.

The data were limited to locally governed community colleges, but further research might include state governed institutions. Comparing state and locally governed community colleges might help inform our understanding of the distinctions between state and local governance and how the level at which oversight occurs impacts minority representation and student success.

Further analysis is needed to explore a potential shift in the way descriptive representation is quantified. The regression method is flawed in its application to governing arenas with few minorities and there are some communities for which descriptive representation is impossible. That said, just because a college board serves a small population of minorities does not mean that it would not benefit from having an African American or Hispanic board member, given that under-represented students in any community are more likely to look to

community colleges for postsecondary opportunities. The theory of descriptive representation therefore needs further attention to account for communities with few minorities. As discussed in Chapter 5, there are still benefits to minority representation in those areas, if for no other reason than to provide a voice for the minority, albeit not a proportional one. Further research might explore how and if a member of an under-represented group substantively represents other racial minorities. It may also be time for a paradigm shift in the way the scholarly community views representation of communities of color. As the College C president, a Latina, emphasized, perhaps it is time to replace the theory that certain groups need people who look like them to represent them with one that accounts for how communities promote a diverse array of minorities' perspectives so that those are part of the discussions, priorities and decision-making processes of the entire board, even ones that serve small minority populations.

APPENDIX A

Measures of Central Tendencies for Independent Variables

Variable	Description	Frequency	Values
BLPOP	Percentage of Black residents in the county population	Mean: 6.0022 Median: 2.3 Mode: 0.3 Std. Dev.: 8.46783 Min.: 0.00 Max.: 37.1	Valid: 91 Missing: 0
HISPOP	Percentage of Hispanic residents in the county population	Mean: 11.7978 Median: 5.6 Mode: 3.1 Std. Dev.: 14.87143 Min.: 0.4 Max.: 76	Valid: 91 Missing: 0
BOARD TOTAL	Total board size	Mean: 9.1648 Median: 9 Mode: 7 Std. Dev.: 4.20651 Min.: 5 Max.: 30	Valid: 91 Missing: 0
MEDIAN INCOME	Median income of the county	Mean: \$47,651.0769 Median: \$45,531 Mode: \$27,242 Std. Dev.: 10,040.3557 Min.: \$27,242 Max.: \$88,687	Valid: 91 Missing: 0
PRESTIGE	Percentage of full-time administrators divided by the percentage of total full-time employees	Mean: 0.1282 Median: 0.1207 Mode: 0.08 Std. Dev.: 0.06823 Min.: 0.01 Max.: 0.38	Valid: 91 Missing: 0
ASSOC ED	Percentage of county residents with at least an associate degree	Mean: 30.5868% Median: 29.4% Mode: 26.8% Std. Dev.: 8.27063 Min.: 11.8% Max.: 51.8%	Valid: 91 Missing: 0
Variable	Description	Frequency	Percentage

AT LARGE	0 = Other 1 = Elected at large	73 18 Total: 91	80.2% 19.8% 100%
DELECT	0 = Appointed board 1 = Elected board	40 51 Total: 91	44% 56% 100%
DREGION	0 = Not located in the south 1 = Located in the south	60 31 Total: 91	65.9% 34.1% 100%

APPENDIX B

Board Chair Questions

CASE STUDY INTRO

“I am going to ask a set of standard questions that I will pose to all case study board members. There will be some questions that also apply specifically to your board or that are a natural segue to a discussion we are having.

These are completely voluntary and you are not required to answer them. My research is examining descriptive representation among local community college governing boards, using a sample of about 90 community colleges with local governing boards nationwide.

I will be doing four case studies. This interview will be anonymous. Neither you nor your college will be identifiable to readers.

I am interested in the different ways that boards and presidents view their roles, either as representatives of constituents that include large populations of minority students in the case study, or as presidents who work with boards that represent large populations of minority students.”

CASE STUDY QUESTIONS

1. There are many scholarly definitions of political representation and how people view themselves in terms of the votes and policy discussions they initiate in their representative positions. For instance, the ‘trustee model’ of representation is one in which people view their representatives as those individuals entrusted to do as they see fit in their particular office. A ‘delegate model’ is another in which the representatives are essentially there to carry out the will of their constituencies. What is your personal definition of representation?
2. This next questions seeks to understand how you view yourself in terms of your own self presentation. People have many hats throughout the day, such as their professions, their roles as mothers/fathers/grand parents/ a public servant/ a certain religious persuasion/or a certain race/ethnicity. Out of your many roles in life, how you see yourself as first and foremost?
3. What is your race/ethnicity?
4. Why did you desire to serve on this board? Please tell me about your background and how you came to serve on this board.
5. How do you feel about your ability to represent people of a different race, ethnicity or socioeconomic class than yourself?
6. How do you feel the color of your skin and the shared experiences as a member of your ethnic group impact the lens through which you view higher education policy?
7. Does the board your serve upon reflect the race/ethnicity of the constituents you serve? Does this matter in your opinion and why/why not?

8. Does the board you serve upon reflect the socioeconomic make up of the constituents you serve? Does this matter in your opinion and why/why not?
9. In general, community college governing boards do not reflect the populations in which they serve. To what historical factors or events of your service area do you attribute the racial composition of your board and has it historically had this racial composition? Why or why not?
10. Would you consider board elections competitive for open seats in terms of multiple individuals desiring to serve in the same position?
11. Are races of open positions for your board written about in your local news and or on television news? Why do you think that is the case?
12. Does the average constituent know about your board and what you do? Why do you think that is?
13. Do you feel the racial, ethnic or socioeconomic composition of your board would be different if it were an appointed board? Why/Why not?
14. Do you feel the racial, ethnic or socioeconomic composition of your board would be different if it were a larger board and there were more seats?
15. What role do the demographics of your area impact board diversity?
16. Do you feel candidates of Hispanic or African American background are fairly considered for board positions (if appointed) or for election by constituents?
17. What are the key policies that the board deals with involving race and or diversity? For students and for employees.
18. How often does the board discuss issues of race or diversity at the college?
19. If the board was less/more racially diverse, do you think that would impact the conversations you have as a board and the policies that you discuss?
20. What do you see as your most important role/responsibility as a trustee?
21. What is the most important board activity for you as a trustee?
22. What is the single most important thing a board can do to help eliminate achievement gaps and ensure access for under-represented students?
23. As board chair, what tactics do you employ to ensure all members' perspectives are heard and fairly considered?

APPENDIX C

Questions for College Presidents

CASE STUDY INTRO

“The following are a set of standard questions posed to each president in the case study. There will be some questions that also apply specifically to your board or that are a natural segue to a discussion we are having. These are completely voluntary and Presidents are not required to answer them.

My research is examining descriptive representation among local community college governing boards, involving 91 community colleges with local governing boards nationwide.

I will be doing four case studies. This interview will be anonymous. Neither you nor your college will be identifiable to readers.

I am interested in the different ways that boards and presidents view their roles, how board members view representation, how/if their perspectives are influenced by race/ethnicity, how they view access and success of populations different or similar to themselves. I’m also interested in how college presidents work with these boards on these issues.”

1. Please describe your service area as you see it.
2. What are the major industries/employers for your college area?
3. Please describe the demographics of whom you serve?
4. What historical factors play into those demographics?
5. Please describe the current racial and socioeconomic composition of your governing board from your perspective? Has it historically been this way? Why?
6. How often do they meet and do they frequently have a quorum?
7. Community colleges have broad missions and serve a diverse array of students. How do you and how does your board address the different needs of the constituencies you serve?
8. What are some of the barriers that your minority students face in accessing/succeeding at your institution?
9. How does your board address these issues?
10. How often does your board address or discuss issues of diversity?
11. Does your board have a committee or subcommittee related to diversity?

12. In terms of access for under-represented groups, who drives policy at your college – the board or executive leadership? (Who is framing the challenges and potential solutions in this area, the executive leadership or the board? Or both? Please provide an example if one comes to mind.)
13. Would you say your board is active in the community, promoting the college? Please provide examples if any come to mind.
14. How do you identify in terms of race/ethnicity? How does that impact the lens through which you view higher education policy?
15. How do you as president ensure you are meeting the needs of students from diverse backgrounds?
16. Do you feel qualified Black or Hispanic members of the community are fairly considered for appointment/election to your college's governing board? Why or why not?
17. How competitive is the selection process for your board?
18. Have you or have you ever considered helping to recruit candidates for your board?
19. Do you see the race of your board members or yourself impacting student outcomes such as student enrollment and or the graduation of minority students? Why or why not?

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CURRICULUM VITAE

K.C. Brekken

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Education

- Bachelor of Arts Journalism, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, 2004
- Masters in Public Administration, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 2010
- Ph.D., Public Affairs, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 2016

Employment

College of Southern Nevada, 2007 - Present

Public Affairs Executive Director

2014- Present

- Oversee government affairs/intergovernmental relations, public relations and internal communications for one of the largest community colleges in the nation, including 35,000 students and more than 2,000 employees
- Conduct policy analysis for CSN President and executives
- Serve as chief staff support for the college's Institutional Advisory Council, a public board subject to Nevada open meeting regulations. Responsibilities including agenda creation and development; Board orientation, development and communications; Policy and guidelines development; Meeting logistics and provision of board requested research and presentations on college affairs
- Serve as Chief Public Information Officer for college, including advising the President and other executives on media policy and issues, facilitating communication with internal and external audiences
- Working with senior college administration, assist with college accountability initiatives and develop college-wide documentation and publications such as institutional accountability reports, community messages, legislative communications for use by administration and presentations to college, public and stakeholder communities

Government Affairs & Communications Director, 2013 - 2014

Communications Director, 2010 -2012

Communications Manager, 2008-2010

Communications Specialist, 2007-2008

Las Vegas Review-Journal, 2004-2007

Reporter, 2004-2007

- Wrote daily stories for largest state metro paper
- Beat coverage included Nevada System of Higher Education, Clark County Commission and Clark County District Court

Mesabi Daily News, 2002, 2003

Capitol correspondent, spring legislative sessions

- Daily beat coverage of Minnesota Legislature

Areas of Teaching and Research Interest

Public Policy
Public Administration (Organizational theory, organizational leadership, management theories, public administration theory)
Intergovernmental relations & public affairs
The courts in American policy
Higher education & education policy
Public relations, marketing & social media strategies and theory

Conference Papers Accepted for Presentations:

Brekken, K.C. (April, 2015) Adapting Twitter to *Home Style*. 2015 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting.

Activities

2016 University of Nevada Las Vegas Graduate Research Symposium Participant.
Presented by Greenspun College of Urban Affairs.

Publications

Brekken, K.C.; Buchanan, J.; Gordon, D.; Guild, D. (2010). Centennial Hills Active Adult Center Business Plan. UNLV Master's Thesis Project.

Bernick, E.; Birds, J.; Brekken, K.C.; Gourrier, A.; Kellogg, L. Explaining County Government Fiscal Transparency in an Age of e-Government. *State and Local Government Review*, 46(3) 173-183.

Honors and Awards

Nevada Press Association, Best Spot News Story, 2005 and 2007

Courses Taught

College of Southern Nevada & University of Nevada, Las Vegas Spring 2012, Spring 2013, Spring 2016

CSN Courses:

- Spring 2012: JOUR 261, Integrated Marketing and Communications
- Spring 2013: PSC 295, Introduction to Campaign Management, Co-Taught
- Spring 2016: BUS 107 Business Communications

UNLV Courses:

- Spring 2016: PAF 703 Organizational Leadership, Master's Level, Co-Taught

Service

Professional Service

National Council for Marketing & Public Relations

Public Relations Society of America
Phi Beta Kappa
Phi Alpha Alpha
Congressman Steven Horsford's Women's Council

College Service

Achieving the Dream Data Team
Strategic Enrollment Council
Hispanic Serving Institution Task Force
Institutional Research Analyst Search Committee, Chair
Internal Recognition Committee
President's Cabinet
Strategic Planning Committee
Web Advisory Committee
Nevada Faculty Alliance CSN Executive Board (2012)

Community Service

Executive Committee Board Member for Toiyabe Chapter of the Sierra Club (2012)