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Community Expectations of College Attendance and Completion

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COMMUNITY EXPECTATIONS OF COLLEGE ATTENDANCE
AND COMPLETION

COMMUNITY EXPECTATIONS OF COLLEGE ATTENDANCE
AND COMPLETION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Public Policy

By

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ABSTRACT

Communities relay expectations of behavior that influence residents' decision making processes. The study's purpose was to define and identify social, cultural, and human capital variables relevant to understanding community expectations of postsecondary attainment. The study sought an operational model of community expectancy that would allow policymakers and higher education leaders to recognize the community-level factors affecting student outcomes and then to make appropriate policy adjustments to encourage better outcomes.

Identity theory, human life course theory, and capitals theory were combined to create a theoretical framework for the study. The framework was grounded in the philosophy of John Dewey, which focused on the linkages between community, education, and democracy. The framework also drew heavily from the works of Erik Erikson and Pierre Bourdieu. These authors suggested an intrinsic connection between community and the self-identity and/or values of individuals. Their works suggested that the collective identity of communities generate legacies regarding acceptable and unacceptable behavior on any given action. These legacies are interpreted by residents as community expectations during the decision making process, including decisions about attending college and completing a degree or certificate. Thus, it should be possible to identify and measure community expectations regarding college attendance and completion.

A review of literature suggested 23 variables that could be used to identify and measure community expectations of postsecondary attainment. Data for 19 of these independent variables were collected from a sample of 63 Arkansas communities with

populations between 2000 and 30,000 in the year 2000. Two dependent variables were used in the study—community college going rates and community completion rates—as simple measures of the college success among students from the sampled communities.

The methodological approach included multiple regression analyses, an exploratory factor analysis, and an interpretative policy analysis of the Arkansas higher education policy environment to assist in identifying possible avenues for promoting new policies that may develop from the study of community expectancy. No clear model of community expectancy emerged from the study, but the basic assumptions of the theoretical framework were supported and significant independent variables for each of the two dependent variables were identified.

This dissertation is approved for
Recommendation to the
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DISSERTATION DUPLICATION RELEASE

   I hereby authorize the University of Arkansas to duplicate this dissertation when needed for research and/or scholarship

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        Michael Wade Derden

Refused   _____
        Michael Wade Derden

ACKNOWLDEGMENTS

As a reader of this dissertation should come to understand, no one completes a postsecondary degree, especially a doctoral degree, without the support and assistance of the community around him or herself. I would therefore like to acknowledge those who have assisted me during this process and say thank you.

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It goes without saying that I would never have tackled such an ambitious research project without the confidence and support provided by my dissertation director, Dr. Michael Miller. His enthusiasm, intelligence, and willingness to patiently respond to hundreds (if not thousands) of emails from me demonstrate his dedication to his students. Dr. Miller is a model educator. I will attempt to emulate his dedication and professionalism in my own career.

Likewise, Dr. Ed Franklin, Director of the Arkansas Association of Two Year Colleges, was an excellent mentor to me during my time assisting him in the 2009

DEDICATION

To my wife, Angie, and children who have been supportive, loving, and patient with me while I pursued my degree. Also, to my students—past and present—who inspired me to pursue this line of research.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Context of the Problem

In the field of higher education, understanding why people choose to attend college and what characteristics make them successful once they are in college are primary questions of concern. Scholars are quick to conduct surveys of students and identify variables that influence college choice and success. What is missing from this literature is a framework in which these surveyed individuals are situated. Such a framework would contextualize the motivations and behaviors that scholars have identified thereby providing more explanatory power. This study explored how community-of-origin, manifested through group expectations, may play a role in the choices of individuals who are considering a postsecondary education or who are currently seeking a degree or certificate.

Every community presents expectations to its members through the shared knowledge, values, and norms of its residents. These expectations in turn affect the personal identity of community residents and evolve as they mature through their life course. Thus, as one's community changes, the expectation of college attendance and completion may change, too. For example, as Glass (2008) recently discussed, there is a growing trend among middle-class and affluent white parents to move their children into private or charter schools away from perceived low-performing public schools. Such changes create a cycle in which those parents with the most education and wealth remove their children, who are more likely to go to college due to their parents' high cultural

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capital (Perna, 2000; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001; Rowan-Kenyon, 2007), from the schools. Removing these children who are more likely to be high achievers furthers the appearance that the public schools are low performing, which in turn encourages more parents to remove their children. These changes may shape the future expectations of the increasingly minority population left in the public school system, causing those students who remain to either consciously or unconsciously identify themselves as low performing. At the critical period of adolescence, the identity development of school-aged children in this scenario is affected by two distinct community expectations: one for middle-class and affluent youths that encourages academic success and another for poorer and minority youths that impedes such success and implies that a postsecondary degree may be out of reach. Furthermore, if students in this publicly educated group do seek a postsecondary degree, the low community expectations that shaped their identity development may be carried over into their personal habitus and thus visible in their academic performance while in college.

Understanding the expectations expressed by the members of a community may shed light on the decisions of any individual seeking to advance his or her education, not just youths. Community expectations may be as important, if not more so, than family and individual educational achievement when an individual considers whether to attend college and complete a postsecondary degree or certificate. Rowan-Kenyon (2007) indicated that familial legacies likely dissipate in importance as an individual broadens his or her social networks. Likewise, moving to a new community or expanding social networks in some other way affects an individual's human, social, and cultural capitals,

which scholars have found to be important in college choice and enrollment (Coleman, 1988; Perna, 2000; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001).

The influence of one's community-of-origin has been overlooked or undervalued in shaping personal aspirations for higher education, exposing a gap in the current literature. This study explored whether understanding community expectations of educational attainment is vital for holistically studying college choice and student attrition or success for both traditional and nontraditional students. Such knowledge would prove relevant to where and how the United States achieves an educated populace. Community expectancy shapes decision-making from adolescence until an individual determines that the return on an investment in a postsecondary degree is no longer economically or culturally relevant or feasible. Knowledge of the characteristics of a community that affect student educational aspirations would benefit both academic leaders and policymakers.

Statement of Purpose

The primary purpose of the study was to identify and test a set of community-level social, cultural, and human capital variables suspected to correlate with community expectations of postsecondary educational attainment as measured by two dependent variables, the completion rate and college going rate among a sample of communities. In other words, the study was designed to identify the attributes of communities that significantly correlate with postsecondary degree/certificate completion and college choice. It was also intended that the findings would assist in the conceptualization of an operational model of community expectancy that could be used by future researchers to

identify the group expectations that communities project to their residents in regard to the value of postsecondary attainment.

The study's findings were intended to assist state, community, and higher education policymakers in developing public policies that encourage college attendance and completion among their residents. Such policies ideally would result in more localized economic development programming, also referred to as community-economic development, which would aim specifically at sustaining important community-based social structures and encouraging connectivity among isolated populations. In addition to a stronger and more meaningful quality of life that reflects the benefits and potential of democratic governments, these community-economic development policies would alter the basic socio-cultural forces of communities to promote the importance of an educated populous.

Statement of Research Questions

The study attempted to answer the following research questions:

1. Which community-level social, cultural, and human capital variables contribute to student success, as indicated by the dependent variable of school district degree/certificate completion rates for the 2000 (Y2000) cohort, among a sample of Arkansas communities?

2. Which community-level social, cultural, and human capital variables contribute to college choice, as indicated by the dependent variable of school district college going rates for the Y2000 cohort, among a sample of Arkansas communities?

3. Do latent factors exist among the social, cultural, and human capital variables that could be used to identify community expectations of postsecondary educational attainment as defined in research questions one and two?

4. To what extent do the findings related to the social, cultural, and human capital variables used in the study support the theoretical concept of an operational model of community expectancy?

5. If a model of community expectancy is identified, what are the potential policy ramifications of understanding community expectancy for higher education officials, community leaders, and policymakers?

Limitations and Delimitations

1. There was no single legitimate database that collected the necessary community-level data for the study. As a result of this limitation, a sample of Arkansas school districts was selected to collect data on the dependent variables. At the time of the study, the school district was the level of analysis in terms of college going and student completion rates used by the state government. Independent variables were collected at various levels of analysis based upon available data; however, the goal for each point of data was to obtain information as close to the community as possible. Non-community level data were indicated when used in the study.

2. As community expectancy represents an emergent theory, the definition and determination of which human, social, and cultural capital variables are most

relevant for understanding community expectancy may require exploration and further research until a model comes to full maturity.

3. There are numerous levels at which community expectancy could be measured (i.e., neighborhood, municipal, county, state). The study used the term community in a broad sense in order to create a clear picture of each sampled community through the available data. Regardless of the level of measurement, it would be necessary for a researcher interested in applying the study's theoretical framework to ground research in an understanding of the community of interest's historical heritage. Understanding the history of the community is vital for understanding the cultural legacies that are valued by the people of the community (Giele & Elder, 1998). For example, the current study was limited to communities within the State of Arkansas, which has a unique history and sense of place as a crossroads between the Midwest, Midsouth, and South. As the study was focusing primarily on state level outcomes, it offered a brief overview of important elements of Arkansas history; however, further historical research would seem to be an important element of future studies of community expectancy, especially qualitative case studies that examine specific communities.

4. The study accepted the limitation that an understanding of community expectancy would be used to create policy that would improve educational outcomes, a social and economic good; however, there is always the chance that such knowledge could be used for negative purposes. Knowledge of the specific elements of a community that shape communal expectancy could be manipulated by the power elite for the purposes of benefiting the power elite. Gaventa's (1980) discussion of

quiescence and the faces of power in Appalachia come to mind. Unfortunately, such is the nature of examining the underlying foundations of society and culture.

5. The possible factors influencing individual choice, be it the choice to continue or to drop out of college, are numerous. The realistic social scientist recognizes that the potential combination of factors that could affect an individual's development is beyond complete prediction. Even if a student has access to unlimited funds, intelligence, social networks that are strong and supportive, a familial and/or communal legacy that encourages college completion, etc., it is still possible for the student to fail for reasons that are beyond the scope of scientific analysis.

6. As implied by the Glass (2008) reference earlier, it is possible for a community to project different expectations to different groups. Because the unit of analysis for this study was the community, a model of community expectancy derived from the study's findings would only indicate the dominate community expectancy for postsecondary educational attainment with in a community.

Assumptions

1. Different communities have different prevailing values and ideologies that shape community expectations, which in turn influence the development and decision-making of community residents. These community expectations can affect the decisions people make about whether to attend and complete college, among other life choices. If communal legacies create an expectancy in which education is valued, the students from those communities will be more likely to seek higher education and to succeed in college.

2. As Dewey suggested (1899/1980, 1916/2004, 1938, 1939), education may be communal. Communal legacies and the expectations that result from those legacies are generally expressed informally and most often unintentionally, meaning there is no curricular structure. Legacies relayed in this manner may be internalized differently depending upon individual experience and identity development. It may also be the case that the intensity of capital within a community may suggest a greater intensity in the beliefs or acceptance of community expectations. For instance, in a community with densely populated neighborhoods, community expectancy may have a greater effect than in a less densely populated area. The potential variability among the lives of individuals makes testing for community expectancy at first appear to be a difficult prospect. Yet, similarly positioned individuals who share the same community-of-origin and are exposed to the same community expectations will make choices within the context of the structures and institutions of that community. Thus, the study assumed that trends should appear if similarly positioned individuals from the same or similar communities were compared.

3. For the purposes of this research, central to all other capitals (i.e., human, social, financial, political, etc.) was cultural capital. Cultural capital was viewed as a starting point for all individuals in the sense that it represents an inherited status and set of values that are held by the individuals' parents. This cultural status, or legacy, is passed along to children, and the values are acquired in the socialization process and internalized or rejected by the individual during his or her identity development. Cultural capital represents the collected legacies that shape each

individual's future and are internalized into the self-identity and into the individual's habitus. Flora and Flora (2004) provided some examples of the impact of legacy. In each example, parents relayed the information that they deemed most important for survival and success (i.e., cultural capital) in the world to their children through the process of socialization and through social institutions (i.e., social capital). Middle-class parents, with an education and job security (i.e., human capital) and an understanding of culturally acceptable values and norms, may encourage their children to explore. Low-income parents may set limitations upon their children to remain in the "known" world. While middle-class parents may see a correlation between hard work and success, a low-income parent who works a labor-intensive job daily for little pay may not make that connection. The middle-class legacy of "hard work equals success" does not compute for a low-income parent and may lead to a legacy that does not impart the aspiration or the habitus needed for educational achievement among following generations.

<div align="center">Definitions</div>

To promote comprehension of the study, the following terms are operationally defined. Further elaboration and development of these terms can be found in the review of relevant literature.

1. Community: A single word with multiple meanings. Community is a physical place with discernable communication linkages as well as political, geographic, social, and economic boundaries as suggested by economic theorists (Shaffer,

Deller, & Marcouiller, 2004); however, it can also be considered a pseudo-organism in that its collected membership creates a sense of self-identity based upon shared values, beliefs and interrelationships that potentially extend beyond any place-based boundary (Dewey, 1899/1980, 1916/2004, 1938, 1939; Erikson, 1950/1993, 1968/1994; Miller & Tuttle, 2006.).

2. Community expectancy: A term used to indicate the interpretation of communal legacies—be they intentional or unintentional, direct or indirect—in regard to a particular value or norm. Communities may express expectations on any number of topics, but the value of postsecondary educational attainment was the focus of this study. For instance, it was anticipated that the expectation of educational attainment would likely be lower in a community with few college educated residents than it would be in a community in which a high percentage of residents had a college degree. Individual interpretation and internalization of community expectations may shape decision-making throughout life.

3. Cultural capital: One's knowledge and mastery of relevant meanings within a group or society (Green & Haines, 2008; Bourdieu, 1986). In every family and community, a set of values and norms are passed down generationally. These familial and communal legacies represent the embodied state of cultural capital. Formally recognized mastery of these legacies is institutionalized in educational attainment. Cultural capital can also be objectified in the form of art, books, crafts, and other material goods that hold value in a culture (Bourdieu, 1986). "High" and "low" cultural capital reflects how closely aligned an individual or group's values and norms are to mainstream cultural values and norms.

4. Habitus: The mental disposition, composition, and the customs individuals internalize (Bourdieu, 1986). A student's habitus is limited to his or her disposition toward completing a degree or certificate. Habitus is shaped by the familial and communal legacy.

5. Human capital: The skill, abilities, health, knowledge, and talents that are natural and that workers acquire through training, education, and previous work experience. These qualities provide the individual a market value and can be improved upon through self-investment (Flora & Flora, 2004; Shaffer, Deller, & Marcouiller, 2004). Human capital theory, as with all economics, is based upon assumptions that individuals are rational actors; thus, a rational worker will only self-invest in education or training so long as future returns from the investment are equal to its cost (Shaffer, Deller, & Marcouiller, 2004).

6. Legacy: The material possessions, values, and behavioral patterns passed down from generation to generation by the family and community (Flora & Flora, 2004). Familial and communal legacies relay more than just property to children; they pass down "an understanding of society" and "ways of being" (Flora & Flora, 2004, p. 25). Legacy can also impart expectations, for instance, the aspiration to achieve more than the previous generation by getting a better education.

7. Social capital: The familial and communal networks through which individuals interact and the norms of reciprocity and mutual trust that exist within those networks (Flora & Flora, 2004; Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). Social capital is found in the networks through which individuals and groups

interact and the norms of reciprocity within those networks (Flora & Flora, 2004; Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). Social capital is the means by which social reproduction of other forms of capital occurs; in short, it has a multiplier effect on any capital an individual possesses (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital cannot exist in isolation. For instance, the exchange of knowledge, money, and property is dependent upon social capital. Social organizations are needed to communicate ideas, foster relationships, and reinforce unified vision within the network. An individual's social capital depends upon the number of members within the individual's social network(s) and/or the potency of that membership. "High" or "low" social capital is relative to the size and/or the potency of the network's membership. Potency relates to some members of society having more "value" than others.

Significance of the Study

The research was significant in that it suggested specific variables that may indicate community expectations of college completion and college going rates as well as areas of interest for further research. The findings provided insight into the ways in which individuals' life choices and decisions could be influenced by community expectancy, specifically decisions about going to college and completing a postsecondary degree or certificate. By investigating and understanding community expectations and the factors that influence the decisions made during transitional periods that occur in people's lives, particularly those periods in which individuals may be considering college attendance, educators and others who are concerned about our nation's role in advancing democracy

and education will be able to encourage individual behaviors that promote college attendance and completion. If community expectations exist and can be identified, they can be manipulated, which would benefit state and federal government agendas to encourage more college attendance and completion.

Adding the perspective of community expectancy to the existing literature was significant because current literature primarily focuses on family and individual attributes with little or no communal context. As persons move from community to community in the course of their lives and as communities themselves change through development or decay, individual values and beliefs may be reshaped as persons seek to fit in (Coleman, 1988; Rowan-Kenyon, 2007; Swidler, 1986). The individual's views toward education will potentially change as his or her community changes. Therefore, by considering the legacies and expectations of a community that help shape individual identity and decision-making, it is possible to add more explanatory power to college choice and student attrition/success literatures. Such conclusions would prove useful to both higher education researchers and to policymakers at the national, state, local, and institutional levels. At a micro-level, background knowledge about community expectancy would prove useful to admissions and student services professionals seeking tools to identify which students may need the most support in deciding to attend college and to be successful once there. At a macro-level, this kind of knowledge would be useful for academic leaders and policymakers as a means of pinpointing what elements of the community affect educational outcomes at the postsecondary level. Rather than broadly designing singular policy approaches to higher education issues, recognizing the differences in community expectations regarding college attendance and completion

could lead to more successful and specialized community-level policy choices that would assist in improving higher education outcomes as well as community-economic development.

In sum, the study identified possible factors that could prove useful for measuring community expectancy so that an operational model may emerge with further research, and may also offer insight into why some college graduates do not return to their community-of origin. The study also proved significant by blending the basic philosophical and theoretical assumptions of numerous scholars who have identified the connection between community and individual behavior thereby adding to current literature. Finally, the study challenged the way current statewide policymaking addresses college choice and student success issues.

<p align="center">Theoretical Framework</p>

The theoretical approach of the study was developed to explain how communities could influence students' choices about attending an institution of higher education as well as their success in completing a degree or certificate if they made the choice to attend. The study sought to advance the concept of community expectancy first proposed by Deggs and Miller (2009) using data from the State of Arkansas and used this model to identify variables that possibly indicated community expectations, specifically the expectation of postsecondary attendance and completion among residents from a sample of Arkansas communities. The following theoretical framework was intended to introduce the reader to various theories from which the model of community expectancy

originates. Further elaboration of the theories that shape the model of community expectancy can be found in Chapter Two of this study.

Deggs and Miller (2009) defined community expectancy as the influence of the interaction among formal education bodies, civic agencies, informal associations, religious affiliations, and home life on a student's life choices, and they suggested using human, social, and cultural capital as measures of community expectancy. The model of community expectancy presented in the study was based on the assumptions of numerous scholars in which education is seen as a communal experience and in which legacies are internalized into both the identity of the individual students and the identity of the community. This model was also anchored in the philosophical approach of Dewey (1899/1980, 1916/2004, 1938, 1939), who considered the linkages between community, democracy, and education. He asserted that all students have the capacity to learn and that education must unlock and shape the latent talents of individuals. Dewey also emphasized the communal nature of education. Children learn from the formal curricular education in schools and from the informal lessons of a community through the process of socialization. The communal and experiential nature of education led Dewey to view communities as pseudo-organisms.

The study's model of community expectancy also drew from Erikson's (1950/1993, 1968/1994) identity development theory, especially when considering the motivations of traditional adolescent students. It is during the 8th and 9th grades, which coincide with Erikson's identity versus identity diffusion stage of development, that many adolescents begin considering postsecondary education (Hossler, Schmit, & Vesper, 1999). The struggle between identifying with or being alienated from a group is

an important foundation of this model. During this stage of development when an individual struggles with either adhering to familial and communal legacies or rejecting them, Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of habitus, social capital, and cultural capital first become relevant. The decision requires the individual to weigh the costs and benefits of his or her choices and the lasting effects on the course of his or her life, a difficult prospect for an adolescent.

According to Bourdieu's (1986) theory, a person internalizes the legacies of his or her family and community and creates a personal habitus—the mental disposition, composition, and the customs an individual internalizes. The ability to internalize these legacies will affect one's level of social and cultural capital. If communal legacies create an expectation for postsecondary completion, then abiding by that community expectancy should result in the personal accumulation of higher levels of social and cultural capital and thus more communal acceptance and more success (McDonough, 1994). On the other hand, if the prospective student chooses not to attend when expectations are that he or she should attend, the individual may be alienated, as suggested by Erikson (1950/1993, 1968/1994), and viewed as deviant, in accord with and Merton's (1968) strain theory. The reverse of this scenario may be the case if the prospective student comes from a community with no expectation of college attendance. The individual may in fact be seen as deviating from communal norms by attending college.

While Erikson's (1950/1993, 1968/1994) work was useful for understanding the development of adolescents, Schlossberg's transition theory (as cited in Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998) in combination with life course theory (Elder, 1994; Giele & Elder, 1998) and Swidler's (1986) concepts of settled and unsettled lives assisted the study's

model in explaining similar decision-making process for adults and thus nontraditional students. Schlossberg's transition theory (as cited in Evans et al., 1998) discussed the importance of transitional events in people's lives as opportunities for growth and change, although such transitions are not always positive. Life course theory was first presented by Elder (1994) and further developed by Giele and Elder (1998). This theory explained how individuals are linked to the social structures around them and how those linkages shape their decision-making processes during periods of transition. Swidler (1986) suggested that every individual has a cultural toolkit at his or her disposal, which represents his or her understanding of what is acceptable or unacceptable to society. She argued that people living "settled lives" rely heavily on familiar cultural norms to make decisions, whereas people living "unsettled lives," or in periods of transition must redefine their values and norms and thus adopt strategies of action for surviving in new situations (p. 278).

The combined power of these theories was especially important as most higher education literature on college choice and student attrition or success focused on the factors that affect traditional postsecondary students (e.g. Tinto, 1975, 1993; Bean, 1980; Hossler, Schmit, & Vesper, 1999; Perna, 2000). Such studies argued that parental education levels, parental encouragement, and high school achievement are most important to college choice and college success. This body of knowledge identified the attributes of successful students but failed in making the conceptual connection between having these attributes and the ways in which these students are connected with other children and youths of like or similar beliefs, either purposefully or subconsciously by parents. For instance, parents may purposefully seek a new home in a neighborhood

based upon the performance of the local school. Decisions like this are an expression of community expectancy. However, as Rowan-Kenyon (2007) noted, the factors that affect college choice and college success for youths likely dissipate in importance as an individual ages. The approaches of Schlossberg (as cited in Evans et al., 1998), Giele and Elder (1998), and Swidler (1986) were important because they merged with the other theories to assist in understanding how community expectancy impacts adults who, like adolescents, also must choose whether to accept communal legacies or face alienation and thus possible loss of capital.

The theory behind community expectancy leads to a conceptually simple set of assumptions. Communities express expectations through their values and norms, both formally expressed and informally implied. For instance, communities express expectations regarding the appropriate mate (e.g. the acceptability of homosexuality, marrying at a young age, etc.), employment (e.g. farmer rather than day laborer), and education (e.g. the value of a high school diploma or a postsecondary degree). These expectations result from legacies that are passed on through the familial or communal socialization process, either through formal or informal structures. Community expectancy on any given issue should be measurable and should have a measurable impact on the choices made by individuals during their life course; thus, creating a model for measuring community expectations of postsecondary attendance and completion should be possible.

Applying the model of community expectancy to understanding the value of higher education within a given community requires the researcher to first consider options available to individuals of a community. An individual of any age considering a

postsecondary degree or certificate has several options in terms of community

expectancy. First, the individual can choose to attend college or not. In the modern era

with open-enrollment community colleges available, college attendance is possible for

nearly anyone, even those with low preparedness. Success is obviously not guaranteed,

but the choice to attend or not attend is an important one. Upon enrollment, the individual

can again reassess his or her community expectations. If the community has no

expectations of college completion, the students may be less likely to apply themselves

fully or, on the other hand, may apply themselves as a form of rebellion. Other scenarios

can be imagined following this same line of thinking. Comprehending the aspects of a

community that influence these decisions is important for academics and policymakers.

Framing such individual choices in the context of community expectancy is useful

for understanding student behaviors; however, this study is less focused on the individual

student's behaviors and motivations and instead seeks an understanding of the

community itself. Before the model of community expectancy can be applied to

individual level data, the characteristics of communities that best indicate community

expectancy must be identified, which is a primary purpose of this study. Deggs and

Miller (2009) suggested that community-level human, social, and cultural capital should

indicate the community's expectations regarding educational attainment. It would seem

logical that applying the model of community expectancy to individual behaviors is a

second step for future research following this study's attempt to identify the community

characteristics associated with community expectancy.

Knowledge of the variables that indicate community expectancy may generate

some predictive power and help policymakers address higher education outcomes at the

community level. For instance, if two prospective college students come from distinct communities, and if basic knowledge of the community expectancy of both communities is available, the researcher can project the likelihood of the prospective students to 1) attend college and 2) complete a degree or certificate. For example, if community expectancy variables can be measured and it is found that those factors that are positively correlated with college attendance and completion exist in higher levels in one community than in the other, the researcher can then infer that the prospective student from the community with higher levels of community expectancy will have a higher likelihood of attending college than the other prospective student. Likewise, the student from the community with a higher expectation for educational attainment will have an increased likelihood of completing a degree or certificate at a postsecondary institution than the student from the community with lower expectations of educational attainment.

Although this research agreed fundamentally with the assumptions of Deggs and Miller (2009), it attempted to move this model of community expectancy toward a framework that was testable by future researchers. The model of community expectancy can assist future researchers in understanding decisions regarding postsecondary education made by traditional students and nontraditional students who may seek college after transitional periods in their life course such as unemployment, marriage, divorce, or moving to a new community. It can also prove useful for higher education officials, particularly those interested in admissions policies and retention, and for policymakers interested in community and economic development.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter was divided into four sections. The first section explored the

literature behind the theoretical framework that guided the conceptualization of a model

of community expectancy in more depth than in the first chapter. The second section

further illustrated the model of community expectancy, focusing specifically on literature

that explains the concepts of social, cultural, and human capital. The third section of the

review focused primarily on literature within the education field, with special emphasis

on student attrition/success (sometimes referred to as student retention) literature and

college choice literature. The third section also examined relevant works from sociology

and family studies. The final section of the literature review provided a brief overview of

important public policy literature that was referenced in the policy analysis portion of the

study found in the following chapters.

Approach to Literature Review

The review of literature began with an initial interest in the capitals outlined by

Bourdieu (1986), particularly the effect of cultural capital on postsecondary education

outcomes. As a result, initial investigations into this literature focused on the search terms

of cultural capital, social capital, culture, economic development, community

development, urban planning, city planning, community arts, cultural planning, cultural

policy, college, higher education, and postsecondary education. Upon reading Deggs and

Miller (2009) and recognizing the similarity of their research and this study, new searches added the terms community expectancy, retention, attrition, student success, college choice, workforce development, and variations and combinations of these terms. Although there were many returns using these combined search terms, few of the results made the connection between social, cultural and human capital and postsecondary educational outcomes. Two key sources, however, were critical to the literature for the study: the bibliography of Rowan-Kenyon (2007) and the bibliography of Deggs and Miller (2009). The literature reviews of these scholars linked many of the sources that were discovered in the previous searches with the field of higher education, specifically student success/attrition and college choice literatures. Working backward through the bibliographies of relevant sources, the references that informed this literature review and the study as a whole were discovered.

Identified manuscripts, journal articles, dissertations and other content were organized into six specific categories for organizational purposes: capitals and communities, college choice and access, economic development, life course and identity development, retention and attrition, and research design. ProQuest, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, JSTOR, and EBSCOhost databases were used throughout this research process. Google Scholar and WorldCat were also used to identify and access literature. All materials were accessed using the University of Arkansas Libraries, Pulaski Technical College's Ottenheimer Library, or the Central Arkansas Library System.

Only the public policy literature selected for this literature review stood apart from this review process. The public policy literature represented a culmination of the author's academic pursuits in the classroom. The policy works selected to inform the

policy analysis portion of this research were chosen not so much for their relevance to the topic of community expectancy, but more for their usefulness in assisting policy analysis by framing a problem and offering theoretical positions on how problems emerge, move on and off government agendas, and achieve attention from policymakers.

Section I: Theoretical Framework of Community Expectancy

The theoretical framework of community expectancy was first positioned within the educational philosophy of Dewey (1916/2004). Dewey, being a pragmatist and a proponent of experiential education, emphasized two important philosophical premises that were central to the study. First, he asserted that all humans have the capacity to contribute to the world, and it is the purpose of education to mold and unlock these sometimes latent talents. The school environment is meant to balance the social environment by allowing each individual the "opportunity to escape from the limitations of the social group in which he has been born, and to come into living contact with a broader environment" (Dewey, 1916/2004, p. 20). Second, and more importantly, was Dewey's premise that education is a communal experience. People learn by doing, Dewey argued. They learn from the experiences they share with their family, friends, neighbors, and community. Human beings are products of their social environment, and what a human "does and what he can do depend upon the expectations, demands, approvals, and condemnations of others" (Dewey, 1916/2004, p. 11).

While many of Dewey's works (1899/1980, 1916/2004, 1938, 1939) were primarily aimed at elementary and secondary education, his insistence on the connection between community, education, and democracy was relevant to the model of community

expectancy and to higher education policymaking at both the institutional and

governmental levels as one sets policy based on internal needs and the other tries to

create a one-size-fits all policy. Both strategies can overlook the organic and individual

identity of communities consisting of citizens that may have different values and beliefs

from those held by the institutional or the government level policymakers. Dewey

(1916/2004) wrote:

> Society exists through a process of transmission quite as much as biological life. This transmission occurs by means of communications of habits of doing, thinking, and feeling from the older to the younger. Without this communication of ideals, hopes, expectations, standards, opinions, from those members of society who are passing out of the group life to those who are coming into to it, social life could not survive. (p. 3)

Dewey's view of the community as a pseudo-organism was important for the model of

community expectancy because it implied that a community has identity and that a

community transmits vital information relevant to survival from one generation to the

next through informal enculturation and/or purposeful socialization.

Likewise, in his work on identity development, Erikson (1950/1993, 1968/1994)

emphasized the relationship between community and the individual. The family and

social networks of the individual relay messages of importance, or legacies of survival,

that are internalized by the individual during Erikson's (1950/1993) first four stages of

identity development and either accepted or rejected during the fifth stage (identity versus

identity diffusion) when adolescents transition between childhood and adulthood. During

the fifth stage, identity develops in relation to public institutions. Erikson (1950/1993)

wrote, "the adolescent…is eager to be affirmed by his peers, and is ready to be confirmed

by rituals, creeds, and programs" (p. 263); the adolescent is seeking to identify with the

group versus facing potential alienation. A community's self-identity is simply the

collective manifestation of its members' self-identities and, in this fifth stage of identity

development, the adolescent wants to adhere to the messages of the community, or its

legacies, rather than face possible alienation. Erikson (1968/1994) discussed this

community identity in the broader sense of group or ethnic identity. This notion that

community has identity was congruent with Dewey's (1916/2004) perception of

community as an organism and was relevant to the model of community expectancy in

the way legacies are transferred generationally, particularly legacies that relate to the

value of education.

Erikson's (1950/1993, 1968/1994) identity development theory was constricted

by its dependence on psychological stages and heavy emphasis on the early development

of individuals with less focus on the later stages of life. In terms of seeking and

completing an educational credential, Erikson's (1950/1993) identity development stages

allow researchers to understand the way adolescents internalize and identify with group

values and beliefs, which has led to an entire field of "student development" theories that

include Chickering, Josselson, Phinney, among others (as cited in Evans, Forney, &

Guido-DiBrito, 1998).

Schlossberg's transition theory (as cited in Evans et al., 1998) moved the student

development field toward a better understanding of nontraditional students who seek

education during transitional periods in their lives. Transition theory explores the cause

and effect of transition on people's lives. In this theory, Schlossberg recognized factors

affecting transition include cultural traditions, environment, the state, one's job, and the

institutional climate of a college. Her theory operationally defined transition as "any

event, or non-event, that results in changed relationships, routines, assumptions, and

roles" (Evans et al., 1998, p. 111). Transitions can provide growth opportunities but are not always positive for the person experiencing the transition.

Adapting to a transition is difficult and is affected by three variables: "the individual's perception of the transition, characteristics of the pretransition and posttransition environments, and characteristics of the individual experiencing the transition" (Evans et al., 1998, p. 110). There are three types of transition described: anticipated transitions, unanticipated transitions, and nonevents in which an expected transition does not materialize. The context and impact of the transition are also important in understanding a person's ability to cope with an event. Self-perception of the transition event, however, is the most important factor in understanding and working through the process of an event (Evans et al., 1998).

Schlossberg (as cited in Evans et al., 1998) identified three phases of working through the transition process: "moving in," "moving through," and "moving out" (p. 112). The "moving in" phase represents the period during which the transition is taking root in individuals' lives and preoccupying them. "Moving through" represents the period in which individuals are working to integrate the transition into their lives and to adopt new perceptions based on the effects of the transition. Finally, "moving out" is a period during which individuals have integrated the transition into their personalities (Evans et al., 1998, p. 112). While Schlossberg's transition theory is most useful to counselors, the concept of transition proves relevant to understanding how and why individuals may seek a postsecondary degree or certificate in a nontraditional manner.

The concept of transition developed by Schlossberg (as cited in Evans et al., 1998) was important; however, as a developmental paradigm, life course theory was

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more useful to community expectancy in that it helped explain the motivations behind decision-making throughout an individual's life (Elder, 1998). Life course theory allows insight into the effect of life course altering transitions at different stages of individuals' lives and takes into account the numerous factors shaping the decision-making process during those transitions. As not all students in higher education or potential students of higher education institutions are teens in the midst of identity establishment, life course theory provides insight into the motivations of both the traditional and nontraditional student and allows the researcher to take into account factors like unemployment, market demand, war, or divorce in creating transitions that shape an individual's decision whether to attend college. Life course theory also merges with the works of previous scholars in that during these transitions, "choices are not made in a social vacuum. All life choices are contingent on the opportunities and constraints of social structure and culture" (Elder, 1998, p. 2).

Life course theory, which originated in work by Elder (1994, 1998), incorporated Erikson's (1950/1993, 1968/1994) identity development into a multidisciplinary approach for understanding social change over the course of individuals' lives in the context of social structures and events. Elder (1994) wrote:

> Overall the life course can be viewed as a multilevel phenomenon, ranging from structured pathways through social institutions and organizations to the social trajectories of individuals and their developmental pathways. (p. 5)

Giele and Elder (1998) argued that there are four elements that link the individuals to the social structures around them, and understanding the development of individuals through the courses of their lives requires the study of these linkages. First, the researcher must be aware of the individual(s)' "Location in time and place (cultural background)" (Giele &

Elder, 1998, p. 9). Understanding the regional and historical context of subjects allows

the researcher to see patterns of behavior within a group that can be carried out over time

and passed on generationally. The second element is "Linked lives (social integration)"

(Giele & Elder, 1998, p. 9). Giele and Elder wrote, "All levels of social action (cultural,

institutional, social, psychological, and sociobiological) interact and mutually influence

each other not only as parts of a whole but also as the result of contact with other people

who share similar experiences" (1998, p. 9). Thus, different actions among individuals

depending on the social networks of which they are members should be observable. The

third element proposed by Giele and Elder was "Human agency (individual goal

orientation)" (1998, p. 10). This component is similar to the concept of the rational actor

in economics and political science literature. Human agency represents personal

motivation. Ultimately, individuals and groups will act in their best interest when making

decisions and organizing their lives so that they can find security, happiness, and avoid

pain whenever possible. The final element of life course theory is "Timing of lives

(strategic adaption)" (Giele & Elder, 1998, p. 10). Giele and Elder wrote:

> To accomplish their ends, persons or groups both respond to the timing of
> external events and undertake actions and engage in events and behaviors to use
> the resources available. Thus, the timing of life events can be understood as both
> passive and active adaptation for reaching individual or collective goals. (1998,
> p. 10)

Giele and Elder argued that the first three elements of life course development ultimately

are shaped by the timing of life events. A person's cultural background, social

integration, and agency come together differently depending upon the timing at which a

decision-making or developmental event occurs during a lifetime.

During transitional periods, a basic assumption of the model of community expectancy holds that individuals take into consideration the legacies, or expectations, of their community. The work of Swidler (1986) supported this statement. Swidler made the argument that all persons have at their disposal a cultural toolkit of "conflicting symbols, rituals, stories, and guides to action" that shape their worldview (p. 277). The habitus of individuals and their strategies for action are formulated out of an amalgamation of cultural norms that inform the individual about what is acceptable and what is not acceptable in society. In an effort to explain culture's influence on the development of strategies of action, Swidler offered two models of cultural effects on an individual's or a group's perceptions of the world around them and thus their activities within that world as they viewed it. Swidler suggested that persons who lead "settled" lives rely heavily on established cultural norms and values for guidance in their decisions and activities; whereas, persons living "unsettled" lives must redefine their values and norms and construct new strategies of action and new systems for operating in the world (pp. 278–282).

Swidler's (1986) concepts of "settled" lives and "unsettled" lives were relevant to the model of community expectancy in several ways (p. 278). First, as established by Coleman (1988), moving from one location to another may affect an individual's social capital. The choice to move to a new location for a new job or to attend college results in an unsettling of one's life and, according to Swidler (1986), requires a reassessment of one's values and norms. For instance, in the setting of a postsecondary institution, choosing to retain the values and norms of the settled life—the cultural norms and values, or community expectancy of one's community-of-origin—may lead to difficulties

adapting to the college experience and poor academic performance or drop-out behavior. In the opposite way, embracing the unsettled life may lead to the acceptance of new ideas, values, and norms introduced by the collegiate culture. In essence, Tinto (1975, 1993) and like-minded higher education scholars would agree with Swidler's analysis and suggest that it is important for the college to assist students in embracing the unsettled life and the new values of college life.

Swidler's (1986) concepts reinforced the applicability of transition theory and life course theory in examining community expectancy. When individuals' lives become unsettled, they move through a transition. If seeking a postsecondary education is an option during this transition, then one's community expectancy must be taken into account. The individual must consciously consider the effects of a choice to attend college or not to attend. Embracing the unsettling of higher education may require the prospective student to expend more than just financial capital, but also social capital. According to life course theory, the final decision in this transition will depend upon the timing in one's life, the individual's cultural background, how the individual's decision will affect other linked lives, and finally the individual must come to grips with his or her own goals. In short, the individual must weigh the costs and the benefits in terms of his or her various capitals. Is the return on the investment of a college education worth the expense? Understanding life changing transitions from the perspective of what Swidler (1986) referred to as "settled" and "unsettled" lives is necessary for addressing community expectancy.

Another theory that is perhaps tangential to community expectancy was Merton's (1968) strain theory from sociological and criminal justice literature. Strain theory

offered explanation for how the differences between an individual's aspirations, derived from cultural values, and what existing social structures allow can lead to deviant behavior. As with community expectancy, strain theory seeks to explain the role of legacy in individual's lives. According to Merton, those persons within a community who choose not to conform to communal expectations participate in one of four deviant behaviors: innovation, ritualism, retreatism, or rebellion. Innovation is best represented by criminal behavior in which individuals still value cultural goals but reject the institutional means by which they can attain them and instead seek the goals through illicit means. Ritualism is best exemplified by those persons who, recognizing they will never attain cultural goals, decide to play it safe and abide by the culturally established institutional norms so that they at least appear respectable and pursue diminished goals. Retreatism is recognized as unconventional lifestyle and purposeful alienation or rejection of cultural goals and institutional means for attaining them. Rebellious individuals go beyond simple rejection of cultural goals and the institutional means for attaining those goals by creating an entirely new set of goals and social structures and seeking to supplant the old system with their own.

The connection between Merton's (1968) strain theory and the model of community expectancy required some clarification. Flora and Flora (2004) made the point that if the dominant Euro-American, middle-class legacy encourages people to leave home to seek their fortune through education and employment, that message may contradict the message of people living in the Mississippi Delta, Appalachia, or on an American Indian reservation. The message in these places may be about maintaining strong familial and communal bonds. People observed leaving home for education or

"studying rather than reinforcing local ties" (Flora & Flora, 2004, p. 26) may become ostracized by their community because they are viewed as "learning to leave" (p. 26). Such people may either choose to stay in the community and abide by its legacy, or they may choose to leave and adopt the legacy being promoted by the dominant social class that exists beyond the community boundaries. The difficulty with strain theory is that it would argue that the community, which does not value obtaining a higher education, is a subculture because it does not adhere to the values of mainstream America. Thus, those "learning to leave" are not participating in deviant behavior but rather conforming to the dominant culture, which projects an image of the "American Dream." However, the model of community expectancy would argue that those individuals violating community norms are participating in deviant behavior from the perspective of fellow community members, which would create immense pressures on them to adhere to community expectancy, and those pressures are likely stronger than the pressures to conform to the dominant American cultural norms. Strain theory was somewhat tangential to this model of community expectancy in the sense that community expectancy seeks to understand how cultural values create aspirations in an individual and can pressure an individual's decision-making process during transitional points in the course of their life rather than community stability and deviance, but both models appeared to be similarly positioned in that they may help researchers understand why some students do not return to their community-of-origin upon graduation.

Section II: Clarifying Constructs—Social, Cultural, and Human Capital

Deggs and Miller (2009) suggested the use of human, social and cultural capital as means of measuring community expectancy; however, their definitions of these capitals needed clarification. To do this, a definition of human capital was borrowed from economic and community development literature's human capital theory and then explanations of cultural and social capital were provided as defined by Bourdieu (1986) who, like the other scholars examined thus far, believed communities relay legacies of vital information generationally.

According to Bourdieu (1986), capital in any form is cumulative and persistent. It takes time to produce profit from capital, and it takes time to reproduce capital in an identical or expanded form. Further, capital is roughly equal to power. Those who have more capital, in its various forms, tend to have more power. Bourdieu only recognized social, cultural, and economic capital; however, economic and community development literatures recognized numerous capitals including political, financial, built, and natural capital (Flora & Flora, 2004). In the study, human, social, and cultural capitals were the primary focus. It was argued that human, social, and cultural capitals are interactive and symbiotic and cannot be easily separated.

Human capital represents the assets and attributes of individuals within a community that might include talent, health, formal education, skills, etc. (Flora & Flora, 2004). These skills are commodities in the marketplace that can be transformed into wealth. Human capital theory, as with all economics, is based upon assumptions that individuals are rational actors; a rational worker will only self-invest in education or training so long as future returns from the investment are equal to its cost (Shaffer,

Deller, & Marcouiller, 2004; Martin, 2005). Human capital can be inferred from measurements of educational attainment, job skills, health status, employment and unemployment levels, income, and job mobility, among other possible variables (Flora & Flora, 2004; Green & Haines, 2008; Shaffer, Deller, & Marcouiller, 2004; Martin, 2005).

Social capital consists of the familial and communal networks through which individuals interact and the norms of reciprocity and mutual trust that exist within those networks (Bourdieu, 1986; Flora & Flora, 2004; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). Social capital cannot exist in isolation, and social organizations are needed to communicate ideas, foster relationships, and reinforce unified vision within the network. An individual's social capital depends upon the number of members within the individual's social network(s) and/or the potency of that membership. Potency relates to some members of society having more "value" than others. In fact, social capital has a multiplier effect on any capital an individual possesses (Bourdieu, 1986).

Central to any community, be it a community of place or a community of interest, are the communication linkages that bind its members together (Shaffer, Deller, & Marcouiller, 2004; Flora & Flora, 2004; Green & Haines, 2008). These linkages are social capital. A community is then to some extent the expression of the social capital of the individuals in it. Social capital of a community can be inferred through the measuring the social activities and groups of the community (i.e., churches and church groups, booster clubs, school groups like math club, drama club, etc., and chambers of commerce) (Putnam, 2000; Flora & Flora, 2004; Green & Haines, 2008). All of these examples of social capital within communities can be counted.

An explanation of cultural capital first requires a definition of culture itself. If culture is "a system of meanings that are learned within a particular group or society" (Green & Haines, 2008, p. 212), cultural capital is one's knowledge and mastery of those meanings. Bourdieu (1986) divided cultural capital into three states. The embodied state refers to the values and the traditions individuals gain from family and community, the legacies that those individuals inherit (Green & Haines, 2008; Flora & Flora, 2004). The institutionalized state refers to the cultural meanings that are learned through formal education (Bourdieu, 1986; Green & Haines, 2008). Individuals can seek approval from society through earning degrees that represent levels of mastery of culturally valued areas of knowledge or skill. The objectified state is physical artwork, books, crafts, and other material goods that have value because the dominant culture deems them valuable (Bourdieu, 1986; Green & Haines, 2008). Because values and norms are relayed in the process of socialization, cultural capital and social capital are closely linked (Bourdieu, 1986).

Human capital is similar to cultural capital in that both can be improved by education; yet, there is a distinction. As previously mentioned, human capital are the skills and abilities of an individual (Flora & Flora, 2004). These skills and abilities represent commodities in the marketplace that can be transformed into physical wealth, or financial capital. Cultural capital is invisible but no less powerful a commodity. The acquisition of culturally relevant values and norms may be more symbolically transferable into wealth than human capital. The purpose of cultural capital improvement is the Platonic ideal of mastering "meaning," to gain knowledge that results in continued curiosity, experimentation, risk-taking, and prestige, all of which have potential life-long

benefits for the individual. As culture can be transferred generationally through familial and communal legacy (Bourdieu, 1986; Flora & Flora, 2004), cultural capital improvement will in turn encourage future generations to continue to value knowledge and encourage increased degree/certificate completion.

Previous scholarly efforts in college choice and student attrition/success literature either limited the definitions of cultural, social, and human capital (Perna, 2000; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001; Rowan-Kenyon, 2007) or overlooked using them together (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000; Berger, 2004; Stage & Hossler, 2004). Because initial levels of cultural capital are gained at birth depending upon the education levels and/or socio-economic status (SES) of one's parents and because one cannot accumulate more cultural capital without creating and participating in networks beyond one's family, the norms and values of an individual and a community define cultural capital. Cultural capital, as the familial and communal legacy that an individual inherits, shapes the individual's identity and habitus—or one's mental constitution, disposition, or customs (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital is the means through which those norms and values are shared. Human capital represents one's own efforts to take advantage of one's own social and cultural capital through improving personal skills, talents, and abilities through education or training, thus making oneself more attractive for economic purposes (Flora & Flora, 2004; Green & Haines, 2008; Shaffer, Deller,& Marcouiller, 2004).

Unlike other forms of capital, cultural capital is not easily identifiable because, while its objectified state may have value, that value may not immediately be transferrable into wealth (Bourdieu, 1986). For instance, a college degree is a substantial investment of financial capital, and the degree has possible value as a human capital asset

(Martin, 2005). However, a degree cannot be exchanged for immediate cash. As an element of human capital, a degree may get an individual a better job; however, as an element of cultural capital, it amounts to prestige in society, which is only valuable if the individual's community values education. Likewise, a painting by Picasso has value, but its value is subject to change depending upon its cultural relevance. Therefore, measuring cultural capital, especially in its embodied state, is difficult. Yet, as all capitals are interrelated, especially human, social, and cultural capital, cultural capital's value can be inferred through measuring its objectified state (i.e., depositories of knowledge such as libraries, museums, art galleries, festivals, etc.) and representations of its institutionalized state in the form of educational attainment levels within a community in combination with measurements of social and human capital. In this way, combining human, social, and cultural capital variables should allow the researcher to identify what a community expects of its members, especially within the narrow question of attending an institution of higher education and the value of completing a degree or certificate once in college.

Section III: Student Attrition/Success and College choice Literature

College choice literature reflected a diverse field of study with a number of approaches including economic models, status attainment models, information-processing models, and finally those models that try to combine elements of the other approaches (Hossler, Schmit, & Vesper, 1999). This study fell into the latter combination approach; however, it went a step further by attempting to bridge the gap between college choice and student success/attrition literature, which mostly stand apart as this literature review revealed. The study argued that college choice and student attrition or success are

a product of the communal legacies individuals inherit and internalize into their personal habitus during the identity development process and through the course of their lives. While other studies primarily examined factors that affect an individual's choices or success, this study examined the characteristics of communities that identify the expectations that shape the individual's choice to attend college and success or failure in college. If a community is viewed as a pseudo-organism, as Dewey (1899/1980, 1916/2004, 1938, 1939) suggested, then some of the variables that shape individual-level behaviors, values, and norms could potentially be transferred to the community-level for the purpose of understanding community-related behaviors, values, and norms, in other words, community expectations.

Student Attrition/Success Literature

One of the most familiar theories for explaining student dropout behavior is Tinto's (1975, 1993) theory of individual departure. Tinto built off an approach developed by Spady (1975), who had concluded that a student with high social integration in the college community and acceptable grades would express more satisfaction with the college experience and would be more likely to complete a college degree; therefore, college graduation rates resulted from an interaction of student characteristics and the college environment. Tinto synthesized Arnold Van Gennep's anthropological rites of passage study and, like Spady (1975) before him, Emile Durkheim's work on suicide. He provided an elaborate model of influences on the individual student's decision to stay or drop out of college. Tinto (1993) recognized that students bring a number of characteristics with them when they enter college, including family and community background factors (e.g., education level of parents, SES, size of

community), individual attributes (e.g., race, sex, handicaps), intellectual and social skills, financial resources, personal dispositions (e.g., intellectual, social, and political preferences and motivations), and pre-college educational experience and achievements (e.g., high school GPA, standardized test scores). Tinto also recognized the importance of student interactions with family members, teachers, and community members. These "external events may influence departure indirectly via their impact upon student social and academic integration and/or directly via their effect on commitments—being 'pulled away'" (Tinto, 1993, p. 116). Despite his recognition of the influence familial and communal legacy have upon student success, Tinto argued that higher education institutions must act quickly, in the first year, to integrate college freshman into the mainstream institutional culture. This integration into the social and academic systems of the institution allows students to identify with the college experience and makes them more likely to stay. In essence, Tinto and those who follow his rationale sought to replace the informal education that comes from communal legacies with the intentional, formal education of college as quickly as possible. This requires a number of student services, coordinated institutional structures, and the creation of a college culture that can supplant the culture that students bring with them (Thomas, 2002; Veenstra, 2009).

An alternative approach to social integration theory is Bean's (1980) student attrition model, which was revised and expanded in later work (Bean, 1982, Bean and Metzner, 1985). Bean concluded that the theories presented by Tinto (1975, 1993) and Spady (1975) did not lend themselves to causal testing. He therefore developed and tested a causal model "adapted from employee turnover in work organizations to student attrition" in higher education institutions (Bean, 1980, pp. 156-157). Using a survey of

full-time entering university freshmen (n=1,111), Bean found a number of independent variables significantly affecting dropout behavior with a few slight differences based on gender. In general, these variables included institutional commitment or loyalty to the institution; academic performance; membership in campus organizations; opportunities that exist outside of college in the workplace, at home, or in transferring to another institution; the degree to which students believed they were developing as a result of education; the degree to which the role of a student was seen as repetitive routine; the degree to which being a student was viewed positively; and communication of rules regarding rewards and punishments. Bean (1982) later expanded on this original model, adding background variables such as parental education, high school GPA, and achievement test scores. He also added organizational variables (e.g., the influence of close friends, informal contact with faculty, the availability of preferred courses), environmental variables (e.g., family approval of institution and major, the likelihood of marrying), and outcome and attitudinal variables (e.g., the practical value of a degree, boredom, confidence). In work on nontraditional students, Bean and Metzner (1985) expanded the original model once more to include variables such as age, enrollment status, on- or off-campus residency, educational goals, ethnicity, academic advising, study skills, finances, hours of employment, and stress. The model of student attrition presented by Bean attempted to be all encompassing and can therefore seem overwhelming in its efforts.

Much literature in higher education has been dedicated to testing and building upon these theoretical approaches (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1980; Pascarella & Chapman, 1983; Napoli & Wortman, 1998; Bers & Smith, 1991). For example, Cabrera, Nora, and

Castañeda (1993) combined elements of Tinto (1975) and Bean (1980) to create a unified model for understanding student retention and graduation rates. However, not all research found Tinto's or Bean's theories conclusive. Using path analysis, Munro (1981) found that the educational aspirations of the parents and of the student had a greater impact on committing to the goal of completing college whereas Tinto (1975, 1993) argued that academic integration was the most important factor for student persistence.

Other scholars sought to analyze the impact of various dropout related factors identified in earlier studies at different time intervals of students' careers (Ishitani & DesJardins, 2002; Ishitani, 2006). Ishitani (2006) concluded that first-generation college students are at a higher risk of departure than college students who have at least one parent with a college degree. Ishitani also concluded that family income has a negative effect on graduation rates, high school class rank has a positive effect, and one's ethnic background influences college completion. For instance, Caucasian students are more likely to graduate in their fourth or fifth years than Hispanic students. Likewise, Stratton, O'Toole, and Wetzel (2007) determined that parental education and marital status, first year college GPA, and local unemployment rate were important indicators of completion for full-time students. These factors also affected part-time students, but less so than race and ethnicity.

Berger (2004) noted how previous scholars of student attrition have tried to understand student background through variables like "race, gender, academic achievement (high school grade point average and standardized test scores), family income, and other basic socioeconomic characteristics" and suggested the use of cultural capital to better understand student persistence (p. 111). Berger, however, offered no

clear means for measuring cultural capital. Stage and Hossler (2004) likewise recommended using cultural and economic capital to represent student background but again fall short of providing clear examples. Kuh and Love (2004) suggested that a student's culture(s) of origin "mediate the importance attached to attending college and earning a college degree" (p. 202). Kuh and Love's proposition was virtually this study's primary hypothesis. However, they resisted indicating variables for analyzing the effect of one's cultural legacy, calling instead for future research. While student attrition and success literature has less to offer in terms of using social, cultural, and human capital as measures, college choice and other education-related literatures have found increasing relevance in using this framework.

College choice Literature

Hossler, Schmit, and Vesper (1999) used a model of college choice developed by Hossler and Gallagher (1987) to better understand educational aspirations of traditional-aged students. This model offered three stages of college choice: predisposition, search, and choice. The predisposition stage examined how students' family background, peers, high school performance, and other high school related activities are associated with decisions of work after high school or college. If a student were predisposed toward college, he or she would enter the search stage in which he or she would compare higher education options. Finally, the choice stage examined what aspects of the college influences the student's choice like distance from home, student services, etc.

The predisposition stage is an important insight that was directly relevant to the current study. Like Hossler, Schmit, and Vesper (1999), the study sought to understand the link between a student's background and his or her choice to attend college. Hossler,

Schmit, and Vesper found that the single most important factor affecting predisposition was the amount of encouragement and support provided by parents. Likewise, student high school achievement and parental education level were important predictors of college aspirations. In terms of parental education levels, Hossler et al. (1999) wrote:

> Parents with college educations are more likely to value education and to transmit their values to their children. In addition, analysis of our interview data demonstrates that parents who have gone to college are familiar with the experience and are better equipped to explain to their children how the college system, is structured, how it works, and how the student can prepare for it. (p. 26)

This finding suggested that knowledge of the educational experience is important in shaping aspirations of college attendance; however, the knowledge gained from counselors and teachers is only weakly associated with shaping aspirations. Furthermore, the authors found that students who are more active in high school activities are more likely to have aspirations for college. The authors noted that being active in school is an indicator of a student's overall motivation and self-confidence. It was at this point that a weakness in this model of college choice emerged.

The Hossler and Gallagher (1987) model was disassociated from identity development theory. Aligning the model's information processing stages, or grade levels as the authors suggested, with the psychological works of student development literature would benefit the model's ability to analyze and predict student decision-making. This is especially true in the predisposition stage, which aligns well with the 5th stage of Erikson's (1950/1993, 1968/1994) identity development theory. Hossler, Schmit, and Vesper (1999) proposed intervention during predisposition in the 8th and 9th grades as the best time to encourage college attendance because college plans can change throughout high school. Those students with a stable plan by the 9th grade tended to

follow through with their plans more than those students who developed their plans later. Another obvious problem that emerged in this model was that it did not consider the nontraditional student's decision-making process. Nevertheless, it was a useful discussion of student aspirations.

Perna (2000) measured students' cultural and social capital using variables such as high school quality; racial/ethnic diversity of high school; regional location of high school; whether the high school is urban, rural or suburban; whether the high school is private or public; educational expectations of the student; parental encouragement toward a degree; parental involvement in the student's education; parental education level; encouragement from peers, high school faculty, and advisers; and whether the students used a test-prep tool before taking college admissions exams. In an investigation of factors affecting minority student success, Perna found that cultural and social capital measured in this way had at least as much explanatory power as students' academic ability.

In testing the Hossler and Gallagher (1987) three-stage model of college choice, Cabrera and La Nasa (2001) used a similar set of social and cultural capital variables as Perna (2000). Cabrera and La Nasa (2001) argued that the college choice process is difficult, especially for high school students of lower SES. Cabrera and La Nasa stated that students must complete three tasks in the college choice process. They must become college-qualified, actually graduate, and then apply to an institution of higher education. Cabrera and La Nasa concluded that "family-based, school-based, and individual-based practices are as important if not more than is a family's SES in becoming college qualified, graduating from high school, and applying to a 4-year institution" (2001, pp.

141-142). Cabrera and La Nasa suggested that a singular policy approach to improving college access and encouraging college choice was unrealistic because of the diversity of college qualifications among high school students. It is more important for policymakers to focus on improving college qualifications among high school students and getting parents involved in school activities and college planning early. In this way, Cabrera and La Nasa agreed with the conclusions of Hossler, Schmit, and Vesper (1999). However, they added that parents of low SES students needed to be assisted in seeing the link between a college education and its potential social and economic benefits. Perna and Titus (2005) shared this view and added that resources should be dedicated to assisting African American and Hispanic parents in overcoming social, cultural, and political challenges that are institutionalized within the structures of the educational system.

Rowan-Kenyon (2007) built off the work of Perna (2000) and Cabrera and La Nasa (2001) in an examination of factors that affect delayed entry of students. She measured social capital using the number of financial aid contacts a student makes while considering colleges (e.g., high school counselors, financial aid officers, etc.), closed networks (or the number of other parents that the student's parents talk with about college), school participation in free or reduced lunch programs, along with the factors that Perna (2000) found to be most significant. Cultural capital variables included many of those used by Perna as well as educational material at home and participation in music, art, or dance classes. Rowan-Kenyon (2007), like the previous studies, found value in measuring social and cultural capital, but she argued that more research is needed in this area to identify relevant variables. Her work was useful in that it added consideration of

the nontraditional student and recognized that differences exist between traditional and nontraditional students considering a postsecondary education.

Rowan-Kenyon (2007) suggested that students who delay their decision to attend college were more likely of a lower SES and less prepared academically than those students who sought a traditional route to higher education. Her analysis attempted to determine if the characteristics of traditional and nontraditional students differ. Rowan-Kenyon suggested that the factors affecting nontraditional students differed from traditional students. As previously established and as supported in Rowan-Kenyon's own findings, the decision of traditional students to attend college is shaped by parental achievements, support, and expectations as well as college preparedness and peer support. However, Rowan-Kenyon argued that nontraditional students were affected less by familial expectations than other factors like marriage, employment opportunities, children, and home ownership. Rowan-Kenyon also argued for recognizing that those students who delay entrance into college were more likely to be of a lower SES and thus approach college differently. It is important for policymakers and higher education leaders to recognize these differences and shape policies that do not inadvertently create roadblocks to student success.

Finally, Rowan-Kenyon (2007) called for further research aimed at developing and examining "additional and more complete proxies of social and cultural capital" (p. 212). Suggesting that there is a difference between the social and cultural capitals of traditional and nontraditional students would at first appear to require two distinct models for addressing the differences. The model of community expectancy would counter that view offering that traditional students and nontraditional students come from specific

communities that express the same community expectancy of educational attainment.

While traditional and nontraditional students are not at the same developmental point in

their lives, their internalization of community expectations should be similar. Knowledge

of the factors that affect college choice and success at the community level therefore

would alleviate the need for two models.

Likewise, the findings of Crosnoe, Mistry, and Elder (2002) suggested the

relevance of understanding community expectations. Crosnoe et al. (2002) applied a

family process model to understand the linkage between economic disadvantage and late

enrollment in higher education. The authors sought to understand whether "economic

disadvantage is filtered through family ties" and thereby creates a disadvantage in college

enrollment between adolescence and young adulthood (Crosnoe et al. 2002, p. 690). To

accomplish this task, the authors considered the characteristics of family members and

their interactions. Crosnoe et al. concluded that economically disadvantaged parents are

more pessimistic toward their own future opportunities and that lack of hope is carried

over to their children thus reducing the children's motivation to apply and enroll in

college. The authors also concluded that while the link between economic disadvantage

and educational outcomes of adolescents does not differ by gender or ethnicity, "the link

between disadvantage and parental assessments of the educational futures of adolescents

does. This negative link is stronger for girls and non-African American families"

(Crosnoe et al., 2002, p. 701). Crosnoe et al. also concluded that more focus should be

placed on studying those students who overcome hardship, so that successful paths

toward higher education despite obstacles can be understood. They noted that educational

development of students was "tied to the structure of the larger society and to the

functioning of individuals and their families" (2002, p. 701). These conclusions support the need for understanding community expectations, especially economic characteristics that can be measured through human capital.

Using Bourdieu's (1986) constructs of social and cultural capital, McDonough (1994) argued that high-school students are viewed as commodities by college admissions officers and thus those with higher levels of cultural and social capital are more likely to enroll in college. This study helped explain why higher education has witnessed a growth of college preparation industry in recent decades. Those students of higher SES and higher social and cultural capital can afford to purchase college guidebooks, software, counseling professionals and the like. McDonough's study might also help explain the differences in college choice and student success among students of high and low SES discussed in this literature.

While a number of studies discussed thus far developed and tested variables for measuring social and cultural capital, they also included basic measures of human capital such as unemployment rates, parental education, and income levels. Many previous studies examined individual-level student data and limited social and cultural capital to the family's and high school's influence on student views of whether to attend college and on the importance of completing a degree. This limitation in previous literature was mainly due to the primary focus of many of these studies being the traditional college student. Although these studies present relevant research, the definitions and measures of cultural and social capital were limited when compared to Bourdieu's (1986) explanation.

Unlike the research reviewed so far, the study sought an understanding of whether a student's community-of-origin provides a communal legacy that values educational

attainment, or community expectancy. One study came close to this proposition.

Andersson and Subramanian (2006) sought "to understand the extent to which

neighbourhood factors that independently predict educational outcomes in adolescents in

Sweden" (p. 2013). Because national and local policies in Sweden promote equal access

to all Swedish students, neighborhood characteristics should be discernable. Andersson

and Subramanian examined individual/household variables (e.g., sex, socioeconomic

status, parent's country of birth, family type, disposable income, social allowance

[roughly equivalent to welfare in US]), neighborhood variables (e.g., education level of

neighbors, average income, family types, socioeconomic classification of neighbors,

social allowance of neighbors), and municipal level variables (e.g., population,

availability of university in municipality, teachers/100 students, public spending per

student). These authors found that neighborhood financial resources and demographic

factors were good predictors of educational outcomes. Likewise, socio-cultural factors of

the neighborhoods were even better predictors of educational attainment for students

from those neighborhoods.

Miller and Tuttle (n.d, 2006, 2007) investigated the symbiosis between rural

community colleges and the local community that hosts them. They argued that the

community colleges help to develop perceptions among community residents about the

value of postsecondary education. Having access to community college campuses for

both academic and entertainment events breaks down social barriers that rural citizens

may otherwise have when thinking about college. Miller and Tuttle make the argument,

ultimately, that proximity to a college was beneficial for promoting both the choice to

attend college and for a successful college career. At least in terms of attendance, a

similar argument was made from an econometric point of view by Hoenack and Weiler (1975). Miller and Tuttle's (n.d., 2006, 2007) work and Hoenack and Weiler's (1975) studies reinforced the concepts behind Andersson and Subramanian's (2006) work. Likewise, these studies gave merit to the concept that community expectations can exist and affect college choice and success.

<p style="text-align:center;">*Relevant Works Outside of Higher Education Literature*</p>

Many of the higher education studies verified the findings of scholars outside of student attrition/success and college choice literature. For instance, in an analysis of high-school dropout behavior, Coleman (1988) made the argument that social capital is the pivotal element in student accomplishment. Even if a parent has high levels of human capital and cultural capital, the parent must be willing to spend time and expend effort to share that knowledge with the child. The child will not profit from the parent's capital if weak family relationships exist. Coleman determined that a family's social capital is a resource for educational attainment. Likewise, Coleman proposed that social capital can be found within the community and that students of families that move more often have an increasingly higher chance of dropping out of high school. He contended that frequent moving prevents parents from establishing and maintaining social capital through communal relationships, which also benefit their children. Coleman also examined the dropout rate of high school students who attended or did not attend religious services regularly and found that students with low attendance appear to dropout more frequently. All of these findings, Coleman attributed to the individuals' social capital.

DiMaggio (1982) compared two models that examined the role of status attainment on student success in high school. The first model, the cultural reproduction

model, was based upon the writings of Bourdieu and proposed that students from upper- and upper-middle class families would have more cultural capital and thus have better educational outcomes. In the cultural reproduction model, status was an attribute of individuals gained at birth. The second model, the cultural mobility model, was based upon the works of Max Weber and proposed that status was a process rather than an attribute. In this sense, a student's background and childhood experiences were less important than the student's ability and desire to participate in "status cultures" (p. 190).

To compare these two models, DiMaggio (1982) examined the cultural interests, participation, and knowledge of objectified cultural capital of male and female 11th graders and the effect of this status attainment activity on grades in English, history, mathematics, and a combination of all subjects using factor analysis and regression models. DiMaggio found that the cultural consumption of students was less tied to parental educational attainment and the legacies of cultural capital they inherited from their parents than suggested by Bourdieu's (1986) theory. According to DiMaggio's analysis, the use of parental educational attainment and self-reported artistic activity as variables of cultural capital were poor measures of students' educational attainment. While favoring the model of cultural mobility, DiMaggio did not discount Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital. His findings revealed that cultural capital was a valuable variable for predicting student outcomes in high school, further ways of measuring cultural capital should be developed, and that cultural capital should be used to understand various areas of interest including student outcomes at different educational levels. However, he suggested that using cultural capital as a measure of educational attainment would work better at the local level than the national level. Although not a

higher education study, DiMaggio's findings were directly related to the model of community expectancy and the findings of college choice and student attrition/success literature.

Deggs and Miller (2009) considered five interactive variables of community expectancy in their model. One of these variables was religious affiliations. With the exception of Coleman (1988), many of the authors discussed so far have overlooked the role of religion in shaping the identity of community members and in transmitting values and beliefs that are internalized and acted upon by community members. If one intends to measure both social networking opportunities and community expectancy, religious affiliations seem like a natural place to look for such expectations. For instance, some denominations value seminary training while others do not; this difference could affect community expectancy in the messages being relayed about valuing education, especially among young people looking to respected community members for identity guidance. Anderson (1981) found that being Jewish had a positive effect on a higher college GPA and persistence; thus, having more seminary trained church leaders in a community may likewise suggest higher completion rates.

In another interesting study about the value of high school economics courses in college choice, Sedaie (1998) found that the choice to attend college was affected by parental education levels, high school achievement, and exposure to economics coursework. Sedaie also found that the per capita personal income of a student's county of residence "positively and significantly influences the probability of having an intention to attend a four-year college, but has no significant influence in the case of vocational/two-year colleges" (1998, p. 358). This finding potentially indicates a variable

for measuring community expectancy and supports the findings of Andersson and Subramanian (2006).

In terms of understanding social, cultural, and human capital effects on dropout behavior in postsecondary institutions, little work has as of yet been done. This is mostly due to the current literature's focus on institutional intervention in order to reshape the values and beliefs of entering students through the development of student services. College choice literature has been more receptive to the concepts of social, cultural, and human capital in identifying factors that lead students to choose to attend college. College choice and student attrition/success literatures have developed into two distinct fields. The siloing of these literatures has created a division where one should not exist. This literature review sought to bridge the gap between elements of these two literatures by recognizing that scholars in both fields were analyzing the same factors as they attempt to explain and predict student behaviors.

Section IV: Public Policy Literature

If an operational model of community expectancy emerges from the future research suggested by the study, it would ultimately be a causal model that should explain, at least partially, some of the causation underlying the policy problems of low college attendance and/or low college completion rates. Such a model of community expectancy would be relevant in any given region across the nation; however, the study presented here focused specifically on conditions in Arkansas. As the final research question of the study was concerned with explaining the possible policy ramifications of an operational model of community expectancy within the higher education policy

environment of Arkansas, agenda setting literature from the field of policy studies would appear to be applicable. It was therefore necessary to briefly introduce relevant agenda setting literature to guide the interpretive policy analysis used to address research question five in this final section of the review of relevant literature.

Agenda setting represents the first stage of the linear model of the policy process (Anderson, 2006). Within this stage, three kinds of agendas are recognized: the systemic agenda, the institutional agenda, and the decision agenda. The systemic agenda, the broadest category, represents any issue within the purview of the government being actively discussed by the public. An issue receiving political attention from a government institution, for instance a bill before Congress, has reached the institutional agenda. The decision agenda represents when a political institution is scheduled to make a decision regarding an issue. Understanding the agenda setting process is a key to understanding why some issues receive government attention while others do not.

How exactly issues are defined and transition from a private problem to a public problem before reaching the various agendas has been debated in recent decades. Kingdon (1995) first presented his policy stream models in the 1980s, and Baumgartner and Jones (1993) later offered their punctuated equilibrium model of policy change. While these two models are prominent in the agenda setting discussion, others such as Downs' (1972/2005) issue-attention cycle and Stone's (1989) causal stories proved useful for framing the findings of this study within the policy environment of Arkansas.

Kingdon (1995) described the agenda as a "list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials, and people outside of government closely associated with those officials, are paying serious attention at any given time" (p. 3). His purpose, therefore,

was "to understand not only why the agenda is composed as it is at any one point in time, but how and why it changes from one time to another" (Kingdon, 1995, p. 3). To identify how problems and their corresponding policy alternatives make it through the agenda setting process, Kingdon used the metaphor of three "process" streams—problem stream, policy stream, and politics stream—adapted from Cohen, March, and Olsen's (1972) garbage can model of organizational choice. The problem stream consists of conditions brought to the attention of people inside or outside of government by "systematic indicators, by focusing events…or by feedback from the operation of current programs" (Kingdon, 1995, p. 19). The policy stream is more accurately a "policy primeval soup" of information, proposals, and solutions for problems that float around and collide with and reshape one another. The politics stream consists of interest group pressure on legislatures, voting trends, election results, and other political factors that may influence the choices of decision makers. These streams can be "coupled" at critical times with favorable political conditions. These couplings are "policy windows," or junctures in which a problem has achieved enough public attention and has at least one politically viable policy alternative to address it. When the window is open, the problem can be moved to an agenda successfully, especially when a policy entrepreneur is willing to invest resources in promoting the problem and coupled solution.

According to Kingdon's (1995) model, agenda setting amounts to little more than luck. The right conditions must exist to couple the problem and policy streams, and a policy entrepreneur or focusing event is necessary to bring the political stream in line, resulting in a window of opportunity for political action. The streams metaphors used in this model offer an attractive way of discussing the agenda setting process. While one

criticism of Kingdon is that his model is not empirically testable, he does make a successful argument for pluralism by recognizing the numerous people involved in the agenda setting process, both within and outside of government. He also recognizes the many access points in our government, something which other authors such as Arnold (1990) and Baumgartner and Jones (1993) accept.

Whereas Kingdon's (1995) policy streams model is a metaphorical description of agenda setting, Baumgartner and Jones (1993) offered an empirical explanation of policy change with their punctuated equilibrium model. According to their findings, the agenda setting process is not a result of chance as implied by Kingdon but rather a fluid perpetually adjusting system in search of equilibrium. Outwardly, American political institutions seem to be dominated by "policy monopolies," resulting in the appearance of equilibrium, or stability, and incremental change. However, Baumgartner and Jones found that there has actually been significant change in the government in the last century and that the policy monopolies controlling specific areas of political interest (i.e., the oil industry's domination of energy policy) are unstable due to the possibility of a rapid change in public attention and national politics. In this sense, the American political process is defined by long periods of apparent stability, or Downsian mobilization, that are periodically disrupted (or punctuated) by rapid policy changes, or Schattschneider mobilization, resulting from efforts by policy entrepreneurs to expand the discussion surrounding a problem to new constituencies. Central to understanding this fluctuation between stability and rapid change are policy image and institutional venue.

Baumgartner and Jones (1993) defined policy image as simply the way a public problem is understood and discussed by the public. In regards to venue, they considered

the structure of the political institution responsible for shaping policy. For instance, the presidency may view an issue differently than the legislature. Furthermore, both the presidency and the legislature have different institutional mechanisms for dealing with issues. The interaction between image and venue is central to understanding the concepts of punctuated equilibrium and structure-induced equilibrium. As an example, assume that the oil industry working with both the Department of Energy in the bureaucracy and the Committee on Energy and Commerce in the House of Representatives represents a policy monopoly. Together, these three entities work out policies that maintain a status quo in which the bureaucracy has fewer rules to maintain, oil companies make profits, and House members receive funds and support vital to reelection. According to Arnold (1990), legislators act in ways that contribute to the likelihood of their reelection. So long as there is stability, this structure-induced equilibrium will continue. However, according to Baumgartner and Jones' (1993) punctuated equilibrium theory, a sudden rise in gas-prices can result in a disruption of the policy monopoly and cause policy changes. Because, as Arnold (1990) stated, the legislative institution is motivated by reelection, legislators might begin voting for green policies that undermine the oil industry's policy monopoly. The severity of the disruption will depend on the potential interest level of the public, which will be driven by the image projected by policy entrepreneurs. In this way, the American political system and its agendas are always unstable and changing despite the outward appearance of stability.

All theories must not only explain but also be measureable, or testable. In this sense, Baumgartner and Jones (1993) provided a theory when compared to Kingdon's (1995) policy streams model, which is more of a conceptualization. However, it is

important to recognize that Kingdon's work began a discussion that Baumgartner and

Jones built upon. They recognized Kingdon's contribution to the policy process

discussion and the applicability of his model during periods of Schattschneider

mobilization when the policymaking process is more volatile. They also credited

Kingdon for recognizing the importance of policy entrepreneurs in bringing about change

and for analyzing policy problems and their solutions separately while acknowledging

their linkage.

Another building block for Baumgartner and Jones (1993) that resulted from

Kingdon's (1995) discussion of problem definition was Stone's (1989) causal story

theory. Stone suggested that issues are purposefully portrayed in ways that are calculated

to gain support for a policy by the political actors involved. Politics is about shifting

blame from public institutions to the private responsibility. In this sense, Stone built on

Kingdon's work and laid a crucial foundation for Baumgartner and Jones' theory of

punctuated equilibrium. Baumgartner and Jones' empirical work seemed to verify the

theoretical model proposed by Stone. According to Baumgartner and Jones (1993):

> When a student drops out of school before learning to read or write…that is a
> private misfortune. When businessmen complain that the collective lack of
> training in the work force is making the United States less able to compete in the
> international marketplace, that is a public problem that calls out for a
> governmental response. (p. 27)

Following Stone's (1989) model, the study of community expectancy, or the causal effect

of low college attendance and success, would fall under her category of an inadvertent

cause. Stone wrote, "Stories of inadvertent cause are common in social policy; problems

such as poverty, malnutrition, and disease are 'caused' when people do not understand

harmful consequences of their willful actions" (p. 286). Using Stone's logic, the

expectations of one's community would result in an inadvertent legacy that devalues postsecondary education causing low percentages of residents with postsecondary degrees or certificates and thus few economic development opportunities. While such a scenario may make intuitive sense, Stone aptly warned:

> Complex causal explanations are not very useful in politics, precisely because they do not offer a single locus of control, a plausible candidate to take responsibility for a problem, or a point of leverage to fix a problem. (1989, p. 289)

Stone suggested that this was the breakdown between political science and politics. Political science sees the world in complex causal relationships; meanwhile, politicians need a singular person or event to shift blame upon so that they can rally support for a policy change.

Chapter II: Summary of Chapter

This review of literature served three purposes. The first purpose was to provide elaboration of theory underlying the study. As the production of an operational and testable model of community expectancy was a goal of this study, it was important to examine the theoretical literature with more attention than what was provided in the study's introduction. Sections I and II of this chapter explained the theories from which the concept of community expectancy emerged. Particular attention was given to the constructs of social, cultural, and human capital in Section II, as they provide the link between the abstract concept of community expectancy and a concrete means for measuring the concept.

Building upon the theoretical foundation discussed in the first two sections of the literature review, the second purpose of the review was identifying specific social,

cultural, and human capital variables that may indicate community expectancy of postsecondary attainment. The third section therefore reviewed a variety of studies related to college choice, student attrition/success, and sociological behavior to find a legitimate set of variables that may explain some of the variance in college going rates and degree/certificate completion rates in a sample of Arkansas communities. The identified variables were defined in the research design discussed in the following chapter and tested using quantitative statistical techniques that were explained in Chapter Four of the study.

Finally, the fourth section of the review of literature served the purpose of providing a public policy framework for analyzing the results of the research design. The reviewed policy literature was limited to key works that discuss agenda setting. Agenda setting was the primary focus since a model of community expectancy, if successfully developed, would prove most useful to policymakers on the front end of the policy process. Community expectancy would provide a crucial new element to the causal story of low postsecondary outcomes in Arkansas and elsewhere.

The literature reviewed in this chapter suggested a framework for building a model of community expectancy based upon the philosophical and theoretical writings of numerous scholars. This literature review also presented possible indicators of community expectancy drawn from previous higher education and sociological works. Each of these steps was important for moving community expectancy from an abstract concept to a quantifiable phenomenon and a possible explanation for postsecondary attendance and completion. Such investigation was the intention of the study methodological approach found in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Introduction

In accordance with the theoretical framework, the purpose of the study was to identify and define social, cultural, and human capital variables of a community that may correlate with expectations of postsecondary educational attainment, as represented by the rate of degree/certificate completion and the college going rate among a sample of Arkansas communities. Once identified, significant variables could be used to develop a model of community expectancy aimed at assisting researchers, educational leaders, and policymakers in identifying communal influences on postsecondary students' degree or certificate completion rates within a particular community. A model of community expectancy could also be used to understand postsecondary students' choices to attend or to not attend college. The emergence of an operational model of community expectancy would have public policy implications for community and state leaders in Arkansas and elsewhere. Also, there would be academic implications for expanding current knowledge regarding the factors influencing college choice and completion rates. A mixed methods approach was used to answer the research questions, each of which addressed these stated purposes of the study.

Although a clearly defined model of community expectancy did not emerge from the study, a small selection of social, cultural, and human capital variables were identified as significantly affecting the dependent variables measuring student success among a sample of Arkansas communities. Therefore, in this chapter, it was necessary to provide

descriptions of the social, cultural, and human capital variables that were selected from the review of literature for testing in the study. Also in this chapter, a brief account of the sample selection parameters was presented along with an overview of the methodological approach used to address each research question.

<div align="center">Sample</div>

The unit of analysis for the study was the community not the individual student. However, data on the dependent variables for research questions one and two were unavailable at the zip code level in the State of Arkansas; thus, the research relied upon data from the school districts of 63 randomly sampled incorporated Arkansas communities with populations less than 30,000 but more than 2000 as recorded in the Y2000 decennial census. According to the United States Census Bureau's (2009, July 1) population estimates, only 120 incorporated communities in Arkansas met this population restriction. Restricting community size based on population was intended to promote the use of a homogenous sample. It was also possible that such a size restriction could bias the findings toward an urban effect. Using school district data, however, would promote the inclusion of students from outside city limits and thus work to offset this urban effect. Homogeneity in the sample would ultimately benefit the creation of a consistent model that could be tested in future studies against populations of various sizes.

As the study was based on the concept that more collective social, cultural, and human capital within a community would generate higher expectations of college attendance and completion, it was important to eliminate metropolitan areas that may have high concentrations of wealth and education that could have possibly skewed the

findings. Furthermore, in terms of restricting the population size of the sample, if community expectations influence the decision-making processes of individuals considering college, closer and perhaps daily contact with neighbors, peers, and city leaders that can occur in more rural settings could work to reinforce those expectations and thus strengthen the power of a model of community expectancy (Miller & Kissinger, 2007).

Arkansas communities were sampled for two reasons. First, Arkansas faces many issues in terms of higher education achievement. According to a recent report by the Arkansas Taskforce on Remediation, Retention, and Graduation Rates (2008), "Of 100 Arkansas ninth graders, 74 will graduate from high school, 64.7 will enroll in college, and only 16 will graduate with an associate or baccalaureate degree within 10 years" (p. 10). Arkansas's graduation rate is 28.9% for four-year colleges and universities over a six-year period and 20.5% for two-year colleges over a three-year period. The state's four-year college graduation rates are 17.5% below the national average, and the state's two-year college graduation rates are 8.6% below the national average (Arkansas Task Force on Higher Education Remediation, Retention, and Graduation Rates, 2008, p. 17). The gap between college going rates and degree completion rates contributes to a state population with only 18.8% of its citizens holding a baccalaureate degree or higher, resulting in Arkansas being ranked fiftieth among all states and Washington, D.C. in postsecondary educational attainment (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Second, Arkansas data sources and data sets were better known to the researcher because of his history, academic experiences, and professional work experiences within the state.

Design

This was a mixed methods study using three methodological tools. First, two separate series of multiple regressions were performed to identify the social, cultural, and human capital variables that significantly affect community-level student success, as measured by the community degree/certificate completion rate and the college going rate. These dependent variables should reflect basic community expectations of postsecondary educational attainment. Second, an exploratory factor analysis was performed to identify latent variables that could possibly suggest a new model of community expectancy. Third, interpretive policy analysis, a qualitative tool, was used to identify the possible policy ramifications of a model of community expectancy within the Arkansas policy environment.

Community expectancy is an abstract concept that this study sought to identify and measure. King, Keohane, and Verba (1994) noted the difficulty but also the necessity for social science in measuring abstract concepts using specific indicators. The key to successful design, in their opinion, was openness in presenting the rationale for the research, clear arguments for the study's significance, and rich descriptions of each step. The methodological approach of this study attempted to adhere to the best practices of scientific inference set forth by King, et al. at all times so that a design was created that was replicable by future researchers. Multiple regression and factor analysis were the statistical tools used to answer research questions one, two, and three. To address the fourth research question, the findings from the first three research questions were reviewed holistically to identify areas of interest that possibly suggested the existence of a model of community expectancy not revealed by the findings of each of the first three

research questions when viewed separately. This initial review of the findings was followed by an interpretive policy analysis of Arkansas policy environment to address the final research question. This methodological approach was best suited to satisfy the research questions of this study.

While the research design was intended to keep this initial exploration into the possible influence of community expectancy upon college choice and college completion in Arkansas simple, the design had a degree of complexity. The study was approached systematically and cautiously to ensure accurate data collection and accurate reporting of results. Each step was cataloged so that the resulting report of findings yielded a valuable scientific contribution to the understanding of postsecondary attendance and completion in Arkansas as well as a better understanding of social, cultural, and human capital as a measure of community expectancy.

Because the unit of analysis in this study differed from previous studies, there was no way to control for the findings of past studies that examined college choice, dropout behavior, persistence, or completion at the individual student level. Also, because this was a new study exploring community expectancy, alternative explanations for the findings might present themselves. For instance, if only the income related variables had been found to be significant, one could have argued that financial need of students is the issue and not culture. The counterargument to this would be that low income families/communities create a unique subculture with their own internal cultural capital that differs from the mainstream cultural values and which could influence degree completion. In the course of analyzing the data, if alternative explanations arose, they were reported openly (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994).

The study began with a simple set of assumptions based on past theoretical and philosophical principles about how communities transmit messages pertaining to postsecondary education. The research design was intended to establish some means of verifying these assumptions with the end goal being the emergence of a testable model of community expectancy. Past research identified certain social, cultural, and human capital factors that affect college choice and completion at an individual-level (Tinto, 1975, 1993; Hossler & Gallagher, 1987; etc.). These factors presented evidence for familial legacies that provided broad messages deemed relevant for survival and that were translated into expectations representing specific messages about social institutions (i.e. the value of a postsecondary education). Communities, like families, express legacies and expectations; thus, by examining similar factors to those found at the individual level, community expectations could be identified.

The design emerged from prior work by Deggs and Miller (2009). They proposed a model of community expectancy in which formal education bodies, civic agencies, informal associations, religious affiliations, and home life interacted with one another and influenced the life choices of students. Deggs and Miller provided a set of variables for each of these interactive factors. While their initial approach resulted in limited findings, the principles behind their argument and the social, cultural, and human capital variables they proposed suggested a starting point for this design. The research design was intended to check the veracity of some of their variables and to add more variables to their initial set, when suggested by other literatures, in an effort to move their concept of community expectancy toward an operational model. An operational model of community expectancy would ideally result in a score that represents the communal

expectations of residents in terms of postsecondary attainment. Communities could be ranked or classified based upon their score. This classification would allow policymakers and higher education personnel the ability to direct programming at the communities themselves or the students from those communities in an effort to promote better attainment as needed.

Data Collection

Research Question One: Which community-level social, cultural, and human capital variables contribute to student success, as indicated by the dependent variable of school district degree/certificate completion rates for the 2000 (Y2000) cohort, among a sample of Arkansas communities? A cumulative degree/certificate completion rate was obtained for each sampled community school district for the Y2000 cohort from the Arkansas Department of Higher Education (ADHE).

The following list of social, cultural, and human capital variables represents an ideal set of independent variables that were drawn from the review of literature. The reasoning behind the use of this particular set of independent variables is explained in the subsection of this chapter entitled "Explanation of independent variables." Every effort was made to retrieve data to measure these variables for the year 2000; however, limitations in available data, which are discussed in the next chapter, forced some adaptations or eliminations from this list. These adaptations and eliminations were noted here and clarified in more detail in the fourth chapter of the study.

1. Number of secondary school activities (clubs, sports, etc.)—these data were intended as a simple inventory of extracurricular activities offered within the sample communities' local schools. No comprehensive database of extracurricular

activities within Arkansas school districts existed among the state agencies. As a result, the number of Arkansas High School Athletic Administrators Association (AHSAAA) sponsored clubs declared by a school district for 2010 was used.

2. Population migration—data were available from the University of Arkansas at Little Rock's (UALR) Institute for Economic Advancement and the United States Census Bureau.

3. Number of public facilities and services per capita (e.g., community centers, fire/police)—although these data could potentially be collected through city and county websites, www.local.arkansas.gov, and/or direct communication with local government leaders of the sampled communities, inconsistencies in the data reported among these various sources resulted in the exclusion of this variable.

4. Dependency ratio (number of community residents younger than 15 and older than 65/100 work-aged residents)—this percentage was provided by the Demographic Research Division of UALR's Institute for Economic Advancement.

5. Average family size (number in household)—available though the United States Census Bureau.

6. Percent of population who are religious adherents—available from the Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA) at the county level.

7. Denominational religious training—ARDA had no data related to the professional training of religious leaders at the community level. Determining whether local leaders were college/seminary trained would have required inquiry at the local

level, which would have proven difficult to collect for the year 2000. Thus, this variable was excluded from the study.

8. Percent of population with high speed internet access—this percentage was available at the county through the Connect Arkansas Initiative only after the year 2007. Because of the numerous changes in computing technologies between the years 2000 and 2007, this variable was excluded from the study.

9. Racial/ethnic diversity—the percentage of non-white residents was used and available from the United States Census Bureau.

10. Percent of population in poverty—this percentage was available through the United States Census Bureau.

11. Community crime rate (as measured by the Uniform Crime Report)—data were prepared by the Criminal Justice Information Division of the Arkansas Crime Information Center.

12. Community literacy rate—these data were available at the county level from the National Assessment of Adult Literacy provided by the National Center for Education Statistics.

13. Per capita education spending at the civic level—this variable was adjusted slightly for the purposes of data collection. The total and current district expenditures on instruction per pupil (PPE) for the 1999-2000 academic year were collected from the Common Core of Data maintained by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES).

14. Number of artistic, craft, festival events—data were not consistently available from local governments, Chambers of Commerce, or the statewide calendar-of-

events provided by the Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism; therefore, this variable was excluded from the study.

15. Percentage of local industry dedicated to arts, entertainment, and recreation—data were obtained from the United States Census Bureau.

16. Proximity to an institution of higher education—mileage data were figured using information from ADHE and the mileage calculation tools of www.mapquest.com.

17. Number of depositories of knowledge/culture (e.g., libraries, museums)—inconsistent data regarding the number of parks, historical locations, art collections, and museums among the sampled communities resulted in this variable being altered so that the number of public libraries within a 20 mile radius of each community was used. These data were obtained from the library search function on the NCES website.

18. Average income per capita—data were available from the United States Census Bureau.

19. Homeownership rate—data were available from the United States Census Bureau.

20. Percent of population 25 and older with a high school diploma or equivalent—data were available from the United States Census Bureau.

21. Percent of population 25 and older with a baccalaureate degree—data were available from the United States Census Bureau.

22. Percent of unemployment—data were provided by UALR's Institute for Economic Advancement.

23. Number of privately owned businesses—the number or percentage of privately

owned businesses in 2000 for the sample could not be determined from existing

data. As a result, this variable was altered to the percentage of workers that

reported themselves as self-employed in all industries for both sexes.

Research Question Two: Which community-level social, cultural, and human

capital variables contribute to college choice, as indicated by the dependent variable of

school district college going rates for the Y2000 cohort, among a sample of Arkansas

communities? A cumulative college going rate was obtained for each sampled

community school district for the Y2000 cohort from ADHE. The independent variables

used in the first research question were tested against this new dependent variable.

Research Question Three: Do latent factors exist among the social, cultural, and

human capital variables that could be used to identify community expectations of

postsecondary educational attainment as defined in research questions one and two? An

exploratory factor analysis was performed on the independent variables used in the first

and second research questions.

Research Question Four: To what extent did the findings related to the social,

cultural, and human capital variables used in the study support the theoretical concept of

an operational model of community expectancy? No new data were necessary to answer

this question. This question was answered by examining the findings of the previous

three research questions.

Research Question Five: If a model of community expectancy is identified, what

are the potential policy ramifications of understanding community expectancy for higher

education officials, community leaders, and policymakers? The interpretative policy

analysis offered a brief historical overview of the State of Arkansas using secondary

source material and data from various state and federal agencies including the United

States Census Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and ADHE. Recent higher

education related legislation, the *Rural Profile of Arkansas 2009* (2009), and *Mike

Beebe's Strategic Plan for Economic Development* (Arkansas Economic Development

Commission [AEDC], 2009) were reviewed as a part of this analysis. The data were

contextualized using the public policy literature from Chapter Two.

Explanation of Independent Variables

The independent variables suggested from prior literature for use in the study

represent a set of community level social, cultural, and human capital characteristics. The

logic behind using each of the explanatory variables flowed from the findings of previous

studies and was briefly presented in this section. In general, if a particular variable was

found to be relevant at the individual level in a prior study, then it stood to reason that it

would be relevant at the community level, especially when considering the multiplier

effect of social capital. The purpose behind using these independent variables was to

create, as accurately as possible, a descriptive snap-shot of each sampled community. In

these communities, higher levels of social, cultural, and human capital should result in

higher rates of degree completion and college attendance. As noted earlier, when data

were unavailable for any particular variable, that variable was discarded or an estimate

was made using the best available data. Those alterations and the logic behind them can

be found in Chapter Four.

Social, cultural, and human capitals were foundational to the principles

underlying the identification of community expectancy. However, because of the

interrelated nature of these capitals, it was difficult to assign any single variable as one form of capital or the other before completing the factor analysis. No doubt an attempt to do so would generate debate among scholars as to which category any given variable belongs. Nevertheless, it became a necessary evil, at least in this preliminary stage of the studying community expectancy, to make some designation of whether a variable was social, cultural, or human capital that could then be tested by the research design. As a result, the following suggested variables of interest were grouped according to one of these three capitals. These groupings represent the category in which variables appeared to be most suited.

Deggs and Miller (2009) suggested five variable dimensions for their model of community expectancy. To create consistency between their study and this one, the variables were also assigned to those dimensions; however, some variables identified from the literature did not fit into their categorization. It was anticipated that the factor analysis for the third research question would help in understanding which designation best suited these non-categorized variables, or the analysis would yield a new set of dimensions for this study's modified model of community expectancy that would be used to classify the variables. For instance, if the factor analysis yielded three factors, which aligned with the designation of social, cultural, and human capital factors, a clear way of measuring community expectancy would exist. Likewise, five factors that aligned with the Deggs-Miller model would verify their suggested model. Any other results, may suggest a new approach for creating a model of community expectancy.

Social Capital Variables:

- Number of secondary school activities—(Dimension: Informal Associations)

  Based upon previous studies that emphasized the importance of social and cultural capital (e.g., Putnam, 2000; Perna, 2000; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001; Rowan-Kenyon, 2007), a wider variety of extracurricular opportunities for social networking and shared cultural experiences should result in a higher likelihood of college attendance and completion among high school students.

- Population migration—(Dimension: Unidentified)

  Population migration was a similar measure to Andersson and Subramanian's (2006) interest in the country-of-origin of neighborhood residents and unemployment. Population migration measures the change in population over a period of time. The assumption behind using this variable is two-fold: a) a high in-migration level may be good in the sense that it brings in more cultural diversity, potentially more social networks, and suggests more employment opportunities within a community, or b) too much out-migration leads to population stagnation and socio-cultural decline and less college graduation (Shaffer, Deller, & Marcouillier, 2004). Community expectancy of postsecondary attendance and completion was expected to be higher in communities with higher rates of in-migration and lower in communities suffering from out-migration. This variable represented the net migration rate of a community, which is the difference between those who move into the community and those who move out.

- Number of public facilities and services per capita—(Dimension: Civic Agencies)

  A variable measuring the existence and use of these facilities would indicate

  both communal stability (see Merton (1968) strain theory) and opportunity for

  social networking (Putnam, 2000); thus, a higher number of public facilities and

  services should result in higher expectations of postsecondary attendance.

  Researchers should be careful, however, because a correlation between the

  amount of facilities and the wealth and educational attainment levels of the

  community would likely exist.

- Dependency ratio—(Dimension: Home Life)

  A standard demographic variable (Yaukey, 1990) similar to Andersson and

  Subramanian's (2006) measurement of family-type and Bean and Metzner's

  (1985) work on nontraditional student factors in dropout behavior. The

  behavioral logic behind the inclusion of this variable was simple: the more

  dependents in a community, the less likely students from that community would

  have opportunity to leave and seek a postsecondary degree.

- Average family size—(Dimension: Home Life)

  This variable was similar to the dependency ratio and again related to

  Andersson and Subramanian's (2006) family type. Larger families may mean

  less opportunity for individuals because parents will have less money and time

  to divide among their children for educational purposes; thus, a community with

  large families should indicate a lower expectation of postsecondary attainment.

- Percent of population who are religious adherents—(Dimension: Religious Affiliations)

    Deggs and Miller's (2009) findings suggested that those individuals who were found to be religious adherents were less likely to be college graduates. If this conclusion were true, a community with a high percentage of religious adherents would have a lower expectation of college attendance and completion.

- Denominational religious training —(Dimension: Religious Affiliations)

    This variable was derived from the implications of Deggs and Miller's (2009) findings regarding religious adherence. They suggested an inverse relationship between church attendance and college completion. A variable measuring the level of official religious training (or lack thereof) among a community's religious leadership may suggest that some religious groups/denominations value college and seminary training while others do not, which could affect community expectancy. Anderson (1981) found that being Jewish had a positive effect on a higher college GPA and persistence; thus, having more seminary-trained church leaders in a community may likewise suggest higher completion rates, whereas having more church leaders who were "called" to their position may result in negative completion rates.

- Percent of population with high speed internet access—(Dimension: Informal Associations)

    Access to high speed internet in a community provides opportunities for social networking and access to objectified and institutionalized cultural capital. Thus, more access should point to higher completion rates, if one follows the logic of

Bourdieu (1986) and Putnam (2000).

Cultural Capital Variables:

- Racial/ethnic diversity—(Dimension: Informal Associations)

  Prior studies have found racial/ethnic diversity of individual students to indicate student completion rates (e.g., Perna, 2000; Perna & Titus, 2005). Stratton, O'Toole, & Wetzel (2007), for instance, suggested that race and ethnicity were significant factors in the attrition of part-time minority students. However, racial and ethnic diversity are a difficult matter. In an ideal situation where racism does not exist, an ethnically diverse community should benefit social and cultural capital as residents would be exposed to a wider variety of beliefs, artwork, etc. Assuming the ideal for the purposes of the study, increased diversity within a community was viewed as creating a higher expectation of college success.

- Percent of population in poverty—(Dimension: Home Life)

  This variable was an indicator of communal socio-economic status (SES). SES has been found relevant by nearly all the discussed studies of student retention and completion (e.g., Tinto, 1975, 1993; Bean, 1980; Rowan-Kenyon, 2007). In this case, a community with high rates of poverty should suggest lower expectations of postsecondary attendance and success. Low rates of poverty would result in the opposite expectation.

- Community crime rate—(Dimension: Unidentified)

  This variable was an indicator of communal stability (Merton, 1968). As a cultural capital factor, a negative correlation should exist between crime rate

and the community expectancy of postsecondary attendance and completion. High crime may lead to behaviors in which staying close to one's family for protection is the norm rather than behaviors of exploration.

- Community literacy rate—(Dimension: Formal Educational Bodies)

  The literacy rate was similar to the educational attainment variables (e.g., Tinto, 1975, 1993; Spady, 1975; Bean, 1980) listed under the human capital category; however, it was seen as a possible indicator of several broader community elements. A population with low literacy may be indicative of low achieving institutions of education, few economic opportunities, and/or the existence of a significantly older population from an era in which less education was the norm. The possibilities for interpretation are broad. Regardless, if a large percentage of a community's population was found to be illiterate, the likelihood of the community having high expectations for college attendance and completion would be low. Thus, in terms of the model for community expectancy, low literacy would indicate low community expectations of postsecondary attainment and high literacy would indicate high expectations.

- Per capita education spending at the civic level—(Dimension: Unidentified)

  This variable was a modification of Deggs and Miller's (2009) suggested variable "number of schools in school improvement." Since the study's unit of analysis was the community and not a particular region, as was the case for the Deggs and Miller study, per capita education spending at the civic level was more relevant. Furthermore, there was some support in the literature for such a variable (e.g., Perna, 2000; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001; Rowan-Kenyon, 2007).

Higher per capita spending on education should be a clear indicator of support

for education, at least at the elementary and secondary level. This type of

purposeful support for education would also translate easily into an expectation

of educational attainment.

- Number of artistic, craft, festival events—(Dimension: Unidentified)

    This variable reflected Rowan-Kenyon's (2007) individual-level variable of

    participation in art, dance, or music classes. Again, like the secondary school

    activities, more activities (i.e., more cultural capital) would indicate higher

    expectations of attending college and degree completion.

- Percentage of local industry dedicated to arts, entertainment, and recreation—

    (Dimension: Unidentified)

    This variable was an alternative measure to the previous variable: Number of

    artistic, craft, festival events. It was based upon the same logic as the previous

    variable and was intended to be an alternative means of quantifying a

    community's cultural capital. A higher percentage of the local industry

    dedicated to cultural events would indicate a higher cultural capital within the

    community. As suggested by Bourdieu (1986) and Rowan-Kenyon (2007),

    higher cultural capital would indicate increased expectations of educational

    attainment.

- Proximity to an institution of higher education—(Dimension: Formal Education

    Bodies)

    A number of studies have identified the proximity of an institution of higher

    learning as a significant factor in college choice and success (Andersson &

Subramanian, 2006; Hoenack & Weiler, 1975; Miller & Tuttle, n.d., 2006, 2007). Thus, if a sampled community had an institution of higher education within its boundaries or nearby, that community should generate expectations that support college attendance and completion.

- Number of depositories of knowledge/culture—(Dimension: Civic Agencies)
  Based upon the principles behind cultural capital as defined by Bourdieu (1986) and the work of Miller and Tuttle (n.d., 2006, 2007), this variable was intended to be an indicator of the cultural capital of a community. The more depositories of knowledge and culture that exist within in a community then a) the more the community values culturally significant items and b) the more likely an individual is to be exposed to such culturally significant items. As a result, an increase in the number of these depositories of knowledge/culture should correlate with higher community expectations of postsecondary educational attainment.

Human Capital Variables:

- Average income per capita—(Dimension: Home Life)
  Numerous studies have suggested that familial income is a significant indicator of student success and college choice (e.g., Pascarella & Terenzini, 1980; Perna, 2000; Rowan-Kenyon, 2007; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001). The same should hold true at the community level. Income is connected to resource availability; thus, the higher the average income per capita the higher the educational resources that should be available to a community's citizens. In short, higher income per capita should generate a higher expectancy of educational attainment. The

opposite would be true of low income communities as suggested by Rowan-Kenyon's (2007) study. Granted, researchers like Glass (2008) have shown that a community may develop in which the wealthy isolate their resources from the poor creating two expectations based on class-structure. Only a close analysis of other factors within a community can clarify that type of division.

- Homeownership rate—(Dimension—Home Life)

  Deggs and Miller (2009) suggested that home ownership was an indicator of home life. If a person owns a home, he or she is more likely to have enough income to attend college. Thus, the logic behind the inclusion of this variable was simple. If a community's homeownership rate is higher than average, the community would likely project an expectancy of postsecondary attendance.

- Percent of population 25 and older with a high school diploma or equivalent; Percent of population 25 and older with a baccalaureate degree—(Dimension: Formal Education Bodies)

  Educational attainment of parents has been found to be a significant indicator of individual student success (e.g., Tinto, 1975, 1993; Spady, 1975; Bean, 1980); thus, a community with high levels of educational attainment may likewise indicate an expectation for more student success. While these variables may be collinear, they were treated individually because their separate levels may indicate different community expectations. For instance, a community with a high percentage of high school graduates and GED obtainers does not necessarily translate into a community with high expectations of college completion, although such a community would likely have higher expectations

than a community with fewer high school graduates and GED obtainers.

- Percent of unemployment—(Dimension-Home Life)

  Andersson and Subramanian (2006) found high rates of neighborhood unemployment indicated less student success in college. It seems logical to postulate that the same would be the case in Arkansas communities. This factor could provide interesting insights as college attendance tends to go up when unemployment is high; however, an increase in enrollment does not necessarily translate into success, as would seem to be indicated by the Andersson and Subramanian study.

- Number of privately owned businesses—(Dimension: Unidentified)

  Consideration of this variable was similar to what previous studies found about familial income (e.g., Pascarella & Terenzini, 1980; Perna, 2000; Rowan-Kenyon, 2007; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001). More privately owned businesses should indicate a more vibrant economy and higher education levels (Shaffer, Deller, & Marcouillier, 2004), or at least higher community expectancy for degree/certificate completion among the cohort.

Data Analysis

Research Question One: Which community-level social, cultural, and human capital variables contribute to student success, as indicated by the dependent variable of school district degree/certificate completion rates for the 2000 (Y2000) cohort, among a sample of Arkansas communities? Multiple regression was used to isolate the effect of each community-level social, cultural, and human capital variable on the dependent

variables of degree/certificate completion rates while holding the effect of the other independent variables constant (Pollack, 2009). As this was an exploratory study attempting to identify variables that could be used to measure community expectancy of postsecondary attainment, the individual t-values of each variable were as important to the analysis as the overall effect size as measured by the R^2 and adjusted R^2 in this initial research.

While uncertainty is something any scientist hopes to eliminate and as this was a new area of study, several statistical problems presented themselves. Among the most apparent was the potential for multicollinearity. There were 23 proposed social, cultural, and human capital variables suggested by previous studies. Using too many explanatory variables can lead to an indeterminate research design (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994). Thus, the most important statistical problem facing the study was including irrelevant variables. This study therefore tested for collinear variables using the correlation matrices generated during the regression analysis along with variance inflation factor (VIF) and tolerance tests. Collinear variables were combined to create interaction terms when deemed necessary and the regressions were performed again with and without the collinear variables and with and without the interaction terms. This process took several attempts to arrive at the optimum set of variables providing the most effect on the dependent variable. Each regression was also checked for heteroscedasticity. All results and adjustments were reported openly in Chapter Four, which is appropriate for scientific inference (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994).

Research Question Two: Which community-level social, cultural, and human capital variables contribute to college choice, as indicated by the dependent variable of

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school district college going rates for the Y2000 cohort, among a sample of Arkansas communities? As with the first research question, multiple regression analysis was used to answer this research question. The same independent variables, procedures, and limitations identified for the first research question applied to the data analysis of this research question. Only the dependent variable differed.

Research Question Three: Do latent factors exist among the social, cultural, and human capital variables that could be used to identify community expectations of postsecondary educational attainment as defined in research questions one and two? The hypothesized relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variables of research questions one and two required further verification. Considering the number of independent variables, an exploratory factor analysis was used to address the third research question. This procedure helped explain intercorrelations that existed among the independent variables and helped identify the combined effect of certain variables (see Loehlin, 2004). Typically this methodological approach is used with survey data in higher education studies that result in a large number of variables (e.g., Bean, 1980, 1982; Bers & Smith, 1991); however, factor analysis can be used along with multiple regression as the beta coefficients needed to generate the necessary equations are taken from the correlation matrix of the regression analysis (Loehlin, 2004). In this study, the factor analysis was used primarily for data reduction purposes and to possibly identify latent factors suggested by the clustering of variables. Loehlin (2004) writes:

> [O]ne way to think of exploratory factor analysis is as a process of discovering and defining latent variables and a measurement model that can then provide the basis for a causal analysis of relations among the latent variables. (p. 152)

Because there were a large number of variables suggested by previous literature as possible indicators of degree completion, eliminating irrelevant or redundant variables was a key step in improving the efficiency of the design and overcoming potential bias that may cloud the data analysis (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994). Factor analysis was therefore a central tool for identifying the underlying factors that suggest community expectancy.

Research Question Four: To what extent did the findings related to the social, cultural, and human capital variables used in the study support the theoretical concept of an operational model of community expectancy? To answer the fourth research question, the findings from research questions one, two, and three were examined to determine if they collectively suggested a new model of community expectancy that may not have appeared from the individual analysis of each question. The results for the first three research questions were contextualized within the theoretical framework established in Chapters One and Two of this study.

Research Question Five: If a model of community expectancy is identified, what are the potential policy ramifications of understanding community expectancy for higher education officials, community leaders, and policymakers? Although a clearly defined and operational model of community expectancy did not emerge from the findings of the study, the possibility for developing a model of community expectancy of postsecondary attainment was deemed probable. The creation of such a model could have numerous potential policy ramifications; thus, it was prudent to briefly analyze Arkansas's higher education policy environment to determine what scholars and policy entrepreneurs presenting this new approach would face. The state's higher education policy

environment was therefore analyzed using an interpretive policy analysis approach.

Interpretive policy analysis differs from the traditional cost-benefit analysis or evaluative

approaches of policy analysis. Yanow (2000) wrote:

> Interpretive approaches to policy analysis focus on the meanings that policies
> have for a broad range of policy-relevant publics, including but not limited to
> clients and potential clients, legislators, cognate agencies (supportive and
> contesting), implementers (such as implementing-agency executives,
> administrators, and staff), and potential voters. (p. 8)

Because community expectancy is a new concept and not an actual policy being

considered on any particular governmental agenda, interpretive policy analysis was a

useful methodological tool for identifying possible policy imagery and venues for

discussing community expectancy within the higher education policy environment of

Arkansas.

Chapter III: Summary of Chapter

This chapter described the methodological procedures used in the study as well as

some of the possible limitations of the methodological procedures. Since the purpose of

the study was to identify the factors that best indicate community expectations of

postsecondary attainment, this chapter described the social, cultural, and human capital

variables suggested by the literature as indicators of college choice and student success.

In this mixed methods study, quantitative and qualitative tools were used to develop a

research design to identify and define variables that could possibly assist in the

development of an operational model of community expectancy.

Multiple regression analysis was the quantitative tool used to explain the

correlations between the independent variables and the dependent variables of

degree/certificate completion rates and college going rates, which are measures of postsecondary educational attainment. A quantitative exploratory factor analysis was used to identify intercorrelations among the independent variables and to reduce the data to relevant factors that suggested community expectations. It was anticipated that the analysis of these data would yield an operational model of community expectancy that could be tested by future researchers. A qualitative interpretive policy analysis was also used to frame the findings of the study in the context of Arkansas's higher education policy environment.

CHAPTER IV

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

The study was designed to identify variables that would aid in the formation of a model of community expectancy to assist scholars and policymakers in understanding the role of community on postsecondary attainment in the State of Arkansas. The review of literature revealed that certain social, cultural, and human capital variables affect individual choice to attend college and performance once in college. Findings indicating a link between community characteristics to college completion and going rates within the state could yield beneficial information for scholars and policymakers seeking to improve postsecondary degree and certificate completion in the state.

This chapter presents the data and findings of the research that was conducted for the study. The findings did not suggest a working model of community expectancy; however, the evidence presented in the study provided some insight into possible future exploration of community expectancy and did indicate that community has some effect on college choice and completion. The findings provided a small set of statistically significant variables and suggested possible latent factors that may guide further study. An analysis of the higher education policy environment in Arkansas recommended that any new theory or data that could improve college going rates and completion rates would be well received.

Summary of Study

The study was designed to perform a set of statistical tests on a group of variables drawn from past research in an effort to identify the existence of a model of community expectancy. A basic assumption of the study was that communities express expectations of behavior for community residents based upon the broadly accepted norms and values of community members as a whole; thus, community expectancy represents the predominant belief of a community on any given topic. These expectations of behavior are transmitted as legacies from generation to generation within the community.

For the purposes of the study, community was defined as both a physical place in which people live and communicate within political, geographic, social, and economic boundaries (see Shaffer, Deller, & Marcouiller, 2004) and a pseudo-organism in which community residents create a sense of self-identity from their shared values, beliefs, and interrelationships (Dewey, 1899/1980, 1916/2004, 1938, 1939; Erikson, 1950/1993, 1968/1994; Miller & Tuttle, 2006). The communally shared values, or legacies, could potentially extend beyond any place-based boundary.

The focus of the study was to identify the factors that represent community expectations of college attendance and completion. Understanding community expectations of postsecondary attainment could assist researchers and policymakers in developing programs and policies to improve higher education degree completion and attainment. Although the findings of the study would only be applicable to the State of Arkansas, as the sample consists only of Arkansas communities, it was the expectation that the emergence of a model may be testable in any region or state. A primary goal,

therefore, of the study was the development of a model of community expectancy with broader applicability.

The conceptualization of the study was rooted in the research of Deggs and Miller (2009) and the theoretical framework was drawn from the writings of numerous social scientists. Three scholars were of central importance to structuring the theoretical framework. Dewey (1899/1980, 1916/2004, 1938, 1939) provided the philosophical grounding with his many writings on the intersection of community, democracy, and education. Erikson's (1950/1993, 1968/1994) identity development theory also proved vital because of his belief that adolescents struggle with identifying with accepted communal norms and thus becoming participants in that community or with rejecting those norms and thus being alienated. Other scholars built on the works of Erikson explaining similar processes in terms of adult behavior, behavioral shifts during the course of a person's life and during transitional periods, and also in terms of deviant behaviors (see Schlossberg's transition theory as cited in Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998; Elder, 1994; Giele & Elder, 1998; Swidler's, 1986; and Merton, 1968).

Finally, the theoretical framework for an emergent model of community expectancy was also influenced by Bourdieu's (1986) capital theory. Bourdieu recognized that power exists in the form of social, cultural, and economic capital. Whether gained through acquisition or legacy, ownership of capital, which could simply be defined as an item or characteristic valued by the predominant culture, improves an individual's station in society. An individual's status can be improved through financial gain or prestige, either of which tend to allow the individual, in turn, more influence in shaping what is culturally valued. What Bourdieu considered economic capital has been

subdivided by economists and other scholars into an array of other capitals not discussed in this research. Instead, the study focused only on the human capital component of economic capital. Thus, for the purpose of the study, the variables selected to test for a model of community expectancy were identified as social, cultural, and human capital.

A review of literature, specifically literature concerning college choice and literature concerning student attrition and retention, identified a number of possible social, cultural, and human capital variables that may indicate community expectancy. As there was little previous literature in which the community was the unit of analysis, many of the variables that were identified in the literature review as having an impact on college choice or completion were significant to the individual only and possibly would not transfer to the community. Nevertheless, the study was intended to be exploratory. Those variables that could be identified at both the individual and community level or that could be transformed into a relatively similar variable were used. For instance, instead of parental education level, which was deemed a relevant determinant of student success (Tinto, 1975, 1993; Spady, 1975; Bean, 1980), the percent of population over 25 with a baccalaureate degree was used. In some cases, variables implied by the theoretical framework were used so long as previous research also implied a connection. For instance, the percent of local industry dedicated to arts, recreation, and entertainment was selected both due to Bourdieu's (1986) theoretical importance of cultural capital and Rowan-Kenyon's (2007) implication that students who participated in art, music, and dance classes should show higher rates of college completion. Every variable identified and used in the study was grounded in the previous literature.

This exercise in identifying a model of community expectancy was intended to become the foundation for future studies attempting to discover further factors and variables that correlate with college going and completion rates. The development of an effective model of community expectancy could be used in two possible ways. At a postsecondary institutional level, college administrators, specifically student services personnel, could identify communities from which college going rates and completion rates were lower. Using the model to understand the expectations from those communities, student services personnel could develop programming to overcome low expectations of completion where they exists. The model of community expectancy, therefore, would be an added tool for analyzing student backgrounds and assisting students in adjusting to the differences, as well as similarities of college life, versus the communities in which they were raised.

At a statewide or regional level, policymakers could use a model of community expectancy to understand those aspects of specific communities that are inhibiting college choice and completion. Rather than statewide mandates that may not address individual differences in community expectations, policymakers could develop economic and community development strategies to address community-specific norms and values that affect residents' choices regarding postsecondary education. In this sense, through knowledgeable development programming, community expectations could possibly be reshaped to improve postsecondary degree attainment, at least in the State of Arkansas.

To this end, Chapter Four presents the data, procedures and results from the analysis. The study used multiple regression analysis to answer research questions one and two. Factor analysis was the quantitative tool used to answer research question three.

For research question four, the findings of the first three questions were reviewed to determine if collectively they suggested a model that each prior question individually did not appear to suggest. This comprehensive look at the findings from the first three questions implied that a model may exist although not in the expected form. Finally, research question five was answered qualitatively using an interpretive policy analysis of recent Arkansas policies related to higher education to contextualize the possible implications of a model of community expectancy.

Sample Selection Procedures

A random number table was used to select 80 of the 120 incorporated Arkansas communities identified by the United States Census Bureau with a population between 2000 to 30,000 residents. The necessity of relying upon school district data for determining the dependent variables of the study meant that 17 of the 80 communities were eliminated from the sample. Communities in Pulaski County were eliminated as all students outside of the Little Rock and North Little Rock school districts attend the Pulaski County Special School District. Data for communities in this consolidated school district cannot be disaggregated. Also, some smaller communities outside of Pulaski County such as Ward, Arkansas had only an elementary school and thus their secondary students attended the much larger Cabot School District. Similar circumstances explained the removal of all 17 communities from the final sample.

The populations of the remaining sampled communities, according to the US Census Bureau's Y2000 decennial census, ranged from 2,008 residents in Rector, Arkansas to 27,752 residents in West Memphis (M=6,500; SD=5,923). In an ideal situation, data on college going rates and degree completion rates would be available at

the zip code level; however, since data were only available at the school district level for the study, the 63 communities remaining in the sample had their own school district or represented the primary community within a rural consolidated school district. The school district populations for the sample ranged from 3,517 students in the Smackover School District in Smackover, Arkansas to 32,505 students in the Russellville School District in Russellville, Arkansas (M=11,257; SD=7,366) (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2010, School District Demographic System). For a complete listing of the communities included in the sample along with their population, county, school district name, and school district population, see Appendix A.

Presentation of Data

This section was designed to provide an overview of the data used in the research procedures. A more comprehensive listing of data used along with useful descriptive data that will assist in the analysis of the finding in Chapter Five's conclusions and recommendations can be found in the appendices. A brief description of each of the variables used and those that were ultimately discarded or altered from the originally desired variable were included in the following pages.

Dependent Variables

As stated in Chapter Three, the dependent variables for research questions one and two were provided by ADHE. For the first research question, the dependent variable was the unduplicated degree/certificate completion rate within six years of college entry for the fall semester Y2000 cohort from the school districts of each of the sampled communities. The dependent variable for the second research question was the school district college going rates for the Y2000 cohort. Table 1 provides a summary overview

of the data for the dependent variables. For a complete listing of the dependent variables

by community see Appendix B.

Table 1

Summary of Dependent Variables for Sample of Arkansas Communities (N=63)

	Completion rate[a]	Going rate[b]
Range	7.7% to 81.8%	10.5% to 57.1%
Mean	43.3%	37.6%
SD	12.5%	10.2%

Note. Data for the dependent variables were calculated by the ADHE upon request.
[a]Arkansas Department of Higher Education. (2010). [Credentials awarded by degree level, academic year and high school]. Unpublished raw data. [b]Arkansas Department of Higher Education. (2010). [College going rate by high school district]. Unpublished raw data.

Independent Variables

The independent variables used for the study were divided among the categories

of social, cultural, and human capital in the following sections. In some instances, due to

limitations in available data, the desired variables discussed in Chapter Three were

replaced with measures that were available. In other instances, when expected data were

unavailable, the desired variable was removed from the study altogether. The study

sought to examine the effect of 23 independent variables on the dependent variables. In

total, only 19 variables were examined in the procedures. A summary of each variable

used along with explanations of their limitations, alterations, or deletions can be found in

the following sections. Because of the large amount of data collected for the study,

summary tables for the variables were utilized. The complete data for every community

were made available in the appendices. For reference, the SPSS coding for each of the

independent variables used in the study was listed in Table 2. These codes were used

throughout the remainder of this chapter.

Table 2

SPSS coding of Independent Variables

Codes	Description
Graduate	Unduplicated degree/certificate completion rate within six years of college entry for the fall semester Y2000 cohort from the school districts
Going	School district college going rates for the Y2000 cohort
Clubs	Number competitive clubs declared by School District (2010)
PopMgrtn	Net population migration (county)
DepndRat	Dependency ratio
FamSize	Average family size
Religion	Rates of adherence per 1000 population (county)
%Nonwhite	Percent of population, Nonwhite
Poverty	Percent of population below poverty
CrimeRate	Y2000 crime rate
Literacy	Percent of county population lacking basic prose literacy skills (2003)
PPE	Total and current district expenditures on instruction per pupil (PPE) for the 1999-2000 academic year
Arts	Percent of population employed in arts, entertainment, and recreation
ProxColl	Proximity to a postsecondary institution (in miles)
Library	Number of public libraries within 20 miles
Income	Per capita income in US dollars
Homeown	Homeowner rate
HSDegree	Percent of population 25 and older with HS degree or equivalent
BADegree	Percent of population 25 and older with BA
Unemply	Unemployment rate
SelfEmpl	Percent of workers reporting as self-employed in all industries (both sexes)

Social Capital Variables

In Chapter Three, the importance of measuring the number of secondary school activities was deemed relevant based on the findings of past research. Unfortunately, there was no comprehensive database maintained by the Arkansas Department of Education or any other state agency that listed all extracurricular activities for each school district. As a result, the first variable used in the study suffered from severe limitations and should be treated as a test variable. Instead of a comprehensive representation of all extracurricular activities in each sampled community school district, the first variable was the number of Arkansas High School Athletic Administrators Association (AHSAAA) sponsored clubs declared by a school district for 2010. These were the high school competitive clubs of each school district and included sports teams from baseball to wrestling as well as competitive dance, debate, and speech teams. This variable did not include activities such as band, math club, drama club, National Honor Society, and other such groups. The Arkansas Activities Association (AAA) maintained these data; however, the database was not archived, meaning the data used were from the most recent academic school year 2010-2011.

The next social capital variable suggested by the literature was the population migration for each community. This measure was meant to represent the change in population over a period of time. This variable suffered from two limitations. First, the United States Census Bureau and the University of Arkansas at Little Rock's (UALR) Institute for Economic Advancement collected the data only at the county level in the year 2000. Second, the data did not account for persons who moved from a domestic location to a location out of the United States.

Unfortunately, no databases containing the number of public facilities and services per capita were available. Inconsistencies among the local government websites in how they designated public facilities made data collection difficult. As a final attempt at collecting these data, a brief questionnaire regarding public facilities and other local information relevant to desired cultural capital variables was emailed to the Chambers of Commerce and city governments of the sampled communities. This questionnaire yielded only a 27% response rate; therefore, this variable was excluded from the study.

The Demographic Research Division of UALR's Institute for Economic Advancement calculated the dependency ratio of each sampled community for the year 2000. The dependency ratio was derived by dividing the combined 0-14 and 65+ populations by the 15-64 population then multiplying by 100; a standard demographic indicator of the number of dependents within a community. There were no limitations to these data. Likewise, there were no limitations for the average family size variable. Data for the average family size were gathered from the United States Census Bureau's decennial 2000 census using a custom table of the sampled communities.

Data on religious adherence were available from the Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA) but only at the county level. ARDA, however, had no available data of the education levels of denominational leaders within the sampled communities. Likewise, the final social capital variable, percent of population with high-speed internet access, was unavailable for the year 2000. It would have been possible to use county-level data from 2007; however, technology has rapidly advanced in internet and computing technologies so that a 2007 measure may not have been representative of 2000 conditions. Summative data on each of the five social capital variables used for the study

and discussed in this section have been presented in Table 3. Complete data on each

social capital variable for the sampled communities were presented in Appendix C.

Table 3

Social Capital Variables

	Clubs[a]	PopMgrtn[b]	DepndRat[c]	FamSize[d]	Religion[e]
Range	5 to 23	-3,343 to 11, 213	43.2 to 103.5	2.59 to 3.54	396 to 799
Mean	15	1,220	63	3.04	578
SD	4	3066	10	0.18	103

Note. Number of HS ASHAAA sponsored clubs declared by School District 2010 (Clubs[a]) from, Arkansas Activities Association. (2010). Schools: Online Directory: High School Declarations. Retrieved November 29, 2010 from, http://www.ahsaa.org/ schools.asp. AR County Net Population Migration (PopMgrtn[b]) from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000. PHC-T-22. Migration for the Population 5 Years and Over for the United States, Regions, States, Counties, New England Minor Civil Divisions, Metropolitan Areas, and Puerto Rico: 2000. Retrieved November 19, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/population/www/cen2000/migration/index.html. Dependency Ratio (DepndRat[c]) from, Institute for Economic Advancement at the University of Arkansas, Little Rock. (2010). [Dependency ratio for sampled communities]. Unpublished raw data. Prepared by Demographic Research Division from U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000. Average Family Size (FamSize[d]) from, United States Census Bureau (2000). American FactFinder, Census 2000 P33. Average family size[1], Universe: Families, custom table. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/CTTable?_lang=en&_ts=310658391428. Rates of adherence per 1000 population (Religion[e]) from, Association of Religion Data Archives. (2000). All denominations—Rates of adherence per 1000 population (2000) *Unadjusted*. Retrieved November 9, 2010 from http://www.thearda.com/mapsReports/ maps/map.asp?alpha=1&variable=3&state=4&variable2=0&GRP=0

Cultural Capital Variables

The first cultural capital variable was intended to provide some basic measure of

the racial and ethnic diversity of a community, which past research had suggested

significantly influences attrition rates for part-time minority students (Stratton, O'Toole,

& Wetzel 2007). The variable used was the percentage of non-white residents in each community. As the primary racial and ethnic groups in Arkansas are white, African American, and Hispanic/Latino (US Census Bureau, 2009, Arkansas Quick Facts), for descriptive purposes, racial/ethnic data was further collected to determine the non-white and non-African American populations of each community. These descriptive data were presented in Appendix D along with data from the other cultural capital variables. Significant findings attributed to this variable would require further research to understand the true effect of diversity.

The next cultural capital measures used in the study were the percent of population in poverty, the community crime rate, and the community literacy rate. The United States Census Bureau collects poverty information and there were no limitations to these data. The crime rate of communities is a controversial variable because it is based on self-reporting by local law enforcement agencies of eight indicator crimes. Some communities do not report these data while others likely do not report every instance of each crime as comprehensive reporting may impact economic development. This type of inconsistency means one should be hesitant in using the Crime Index data for ranking purposes (Arkansas Crime Information Centers, n.d.). Yet, the crime rate, in the context of the other variables used in the study, provided insight into criminal activity in the selected communities. Six communities in this sample made no reports to the crime index database. The community literacy rate suffered from two limitations. First, no data existed at the community level, so the variable was collected at the county level. Second, data were only collected in the National Assessment of Adult Literacy provided by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) for the county in 2003 instead of 2000.

It is doubtful that a significant change in the literacy rate occurred between 2000 and 2003, so the 2003 data were used.

The fourth cultural capital variable used for the research was intended to be a measure of the per capita education spending at the civic level. Because the dependent variables were collected at the school district level, this variable was modified to be the total and current district expenditures on instruction per pupil (PPE) for the 1999-2000 academic year. As the Arkansas Department of Education (ADE) does not retain data beyond 2006 in a public database, data were retrieved from the Common Core of Data maintained by the NCES. To understand the district structures, specifically revenue sources, several points of data were collected for descriptive purposes and included in Appendix D. These descriptive data included the total revenue, the revenue collected from local sources, and the revenue from the state for the 1999-2000 academic year.

The remaining cultural capital variables suggested by the literature were aimed at determining community access to arts and centers of knowledge. This information proved difficult to obtain. Information on artistic, craft, and festival events were not archived by the state, and dates of such events at the local level were not maintained well creating inconsistency between what was reported by state agencies and what was promoted on local city websites. Again, a questionnaire of local Chambers of Commerce and city governments did not yield a high enough return rate to include some data. As a result, the number of artistic, craft, and festival events had to be excluded from the study.

The next cultural capital variable was intended to be an indicator of the arts economy of a community. The percentage of local industry dedicated to arts, entertainment, and recreation was slightly altered to become the percent of local workers

who identified themselves in the Y2000 United States Census as employed in the arts, entertainment, and recreation industry. There were no limitations to these data.

Proximity to an institution of higher education was collected using a list of the main postsecondary public and private campuses located on the ADHE website. For the purpose of the study, satellite campuses were excluded. The mileage was calculated using the "get directions" function at www.mapquest.com. The start point was the sampled community and the end point was the closest college campus. A zero in this data indicated that the sampled community had a postsecondary institution within city limits.

The final cultural capital variable considered was the number of depositories of knowledge/culture within a community. This variable was intended to represent the number of libraries, museums, and other cultural/knowledge depositories within a community. While databases exist with some of this information, inconsistencies between databases resulted in this variable being altered for consistency. The variable used was a simple count of the public libraries within a 20 mile radius of the sampled community. These data were obtained from the library search function on the NCES website. The data for this variable was limited by the fact that it was 2010 data and new public libraries have likely been built in the last decade that did not exist in 2000. The following Table 4 offers an overview of the cultural capital data used. All cultural capital data for each community was presented in Appendix D.

Table 4

Cultural Capital Variables

	%Nonwhite[a]	Poverty[b]	CrimeRate[c]	Literacy[d]
Range	1.3 % to 85.1%	6.7% to 45.4%	8 to 1615	10% to 25%
Mean	26.4%	20.6%	358	16.4%
SD	23.5%	7.8%	434	4.1%

	PPE[e]	Arts[f]	ProxColl	Library[g]
Range	$2841 to $4404	0% to 8.51%	0 to 69	1 to 12
Mean	$3323	0.9%	18.64	5.08
SD	$298	1.2%	15.63	2.38

Note. Percent Nonwhite Population (%Nonwhite[a]) from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample data. P6. Race[8]–Universe: Total population. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/census2000/ sumfile3.html. Percent of population below poverty (Poverty[b]) from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000. Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample. P89. Poverty status in 1999 by age by household type [39]–Universe: Population for whom poverty status is determined. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/ census2000/sumfile3.html. Y2000 Crime Rate (CrimeRate[c]) from, Arkansas Crime Information Center. (2010, Nov. 18). [2000 Crime index for sampled communities]. Unpublished raw data. Prepared by the Criminal Justice Information Division. Percent of county population lacking basic prose literacy skills (Literacy[d]) from, National Center for Education Statistics. (2003). Indirect estimate of percent lacking basic prose literacy skills and corresponding credible intervals in all counties: Arkansas 2003. National Assessment of Adult Literacy. Retrieved November 13, 2010 from, http://nces.ed.gov/ naal/estimates/StateEstimates.aspx. Per Pupil Expenditures per school district (PPE[e]) from, National Center for Education Statistics. (2000). Common Core of Data (CCD), "School District Finance Survey (Form F-33)," 1999-2000 (FY 2000) v.1d. Retrieved, November 29, 2010, from http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/index.asp. Percent of Population employed in Arts, Entertainment, & Recreation (Arts[f]) from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample. P49. Sex by industry for the employed civilian population 16 years and over [55]–Universe: Employed civilian population 16 years and over. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from,

http://www.census.gov/census2000/sumfile3.html. Public Libraries within 20 miles (Library[g]) from, National Center for Education Statistics. (2010). Search for schools, colleges, and libraries. Retrieved November 23, 2010 from, http://nces.ed.gov/globallocator/

Human Capital Variables

With the exception of the community unemployment rate, data for the human capital variables were retrieved from the United States Census Bureau. The unemployment rate was provided by UALR's Institute for Economic Advancement upon request. The variables of per capita income, homeownership rate, percent of population 25 and older with a high school degree or equivalent, percent of population 25 and older with a baccalaureate degree, and the unemployment rate had no limitations and reflected conditions in 2000. The homeownership rate for each community was calculated by dividing the population living in owner-occupied housing units by the total population living in occupied housing units.

The only significant change to the human capital variables proposed in Chapter Three was a measure of the privately owned businesses in a community. The original thinking behind this variable was that a higher percentage of privately owned businesses would indicate a more vibrant economy and therefore more support for educational attainment. Determining the number or percentage of privately owned businesses at the community-level in 2000 for the sample was not possible. As a result, this variable was altered to show the percentage of workers that reported themselves as self-employed in all industries for both sexes. This variable was calculated by summing all male and female respondents who categorized themselves as self-employed in their own incorporated or non-incorporated business to determine a total population self-employed in own incorporated or non-incorporated business for each community. This self-

employed total was then divided by the total employed civilian population 16 years and

over to create the percentage of workers reporting themselves as self-employed in all

industries (both sexes), which was used for this research study. Table 5 reports the

descriptive data for all of the human capital variables used in the study while the

complete data can be found in Appendix E.

Table 5

Human Capital Variables

	Income[a]	Homeown[b]	HSDegree[c]	BADegree[d]	Unemply[e]	SelfEmpl[f]
Range	$9,437 to $19,656	47.6 % to 79.3%	24.3% to 43.7%	2.8% to 19.2%	2.5% to 22.1%	5.6% to 22.3%
Mean	$14,606	63.5 %	34.2%	9.0%	7.3%	10.2%
SD	$2,310	7.5%	3.5%	3.7%	3.6%	3.0%

Note. Per Capita Income (Income[a]) from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample. P82. Per capita income in 1999 (dollars) [1] – Universe: Total population. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/ census2000/sumfile3.html. Homeownership rate (Homeown[b]) from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample. H15. Total population in occupied housing units by tenure [3] – Universe: Population in occupied housing units. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/census2000/sumfile3.html. Population 25 and older with HS Degree/equivalent (HSDegree[c]) and Population 25 and older with BA (BADegree[d]) from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample. P37. Sex by educational attainment for the population 25 Years and over [35] – Universe: Population 25 years and over. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/census2000/sumfile3.html. Unemployment rate (Unemply[e]) from, Institute for Economic Advancement at the University of Arkansas, Little Rock. (2010). [Unemployment rate for sampled communities]. Unpublished raw data. Prepared by Demographic Research Division from U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000. Self-employed workers (SelfEmpl[f]) from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample. P51. Sex by industry by class of worker for the employed civilian population 16 ears and over [65] –Universe: Employed civilian population 16 years and over. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/census2000/sumfile3.html

Data Analysis and Procedures

In accordance with the principles of research promoted by King, Keohane, and

Verba (1994), this section provides a description of the procedures used to analyze data

in the research. Answers to research questions have been presented in the next section of

the chapter. Because of the number of statistical tests performed for the study and the

complexity of the study's nature, every attempt has been made to fully document the

procedures used to allow for duplication and verification by future researchers. PASW

Statistics GradPack 18 (referred to here as SPSS) was used for all data analysis.

Regression Analyses for Research Questions One and Two

To answer research questions one and two, procedures adhered to those proposed

in Chapter Three's Data Analysis section with adjustments being made for the decrease

in the number of variables from 23 to 19. For the variables *Clubs* and *CrimeRate* there

were missing values that required attention. Neither the community Eudora nor Stamps

reported the number of competitive clubs as those school districts have been consolidated

with other nearby school districts since 2000 and the data being used was from 2010, a

limitation described in the previous section of this chapter. Also, six communities did not

report their crime rate in 2000. To avoid data being excluded automatically by SPSS, the

missing values were substituted with the series mean, which is an acceptable practice

when the missing values do not represent more the 15% of the data for a particular

variable (George & Mallery, 2003).

Multiple regression analysis was used to analyze data for both questions one and

two. An initial regression was performed to measure the main effects of the independent

variables on the dependent variables for questions one and two. The findings from the

main effects regressions provided inconclusive answers to the first and second research questions. However, as stated in the data analysis section of Chapter Three, research questions one and two were intended to identify an optimum set of variables providing the most effect on the dependent variable in an effort to create a parsimonious model of community expectancy. Therefore, these main effects regressions marked a starting point for the study rather than an ending point.

Both main effects models were tested for heteroscedasticity using a scatterplot of the unstandardized residuals, a review of the histograms and a normal probability plots, and White's Test for heteroscedasticity. While neither of the main effects regressions revealed the existence of heteroscedasticity, multicollinearity was an issue, as expected. The main effects regression models for both research questions one and two were tested for multicollinearity using correlations matrices, variance inflation factor (VIF) tests, and tolerance tests. These tests were used to identify collinear variables and suggest interaction terms or the removal of suspect variables altogether.

Specifically, the following procedures were used to test for multicollinearity. SPSS was asked to provide a correlation table with Pearson's coefficient of determination (*Pearson's r*) for every variable and indicate a .05 level of significance for correlational relationships. Any correlation among variables with $r=.70$ or above was highlighted as a potential collinear relationship. SPSS was also set to provide the VIF and tolerance values in order to test for collinearity. High VIF values above 5 were treated with skepticism and tolerance values under .20 were viewed as problematic. Because a possible problem with multicollinearity was discovered in these tests, a new set of regressions were performed in which each independent variable was rotated into the

dependent variable position. The dependent variables were excluded from these regressions testing for multicollinearity among the independent variables. Each of these regressions provided an R^2 and adjusted R^2 values. Substantial increases in these values indicated that the variable in the dependent variable position would be problematic.

Analysis of these regressions testing for multicollinearity led to the variable *Poverty* being removed from both the completion rates model of question one and the going rates model of question two. In an effort to most effectively answer the research questions and create a parsimonious model, eight subsequent regressions were performed removing each of the remaining suspect variables in turn and testing various interaction terms. The first four of these tests focused on the interaction between the variables *Income* and *BADegree*. The process for each of these tests was as follows:

1. *BADegree* and *Income* removed from the model

2. *Income* added back into the model without *BADegree*

3. *BADegree* added back into the model without *Income*

4. Both variables in the model plus the interaction term *Income_BADegree*

The second set of these tests focused on the interaction between the variables *%NonWhite* and *Literacy*. The process for each of these tests was as follows:

1. *%Nonwhite* and *Literacy* removed from the model

2. *Literacy* added back into the model without *%Nonwhite*

3. *%Nonwhite* added back into the model without *Literacy*

4. Both variables in the model plus the interaction term *%Nonwhite_Literacy*

An analysis of the results from this subset of regressions aimed at understanding and eliminating multicollinearity among the variables suggested that the variable *Library*

was misrepresentative so it was removed from the model along with all other variables that were suggested by these tests as having no significant effect on the dependent variables. From this process of elimination, two distinct regression models for each research question were produced. These final models were used to answer research questions one and two, and the findings from these final models would be compared to the findings of research question three for the purposes of answering research question four.

In some instances, based upon the "Explanation of Independent Variables" section of Chapter Three, it would be possible to hypothesize directional results in which a one-tailed test for significance (t=1.671) at p≤.05 may lead to a different interpretation of the regression findings. Specifically, using a one-tailed test would likely yield a higher number of significant factors. The study, however, was intended to be exploratory in nature and thus the two-tailed tests were used. All t-scores for the regressions conducted for research questions one and two were reported in appendices F and G.

Factor Analysis for Research Question Three

Exploratory factor analysis (Loehlin, 2004) was performed to address research question three. The third research question was intended to identify whether latent factors existed among the social, cultural, and human capital variables used in the study that could be overlooked with only the findings from the first two research questions. For the initial factor analysis, the Kaiser-Mayer-Olkin (KMO) test and Bartlett's test of sphericity were used to determine whether this set of variables was acceptable for factor analysis (George & Mallery, 2003). Principal components analysis was used to extract the factors with extraction based upon the SPSS default of 1.0 for Eigenvalues. Because correlations

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among the factors were expected, an orthogonal Promax rotation with Kaiser Normalization was used. Finally, all factor loadings with a value less than .32 (Costello & Osborne, 2005) were suppressed automatically to generate the clearest results.

In performing the factor analysis, the variable *Library* was excluded as it was deemed misrepresentative in the regression analyses used in questions one and two. However, *Poverty*, which was negatively correlated with the variable *Income*, was reintroduced into the factor analysis as this test was aimed at understanding intercorrelations among the independent variables.

The factor analysis suggested a structure with six factors. In analyzing this structure only the highest loading of any crossloading item was retained. Crossloading items load at or higher than the minimum of .32 on more than one factor (Costello & Osborne, 2005). The removal of lower crossloading scores from the factor model weakened two of the factors suggesting the possibility of a different model. Thus, a series of new factor analyses restricting the number of possible factors to five, four, and three were performed. These limitations were intended to create the most parsimonious model.

Procedures for Research Question Four

Research question four was meant to provide a preliminary analysis of the findings from the first three research questions. The aim of this process was to look at the previous results holistically and to identify whether a model could exist that the individual regression analyses and factor analysis did not present. Specifically, the purpose of this question was to suggest a model of community expectancy from the results of the findings of the first three research questions that could be grounded in the theoretical framework of the study.

Policy Analysis for Research Question Five

To address this last research question and to understand how the emergence of a new model of community expectancy would be accepted within the higher education policy environment of Arkansas, it was necessary to briefly examine Arkansas history, primarily over the last 20 years, and the current status of Arkansas higher education. Because interpretive policy analysis was the principal tool for analyzing the policy environment, the language of the political discourse surrounding higher education was examined. Central to this analysis was the governor's economic plan, *Mike Beebe's Strategic Plan for Economic Development* (AEDC, 2009). The governor was determined to be the central foci of the higher education debate, and his administration set the tone for the current policy discussion with this document. A small selection of recent and pivotal laws affecting higher education were also briefly examined and summarized to determine the major policy objectives of the past and to identify possible access points to the institutional agenda of the state.

The policy literature section of the literature review provided much of the theoretical grounding for this policy analysis. Although not always explicitly referenced, the works of Arnold (1990) guided the understanding of the state legislature's role. Identifying the best conduit for agenda placement of a model of community expectancy adhered to precepts of Kingdon (1995) and Baumgartner and Jones (1993). Understanding the causal story of Arkansas's student success issues were shaped by Stone's (1989) theory.

Results

This section provides an overview of results from the data analysis for each research question. Each question is restated followed by a summary of the procedures and the final findings of the analyses preformed.

Research Question One

The first research question asked, which community-level social, cultural, and human capital variables contribute to student success, as indicated by the dependent variable of school district degree/certificate completion rates for the 2000 (Y2000) cohort, among a sample of Arkansas communities? The findings for research question one suggest, that despite problems with multicollinearity, the variables measuring the rates of religious adherence per 1000 population at the county level (*Religion*), the percent of Nonwhite population (*%Nonwhite*), and the percent of population 25 and older with a high school degree or equivalent (*HSDegree*) had the most consistent and largest effect on the school district degree/certificate completion rates for the Y2000 postsecondary cohort from the sampled Arkansas communities.

The significant findings ($p \leq .05$) for the main effects regression model testing research question one, in which the dependent variable was the unduplicated degree/certificate completion rate within six years of college entry for the fall semester Y2000 cohort from the school districts of each of the sampled communities, were summarized in Table 6.

Table 6

Summary of Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Completion Rates:

Main Effects Significant Results

Independent Variable	Unstandarized Estimate (B)	t	Standardized Beta
Religion	.0004*	2.458	.340
%Nonwhite	-.403*	-2.824	-.755
Library	-.023*	-3.129	-.429
HSDegree	-1.492*	-2.625	-.419

Note. Adj. R^2 =.314; *df*=43. *p≤.05, two-tailed.

The Adjusted R^2 (.314) revealed that, given the number of independent variables, this model explained 31.4% of the variance in the dependent variable of community completion rates. The F test ($F_{19,43}$=2.494) indicated that the overall regression was statistically significant at p≤.05. The constant (α), if all independent variables are zero, was .473. The variables *Clubs*, *PopMgrtn*, *DepndRat, FamSize*, *Poverty*, *Literacy*, *PPE*, *Arts*, *ProxColl*, *CrimeRate*, *Income*, *HomeOwn*, *BADegree*, *Unemply*, and *SelfEmply* were not found to be significant. The unstandardized coefficients (*B*) and the t test results for each significant independent variable were as follows:

- On average, given a one person increase in religious adherence per 1000 county residents, completion rates could be expected to increase by .0004 of a percentage point, holding everything else in the model constant. The t test was 2.458 (p≤.05) and therefore the variable *Religion* was statistically significant.

- On average, given a one percentage point increase in the percent of Nonwhite

residents within a community, completion rates could be expected to decrease by .403 of a percentage point, holding everything else in the model constant. The t test was -2.824 (p≤.05) and therefore the variable *%Nonwhite* was statistically significant.

- On average, given an increase of one library in the number of public libraries within a 20 mile radius of the sampled community, completion rates could be expected to decrease by .023 of a percentage point, holding everything else in the model constant. The t test was -3.129 (p≤.05) and therefore the variable *Library* was statistically significant.

- On average, given a one percentage point increase in the percent of population 25 and older with a high school degree or equivalent, completion rates could be expected to decrease 1.492 percentage points, holding everything else in the model constant. The t test was -2.625 (p≤.05) and therefore the variable *HSDegree* was statistically significant.

A scatterplot of the unstandardized residuals did reveal possible outliers, but they were not removed from the sample. The overall shape of the plot was uniform. A histogram and a normal probability plot revealed that the regression was shaped near the normal distribution (see Appendix F). Finally, White's Test for heteroscedasticity found no independent variables related to the error. These tests together suggested that the regression was free of heteroscedasticity.

As the independent variables were the same for questions one and two, the correlation matrix, the VIF tests, and the tolerance tests identified possible collinear variables for both regressions. The variables of *%Nonwhite* and *Poverty* were identified

immediately as suspicious. The VIF values for *%Nonwhite* and *Poverty* were 6.466 and

5.615, respectively, and the tolerance values were .155 and .178, respectively. The

correlation matrix revealed a potential collinear relationship existed between these two

variables ($r=.752$). The correlation matrix also revealed possible collinear relationships

between *%Nonwhite* and *Literacy* ($r=.737$) as well as a negative correlation between the

Poverty and *Income* variables ($r=-.747$). This second relationship was understandable as

these variables are both measures of socioeconomic status within a community. Higher

income per capita within a community should result in a decrease in poverty rates. The

correlation matrix also revealed a string of significant correlations revolving around the

variables of *%Nonwhite*, *Poverty*, and *Literacy* further indicating multicollinearity

problems.

 Although the minimum value for collinear relationships was set at $r=.70$ for the

study, an examination of the correlation matrix revealed two more suspect relationships.

The first and easiest to understand was the relationship between the number of

individuals 25 and older with a baccalaureate degree within a community and income per

capita ($r=.654$). While this relationship did not reach the threshold, it is understandable

that as the number of baccalaureate degrees within a community increases there will

likely be a corresponding increase in the income per capita of the community. The second

suspect correlation between *Poverty* and *Literacy* ($r=.690$) was near the threshold for

collinearity. Added to the previously noted collinear relationships between *%Nonwhite*

and *Literacy* and also between *%Nonwhite* and *Poverty*, this correlation appeared to

indicate multicollinearity among the three variables.

Due to this possible problem with multicollinearity, a new set of regressions were performed among the independent variables in which each independent variable was rotated into the dependent variable position. As suggested by the correlation matrix, the R^2 and adjusted R^2 values for these tests revealed potential problems with the variables of *%Nonwhite*, *Poverty*, and *Literacy* along with the variables *Income* and *BADegree*. The R^2 and adjusted R^2 values for these regressions, in which the indicated predictive variable was in the dependent variable position, were reported in Table 7.

Table 7

Summary of Regression Analyses for Analyzing Multicollinearity:

R^2 and Adjusted R^2 Values for Suspect Variables

	%Nonwhite	Poverty	Literacy	Income	BADegree
R^2	.845	.822	.774	.765	.755
Adj. R^2	.782	.749	.682	.669	.655

Note. Due to space limitations the full results from each of the 19 regressions in which the independent variables were rotated in the dependent variable position were not recorded in this dissertation.

A closer analysis of the unstandardized beta coefficients (*B*) and the t values from each of these regressions testing for multicollinearity suggested several positive and negative collinear relationships among the independent variables. The variables *Income* and *Poverty* were found to have strong inverse relationships. *Poverty* was also strongly correlated with the variable *%Nonwhite* and was not statistically significant in either model. Therefore, the main effects regressions were performed again without the variable *Poverty*. For research question one, the R^2 (.514) decreased slightly and the adjusted R^2 (.316) values increased only slightly from the main effects model. Next, another series of

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regressions were performed on this dependent variable in which the collinear independent variables were rotated in and out of the model in turn and combined into interaction terms. Specifically, the relationships between the variables *Income* and *BADegree* and the variables *%Nonwhite* and *Literacy* were investigated by this subset of regressions. The overall impact on the unstandardized beta coefficients and t values in this process was minimal. The R^2, adjusted R^2, F, and t values of these tests for research question one were summarized in Appendix F.

For research question one, regardless of the removal of collinear variables or the addition of interaction terms, four variables consistently appeared to explain some of the effect on the dependent variable. These variables were *Religion*, *%Nonwhite*, *Library*, and *HSDegree*. The variable *Library*, however, was flawed. The findings from this variable suggested that for an increase in the number of libraries within a 20-mile radius of the community, completion rates declined. There were a number of small communities within the sample that were either in close proximity with one another, each having a public library, or were the suburb of a larger community with branch libraries in the area, and these skewed the results. Furthermore, the dependent variables for the study represented Y2000 data and the count of libraries represented Y2010 data. As new libraries have possibly been built in the past decade, it was probable that the results regarding this single variable were inaccurate. Although removing the variable from the study weakened the model, it was deemed a necessary adjustment. A summary of the final regression model that included only the variables identified as consistently significant in explaining the unduplicated degree/certificate completion rate within six

years of college entry for the fall semester Y2000 cohort from the school districts of each

of the sampled communities was reported in Table 8.

Table 8

Summary of Significant Variables Explaining Completion Rates

Independent Variable	Unstandarized Estimate (*B*)	*t*	Standardized Beta
Religion	.0003*	2.227	.253
%Nonwhite	-.217*	-3.628	-.406
HSDegree	-.991*	-2.465	-.278

Note. Adj. R^2 = .248; *df*=59. *p≤.05, two-tailed.

The Adjusted R^2 (.248) revealed that, given the number of independent variables, this

model explained 24.8% of the variance in the dependent variable of community college

completion rates. The F test ($F_{3,59}$=7.831) indicated that the overall regression was

statistically significant at p≤.05. The constant (α), if all independent variables are zero,

was .651. The unstandardized coefficients (*B*) and the t test results for each independent

variable were as follows:

- On average, given a one person increase in the religious adherence per 1000

  county residents, completion rates could be expected to increase by .0003 of a

  percentage point, holding everything else in the model constant. The t test was

  2.227 (p≤.05) and therefore the variable *Religion* was statistically significant.

- On average, given a one percentage point increase in the percent of Nonwhite

  residents within a community, completion rates could be expected to decrease by

  .217 of a percentage point, holding everything else in the model constant. The

t test was -3.628 (p≤.05) and therefore the variable *%Nonwhite* was statistically

significant.

- On average, given a one percentage point increase in the percent of population 25

  and older with a high school degree or equivalent, completion rates could be

  expected to decrease by .991 of a percentage point, holding everything else in the

  model constant. The t test was -2.465 (p≤.05) and therefore the variable

  HSDegree was statistically significant.

Intercollinearity among the variables polluted the findings. Nevertheless, the variables

Religion, *%Nonwhite*, and *HSDegree* explained nearly 25 percent of the variation in the

dependent variable.

<div align="center">*Research Question Two*</div>

The second research question asked, which community-level social, cultural, and

human capital variables contribute to college choice, as indicated by the dependent

variable of school district college going rates for the Y2000 cohort, among a sample of

Arkansas communities? The findings from the regression analyses used for this question

suggested that this set of variables had less combined effect on college going rates than

on completion rates; however, the removal of irrelevant variables ultimately improved the

regression model yielding a significant F test. Thus, the social, cultural, and human

capital variables identified as having a significant effect on college choice, as measured

by the dependent variable of school district college going rates for the Y2000 cohort,

were the number of competitive clubs declared by a school district in 2010 (*Clubs*), the

net population migration of the county (*PopMgrtn*), the percent of population 25 and

older with a baccalaureate degree (*BADegree*), the unemployment rate (*Unemply*), and an

interaction term combining the effect of the percent of population 25 and older with a

baccalaureate degree and the community's per capita income in US dollars

(*Income_BADegree*).

A summary of the significant findings (p≤.05) for main effects regression model

used to initially test research question two, in which the dependent variable was the

school district college going rates for the Y2000 cohort, were reported in Table 9.

Table 9

Summary of Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Going Rates:

Main Effects Significant Results

Independent Variable	Unstandarized Estimate (*B*)	*t*	Standardized Beta
Unemply	-1.085*	-2.127	-.383

Note. Adj. R^2 = .102; *df*=43. *p≤.05, two-tailed.

The Adjusted R^2 (.102) revealed that, given the number of independent variables, this

model explained 10.2% of the variance in the dependent variable of community college

going rates. The F test ($F_{19,43}$=1.371), however, revealed that the overall regression was

not statistically significant at p≤.05. The variables *Clubs*, *PopMgrtn*, *DepndRat*, *FamSize*,

Religion, *%Nonwhite*, *Poverty*, *CrimeRate*, *Literacy*, *PPE*, *Arts*, *ProxColl*, *Library*,

Income, *Homeown*, *HSDegree*, *BADegree*, and *SelfEmpl* were not found to be significant.

The constant (α), if all independent variables are zero, was -.236. The unstandardized

coefficients (*B*) and the t test results for each independent variable were as follows:

- On average, given a one percentage point increase in the unemployment rate,

  college going rates could be expected to decrease 1.085 percentage points,

holding everything else in the model constant. The t test was -2.127 (p≤.05) and

therefore the variable *Unemply* was statistically significant.

The same process was used to test for heteroscedasticity in the main effects model for

research question two as was performed for research question one. For research question

two's going rate model, a scatterplot of the unstandardized residuals revealed a less

uniform shape than in the completion rates model. Because of the less compact shape,

identifying outliers was difficult and it was determined, for consistency between research

question one and two, that no outliers would be removed from this model. A histogram

and a normal probability plot revealed that the regression still followed the overall shape

of a normal distribution but was more spread out and less uniform than the completion

rate model (see Appendix G). As in the first model, White's Test for heteroscedasticity

found no independent variables related to the error. While the second regression model

was less uniform, these tests together suggested that the regression was free of

heteroscedasticity.

As stated in the results of research question one, the variable *Poverty* was

removed early in the process of eliminating collinear relationships. This regression

without *Poverty* provided an R^2 (.376) and adjusted R^2 (.120), which increased slightly

from the main effects model, and the overall impact on the unstandardized beta

coefficients and t values was again minimal. A series of regressions were performed on

this dependent variable in which the collinear independent variables were rotated in and

out of the model in turn and combined into interaction terms as in the first research

question's analysis. The impact on the unstandardized beta coefficients and t values in

this process was minimal. The R^2, adjusted R^2, F, and t values of these tests for research question two were summarized in Appendix G.

For research question two, the variables *Clubs*, *PopMgrtn*, *BADegree*, and *Unemply* all had a statistically significant effect on the dependent variable of school district college going rates for the Y2000 cohort. Also, the interaction term, *Income_BADegree* was found to have a statistically significant effect; thus, it and the variable *Income* were included in the next model, which yielded an adjusted $R^2=.270$ (*df*=56, p≤.05 two-tailed). However, the standardized beta coefficients for *BADegree* and the interaction term *BADegree_Income* were higher than -1/+1 threshold at 2.413 and -2.611, respectively. This finding suggested the existence of a suppressor variable relationship between *BADegree* and *Income*. An examination of the results from the previous set of regressions ran against the dependent variable of college going rates confirmed that *BADegree* was only significant in the models in which *Income* was included. With the knowledge of the existence of a suppressor variable relationship, a final model was performed that excluded the interaction term and included the variable *Income* even though it was found to be insignificant.

This final model for research question two found that the variables *Clubs*, *PopMgrtn*, *BADegree*, and *Unemply* all continued to have a statistically significant effect on the dependent variable of school district college going rates for the Y2000 cohort. The results for this final model seeking to answer research question two were presented in Table 10.

Table 10

Summary of Significant Variables Explaining Going Rates

Independent Variable	Unstandarized Estimate (*B*)	*t*	Standardized Beta
Clubs	.006*	2.134	.276
PopMgrtn	-.00001*	-2.843	-.348
BADegree	.927*	2.807	.337
Unemply	-.919*	-2.593	-.325
Income	-.000008	-1.121	-.192

Note. Adj. R^2 = .275; *df*=57. *p≤.05, two-tailed.

The Adjusted R^2 (.275) revealed that, given the number of independent variables, this model explained 27.5% of the variance in the dependent variable of community college going rates. The F test ($F_{5,57}$=4.323) revealed that the overall regression was statistically significant at p≤.05. The constant (α), if all independent variables are zero, was .401. The variable *Income* was not found to be significant. The unstandardized coefficients (*B*) and the t test results for each independent variable were as follows:

- On average, for each additional competitive club offered by a high school, college going rates could be expected to increase by .006 of a percentage point, holding everything else in the model constant. The t test was 2.134 (p≤.05) and therefore the variable *Clubs* was statistically significant.

- On average, given a one person increase in the net population migration of the county of a sampled community, college going rates could be expected to decrease by .00001 of a percentage point, holding everything else in the model

constant. The t test was -2.843 (p≤.05) and therefore the variable *PopMgrtn* was statistically significant.

- On average, given a one percentage point increase in the percent of population 25 and older with a baccalaureate degree, college going rates could be expected to increase by .927 of a percentage point, holding everything else in the model constant. The t test was 2.807 (p≤.05) and therefore the variable *BADegree* was statistically significant.

- On average, given a one percentage point increase in the unemployment rate, college going rates could be expected to decrease by .919 of a percentage point, holding everything else in the model constant. The t test was -2.593 (p≤.05) and therefore the variable *Unemply* was statistically significant.

Decreasing the amount of extraneous variables strengthened this model so that the variables *Clubs*, *PopMgrtn*, *BADegree*, and *Unemply* explained 27.5% of the variation in the dependent variable. However, these results indicated that the set of variables explaining a community's college going-rates differs from those explaining its completion rates.

Research Question Three

The third research question for the study asked, do latent factors exist among the social, cultural, and human capital variables that could be used to identify community expectations of postsecondary educational attainment as defined in research questions one and two? Identifying latent factors that may assist in detecting community expectations of college choice and completion was the main goal of the exploratory factor analysis performed to answer this research question. The factor analysis process

yielded results in which a majority of the independent variables loaded on four factors.

The interrelationships among these variables suggested some latent factors unidentified

by the first two research questions. Although more research is needed to verify these

results, the first factor reinforced the use of social and cultural capitals as a means of

identifying community expectations. The second factor appeared to focus on variables

that could be seen as measures of quality of life within a community. The implications of

factors three and four were less clear. The third factor could indicate the importance of

the employment opportunities, particularly self-employment or employment opportunities

that encourage independence. The fourth factor may point to demographic structures of a

population's mobility as a measure of community expectancy. Each of these

recommended latent variables should be considered carefully in future research.

The KMO and Bartlett's test of sphericity revealed that the variables were

acceptable for factor analysis, although the KMO test would rate the distribution of

values between "middling" and "mediocre" (George & Mallery, 2003, p. 256). The scree

plot suggested that as many as ten factors may exist; however, the principal components

analysis revealed six factors with Eigenvalues higher than 1.0 with a cumulative

explanation of 74.2% of the variance after the rotation converged in 16 iterations. These

six factors represented the starting point for this analysis of data. Table 11 provided the

variance explained by the six factors identified by the analysis. See Appendix H for the

Total Variance Explained the factor analysis.

Table 11

Variance Explained by Six Factors Identified by Factor Analysis

	Initial Eigenvalues			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings[a]
Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	5.200	28.891	28.891	4.483
2	2.584	14.354	43.246	3.092
3	2.064	11.465	54.711	3.214
4	1.292	7.179	61.890	2.773
5	1.192	6.621	68.511	1.924
6	1.023	5.683	74.194	1.691

Note. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. [a]When components are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.

It was anticipated that the factor analysis would provide three, five, or six factors. Three factors would have ideally represented the independent variables in factors defined by groupings along the lines of the social, cultural, and human capital divisions. Five factors would have suggested the Deggs and Miller (2009) model with five factors of community expectancy defined by the interaction among 1) formal education bodies, 2) civic agencies, 3) informal associations, 4) religious affiliations, and 5) home life on a student's life choices. A model with six factors, depending on the groupings of the independent variables, was expected to reinforce the Deggs-Miller model with a previously unidentified factor added, or it would suggest the potential for an entirely new

model. As all civic agency variables were ultimately excluded from the study due to lack of consistent data, an affirmation of the Deggs-Miller model was unlikely.

With these expectations in mind, the extraction of six factors initially suggested a new model; however, the removal of crossloading items left only five factors. One of these five factors had one item with a loading higher than .32 and two of the factors had only two items loading higher than .32. Because factors with fewer than three items are "generally considered weak or unstable" (Costello & Osborne, 2005, p. 5), these results suggested a model with only four factors or less. Therefore, more factor analyses were performed limiting the number of possible factors to five then to four and finally to three.

When restricted to five factors, 15 variables were retained with the variables measuring the homeownership rate (*Homeown*), the proximity to a postsecondary institution (*ProxColl*), and the rates of religious adherence per 1000 population within the county (*Religion*) being excluded. A total explained variance with five factors equaled 68.5%. With four factors, 15 variables were retained in the model with the variables measuring the homeownership rate (*Homeown*), the percent of population 25 and older with a high school degree or equivalent (*HSDegree*), and the rates of religious adherence per 1000 population within the county (*Religion*) being excluded. With four factors, the total amount of variance explained decreased to 61.9%. When restricted to three factors, only 12 variables were retained with the variables measuring the net population migration for the county (*PopMgrtn*), the homeownership rate (*Homeown*), the proximity to a postsecondary institution (*ProxColl*), the percent of population 25 and older with a high school degree or equivalent (*HSDegree*), and the rates of religious adherence per 1000 population within the county (*Religion*) being excluded. The variance explained by three

factors decreased to 54.7%. Thus, a model with four factors appeared to be the most

stable. Table 12 presents the basic factor model suggested by this analysis process.

Table 12

Summarized Results of Factor Analysis

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor3	Factor 4
Poverty	.897			
%Nonwhite	.848			
Literacy	.830			
PPE	.560			
FamSize	.535			
Unemply	.494			
CrimeRate		.789		
BADegree		.608		
Clubs		.504		
Income		.366		
Arts			.863	
SelfEmply			.798	
ProxColl			.327	
PopMgrtn				.462
DpndRat				.377

Note. Extraction Methods: Principal Components Analysis. Rotation Method: Promax
with Kaiser Normalization.

The groupings did not coincide with the Deggs and Miller (2009) model nor did they divide clearly along the lines of social, cultural, and human capitals. These findings demonstrated that social, cultural, and human capitals were highly interactive and did not separate into individual factors. Table 13 compared the findings to the Deggs-Miller model and the capitals categorization of the variables discussed in Chapter Three.

Table 13

Suggested Model Groupings Compared to Findings from Factor Analysis

Variable	Deggs-Miller Model	Capitals	Factor
Religion	Religious Affiliations	Social Capital	---
Homeown	Home Life	Human Capital	---
HSDegree	Formal Educational Bodies	Human Capital	---
FamSize	Home Life	Social Capital	1
%Nonwhite	Informal Associations	Cultural Capital	1
Poverty	Home Life	Cultural Capital	1
Literacy	Formal Educational Bodies	Cultural Capital	1
PPE	Unidentified	Cultural Capital	1
Unemply	Home Life	Human Capital	1
Clubs	Informal Associations	Social Capital	2
CrimeRate	Unidentified	Cultural Capital	2
Income	Home Life	Human Capital	2
BADegree	Formal Educational Bodies	Human Capital	2
Arts	Unidentified	Cultural Capital	3
ProxColl	Formal Educational Bodies	Cultural Capital	3
SelfEmpl	Unidentified	Human Capital	3
PopMgrtn	Unidentified	Social Capital	4
DepndRat	Home Life	Social Capital	4

Based on the results presented in Table 13, the factor analysis yielded factor groupings of potential latent factors previously unidentified. Factor one explained 28.89% of the variance in the model and consisted of variables that were determined in the first and second research questions to be interactive. To highlight the strong and significant correlations among these variables, Table 14 was generated providing a summary correlation matrix.

Table 14

Correlation Matrix for Factor One Variables

		FamSize	%Nonwhite	Poverty	Literacy	PPE
%Nonwhite	Pearson Correlation	.528**				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000				
Poverty	Pearson Correlation	.442**	.752**			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000			
Literacy	Pearson Correlation	.384**	.737**	.690**		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.002	0.000	0.000		
PPE	Pearson Correlation	0.170	.549**	.426**	.332**	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.183	0.000	0.001	0.008	
Unemply	Pearson Correlation	0.144	.433**	.456**	.414**	.313*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.259	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.013

*$p \leq 0.05$, two-tailed. **$p \leq 0.01$, two-tailed.

The interaction of the first three variables in this factor—*Poverty*, *%Nonwhite*, and *Literacy*—caused multicollinearity issues for the regressions of the first and second research questions, so their strong loading together was not unexpected.

It would be easy to assume from these findings that some composite measurement of economic conditions, especially an interaction term of the variables measuring the percent of population below poverty (*Poverty*), the percent of Nonwhite population (*%Nonwhite*), and the percent of county population lacking basic prose literacy skills (*Literacy*) would be useful for constructing a new model of community expectancy. A deeper understanding of this factor, however, would suggest that any future model of community expectancy should include not just variables based upon the economic conditions within a community but also measures of the socio-cultural forces underlying those economic conditions. In other words, how are the social and cultural capitals of a community with high rates of poverty, especially communities with higher percentages of poor minorities, and with low levels of literacy different from communities with opposite conditions? It was of particular importance that the majority of the variables identified in factor one were designated as cultural capital in the study. This finding appeared to justify the use of cultural capital as a means of identifying community expectations.

The second factor could be seen as an extension of the first factor; however, upon reflection, it appeared to represent more immediate measurements of a community's quality of life. The variables in this factor were the community crime rate (*CrimeRate*), the percent of population 25 and older with a baccalaureate degree (*BADegree*), the number of competitive clubs declared by the school districts for the high schools (*Clubs*), and the per capita income of the community (*Income*). These variables explain 14.4% of

the variance and were therefore viewed as an important factor. A closer look at the

relationship among these variables revealed that they were all positively correlated and

all except for the correlation between *Income* and *CrimeRate* were statistically

significant. Thus, as the crime rate in a community increased, we could expect to find a

higher income per capita in a community, a higher number of residents with

baccalaureate degrees, and a higher number of competitive clubs within a community.

Table 15 provides a summative correlation matrix of the factor two variables.

Table 15

Correlation Matrix for Factor Two Variables

		Clubs	CrimeRate	Income
CrimeRate	Pearson Correlation	.349**		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.005		
Income	Pearson Correlation	.445**	0.131	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.307	
BADegree	Pearson Correlation	.418**	.290*	.654**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.001	0.021	0.00

*p ≤ 0.05, two-tailed. **p ≤ 0.01, two-tailed.

An increase in incomes, baccalaureate degrees, and competitive clubs within a school

district all intuitively appeared to reflect an improved quality of life in a community. One

could postulate that incomes would rise with the number of degrees, and the number of

school activities would increase with more local tax revenues and an increased standard

of living. Thus, together, these three variables appeared to represent a measure of quality

of life within a community; however, the fact that the crime rate also increases relative to

the other variables made interpretation of this factor's meaning more difficult. The increase in crime rate could be attributed to better reporting by police forces in communities with a higher quality of life. Without further investigation into this phenomenon, it can only be determined that the variables loading on factor two appeared to represent the quality of life in a community and were clearly important. A new model of community expectancy therefore should take into account measurements of community quality of life.

Factor three revealed an interaction between three variables measuring the percentage of population employed in arts, entertainment, or recreation industry (*Arts*), the percent of workers reporting themselves as self-employed in all industries (*SelfEmply*), and the proximity of the community to a postsecondary institution (*ProxColl*). This factor possibly represented a grouping of variables that were linked together by the nature of employment within a community. The connection between the variables *Arts* and *SelfEmply* reflected the fact that individuals working in the arts, recreation, and entertainment industry have a higher likelihood of identifying themselves as self-employed. The addition of the third item, *ProxColl*, made interpretation less clear. Excepting Eureka Springs and its high percentage of self-employed artists (8.5%), the findings would seem to indicate that the further one moves away from a college the higher the number of self-employed persons and the fewer the number of persons employed in arts, entertainment, and recreation. The existence of a significant latent variable based upon factor three was unclear and there were two possible conclusions. First, this grouping could indicate that the types of employment available within a community should be considered, which would appear to be aligned to measuring human

capital variables. Second, but less likely because of the nature of the variable used, could be that the high factor loading of the variable *Arts* may indicate the importance of an artistic element within a community. Either conclusion would require further investigation. As all other art related variables were excluded from the study due to a lack of data, this second supposition would require more research to substantiate.

Factor four presented only a weak loading of two variables measuring the net population migration of the county (*PopMgrtn*) and the dependency ratio of the community (*DepndRat*). Because of the weak loading, this factor could be discounted; however, factor four could also suggest a significant element for future studies of community expectancy that has not previously been considered. The variables *PopMgrtn* and *DepndRat* had a slight negative correlation ($r=-.054$) that was not statistically significant but which indicated that communities within counties experiencing positive population growth had fewer numbers of dependents. On the other hand, communities located in counties with negative population growth had, on average, a higher number of dependents. Thus, populations with high dependency ratios possibly represented communities that were stagnant. Limited population mobility, or stagnation, could mean these communities were experiencing brain drain or the residents of these communities could, for whatever reasons, be place bound. This relationship was unexpected, but it would tend to support the assumptions of the study. As a result, a possible factor examining the population mobility of a community may be valuable to future research.

Research Question Four

The fourth research question asked, to what extent did the findings related to the social, cultural, and human capital variables used in the study support the theoretical

concept of an operational model of community expectancy? The findings for research

questions one, two, and three did not suggest a single model of community expectancy

that would allow for studying community expectations of postsecondary attainment.

There was no consistency between the significant variables identified in the completion

rate regression of research question one and the going rates regression of research

question two. Based on these findings, a single set of variables did not suffice for

predicting both the college going-rate and the completion rate for communities. These

findings therefore implied that community expectations of going to college and

community expectations of completing college should be treated separately. However,

these findings did not refute the existence of a model of community expectancy. Instead,

they suggested that for every decision an individual makes, a separate set of variables

indicative of community expectations could affect decision-making. This conclusion

aligned well with the basic precepts of the theoretical framework. According to the

community expectancy framework, education is a communal experience and the social

and cultural linkages among community members create expectations of behavior in any

given decision-making scenario.

Although no model emerged from the study, several inferences could be drawn

from the findings of the first three research questions and used to guide further

investigations aimed at creating a model of community expectancy. First, as Deggs and

Miller (2009) found, the results of the first research question provided evidence that

religious affiliation was correlated with the degree completion rates of sampled

communities and should be included in a model of community expectancy aimed at

understanding college completion. However, this finding may simply reflect the idea that

membership in an organized, locally-based social group such as a church may be important. Second, a community's educational attainment appeared relevant based on the findings of all three questions. Despite unclear results from the variables measuring the percentage of population over 25 with a high school degree or equivalent (*HSDegree*) and the percentage of population over 25 with a baccalaureate degree (*BADegree*), the literature and the study's findings pointed to educational attainment as an indicator of expectations regarding college attendance and graduation.

The findings from research question three's exploratory factor analysis suggested that a continued effort to understand the complicated role of social and cultural capitals and their interrelationships with economic capital within a community structure remains warranted. Although the factors did not align with the grouping of capitals, it was clear from the findings that using social, cultural, and human capital variables was an acceptable approach. Thus, any future studies in this area should carefully select and identify social, cultural, and human capital variables to explain the underlying forces that both shape the economic conditions in community and that are shaped in turn by those economic conditions.

The second factor suggested that the quality of life of residents in a community may be enough to identify the existence of community expectations toward postsecondary attainment, especially if quality of life variables were examined along with variables based upon the final two factors of the factor analysis. A diverse array of employment opportunities and a larger number of persons who designate themselves as independently employed could be indicative of a community's internal vibrancy. Meanwhile, the final factor's apparent relationship with population mobility could

represent the isolation or connectivity of a community to the broader world. A population that is not mobile and has a higher rate of dependents may become socially or culturally stagnate, insular, and would therefore be less likely to reflect expectations that support postsecondary attainment. These last two factors would likely be correlated and could possibly represent a single variable; however, future study is needed to understand these elements. Yet, these issues of quality of life, employment, and population mobility fit nicely with the theoretical framework. For instance, the cultural effect of a place-bound population was addressed specifically by Flora and Flora (2004). Likewise, Shaffer, Deller, and Marcouillier (2004) address the importance of employment opportunities and positive population growth on the success of a community. Successful communities with a good quality of life should, in theory, project expectations supporting postsecondary attainment.

Although the findings of the study did not support a clear model of community expectancy for college completion or for college choice, the findings did appear to offer some signposts for future studies. Deggs and Miller (2009) defined community expectancy as the interaction among several variables: formal education bodies, civic agencies, informal associations, religious affiliations, and home life. In a similar manner, from the findings of this study, it could be concluded that the following areas of interest hold the key to identifying a community's expectations of behavior toward postsecondary attainment: religious (or social group) affiliations, educational attainment, social/cultural capital, quality of life, employment opportunities, and population mobility. Before a true model can emerge; however, more developmental research into each of these areas is needed.

Research Question Five

The final research question of the study asked, if a model of community expectancy is identified, what are the potential policy ramifications of understanding community expectancy for higher education officials, community leaders, and policymakers? As no clear model of community expectancy emerged from the findings, answering this question was unnecessary. Nevertheless, a brief analysis was conducted to provide some basic insight into the higher education policy environment of Arkansas for future researchers interested in this area of study. Based upon this analysis, it was determined that any new valid findings regarding community expectancy that suggested a means of improving completion rates in Arkansas would be well received by the current Governor, Mike Beebe, as well as the leadership of ADHE. However, as this interpretive policy analysis of the governor's economic development plan and recent legislation revealed, the best way to gain entry into the current policy environment would be to promote the new theoretical model in terms of its economic development benefits, especially its ability to identify local differences and needs so that more accurate regional plans could be developed. Therefore, a model of community expectancy, which primarily seeks to identify cultural legacies underlying the decision-making process of individuals considering postsecondary education, would need to be framed as an economic development strategy. These conclusions were drawn from an interpretative policy analysis found in the following pages. This analysis was guided by the works of policy scholars discussed in Section IV: Public Policy Literature of the literature review.

Interpretive Policy Analysis

The causal story of poor higher education outcomes was grounded in the history of Arkansas and therefore fits into Stone's (1989) causal theory model as an inadvertent cause to the problem. The State of Arkansas, through most of its history, has had a homogenous population, mostly whites whose families came from other Southern states, with few foreign-born immigrants or emigrants from the Northern, industrialized states. Blair and Barth (2005) stated that in the early history of Arkansas:

> [S]ome of the essential or at least usual components of democratic development—some disposable wealth, an economically self-sufficient population, cities as a source of diversity and dissent, a somewhat heterogeneous population—were simply nonexistent. (p. 25)

Most of the citizens of Arkansas were self-sufficient farmers producing what they needed to survive, and generally, statewide politics were of little concern to them. Public education, therefore, remained of little interest to most Arkansans until the latter half of the twentieth-century. Those who could afford an education sought it out. Those who could not were typically preoccupied with simply surviving the old hierarchical structures of a postbellum South in which educated landowners could entrap lower-class farmers in binding sharecropping or tenant contracts (Blair & Barth, 2005).

Arkansas's poor record of college completion has much to do with the numerous financial constraints facing many Arkansas citizens, again supporting an inadvertent causal story. According to the U. S. Census Bureau (2009, Arkansas Selected Economic Characteristics), over 170,851 families in Arkansas have a yearly income of less than $25,000, and 21.5% of families with children under 18 years old are at or below the poverty line. The Bureau of Labor Statistics (2009) reported that the median hourly income in the state is $12.88, the mean hourly income is $16.26, and the mean yearly

income for Arkansans is $33,830. The national averages were notably higher with a median hourly income of $15.95, a mean hourly income of $20.90, and a mean yearly income of $43,460. This comparison proved significant as numerous studies have shown that family income was associated with student success rates in college (Ishitani, 2006; Pascarella & Chapman, 1983; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1980; Stage & Hossler, 1992).

Poverty in the state has therefore compounded the issue of education. According to the recent *Rural Profile of Arkansas 2009* (2009), poverty plagues Arkansas, which has an average poverty rate of 17% (the 7th highest in the nation). In the Delta region, six counties had a poverty rate of over 30% in 2009 (p. 5). Furthermore, Delta residents had the lowest degree of educational attainment in the state (p. 44). Lee and Monroe counties, for instance, were ranked in the bottom 10 counties in personal income (Bureau of Economic Analysis, 2009) while also being at the bottom of the list in the number of higher education degrees and certificates awarded in the 2007-2008 academic year with a combined total of 175 degrees awarded (ADHE, 2009). Meanwhile, counties such as Benton and Washington, among the wealthiest in the state, had a significantly higher number of residents who received degrees (3602) in the 2007-2008 academic year (ADHE, 2009). These data indicated a need for regionally specific educational policies that were consistent with the goals of regional strategic economic development plans. An educational policy designed around the conditions in Benton and Washington counties would likely be less effective in Lee and Monroe counties where the community and industry needs were quite different. Thus, a model of community expectancy, which could highlight community differences and needs, would be beneficial for tailoring

community and economic development policies to particular areas of the state so as to encourage educational attainment.

Much work has been done in exploring the connection between the individual's available financial resources and their successful completion of college, as noted in the literature review. Policymakers have responded to this need for decades through the creation of federal and state financial aid opportunities. Most recently, the State of Arkansas passed legislation creating a state-run lottery to fund more scholarships and grants for Arkansas students seeking a postsecondary degree or certificate. According to the Arkansas Scholarship Lottery Act of 2009, the primary goal was to use the net proceeds of the lottery to "fund and provide for scholarships and grants" for Arkansans in public and private non-profit colleges and universities (§ 23-115-102). These proceeds were not meant to supplant non-lottery related resources that the state has dedicated to education in the past. Prior to this legislation, a gap in state funding existed so that students who decided to wait longer than 12 months before entering college could not receive state financial aid until they were 25 years old and qualified for a Workforce Improvement Grant (WIG). The Arkansas Scholarship Lottery Act of 2009 filled that gap, meaning more students should qualify for state financial assistance in the future, but questions remained about what would happen to those students who were not prepared for college and lost these scholarships. Despite the accepted precept that improvements in economic conditions will fix the problem of educational attainment within the state, as the earlier findings of the study suggested, attention must also be given to the socio-cultural forces that affect community expectations and that become elemental in a historically poor area.

Numerous scholars and policymakers in the state have also focused their attention

on preparing K-12 students for college under the obvious assumption that if a student has

not achieved the necessary skills to complete college-level work, he or she will have a

higher likelihood of failure in college. According to the Arkansas Task Force on Higher

Education Remediation, Retention, and Graduation Rates (2008), 56.1% of two-year

college students and 28.6% of four-year college students required remediation in at least

one course. Furthermore, "27% of Arkansas students who took at least one Advanced

Placement course were assigned to at least one remedial course in Fall 2007" (Arkansas

Task Force on Higher Education Remediation, Retention, and Graduation Rates, 2008, p.

13). Developmental coursework is no doubt beneficial to some students, but it can also be

an obstacle to student success. While these courses can be paid for with financial aid,

they do not count as credits. They prolong the student's time in college and can

undermine the confidence of students who received high school degrees only to find that

they are considered unprepared for college curriculum. This effect of developmental

course work is supported by data from the National Center for Educational Statistics

(2004):

> While 69 percent of 1992 12th-graders who had not enrolled in any postsecondary
> remedial courses earned a degree or certificate by 2000, 30 to 57 percent of those
> who had enrolled in one or more remedial courses had earned a formal award,
> depending on the types and amount of remediation….Students who took any
> postsecondary remedial reading were less likely than their peers who took one or
> two remedial mathematics courses only or just one remedial course (not
> mathematics or reading) to complete a baccalaureate degree or higher (17 vs. 27
> and 39 percent, respectively). They were also less likely than their peers who took
> any other combination of remedial courses to have earned a formal award (30 vs.
> 41 to 57 percent) within 8 years of high school graduation. (par. 1 -3)

According to the ADHE (2009), 74.2% of entering college students in the Fall 2008

semester that were tested were assigned at least one remedial class. This percentage was

down from a high point of 81.8% of students tested in the Fall 2000 semester. This slow

and steady decline in the number of entering freshman that required remediation could be

due to numerous factors including the fallout from the *Lake View School District, No. 25*

v. Huckabee (2001) case, changes in Smart Core curriculum, and the advancement of

alternative charter schools in the state. More work is being done on studying these issues,

and more experimentation is needed in the area of K-12 preparation.

Thus far, student success failings have been framed by two major factors:

preparation and financial need. Most state leaders agree that these two factors contribute

more than any other to students' poor performance in postsecondary institutions. Access

has also been an important buzz word in the higher education policy environment. In

1991, the state legislature, motivated by the need to increase the number of college

graduates in the state and thereby improve economic development, passed the Arkansas

Technical and Community College System Act (A.C.A § 6-53-201-210), which

transformed fourteen of the state's vocational education facilities into community

colleges and cleared the way for others to follow. Increased access to college courses and

adult education programs was seen as the solution to improving degree completion rates

while at the same time positively impacting economic development in the state.

As noted earlier by Blair and Barth (2005), a general disinterest or lack of

understanding regarding higher education opportunities has been instilled in the legacies

of the state and continues today because of its heritage as a poor, rural state with a farm-

based economy. Much of the legislation presented in this analysis was formulated beyond

the eyes of voters, originating in the legislature or the administration. Popular interest in

higher education issues primarily adhered to the punctuated equilibrium model of

Baumgartner and Jones (1993) with long periods of Downsian mobilization and few examples of Schattschneider mobilization. The primary venue of action has been the legislature guided by an attentive public of policymakers and educators shaping higher education policy with little or no popular interest. A recent exception was the formation of the lottery scholarship, which was guided by a policy entrepreneur, former Lt. Governor Bill Halter. As Stone (1989) suggested, a champion is needed when a problem like low educational outcomes arises from an inadvertent cause such as cultural heritage or poverty. Halter mobilized the voters to support an amendment to the state constitution allowing the legislature to create a state-run lottery to fund college scholarships as a means of improving access to college. It would be safe to assume then, that any model suggesting changes in the current status quo of higher education would need a similar champion to gather the support of the people.

As noted thus far, the factors contributing to student success failings have been debated and at times acted on by state government for nearly two decades following the punctuated equilibrium model of Baumgartner and Jones (1993). However, borrowing a term from Kingdon (1995), a "policy window" is opening for new ideas. Many of the recommendations of the Arkansas Task Force on Higher Education Remediation, Retention, and Graduation Rates have been implemented by the legislature since the report was reviewed in 2008. While the venue of debate remains the same with many of the same policymakers and educators involved, the image of the debate is changing from encouraging more access to postsecondary education to improving completion rates through the creation of accountability measures among the college campuses. These accountability measures are anchored in the development of a performance-based funding

formula for the public postsecondary education institutions (Blad, 2010). This change in the policy image would indicate an opening for new theoretical approaches that could assist in understanding the state's low completion rates.

The best conduit for introducing any new model of community expectancy is the Governor's Office partly because of Governor Mike Beebe's stated support for educational improvements but also because of his past experience as a legislator and because of his knowledge of the overall conditions in Arkansas. His singular personality and position could bring the leverage needed to fix the problem, if a solution was presented to him. Although the legislature will ultimately make any new laws concerning higher education, trying to access the institutional agenda of the legislative branch with its multiple personalities and nuisances would prove difficult.

Governor Mike Beebe's office is an obvious route to policy change. His campaign imagery, used to win election and reelection, emphasized the importance of his single mother working hard so that he could be successful and educated. Governor Beebe's use of such a story inexorably links him to a pro-education agenda. The Governor's focus for the 2009 legislative session was on K-12 (Blomely, 2008), which was natural due to judiciary pressures stemming from the Lakeview case; however, the 2011 session appears to be aimed at improving the lottery system and the funding structure for higher education (Blad, 2010).

Another reason for addressing the governor's office is that improving higher education outcomes in the state is vital to the governor's economic development plan. According to *Mike Beebe's Strategic Plan for Economic Development* (AEDC, 2009), the Governor had five goals:

1. Increase the incomes of Arkansans at a growth pace greater than the national average.
2. Expand entrepreneurship, focusing on knowledge-based enterprises.
3. Compete more effectively in the global marketplace for new business and jobs, and create a business retention strategy to reduce closures.
4. Economic development will meet the special needs and take advantage of the extraordinary assets of various areas of the state. It will not be one size fits all.
5. Increase the number of workers with post-secondary training so they are prepared when they enter the workforce and equipped for new jobs in the future. (p. 13)

Central to the successful implementation of these goals is the creation of more knowledge-based jobs and the development of an educated workforce that would attract these types of jobs. The AEDC was charged with taking the lead in achieving these educational and economic development goals.

To address these goals, the Governor's strategic plan identified five economic development components: workforce development, business development, infrastructure, competitive business climate, and collaborative partnerships (AEDC, 2009, p. 24). Several policy recommendations for each of these components was discussed in the plan; however, the overarching factors noted by the plan that would most impact the state's job growth were 1) improving educational outcomes in the state, particularly in knowledge-based areas (i.e. STEM); 2) increasing technical skills in the state through workforce development efforts; 3) encouraging proactive business and industry recruitment while creating a positive business climate; and 4) encouraging public-private partnerships to generate permanent funding formulas for economic development strategies.

While each of these factors was presented as vital to the successful implementation of a statewide economic development plan, improving the educational outcomes in the state and improving the technical skills of the labor force through workforce development were the most immediately critical elements of the Governor's

strategic economic development plan, especially in terms of job creation and growth. Yet, education alone is not enough. The educational goals must be targeted to the economic needs of each region of the state. Thus, the success of the state's economic development plan rests upon the adoption of region specific strategies. Again, a model of community expectancy would be ideal for identifying the characteristics most affecting degree attainment in postsecondary education of specific regions.

A couple of final points to consider that affect the higher education policy environment were Arkansas's poor internal infrastructure and connectivity to the global community. Education, funding, public-private partnerships, and regional sectoral strategies are not enough without these final infrastructure components. As the *Rural Profile of Arkansas 2009* (2009) pointed out, nearly 80% of Arkansas's 68,465 miles of road are rural and maintained by local and county taxes (p. 34). These roads cannot sustain industrial growth. The state economic development strategy needs to place more emphasis on this issue. Likewise, the state needs more support for technological infrastructure, particularly high-speed internet access. Despite the legislature's outward political support for the Connect Arkansas program, its fiscal support has fallen short. As the Governor's strategic economic development plan pointed out, "78 percent of the net jobs created…during 1999-2003 were created by businesses employing 1-4 individuals" (AEDC, 2009, p. 42). This fact rightly indicated the importance of entrepreneurism in the state. Yet, entrepreneurs will be unable to expand their markets without more connectivity, thus limiting their long-term impact on Arkansas's economy. It is then of vital importance for the state government to find ways to increase low cost, high-speed internet access across the state, even to the poorest regions. Such infrastructure strategies

would enable entrepreneurism to grow beyond the local level to the global level and thus increase job growth across the state.

Considering the interrelationships among state agencies, local communities, and postsecondary institutions found in the Governor's economic development plan, the Governor's Office seemed a natural entry point in which to present new data regarding improving student completion rates within the state. This would be especially true of a model of community expectancy since a working model could theoretically guide regional strategies.

In the event that the Governor's Office was not receptive, another potential conduit for addressing the low student success rates would be ADHE and its current interim director, Shane Broadway. He and other ADHE personnel are well aware of the problems facing higher education and would likely be receptive to a new proposal to improve student success, especially one that could be introduced at a campus level rather than an agency level. While ADHE and its coordinating board have no control over the governance of the higher education institutions within the state, the agency is capable of disseminating information to appropriate leaders and facilitating discussions of important new ideas. ADHE only has the ability to bring political pressure to bear on colleges and is responsible for making sure government mandates are clearly explained and enforced by colleges (see ADHE, 2003, pp. 6-7). This agency in particular would be responsive to a proposed low cost solution because of its coordination of the higher education budget and because of the negative image that low student success rates casts on the department.

The legislature would be the most likely venue for a newly proposed policy addressing student success. As witnessed with the establishment of the Arkansas Task

Force on Higher Education Remediation, Retention, and Graduation Rates, the state legislature is well aware of student success problems and is open to a reasonable and low-cost solution. The growing contingent of legislators with higher education experience is also beneficial. If an operational model of community expectancy were to exist and a policy could be formulated based on its application, having the governor's support and/or ADHE's support before approaching the legislature would make sense when considering the limited amount of time that the Arkansas state legislature is in session and the repercussions of term-limits on the legislature's institutional memory. At this point, without the existence of a clearly defined model, community expectancy is merely a construct that may improve legislators' thinking regarding policymaking, shifting it from statewide to regional policymaking.

Each of these three avenues to the institutional agenda (and possibly the decision agenda) recognizes the current problems facing higher education in the state. However, getting any of these government agents or decision-makers to act publicly on the problem would be difficult without unified support of state higher education leaders. While the problem of student success is acknowledged at all levels of statewide leadership, it is one that no one seems willing to publicly address for fear of challenging the status quo of the higher educational structure and leadership. As evidenced by the Governor's economic development plan, education leaders are being forced to redefine the purpose of higher education to meet the demands of a fast-paced, knowledge-based economy. Therefore, a model of community expectancy used to promote improving student success rates must necessarily include higher education administrators and boards of trustees in the

conversation. Bypassing these interest groups, especially considering the weakness of ADHE, would result in failure.

This policy analysis identified key terms that have affected the higher education policy environment in recent decades. The primary terms of influence were financial constraint, poverty, access, K-12 preparation, developmental education, financial aid, scholarships, and economic development. Any new theory or model addressing higher education, such as the model of community expectancy, would need to link itself to these themes in order to gain footing in the policy environment of Arkansas. It would also be valuable to provide an overview the educational history of Arkansas when introducing this type of theory so that policymakers could recognize the significant impact of the state's cultural heritage on modern higher educational outcomes. A fully developed model of community expectancy, if discovered, could make these linkages. Finally, as revealed in this interpretive policy analysis, because the causation of poor college performance in the state was inadvertent, a singular champion who could become the locus of control and take responsibility for addressing the problem would be essential (Stone, 1989). This person needs to benefit from some point of leverage to fix the problem. Governor Beebe emerged as the most likely candidate for this position because of his outspoken support for higher education improvement, his past experience as a legislator, and his leadership of the current administration. As Blair and Barth (2005) noted, the Governor's Office is only as strong as the governor. Governor Mike Beebe is one of the more influential governors in the last two decades due to his experience. However, to garner his support, any new approach to address the state's low completion rates would need to be presented in the context of advancing economic development. In

this way, a model of community expectancy would likely be received well because of its potential for identifying community specific needs.

Chapter IV: Summary of Chapter

Chapter Four provided a summary of the purposes of the study and reiterated the basic theoretical assumptions that led to study's design. The exact process used to identify the sample of Arkansas communities was then described and the data were presented. The dependent variables for research questions one and two were identified as the unduplicated degree/certificate completion rate within six years of college entry for the fall semester Y2000 cohort from the school districts of each of the sampled communities and the school district college going rates for the Y2000 cohort, respectively. Summary descriptions of the 19 independent variables used for the study were provided along for the rationale behind their inclusion in the study.

The data analysis and procedures section of the chapter provided detailed accounts of the procedures used to analyze the data. The study used two quantitative tools—multiple regression and exploratory factor analysis—to address the first three research questions. The fourth question was a simple review of the findings from the first three questions to determine whether a model of community expectancy emerged from the data analysis. The final research question was answered qualitatively using an interpretive policy analysis to understand the current higher education policy environment.

The results section of the chapter cataloged the findings of each research question. Although some variables were determined to have a significant effect on the dependent variables in the first two research questions and the factor analysis revealed interesting

groupings of the independent variables, the conclusion was that no clear model of community expectancy emerged from the conduct of the study. Yet, the conclusions drawn from the study did not refute the possibility of identifying community expectations and did point the way for conducting future research, which will be discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

In Arkansas, college students are not completing postsecondary degrees or certificates at or near the national average. Despite the efforts of policymakers and higher education leaders to address this problem, Arkansas still ranks poorly when compared to other states in retention and degree attainment. Before significant changes can be expected in performance, the factors that shape the identity of current students and potential postsecondary students need to be further evaluated and understood. This study was proposed for that purpose. Rather than focusing on personal factors affecting student success, the study sought to identify how communities can shape the way residents view college attendance and completion. The study was designed to identify community-level factors that indicate expectations regarding the value of going to college and of attaining a postsecondary degree. The emergence of a testable, theoretical model of community expectancy that would prove useful to future investigators and policymakers was therefore a primary goal of the research.

This chapter presents a brief summary of the study's purpose and the findings of the specific research questions. It continues with a statement of the conclusions drawn from the findings and then offers recommendations for future researchers and for policymakers. The chapter concludes with a general discussion of the study emphasizing what the findings mean for the existence a model of community expectancy and for the theoretical framework used to design the study.

Summary of Study

According to the theoretical framework of the study, personal identity development is shaped by the legacies that exist inherently within the relationships between the individual and others in their social network and exist between the individual and the community as a whole. A community, acting as a pseudo-organism, expresses collective preferences of acceptable and unacceptable behavior for individual residents during any given life choice. These communally shared preferences were defined in the study as community expectations. The study, therefore, was conducted to identify significant community-level factors that may shape the personal choices of individuals considering a postsecondary degree. The existence of such factors would be indicative of community expectations toward college attendance and completion.

Another aim of the study was the generation of a testable model of community expectancy based upon the identified significant factors. The development of a model of community expectancy would provide a means by which policymakers could anticipate a community's expectations toward postsecondary attainment. Naturally, research using student-level data to test the validity of a suggested model and to determine the true community impact on individual decision-making processes would be needed. Findings from such research would prove a useful addition to current college choice and student success/attrition literature by offering insight into the community's impact on postsecondary attainment. This type of research could be used to guide community-economic development policies that would affect an improvement of college success rates in the State of Arkansas and elsewhere. Meanwhile, policymakers at the campus

level could apply such knowledge to provide better student services to students from communities identified as relaying low expectations of postsecondary achievement.

The theoretical framework guiding the study emphasized the relationship between individual identity development and community. The framework drew from the writings of Dewey (1899/1980, 1916/2004, 1938, 1939) and Erikson (1950/1993, 1968/1994) among numerous others. The framework also relied upon the capitals theory of Bourdieu (1986), who suggested that power exists in the form of social, cultural, and economic capital. Communities with differing degrees of these capitals should have differing expectations of college attendance and completion. These capitals were used as lenses for identifying potential variables that may suggest community expectations; however, for the purposes of this study, economic capital was simplified and represented only by human capital variables. The 19 social, cultural, and human capital variables included in the study were suggested by the findings of reviewed literature.

Both quantitative and qualitative tools were applied to answer the five research questions of this study. Quantitative analysis was employed to examine data from 63 Arkansas communities in an effort to identify possible factors that may influence completion rates and college going rates within Arkansas. An interpretative policy analysis, a qualitative tool, was used to answer the final research question which sought to explain the higher education policy environment in Arkansas and to identify avenues for presenting new findings to policymakers within the state.

The same set of the social, cultural, and human capital independent variables were tested against two differing dependent variables in research questions one and two. Research question one tested the independent variables' effect on the Y2000 completion

rates for the sampled communities while research question two examined the independent variables' effect on the communities' Y2000 college going rates. The findings identified a different set of statistically significant variables for each of the dependent variables used in the first two research questions. There was no consistency among the sets of significant variables, suggesting that the factors affecting community expectations of going to college and factors affecting community expectations of completing college differ.

An exploratory factor analysis used for the third research question identified possible areas of interest for future researchers that reinforced the use of social and cultural capitals to understand the forces underlying economic conditions of communities and that suggested researchers should examine the quality of life within a community. Two other factors were identified relating to the employment opportunities and population mobility of communities, but those findings were less clear. The fourth research question suggested that a model of community expectancy had not emerged from the study although certain specific variables could potentially predict community expectations. The fifth research question, an interpretive policy analysis of the Arkansas higher education policy environment, determined that policymakers and higher education officials would favorably receive data providing insight into the poor college success rates in the state, especially if the data could be used to direct regionally specific community-economic development programs. The analysis also determined that a policy entrepreneur willing to promote the new approach would be necessary due to the inadvertent causes underlying Arkansas's low performance in college success. The ideal policy entrepreneur was identified as the current governor, Mike Beebe.

No conclusive model of community expectancy emerged from the research, but notable findings present numerous opportunities for future exploration into the concept of community expectations. Also, the fundamental underpinnings of the theoretical framework remain solid and were reinforced by the findings of the study. In fact, because some variables were identified as significant indicators of community college going rates and community completion rates, the possibility of identifying community expectations remains. The study was intended to be exploratory as no previous research had used the community as the unit of analysis; therefore, while a number of initial conclusions can be drawn from the study, many questions linger. The remainder of the chapter presents the conclusions and provides recommendations for future research that address some of these lingering questions. Likewise, general recommendations were drawn from the conclusions and offered for policymakers at all levels of governance, particularly in Arkansas. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the findings and conclusions within the context of the theoretical framework that guided the study.

Conclusions

Because the study used a sample from the State of Arkansas, which has a unique history and political environment, it is likely that the conclusions outlined in this section are not fully applicable to any other state or region. The conclusions drawn from the study were:

1. The use of social, cultural, and human capital appeared to be a valid construct for identifying variables that indicate community expectations as suggested by Deggs and Miller (2009). Yet the interactions among these variables are complex and require

careful study. Social, cultural, and economic capital, as defined by Bourdieu (1986), are highly interactive and difficult to differentiate from one another.

2. Issues affecting college success that appear to be economic in nature may in fact be reflections of latent cultural and social factors. This observation was especially true of factors affecting college completion rates, which seemed to be shaped by deeply rooted cultural legacies communicated through the social capital of the community.

3. An increase in a community's religious adherence appeared to have a positive effect on community expectations of postsecondary degree completion. This finding was supported by past research (Coleman, 1988; Anderson, 1981) but ran contrary to the findings of Deggs and Miller (2009). What this finding represented may not be religious attendance but rather membership in an organized, local group. Thus, being bonded with a strong social network that has powerful, local cultural meanings and perhaps has membership that controls much of the local capital affected individual commitment to degree/certificate completion in college.

4. A higher percentage of nonwhite residents was found to have a negative effect on community expectations of postsecondary degree completion. This finding could be easily misinterpreted to suggest that higher populations of minorities within a community are associated with lower completion rates; however, that would be a classic misinterpretation of data. Diversity within a community, as noted in the findings of research question three's factor analysis, was closely aligned with the poverty rate and literacy rate within a community. Together, these findings suggested that, at least among the sampled communities, minority populations tend to have higher rates of poverty and lower literacy. As rates of poverty increased so did the

number of minorities. Social and cultural legacies emerge among these impoverished, minority populations that discourages degree completion or at least creates barriers to degree completion, thereby lowering the average completion rates in communities with higher minority populations. Literacy was likely affected also because of the lower educational attainment.

5. The literature suggested that an individual's performance in college was correlated with the educational attainment of the individual's parents. Although there were mixed results from items used to measure the community educational attainment, both the percent of persons with a high school degree or equivalent and the percent of persons with a baccalaureate degree in a community were significant predictors of dependent variables. The confusion surrounding the findings of these educational attainment indicators probably resulted from inappropriate measurement. Because these findings were significant, educational attainment within a community should continue to be used for the development of a model of community expectancy; however, a single, composite measurement of educational attainment for sampled communities needs to be developed.

6. Although income per capita as an independent variable alone was not found to be a significant predictor of either of the dependent variables in the study's multiple regressions, its interaction with numerous other variables would seem to indicate a latent variable that should be considered in the future. For instance, as income increased in a community, an increase in the number of competitive clubs offered in a local high school, an increase in the percent of community residents with a baccalaureate degree, and an increase in the reported community crime rate occurred.

As the factor analysis suggested, these variables were likely representing the quality of life within a community. As income, and thus taxable revenues increase in a community, the city government can afford more police officers and patrols, thereby resulting in a higher rate of crime being reported than in poorer regions. Also, because the variable measuring the number of school activities and baccalaureate degrees was shown to have a positive significant affect on college going rates, it could be concluded that the quality of life within a community is important for understanding community expectations of postsecondary attendance. One cannot, however, conclude that improvements in quality of life result in higher rates of college completion. Therefore, economic development strategies aimed at improving the quality of life of citizens will result in higher rates of college attendance, but will likely have little or no effect on college completion, at least in the short term.

7. The net population migration within a community was found to have a negative effect on college going rates in research question two. The final factor of research question three found that the net population migration of a community and the dependency ratio of a community were interacting weakly. Although there was a weak relationship and this factor was suspect, past research would suggest that the population mobility of a community has an effect on the economic (see Shaffer, Deller, & Marcouillier, 2004) and cultural conditions (see Flora and Flora, 2004; Coleman, 1988) within the community. Since social, cultural, and economic capitals are interactive, the possible latent effect of a population's mobility may be worth further investigation.

8. An analysis of the current higher education policy environment in Arkansas determined that much of the debate surrounding higher education issues has focused on using higher education for economic development and job training. Colleges and universities within the state have become tools for manipulating economic conditions regionally in the hopes of attracting new industry and promoting a higher skilled labor force. Meanwhile, higher education as an institution within the state receives much scrutiny because of low student success rates. Although great strides have been made in improving access to higher education in the state, the emphasis on funding economic development strategies encourages college attendance as a means of acquiring job skills but ignores the basic cultural symptoms hindering degree completion such as poverty. Thus, it can be concluded from the findings of this study that, to improve degree and certificate completion rates within the state, policymakers at all levels of governance must address the fundamental cultural and social conditions underlying the economic situation in the state. Yet, because of the current higher education policy environment in Arkansas, any new data suggesting avenues for such a change must be couched in economic development terminology to attract a policy entrepreneur, such as the governor, willing to promote the change.

Recommendations for Future Research

Although a sample of communities from Arkansas was used and Arkansas policymakers and researchers were the primary audience of the study, external validity of the findings and especially the operations of the study were intended. Similarly designed studies may find local differences as the demography of regions across the nation differ;

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however, an accurate model of community expectancy should be flexible enough to handle these differences. This section of the chapter outlines specific suggestions for future research.

The study suggested areas of interest for further research that may represent possible factors upon which a testable model of community expectancy can be fashioned. The areas identified by the study were 1) religious affiliations or possibly affiliation with any locally based and organized social group, 2) educational attainment, 3) socio-cultural forces, 4) quality of life, 5) employment opportunities, and 6) population mobility of a community. Each of these areas interacts, and it may be that each area represents a possible factor for identifying community expectations of postsecondary attainment. It may also be possible that one or more of these areas of interest is a subcategory of another area or some other latent factor yet to be identified. For instance, employment opportunities may be a subcategory of quality of life. Therefore, before a comprehensive model of community expectancy can be formulated, research is needed to identify the specific component variables of these composite factors and to determine the nature of the interaction among these factors.

One area of interest that was unfortunately not well analyzed by the study was the effect of the artistic and knowledge-based sectors of a community on the community expectations of postsecondary attainment. More research is needed on this topic as it is a vital element of determining a community's cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). There were no consistent data allowing for the inclusion of variables measuring the artistic elements within each of the sampled communities. The three variables that were related to this subject and used in the study were either problematic or limited in their scope. The

variable measuring the proximity of the sampled communities to a postsecondary institution (*ProxColl*), which was viewed as a depository of knowledge, offered little to the study. Likewise, the variable measuring the number of libraries within a 20 mile radius the sampled communities (*Library*) was found to be misrepresentative. Finally, the variable measuring the percent of individuals employed in the arts, entertainment, and recreation industry (*Arts*) possibly suggested more about the types of employment opportunities within a community than it suggested about the importance of art. The variables *Arts* and *ProxColl* did load on the same factor suggesting they were related, but the relationship was difficult to interpret. Did it suggest the importance of arts and depositories of knowledge as indicators of community expectations, or did it suggest that persons working in the arts are more likely to reside in a community with a college or university?

The theoretical framework and reviewed literature suggested that communities with higher rates of objectified cultural capital, or arts and depositories of culturally valued knowledge, would project higher expectations of college attendance and completion. This assumption needs to be tested. The Arkansas Arts Council has sponsored a series of reports on the arts economy in Arkansas, but specific research testing the assumption that the knowledge-based or arts-based elements of a community have an effect on college going rates and completion rates would be a vital link in explaining community expectations. Complicating efforts to measure the effect of the cultural capital of a community on college success is simply defining a cultural event or art. What is culturally valued in one community or by one group of people may not be culturally valued in another community or by another group. For instance, can the King

Biscuit Music Festival in Helena-West Helena be equally compared to an Arkansas Symphony music festival? Furthermore, attributing to one event more value than another may be a result of researcher bias. It would likely be best to treat each community separately and attempt to portray the cultural value of an event or of art from the perspective of the community, but that may make external validity problematic. Regardless, some effort to quantify the effect of the objectified form of cultural capital on college success rates is needed.

Likewise, a study looking at the importance of libraries, both public and private, as depositories of culturally valued knowledge needs to be conducted. Such a study would need to note the purpose of libraries and the services they provide. Library services differ depending upon the size and financial resources of the library, so creating some consistent measurement for them would be useful. Perhaps this area of research could include an analysis of library services, volume counts, door counts, and interlibrary loan counts along with identifying the primary purpose of libraries (i.e., research, private collection, or public collection). These data could be compared to the college going rates and/or completion rates of a sample of communities within the service area of these libraries. Such a study would advance at least one probable element of a model of community expectancy.

Explaining the role of religion in college success represents another matter for future research. Deggs and Miller's (2009) findings suggested a negative correlation existed between college success and religious adherence; however, this study and others have noted a positive correlation between educational attainment and religious adherence (see Coleman, 1988; Anderson, 1981). The data used to make the significant correlation

were at the county level, not the community level, so some skepticism of the findings is justified. Regardless, a study dedicated to determining the relationship between college choice and college completion with active membership and participation within a religious community (i.e., church, synagogue, temple, mosque, etc.) would be valuable to the creation of a stable model of community expectancy. Such a study should also analyze the participation in terms of weekly worship attendance, Sunday school participation or another similar religious-based educational group, youth group or other age-specific group programming, the average income level of the collective membership, the average educational level of the collective membership, the denomination, and the educational level of the church leadership. Possible differences among denominations may exist. Likewise, church leaders serve as role models for church members; therefore, leaders such as ministers, pastors, or priests who have been formally trained in seminary versus leaders who have no formal education but instead were "called" to their position of leadership may model different messages that reflect the broader community expectations regarding the value of education to the membership. Since religious organizations like churches are often important sources of social and cultural capital within a community, understanding these elements of religious adherence would provide useful insights for developing a model of community expectancy.

Researchers interested in studying religious adherence should be warned, however, not to read too much into the findings of the study regarding that element of community. Perhaps religious adherence, as a significant variable, is merely a reflection of the importance of social capital in general. Perhaps this finding regarding the significance of religious affiliations supports Putnam's (2000) supposition that social

institutions and networks are important to community vibrancy. A variable measuring membership in the Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts of America, membership in 4H clubs, membership in groups like the Kiwanis, or even membership in a bowling league or any other similar organization that creates strong locally-based bonded groups would have yielded a similar positive correlation with completion rates as the religious adherence variable. Membership in organizations such as in a religious community increase an individual's social capital by promoting cooperation skills, encouraging a work-ethic, and creating a powerful social network that could be useful for successfully completing college. Before jumping to conclusions about the importance of religious attendance, researchers must be careful in their interpretations and recognize the interactive nature of the social and cultural capital forces underlying the results of this type of research.

A better tool for measuring educational attainment in communities must be created before a final model of community expectancy can be developed. For the study, standard census data were used to indicate community educational attainment. Specifically, the variables used were the percent of population 25 and older with a high school degree (*HSDegree*) or equivalent and the percent of population 25 and older with a baccalaureate degree (*BADegree*). The variable *HSDegree* was found to have a significant negative association with college going rates while the variable *BADegree* was found to have a significant positive relationship with completion rates. The best reason for these odd, perhaps opposite findings, is that they represent single variables rather than an overall measurement of educational attainment in a community. Thus, a study is needed that will develop a single unit of measurement for educational attainment within a community. The US Census Bureau collects data on all levels of education in

communities, not just the percent of high school degrees and baccalaureate degrees. These collective data on educational attainment need to be used to create a weighted mean or some other scaled measurement for communities. The generation of such a scale measurement would create a better understanding of the relationship between community-level educational attainment and community expectations of educational attainment. Communities with a higher score on the spectrum, meaning more undergraduate and graduate degrees, may reflect community expectancy that views educational attainment as a prestigious accomplishment, or as cultural capital. Meanwhile, a lower score on the spectrum may mean educational attainment has little value in the community. A score in the middle of the spectrum, in which a community has a larger percentage of associate's degrees or technical certificates, may indicate that educational attainment is valued as a means of skills acquisition, or human capital.

In terms of economic research, past and present economic development strategies aimed at improving college going rates and completion rates need evaluation to determine which strategies are or have been most successful. This evaluative process would be useful for policymakers making decisions about what types of state programming should be continued or eliminated. This evaluative process may also be useful to developing a model of community expectancy by retrospectively identifying communal structures that have successfully been manipulated by government intervention. Likewise, it would be useful to have research analyzing whether a variety of employment opportunities within a community or whether the mobility of a community's population truly have a relationship with college success. Perhaps both of these areas of interests are merely aspects of quality of life within a community. If so, that finding in

itself would assist in clarifying the basic structure of a stable model of community expectancy.

Case study research is needed to compare communities that differ in college attendance and completion. This type of qualitative research should attempt to explain how communities with high and low completion rates differ. Ideally, the results of such studies would assist in identifying the specific social and cultural phenomena that affect college success. Clearly, one such communal phenomenon is poverty. Poverty carries with it cultural legacies that are passed on through the generations, and among those legacies is a valuing of educational attainment. Some groups in poverty may see education as a means of escape while other groups may see education as a tool of entrapment. In Arkansas, according to Blair and Barth (2005), the second view would appear to be more prominent. Thus, carefully designed case studies of select communities may provide rich descriptions that could yield useful interpretations for the creation of a model of community expectancy.

Another approach that would be appropriate for formulating an understanding of community expectancy would be an ethnographic study of perceived self-influences in which residents of sampled communities would be interviewed about their own beliefs of the value of education and what factors shape that belief. Questions could be designed to encourage interviewees to elaborate on how they personally view the value of education and whether they share that belief with the majority of the community residents. If personal and shared beliefs regarding the value of education differ, then follow up questions could inquire as to why the difference exists. Furthermore, this technique could be used to identify the specific variables that the residents themselves believe effect

educational achievement among community residents. An ethnographic approach may be a valuable step in providing a road map for better designed quantitative studies of community expectancy.

Although it would seem logical that the community expectations of postsecondary attainment for traditional and nontraditional students would generally be the same, the factors affecting these groups of students may in fact differ. Life course theory supports the view that they are different; thus, in any of the suggestions for future research, it may be wise to attempt to identify possible variations among these two groups. Also, future researchers should be alert to the possibility of multiple levels of community expectations within communities. The possibility exists that one group, either because of socio-economic, racial status, or some other bias, may be expected to attend and complete college while a different group may not. As the study conducted was intended to be an initial investigation into community expectancy, it did not control for such divisions within the sample.

Future research would ideally yield a model of community expectancy that can be used to guide policymaking. Such a model would result in a "score" for communities. Each component of the model would consist of indicator variables that were found to have a significant effect on college success. The value of indicator variables would be weighted based upon the size of their effect upon the dependent variable of postsecondary attainment. These weighted values would be summed to create a score for that particular component. Then, the scores for each component of the model could be totaled to give a total score representing the community expectations. Communities could then be ranked according to these scores. Placement of the community scores along a

spectrum of high expectations and low expectations of postsecondary attainment would allow policymakers and higher education professionals the ability to identify communities that need focused attention. Likewise, students from those communities with low expectations could be identified and assisted by student services professionals. Clearly, however, before such a model can be created, much more research is needed.

In essence, the conclusions drawn from the study provide numerous avenues for future study. Each prospective area of study would add another piece to the puzzle of community expectancy. Intuitively it would seem that one's community-of-origin should have some effect on the development of one's self-identity and that each of us make decisions that are influenced by the communal expectations that we internalize through the course of our lives. Identifying and measuring the effect of those expectations will clearly require a number of research studies in different areas of interest before an adequate model of community expectancy can emerge. If nothing else, the study was important in creating an initial road map for the study of community expectancy.

Recommendations for Practice

The results of the study should provide evidence to policymakers that identifying community expectations of educational attainment is extremely relevant and important for the successful design of policies intending to improve college completion. Policymakers at the state, community, and college levels must move beyond simply addressing quality of life conditions in the state with economic development programming that defines education as a mechanism for job training. They must create policies that aim to change the communally held values regarding the importance of

education. The way Arkansans, and citizens across the nation, "feel" about educational attainment is as important, if not more so, than improving economic conditions in an area through job training. If policies can be designed to shift the communally held legacies regarding education, or community expectations, then educational attainment in the state will most likely improve and economic development will follow.

As the results of the study revealed, especially the first factor of the exploratory factor analysis used in research question three, there are deeply rooted social and cultural forces underlying apparent economic shortcomings. The findings imply that quality of life improves in communities as incomes rise. To some extent, as quality of life improves so do college going rates; however, the correlation between improvement in quality of life and improvement in completion rates does not exist, according to these findings. Stated differently, while improving quality of life may encourage more college attendance, if the legacies of valuing educational attainment are not addressed through the treatment of basic social and cultural capitals within a community, college completion will not improve. This finding suggests a division between the intent of economic development and the reality of economic development. In short, policymakers must see beyond simple economic development strategies as tools for improving educational outcomes. For example, improving the income per capita of a community does not necessarily equate to lifting the residents out of poverty. Income is an easily measured output of economic development, but it does not account for the distribution of wealth in a community. Economic development policies must be alert to the fact that poverty is a socio-cultural structure that carries with it generational legacies that can be maintained and passed on even as income per capita improves.

It should be noted, according to Bourdieu (1986), an increase in economic capital would eventually result in an increase in the cultural and social capitals of a community. The problem, however, is if those persons with the most capital in a community, who will in the long run define what is culturally valued in the community, come from a heritage of poverty then they will continue to project basic assumptions of a poor culture unless avenues are created to expand their social networks. In this way, encouraging population mobility so that place-bound persons, even persons with higher percentages of capital in a community, have exposure to the broader cultural movements of American society is necessary.

Policymakers seeking to affect more immediate improvements in college completion need to focus on supporting social and cultural institutions within communities and linking them with the broader democratic institutions of American society. More research is needed in this area before explicit strategies can be recommended; yet, the findings suggest that improvements in the social and cultural capital of communities emphasizing the long-term importance of educational attainment could shift community expectations to favor higher education in the state or in any targeted region. As Blair and Barth (2005) note, distrust of education and government intervention among the lower classes in Arkansas stems from decades of manipulation by the educated power elite of the state through sharecropping and tenant contracts. This distrust must still be overcome, especially in the Delta region. The past is still influencing the present, particularly in regions that have seen little population mobility.

Bureaucratic barriers that are institutionalized in higher education systems also compound the distrust of government and of the educated elite by the broader population

in the state. For instance, the requirement to take developmental courses that cost money and do not contribute to the college credits needed to graduate likely prevents college completion among many postsecondary students, especially in community colleges where a recent report revealed 77.2% of entering Y2010 freshman in Arkansas' two-year colleges required at least one remedial course (Blad, 2011). The need to improve college preparation may be an obvious conclusion drawn from this report, but the fact that students are underprepared also has to do with how they and their social network have valued education. After successfully completing the requirements for a high school degree or equivalent, these students are now being told they are not prepared. This knowledge creates an added barrier to completion among a group that is already historically distrustful of the institutions of government and the policymakers running the government. In turn, the community expectations of educational attainment are lowered and sustained through another generation.

Simply saying the main problems facing completion rates in Arkansas are college preparation and the need for economic development will result in higher government expenditures in the state to improve postsecondary education outcomes with little actual impact. Policymakers must therefore think at a more fundamental level and address cultural and social capital within the state's regions and communities. Policymakers can do this by encouraging policies that promote and maintain strong locally based social networks. Further investigation is needed to determine the exact effect of social institutions like churches, community-based clubs, and other similar groups on college completion, but clearly the findings are implying a correlation. Thus, policymakers must

be aware that blending community development strategies with economic development is required to improve college completion.

Perhaps college boards of trustees and presidents or chancellors are in the best place to promote a cultural shift in community expectations of educational attainment. Higher education leaders need to encourage program development that creates linkages between their postsecondary institutions and the local community organizations. These leaders should find and encourage strategies to truly integrate their college into their local community, not just the local schools through concurrent credit course work. Instead, college and university policymakers should reach out to local social groups and weave their campuses into the social fabric of the communities in their service areas. Such action will break down culturally maintained legacies that do not value or even distrust education. Encouraging events like plays that use both college and community residents as actors or tournaments among local extracurricular clubs on the campuses will assist in reshaping the community expectations surrounding college attendance and completion. In effect, the conclusions drawn from the study support prior assumptions made by Miller and Tuttle (n.d., 2006, 2007).

This study was unable to verify the importance of community-based cultural elements such as museums, parks, art and art-based events, libraries, and other objectified forms of cultural capital on college success. As suggested, more research is needed in this area of interests; however, it would appear logical that, based upon the reviewed literature and the broader implications of the study, policies supporting such cultural structures can only assist in improving educational outcomes by exposing local community residents to broader cultural forces in American society.

Likewise, supporting local institutions like churches, extracurricular clubs, chambers of commerce, and similar groups creates networks of connectivity. These institutions allow residents to democratically participate in their community, and they encourage connections between the local, perhaps even place-bound, residents of the community to the broader American cultural values. Connecting areas with lower rates of population mobility, even with policies that improve roadways and Internet connections, would likely affect community expectations, especially in terms of the valuing of educational attainment.

Although it would be unwise to offer any specific policy recommendations without further research, the conclusions drawn from this study do indicate that policymakers at all levels of governance within the state need to adopt strategies that sustain social and cultural institutions within communities. Economic development plans aimed at improving the quality of life in communities are not enough to increase college completion rates in the state. Instead, policymakers need to include elements of community development aimed at promoting and maintaining local social and cultural institutions that create strong community bonds and social networks. Social networks can be useful to individuals facing life-changing decisions. In promoting local institutions, a combined community-economic development approach to policymaking is needed, which clearly suggests the value of education. In this way, postsecondary institutions should work to break down cultural barriers that suggest a distrust of education and reshape community expectations to support college success.

Discussion

One of the primary assumptions of the study was that education is a communal experience. Communities, conceptualized as a pseudo-organism, pass on legacies regarding the value of education (Dewey, 1899/1980, 1916/2004, 1938, 1939; Bourdieu, 1986). Communities have expectations regarding how much education is needed to be a successful member of the community. Persons who are closely bound to the social networks of their communities will internalize these preferential behaviors during their adolescent identity development (Erikson, 1950/1993, 1968/1994) and, according to Schlossberg's transition theory (as cited in Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998) and life course theory (Elder, 1994; Giele & Elder, 1998), continue to rely upon these expectations in decision-making processes during transitional periods of adulthood. It is possible that individuals may disassociate themselves from community expectations as they seek to redefine their personal values and norms in order to survive new situations (Swidler, 1986) or as an act of rebellion against communal legacies (Merton, 1968); however, as Erikson (1950/1993) notes, individuals rejecting communal norms and values may face repercussions in terms of the individual's relationships with public institutions. Merton's (1968) strain theory supports Erikson's assumption regarding the repercussions of behavior viewed as deviant by the cultural mainstream.

Bourdieu's (1986) capitals theory reinforces the theoretical assumptions and adds the concept of power to the theoretical framework. In his theory, power among any group is divided among social, cultural and economic capitals. Those who have more capital define the cultural values and norms, or what is considered cultural capital. The broader population accepts these values and norms because they seek power and the best way to

obtain it is through imitating what those in power have and desire. Thus, that which is defined as cultural capital is expressed and shared through the social networks as legacies, or community expectations. The size and power of an individual's social networks represents the individual's social capital. One with a higher percentage of cultural and social capital likely has a higher percentage of economic capital. Also, as someone acquires more economic capital, they likely acquire more social and cultural capital. Thus, the relationship among these capitals is highly interactive as reflected in the findings of the study.

The findings suggest that improving basic quality of life indicators within the community, such as improving income per capita or possibly improving employment opportunities, can quickly change community expectations to support college attendance but do not necessarily encourage college completion. In the context of Bourdieu's (1986) capitals theory, this conclusion makes sense. College attendance is often associated with improving economic capital, specifically human capital, in current economic development policy. If an individual wants to improve her or his socio-economic status, and thus gain more capital, college attendance would appear to be a natural conduit to do so, especially when education is presented as a means of improving job skills by economic development strategies. However, when students are confronted with coursework that seeks to prepare them for critical thinking or when coursework offers them theory that seems intangible and unnecessary for the sought after job skills, students' assumptions of education, which were derived from community expectations, are unmet. This experience could explain why so many of students, at least in Arkansas, do not complete college degrees and certificates. Thus, community expectations of

college attendance, which were internalized by students from the messages they were receiving from their community, differ from the expectations of college completion.

When a community understands the purpose of postsecondary education should be to provide training in critical thinking, theory, and democratic institutions, not just job training, community expectations supporting college completion would represent deeper culturally held values of education. This is why Bourdieu (1986) recognized an education degree as an element of institutionalized cultural capital. The presentation of postsecondary education as an instrument of human capital relays the wrong messages to potential students and thus undermines college completion. This is perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from the study.

The study used specific social, cultural, and human capital variables thought to be indicative of community expectations of postsecondary attainment. The results show that some of these variables were valid; however, as the factor analysis revealed, these variables are likely components of much larger interactive composite variables. Deggs and Miller (2009) suggested in their model of community expectancy, that community expectations resulted from the interaction of formal education bodies, civic agencies, informal associations, religious affiliations, and home life. The findings of the study did not verify the Deggs-Miller model nor did it offer a clear alternative.

In terms of creating a model of community expectancy that can identify what the locally held expectations of postsecondary attainment are, the study did offer some insights that appear substantiated by theory. The importance of membership in a religious organization or some other structured local social organization reflects Dewey's (1899/1980, 1916/2004, 1938, 1939) emphasis on the relationship between democracy,

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community, and education. Likewise, these organizations represent the social networks that relay community expectations and have been found to be important by many other scholars (Bourdieu, 1986; Flora & Flora, 2004; Coleman, 1988; Green & Haines, 2008; Putnam, 2000). Membership in these types of organizations must play a role in the identity development of individuals, especially the critical fifth stage of identity development, identity versus identity diffusion, discussed by Erickson (1950/1993).

Other areas of interest identified by the findings are likewise supported by the reviewed literature and theoretical framework. The educational attainment of a student's parents was found to be an important predicator of college success by numerous scholars (e.g., Tinto, 1975, 1993; Spady, 1975; Bean, 1980) and was thus used to support the inclusion of variables measuring a community's average educational attainment. Although the variables used in the study (*HSDegree*, *BADegree*) may have presented mixed results, their significance as predictors of the dependent variables in research questions one and two justify further research into the importance of educational attainment as a predictor of community expectations. Higher educational attainment at the community level should result in community expectations that support postsecondary degree/certificate completion.

The factor analysis suggested that population mobility and a diverse array of employment opportunities are possible predictors of community expectancy. These findings work well within the theoretical framework. A population that is connected to the larger democratic and cultural institutions of the nation should be more vibrant socially, culturally, and economically. (Shaffer, Deller, & Marcouiller, 2004). Population mobility would also work to counter the fears of community abandonment expressed by

the "learning to leave" mentality (Flora & Flora, 2004, p. 26). Diverse employment opportunities should reflect more economic capital within a community and would likely require a larger array of educational credentials. A community with this type of employment diversity would then express more expectations of higher educational attainment, just how high would depend upon the types of jobs. A community with a number of colleges or a research university nearby would possibly reward prestigious academic accomplishments because of the nature of employment opportunities in that area, whereas a community with employment opportunities that were technologically based may reward more technical educational accomplishments. The community placing emphasis on academic accomplishment would generate expectations that view degree attainment as cultural capital while the other community would view educational attainment more as a human capital accomplishment.

It is for these reasons that the recommendations for future research suggested the development of a means to measure educational attainment of communities. Also, it is for these reasons that the recommendations to policymakers suggested community-economic development policies that look at the specific needs of each community rather than comprehensive policies intended to improve the quality of life indicators only. It is also for these reasons that college leaders should understand the needs of the communities around them and work to integrate their campuses into the local social structures of the communities they serve. The recommendations of the study should not be taken to mean that there is no place for statewide economic development but rather that a community-based approach is needed as well, especially if educational outcomes like college completion are to be improved.

Although Arkansas communities were the subjects of analysis for the study, the theoretical framework of community expectancy should be applicable elsewhere. A model of community expectancy of postsecondary attainment that can be applied to any community would appear, from the findings of the study, to be within the reach of further analysis. Furthermore, the theoretical framework could be applied to understanding any policy problem. For instance, if researchers wanted to analyze the community expectations of American efforts in Afghanistan among local populations, it may be possible for researchers with knowledge of the local social and cultural structures in that region to apply this same theoretical framework to understanding the community expectations of American forces; however, researchers should be warned against an ethnocentric application of the model. In essence, while the study did not accomplish its goal of creating a working model of community expectancy that could be used to quantify the expectations of postsecondary attainment within a set of communities, the study did move the effort forward and did lend credence to the basic theoretical framework of the study. It would be desirable to see this framework taken up and applied in further research within higher education policy studies.

Chapter V: Summary of Chapter

Chapter Five offered a summary of the study and the theoretical framework of community expectancy. It also provided a brief overview of the findings of Chapter Four before stating the general conclusions drawn from the study. These conclusions were then applied to suggest possible areas for future research with the specific aim of suggesting studies that may advance the creation of a model of community expectancy of

postsecondary attainment. Techniques that may be used to improve the results of similar studies were also suggested. Next, the conclusions were used to make general suggestions for improving policies, specifically economic development policies, with the goal of improving both college attendance and college completion rates. College completion rates, as the primary higher education policy problem in Arkansas, were a major concern of these suggestions. Also, it was recommended that postsecondary leaders seek to improve relationships with the communities they serve by integrating college activities with community social institutions.

Finally, the conclusions of the study were discussed within the context of the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework of community expectancy was ultimately supported by the study although no clear model that could be used from measuring community expectancy emerged. The framework should be considered a valid starting point for other researchers interested in understanding the role of community on student choices regarding college attendance and completion. It may also be possible to apply the basic assumptions of the theoretical framework to areas beyond higher education policy.

The chapter was written with the hope that it would provide useful insights into this area of study and promote further research. Also, the chapter was intended to assist policymakers at all levels of governance, including the campus, to begin considering the impact of communities and culture on shaping the decision-making processes and self-identities of those individuals considering or seeking a postsecondary education. Ideally, the study's conclusions will lead to a new approach to the college success problems

facing the State of Arkansas while also creating a new theoretical model that may be

useful for researchers and policymakers across the nation and elsewhere.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF SAMPLE COMMUNITIES WITH COUNTY, POPULATION, SCHOOL

DISTRICT, AND SCHOOL DISTRICT POPULATION

Community	County	Population[a]	School District	District Population[b]
Alma	Crawford	4,207	Alma	13,050
Atkins	Pope	2,869	Atkins Public Schools	6,136
Bald Knob	White	3,215	Bald Knob	7,345
Batesville	Independence	9,409	Batesville	14,892
Beebe	White	4,901	Beebe	11,399
Berryville	Carroll	4,443	Berryville Public Schools	9,993
Booneville	Logan	4,164	Booneville	7,724
Camden	Ouachita	13,281	Camden Fairview	19,651
Clarksville	Johnson	7,661	Clarksville	11,845
Clinton	Van Buren	2,236	Clinton	7,171
Corning	Clay	3,628	Corning Public Schools	7,090
Crossett	Ashley	6,081	Crossett	13,587
Danville	Yell	2,348	Danville	3,874
De Queen	Sevier	5,853	De Queen	10,107
Dermott	Chicot	3,281	Dermott	4,796
DeWitt	Arkansas	3,516	DeWitt	7,413
Dumas	Desha	5,315	Dumas	8,332
Earle	Crittenden	2,998	Earle	3,938
El Dorado	Union	21,404	El Dorado	27,234
England	Lonoke	2,980	England	4,471

Table (continued)

List of sample communities

Community	County	Population[a]	School District	District Population[b]
Eudora	Chicot	2,875	Eudora Public Schools	4,300
Eureka Springs	Carroll	2,261	Eureka Springs	7,231
Forrest City	St. Francis	14,799	Forrest City	23,603
Gosnell	Mississippi	3,952	Gosnell	6,064
Green Forest	Carroll	2,753	Green Forest	7,061
Greenbrier	Faulkner	3,042	Greenbrier	11,089
Greenwood	Sebastian	7,218	Greenwood	15,819
Gurdon	Clark	2,247	Gurdon	4,784
Hamburg	Ashley	2,976	Hamburg	8,627
Harrisburg	Poinsett	2,086	Harrisburg	5,710
Heber Springs	Cleburne	6,222	Heber Springs	10,809
Hope	Hempstead	10,518	Hope	16,550
Hoxie	Lawrence	2,856	Hoxie Consolidated 46	4,209
Lake Village	Chicot	2,790	Lakeside	6,133
Lonoke	Lonoke	4,166	Lonoke	9,086
Magnolia	Columbia	10,819	Magnolia	16,660
Manila	Mississippi	3,048	Manila	5,026
Marion	Crittenden	8,901	Marion	14,859

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Table (continued)

List of sample communities

Community	County	Population[a]	School District	District Population[b]
McGehee	Desha	4,639	McGehee	5,788
Mena	Polk	5,523	Mena Public Schools	11,519
Mountain Home	Baxter	11,195	Mountain Home	31,030
Mountain View	Stone	2,988	Mountain View	7,992
Nashville	Howard	4,934	Nashville	9,592
Newport	Jackson	7,814	Newport	11,960
Osceola	Mississippi	8,836	Osceola	9,039
Ozark	Franklin	3,531	Ozark	9,027
Paragould	Greene	22,040	Paragould	18,252
Paris	Logan	3,670	Paris	7,316
Prairie Grove	Washington	2,515	Prairie Grove	6,654
Prescott	Neveda	3,695	Prescott	5,884
Rector	Clay	2,008	Clay County Central	4,301
Russellville	Pope	23,669	Russellville Schools	32,505
Searcy	White	18,995	Searcy	27,488
Sheridan	Grant	3,827	Sheridan	23,136
Smackover	Union	2,044	Smackover	3,517
Stamps	Lafayette	2,105	Stamps Public Schools	3,894

Table (continued)

List of sample communities

Community	County	Population[a]	School District	District Population[b]
Star City	Lincoln	2,476	Star City	7,785
Trumann	Poinsett	7,030	Trumann Schools	9,500
Van Buren	Crawford	18,897	Van Buren	28,841
Vilonia	Faulkner	2,104	Vilonia	11,113
Waldron	Scott	3,465	Waldron	9,250
Warren	Bradley	6,455	Warren	9,242
West Memphis	Crittenden	27,752	West Memphis	26,882

Note. Population[a] from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1) 100-Percent Data. Arkansas – Place: GCT-PH1. Population, Housing Units, Area, and Density: 2000. Retrieved October 31, 2010 from, http://factfinder.census.gov/ servlet/GCTTable?_bm=y&-geo_id=04000US05&-_box_head_nbr=GCT-PH1&- ds_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U&-redoLog=false&mt_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U_ GCTPH1_ST7&-format=ST-7. School District Population[b] from, National Center for Education Statistics. (2010). School district demographic system: Map viewer—Arkansas school district total population. Retrieved October 31, 2010 from, http://nces.ed.gov/ surveys/sdds/ed/index.asp?st=AR

APPENDIX B

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Community	School District	Completion Rate[a]	Going Rate[b]
Alma	Alma School District	42.7%	42.3%
Atkins	Atkins Public Schools	43.2%	49.3%
Bald Knob	Bald Knob School District	50.0%	10.5%
Batesville	Batesville School District	58.0%	48.6%
Beebe	Beebe School District	46.7%	21.3%
Berryville	Berryville Public Schools	40.0%	19.0%
Booneville	Booneville School District	34.3%	36.3%
Camden	Camden Fairview School District	44.6%	40.7%
Clarksville	Clarksville School District	61.2%	45.7%
Clinton	Clinton School District	35.3%	40.6%
Corning	Corning Public Schools	46.4%	29.6%
Crossett	Crossett School District	41.9%	39.3%
Danville	Danville School District	64.3%	39.4%
De Queen	De Queen School District	55.4%	52.6%
Dermott	Dermott School District	7.7%	23.5%
DeWitt	DeWitt School District	58.8%	55.2%
Dumas	Dumas School District 06	34.0%	49.0%
Earle	Earle School District	26.3%	34.0%
El Dorado	El Dorado School District	39.5%	35.8%

Table (continued)

List of Dependent Variables by Community

Community	School District	Completion Rate[a]	Going Rate[b]
England	England School District	53.8%	37.3%
Eudora	Eudora Public Schools	21.1%	28.1%
Eureka Springs	Eureka Springs School District	38.1%	33.3%
Forrest City	Forrest City School District	32.0%	34.7%
Gosnell	Gosnell School District	53.3%	34.7%
Green Forest	Green Forest School District	33.3%	27.4%
Greenbrier	Greenbrier School District	41.7%	40.0%
Greenwood	Greenwood School District	39.3%	48.6%
Gurdon	Gurdon School District	31.3%	57.1%
Hamburg	Hamburg School District	63.8%	42.2%
Harrisburg	Harrisburg School District	57.1%	20.6%
Heber Springs	Heber Springs School District	51.1%	41.3%
Hope	Hope School District	41.6%	50.0%
Hoxie	Hoxie Consolidated 46	21.1%	28.3%
Lake Village	Lakeside School District	40.0%	31.4%
Lonoke	Lonoke School District	43.6%	32.2%
Magnolia	Magnolia School District	50.0%	53.3%
Manila	Manila School District	52.2%	32.3%

Table (continued)

List of Dependent Variables by Community

Community	School District	Completion Rate[a]	Going Rate[b]
Marion	Marion School District	53.4%	32.5%
McGehee	McGehee School District	38.8%	51.8%
Mena	Mena Public Schools	62.9%	29.6%
Mountain Home	Mountain Home School District	46.8%	47.0%
Mountain View	Mountain View School District	40.6%	40.3%
Nashville	Nashville School District	40.5%	55.7%
Newport	Newport School District	42.9%	34.1%
Osceola	Osceola School District	15.6%	27.0%
Ozark	Ozark School District	45.2%	40.9%
Paragould	Paragould School District	45.9%	42.0%
Paris	Paris School District	47.8%	27.0%
Prairie Grove	Prairie Grove School District	37.8%	38.9%
Prescott	Prescott School District	41.9%	31.8%
Rector	Clay County Central School District	81.8%	23.4%
Russellville	Russellville Schools	48.1%	53.5%
Searcy	Searcy School District	63.6%	24.8%
Sheridan	Sheridan School District	48.1%	37.4%
Smackover	Smackover School District	35.5%	42.9%

Table (continued)

List of Dependent Variables by Community

Community	School District	Completion Rate[a]	Going Rate[b]
Stamps	Stamps Public Schools	34.6%	44.2%
Star City	Star City School District	27.9%	42.4%
Trumann	Trumann Schools	42.5%	37.9%
Van Buren	Van Buren School District	35.3%	46.3%
Vilonia	Vilonia School District	37.0%	32.5%
Waldron	Waldron School District	40.0%	25.0%
Warren	Warren School District	51.0%	45.0%
West Memphis	West Memphis School District	28.7%	29.6%

Note. Completion Rate[a] from, Arkansas Department of Higher Education. (2010). [Credentials awarded by degree level, academic year and high school]. Unpublished raw data. Going Rate[b] from, Arkansas Department of Higher Education. (2010). [College going rate by high school district]. Unpublished raw data.

APPENDIX C

SOCIAL CAPITAL VARIABLES: NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOL COMPETITIVE

CLUBS PER SCHOOL DISTRICT (*CLUBS*), NET POPULATION MIGRATION

(*POPMGRTN*), DEPENENCY RATIO (*DEPNDRAT*), AVERAGE FAMILY SIZE

(*FAMSIZE*), AND RATES OF RELIGIOUS ADHERENCE PER 1000 PERSONS BY

COUNTY (*RELIGION*)

Community	Clubs[a]	PopMgrtn[b]	DepndRat[c]	FamSize[d]	Religion[e]
Alma	23	3,485	60.0	3.11	529
Atkins	13	965	61.4	2.95	507
Bald Knob	11	6,077	58.7	3.08	625
Batesville	18	-649	57.4	2.92	644
Beebe	20	6,077	53.9	2.99	625
Berryville	16	1,997	66.3	3.14	436
Booneville	16	869	68.4	3.01	742
Camden	18	-2,084	69.9	2.97	626
Clarksville	20	2,158	56.8	3.01	480
Clinton	17	527	67.9	2.87	544
Corning	12	5,122	65.1	2.88	549
Crossett	12	-1,338	62.4	2.96	799
Danville	10	1,186	58.3	3.44	485
De Queen	16	-1,129	62.8	3.44	656
Dermott	5	-721	65.3	2.84	455
DeWitt	14	-776	66.3	3.21	699
Dumas	14	-2,239	60.2	3.19	622
Earle	5	689	75.3	3.54	417
El Dorado	20	-1,225	66.8	2.99	674
England	8	4,914	62.3	3.03	571

Table (continued)

Social Capital Variables

Community	Clubs[a]	PopMgrtn[b]	DepndRat[c]	FamSize[d]	Religion[e]
Eudora	N/A	-721	65.5	3.24	455
Eureka Springs	14	1,997	48.3	2.64	436
Forrest City	18	378	51.8	3.23	451
Gosnell	11	-3,343	50.6	3.29	633
Green Forest	15	1,997	54.5	3.27	436
Greenbrier	20	9,731	58.0	3.06	565
Greenwood	20	3,864	57.7	3.14	688
Gurdon	13	265	64.5	3.01	684
Hamburg	14	-1,338	65.4	3.12	799
Harrisburg	17	-995	59.1	2.84	682
Heber Springs	17	2,257	74.5	2.72	441
Hope	16	216	62.8	3.2	508
Hoxie	11	-214	55.7	3.03	608
Lake Village	8	-721	71.9	3.16	455
Lonoke	13	4,914	66.3	3.14	571
Magnolia	16	-718	64.8	3.01	642
Manila	10	-3,343	58.9	3.02	633
Marion	17	689	59.9	3.11	417

Table (continued)

Social Capital Variables

Community	Clubs[a]	PopMgrtn[b]	DepndRat[c]	FamSize[d]	Religion[e]
McGehee	16	-2,239	43.2	2.99	622
Mena	18	-162	78.3	2.85	590
Mountain Home	23	3,098	103.5	2.59	514
Mountain View	16	-83	74.0	2.72	508
Nashville	15	137	66.2	3.12	659
Newport	14	-619	51.1	2.9	567
Osceola	5	-3,343	60.2	3.2	633
Ozark	16	300	73.5	2.91	486
Paragould	20	2,262	57.8	2.92	615
Paris	16	869	69.5	2.91	742
Prairie Grove	15	11,213	62.4	3.05	501
Prescott	14	-137	66.3	3.05	604
Rector	7	5,122	72.8	2.83	549
Russellville	23	965	51.1	2.95	507
Searcy	23	6,077	47.7	2.86	625
Sheridan	20	1,203	54.1	3.02	788
Smackover	13	-1,225	67.8	2.99	674
Stamps	N/A	-404	72.3	3.1	547
Star City	13	2,144	87.1	3.1	396

Table (continued)

Social Capital Variables

Community	Clubs[a]	PopMgrtn[b]	DepndRat[c]	FamSize[d]	Religion[e]
Trumann	16	-995	61.1	3	682
Van Buren	21	3,485	55.1	3.12	529
Vilonia	20	9,731	54.9	3.16	565
Waldron	13	-24	68.7	3	574
Warren	10	3	67.5	2.96	698
West Memphis	14	689	58.8	3.23	417

Note. Number of HS ASHAAA sponsored clubs declared by School District 2010[a] from, Arkansas Activities Association. (2010). Schools: Online Directory: High School Declarations. Retrieved November 29, 2010 from, http://www.ahsaa.org/schools.asp. AR County Net Population Migration[b] from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000. PHC-T-22. Migration for the Population 5 Years and Over for the United States, Regions, States, Counties, New England Minor Civil Divisions, Metropolitan Areas, and Puerto Rico: 2000. Retrieved November 19, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/population/www/cen2000/migration/index.html. Dependency Ratio[c] from, Institute for Economic Advancement at the University of Arkansas, Little Rock. (2010). [Dependency ratio for sampled communities. Unpublished raw data. Prepared by Demographic Research Division from U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000. Average Family Size[d] from, United States Census Bureau (2000). American FactFinder, Census 2000. P33. Average family size[1], Universe: Families, custom table. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/CTTable?_lang=en&_ts=310658391428. Rates of adherence per 1000 population[e] from, The Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA). (2000). All denominations—Rates of adherence per 1000 population (2000) *Unadjusted*. Retrieved November 9, 2010 from http://www.thearda.com/mapsReports/maps/map.asp?alpha=1&variable=3&state=4&variable2=0&GRP=0

APPENDIX D

CULTURAL CAPITAL VARIABLES: PERCENT OF NONWHITE POPULATION

(%NONWHITE), PERCENT OF POPULATION BELOW POVERTY (*POVERTY*),

CRIME RATE (*CRIMERATE*), PERCENT OF COUNTY POPULATION LACKING

BASIC PROSE SKILLS (*LITERACY*), PER PUPIL PUBLIC EXPENDITURES PER

SCHOOL DISTRICT (*PPE*), PERCENT OF POPULATION EMPLOYED IN ARTS,

ENTERTAINMENT, AND RECREATION (*ARTS*), PROXIMITY TO A

POSTSECONARY INSTITUTION IN MILES (*PROXCOLL*), AND PUBLIC

LIBARIES WITHIN 20 MILES (*LIBRARY*)

Table D1

Racial and ethnic diversity of sample

Community	%Nonwhite	Percent of Population Nonwhite and NonAfrican American
Alma	4.2%	3.3%
Atkins	4.4%	3.5%
Bald Knob	12.2%	5.6%
Batesville	9.0%	4.3%
Beebe	10.8%	5.2%
Berryville	25.2%	25.2%
Booneville	3.7%	3.7%
Camden	51.6%	2.2%
Clarksville	21.3%	18.3%
Clinton	3.2%	3.2%
Corning	1.3%	1.3%
Crossett	42.0%	3.4%
Danville	45.1%	44.4%
De Queen	48.2%	41.2%
Dermott	73.4%	0.3%
DeWitt	21.7%	1.8%
Dumas	64.6%	5.2%
Earle	75.9%	1.3%

Table D1 (continued)

Community	%Nonwhite	Percent of Population Nonwhite and NonAfrican American
El Dorado	46.8%	3.2%
England	35.3%	1.4%
Eudora	85.1%	1.6%
Eureka Springs	10.2%	10.2%
Forrest City	70.7%	10.2%
Gosnell	21.1%	4.7%
Green Forest	35.9%	35.5%
Greenbrier	3.6%	3.6%
Greenwood	4.3%	3.7%
Gurdon	40.9%	5.5%
Hamburg	40.2%	7.6%
Harrisburg	4.6%	1.9%
Heber Springs	3.7%	3.2%
Hope	59.5%	16.9%
Hoxie	3.8%	3.4%
Lake Village	60.1%	4.3%
Lonoke	28.0%	4.9%
Magnolia	42.6%	1.9%
Manila	1.7%	1.7%
Marion	14.2%	4.2%

Table D1 (continued)

Community	%Nonwhite	Percent of Population Nonwhite and NonAfrican American
McGehee	43.8%	3.8%
Mena	4.2%	4.2%
Mountain Home	3.7%	3.7%
Mountain View	4.4%	4.4%
Nashville	42.6%	9.5%
Newport	34.4%	2.2%
Osceola	52.9%	1.2%
Ozark	4.9%	4.4%
Paragould	2.9%	2.4%
Paris	6.0%	3.1%
Prairie Grove	5.4%	5.4%
Prescott	46.3%	3.2%
Rector	1.6%	1.6%
Russellville	11.4%	6.6%
Searcy	10.7%	3.1%
Sheridan	2.7%	1.7%
Smackover	28.7%	0.9%
Stamps	59.0%	1.3%
Star City	21.3%	2.3%

Table D1 (continued)

Community	%Nonwhite	Percent of Population Nonwhite and NonAfrican American
Trumann	5.8%	2.0%
Van Buren	14.1%	12.4%
Vilonia	2.5%	2.2%
Waldron	19.0%	19.0%
Warren	46.7%	4.3%
West Memphis	58.7%	2.3%

Note. The second descriptive percentage includes all racial/ethnic groups that are not listed as white or African American, it is probable that communities with high percentages in the second category have a large non-white Hispanic/Latino population. From, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)– Sample data. P6. Race[8] – Universe: Total population. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/census2000/sumfile3.html

Table D2

Percent of Population in Poverty, Crime Rate, and 2003 Literacy Rate (County)

Community	Poverty[a]	CrimeRate[b]	Literacy[c]
Alma	16.3%	145	13.0%
Atkins	13.5%	41	11.0%
Bald Knob	16.5%	8	13.0%
Batesville	14.5%	1408	13.0%
Beebe	11.2%	202	13.0%
Berryville	21.1%	173	17.0%
Booneville	18.4%	17	14.0%
Camden	22.5%	746	17.0%
Clarksville	20.3%	353	17.0%
Clinton	17.9%	N/A	13.0%
Corning	23.2%	159	16.0%
Crossett	16.8%	332	19.0%
Danville	21.2%	11	22.0%
De Queen	26.9%	186	25.0%
Dermott	25.1%	174	25.0%
DeWitt	32.5%	149	16.0%
Dumas	28.8%	328	23.0%
Earle	45.4%	235	17.0%
El Dorado	24.6%	1615	16.0%

Table D2 (continued)

Community	Poverty[a]	CrimeRate[b]	Literacy[c]
England	17.9%	56	10.0%
Eudora	36.5%	203	25.0%
Eureka Springs	12.2%	113	17.0%
Forrest City	33.4%	1507	22.0%
Gosnell	17.1%	N/A	18.0%
Green Forest	22.1%	118	17.0%
Greenbrier	9.1%	99	10.0%
Greenwood	6.7%	82	14.0%
Gurdon	19.0%	63	15.0%
Hamburg	25.2%	98	19.0%
Harrisburg	22.6%	64	18.0%
Heber Springs	13.3%	409	12.0%
Hope	27.2%	590	23.0%
Hoxie	24.2%	85	15.0%
Lake Village	36.1%	150	25.0%
Lonoke	15.0%	280	10.0%
Magnolia	23.0%	696	17.0%
Manila	18.4%	N/A	18.0%
Marion	8.1%	326	17.0%

Table D2 (continued)

Community	Poverty[a]	CrimeRate[b]	Literacy[c]
Marion	8.1%	326	17.0%
McGehee	30.0%	349	23.0%
Mena	17.6%	100	13.0%
Mountain Home	10.6%	384	11.0%
Mountain View	17.0%	50	14.0%
Nashville	21.4%	216	18.0%
Newport	22.8%	278	17.0%
Osceola	29.5%	485	18.0%
Ozark	21.6%	90	13.0%
Paragould	12.0%	665	13.0%
Paris	18.5%	97	14.0%
Prairie Grove	9.6%	28	13.0%
Prescott	32.5%	57	19.0%
Rector	23.9%	N/A	16.0%
Russellville	15.6%	1468	11.0%
Searcy	15.0%	1166	13.0%
Sheridan	9.8%	67	12.0%
Smackover	14.7%	37	16.0%
Stamps	27.8%	N/A	20.0%
Star City	18.2%	104	20.0%

Table D2 (continued)

Community	Poverty[a]	CrimeRate[b]	Literacy[c]
Trumann	21.2%	785	18.0%
Van Buren	16.7%	813	13.0%
Vilonia	7.6%	N/A	10.0%
Waldron	25.9%	152	17.0%
Warren	28.7%	220	22.0%
West Memphis	28.3%	1599	17.0%

Note. Percent of population below poverty[a] from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000. Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample. P89. Poverty status in 1999 by age by household type [39] – Universe: Population for whom poverty status is determined. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/census2000/sumfile3.html. Y2000 Crime Rate[b] from, Arkansas Crime Information Center. (2010, Nov. 18). [2000 Crime index for sampled communities]. Unpublished raw data. Prepared by the Criminal Justice Information Division, Arkansas Crime Information Center. Percent of county population lacking basic prose literacy skills[c] from, National Center for Education Statistics. (2003). Indirect estimate of percent lacking basic prose literacy skills and corresponding credible intervals in all counties: Arkansas 2003. National Assessment of Adult Literacy. Retrieved November 13, 2010 from, http://nces.ed.gov/naal/estimates/StateEstimates.aspx

Table D3

District PPE and revenue sources (in Y2000 US dollars)

Community	School District Name	PPE [1999-00]	Total Revenue per student [1999-00]	Total Rev-Local Per Student [1999-00]	Total Rev-State Per Student [1999-00]
Alma	Alma School District	3,205	5,861	1,233	4,197
Atkins	Atkins Public Schools	3,290	5,572	1,292	3,891
Bald Knob	Bald Knob School District	3,578	6,472	1,420	3,957
Batesville	Batesville School District	3,370	6,007	2,098	3,493
Beebe	Beebe School District	3,006	5,884	1,598	3,837
Berryville	Berryville Public Schools	3,150	5,611	1,844	3,320
Booneville	Booneville School District	3,138	5,736	1,370	3,879
Camden	Camden Fairview School District	3,611	6,347	1,738	4,027
Clarksville	Clarksville School District	3,154	5,988	1,907	3,627
Clinton	Clinton School District	2,849	5,563	1,393	3,698
Corning	Corning Public Schools	3,120	5,634	1,657	3,259
Crossett	Crossett School District	3,164	5,552	2,233	2,896
Danville	Danville School District	3,542	5,981	1,441	3,873
De Queen	De Queen School District	2,841	5,652	1,444	3,730
Dermott	Dermott School District	4,404	7,509	1,259	4,853
DeWitt	DeWitt School District	3,175	5,734	2,157	3,069
Dumas	Dumas School District 06	3,633	6,243	1,439	3,998
Earle	Earle School District	4,120	7,574	1,628	4,519

Table D3 (continued)

Community	School District Name	PPE [1999-00]	Total Revenue per student [1999-00]	Total Rev-Local Per Student [1999-00]	Total Rev-State Per Student [1999-00]
El Dorado	El Dorado School District	3,250	5,615	1,869	3,158
England	England School District	3,376	5,834	1,387	3,854
Eudora	Eudora Public Schools	3,853	6,864	1,892	4,136
Eureka Springs	Eureka Springs School District	3,073	6,070	4,999	699
Forrest City	Forrest City School District	3,453	6,378	1,514	4,017
Gosnell	Gosnell School District	3,417	5,606	1,073	4,043
Green Forest	Green Forest School District	3,269	5,624	1,474	3,718
Greenbrier	Greenbrier School District	3,165	6,052	1,524	4,165
Greenwood	Greenwood School District	3,071	5,645	1,663	3,798
Gurdon	Gurdon School District	3,246	6,487	2,607	3,377
Hamburg	Hamburg School District	3,445	6,378	1,500	3,823
Harrisburg	Harrisburg School District	3,253	5,525	1,387	3,676
Heber Springs	Heber Springs School District	3,462	5,630	2,493	2,696
Hope	Hope School District	3,380	6,024	1,792	3,857
Hoxie	Hoxie Consolidated 46	3,393	6,034	1,345	4,123
Lake Village	Lakeside School District	3,566	7,276	1,977	3,864
Lonoke	Lonoke School District	3,331	5,941	1,615	3,825
Magnolia	Magnolia School District	2,979	5,610	1,822	3,322
Manila	Manila School District	3,094	5,857	1,231	4,112

Table D3 (continued)

Community	School District Name	PPE [1999-00]	Total Revenue per student [1999-00]	Total Rev-Local Per Student [1999-00]	Total Rev-State Per Student [1999-00]
Marion	Marion School District	3,117	5,553	1,594	3,721
McGehee	McGehee School District	3,078	5,807	1,285	3,863
Mena	Mena Public Schools	3,209	5,657	1,546	3,422
Mountain Home	Mountain Home School District	3,206	5,697	2,543	2,761
Mountain View	Mountain View School District	3,450	5,541	1,480	3,525
Nashville	Nashville School District	3,172	5,591	1,803	3,517
Newport	Newport School District	3,513	6,115	1,965	3,408
Osceola	Osceola School District	3,886	6,061	1,300	3,937
Ozark	Ozark School District	3,035	5,768	1,901	3,390
Paragould	Paragould School District	3,470	5,918	2,009	3,393
Paris	Paris School District	3,344	6,158	1,633	3,962
Prairie Grove	Prairie Grove School District	2,884	5,331	1,327	3,786
Prescott	Prescott School District	3,181	5,627	1,451	3,731
Rector	Clay County Central SD	3,153	5,552	1,525	3,537
Russellville	Russellville Schools	3,650	6,358	3,595	2,413
Searcy	Searcy School District	2,934	5,746	2,514	2,921
Sheridan	Sheridan School District	3,078	5,402	1,440	3,658
Smackover	Smackover School District	3,851	6,421	1,916	4,071

Table D3 (continued)

Community	School District Name	PPE [1999-00]	Total Revenue per student [1999-00]	Total Rev-Local Per Student [1999-00]	Total Rev-State Per Student [1999-00]
Stamps	Stamps Public Schools	3,392	6,560	1,378	4,176
Star City	Star City School District	3,267	5,785	1,473	3,916
Trumann	Trumann Schools	3,207	5,710	1,397	3,714
Van Buren	Van Buren School District	3,473	6,154	1,739	3,839
Vilonia	Vilonia School District	3,067	5,659	1,182	4,205
Waldron	Waldron School District	3,160	6,086	1,309	3,652
Warren	Warren School District	3,868	6,533	1,533	4,268
West Memphis	West Memphis School District	3,286	5,612	1,078	3,884

Note. From, National Center for Education Statistics. (2000). Common Core of Data (CCD), "School District Finance Survey (Form F-33)," 1999-2000 (FY 2000) v.1d. Retrieved, November 29, 2010, from http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/index.asp

Table D4

Percentage of workers employed in arts, entertainment and recreation; proximity to an institution of higher education; and number of public libraries within a 20 mile radius of the sampled community

Community	Arts[a]	ProxColl	Library[b]
Alma	2.26%	14.11	1
Atkins	0.00%	14.25	7
Bald Knob	0.16%	12.28	6
Batesville	0.93%	0	3
Beebe	1.91%	0	7
Berryville	0.79%	32.63	3
Booneville	0.00%	38.77	7
Camden	0.80%	0	6
Clarksville	0.33%	0	2
Clinton	0.77%	38.78	4
Corning	0.00%	28.99	2
Crossett	0.64%	42.66	4
Danville	1.29%	31.68	3
De Queen	0.40%	0	6
Dermott	0.68%	27.07	5
DeWitt	0.36%	51.37	3

Table D4 (continued)

Community	Arts[a]	ProxColl	Library[b]
Dumas	0.88%	38.35	5
Earle	1.01%	19.93	8
El Dorado	0.27%	0	5
England	0.48%	25.29	6
Eudora	0.84%	69	2
Eureka Springs	8.51%	38.87	3
Forrest City	0.54%	0	3
Gosnell	0.86%	6.25	6
Green Forest	0.77%	24.46	4
Greenbrier	1.03%	11.03	5
Greenwood	1.26%	18.33	12
Gurdon	0.30%	18.17	3
Hamburg	0.47%	27.05	2
Harrisburg	0.92%	20.73	5
Heber Springs	0.85%	31.13	5
Hope	0.07%	0	3
Hoxie	0.62%	7.39	4
Lake Village	2.41%	52.85	4
Lonoke	0.29%	26.8	7
Magnolia	1.29%	0	4

Table D4 (continued)

Community	Arts[a]	ProxColl	Library[b]
Manila	1.08%	18.16	9
Marion	0.57%	6.5	6
McGehee	2.53%	29.69	5
Mena	0.00%	0	1
Mountain Home	1.15%	0	3
Mountain View	2.52%	26.19	3
Nashville	0.40%	30.58	8
Newport	1.18%	0	4
Osceola	0.22%	14.44	8
Ozark	1.99%	23.4	5
Paragould	0.29%	0	6
Paris	0.60%	27.96	5
Prairie Grove	0.80%	11.32	9
Prescott	0.00%	17.9	4
Rector	1.49%	24.04	4
Russellville	1.30%	0	6
Searcy	0.76%	0	7
Sheridan	0.87%	24.07	3
Smackover	1.02%	14.67	7
Stamps	0.00%	17.09	4

Table D4 (continued)

Community	Arts[a]	ProxColl	Library[b]
Star City	0.68%	28.94	3
Trumann	0.52%	18.59	9
Van Buren	0.65%	4.65	12
Vilonia	0.19%	17.12	9
Waldron	1.13%	34.36	4
Warren	0.34%	16.44	4
West Memphis	1.92%	0	7

Note. Percent of Population employed in Arts, Entertainment, & Recreation[a] from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample. P49. Sex by industry for the employed civilian population 16 years and over [55] – Universe: Employed civilian population 16 years and over. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/census2000/sumfile3.html. Number of Public Libraries within 20 miles[b] from, National Center for Education Statistics. (2010). Search for schools, colleges, and libraries. Retrieved November 23, 2010 from, http://nces.ed.gov/globallocator/

APPENDIX E

HUMAN CAPITAL VARIABLES: PER CAPITA INCOME (INCOME),

HOMEOWNERSHIP RATE (HOMEOWN), PERCENT OF POPULATION WITH

HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA OR EQUIVALENT (HSDEGREE), PERCENT OF

POPULATION WITH A BACCALAUREATE DEGREE (BADEGREE),

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (UNEMPLY), AND PERCENT OF WORKERS

REPORTING THEMSELVES AS SELF-EMPLOYED IN ALL INDUSTRIES (BOTH

SEXES) (SELFEMPL)

Community	Income[a]	Homeown[b]	HSDegree[c]	BADegree[d]	Unemply[e]	SelfEmpl[f]
Alma	$15,227	58.4%	39.1%	10.1%	7.9%	9.3%
Atkins	$15,979	70.3%	36.5%	6.7%	3.3%	9.0%
Bald Knob	$13,218	60.9%	36.2%	5.4%	10.8%	8.3%
Batesville	$17,753	59.4%	33.7%	12.1%	5.8%	9.5%
Beebe	$16,989	61.8%	34.2%	10.1%	6.3%	12.1%
Berryville	$13,873	58.8%	31.5%	4.6%	7.4%	13.5%
Booneville	$13,076	55.7%	32.9%	5.3%	5.5%	11.7%
Camden	$14,599	59.9%	33.4%	9.8%	10.6%	7.9%
Clarksville	$16,305	56.9%	32.8%	9.7%	12.6%	9.2%
Clinton	$15,514	71.3%	33.6%	7.4%	5.3%	18.8%
Corning	$12,953	68.0%	36.6%	4.7%	9.7%	12.1%
Crossett	$18,288	64.3%	36.9%	10.7%	6.5%	8.3%
Danville	$12,533	52.9%	31.8%	5.3%	6.3%	8.9%
De Queen	$12,968	60.3%	24.3%	5.8%	5.5%	8.0%
Dermott	$13,408	59.4%	38.9%	6.3%	13.7%	9.9%
DeWitt	$9,998	68.2%	35.7%	7.4%	7.7%	10.3%
Dumas	$12,727	56.9%	32.8%	7.8%	8.4%	13.1%
Earle	$13,260	57.0%	31.2%	6.7%	11.4%	8.6%
El Dorado	$16,332	59.1%	31.1%	12.9%	8.7%	8.2%
England	$14,095	65.7%	35.4%	10.1%	4.8%	8.0%
Eudora	$9,437	67.8%	40.5%	6.9%	10.6%	9.7%
Eureka Springs	$18,439	57.1%	27.7%	19.2%	6.6%	22.3%

Table (continued)

Human Capital Variables

Community	Income[a]	Homeown[b]	HSDegree[c]	BADegree[d]	Unemply[e]	SelfEmpl[f]
Forrest City	$11,716	49.2%	29.2%	8.3%	16.4%	6.9%
Gosnell	$13,371	50.5%	33.4%	5.8%	7.0%	8.1%
Green Forest	$10,720	57.8%	34.0%	4.3%	3.0%	8.3%
Greenbrier	$17,950	79.3%	36.8%	13.5%	5.1%	7.0%
Greenwood	$16,254	79.3%	33.4%	12.6%	3.4%	9.9%
Gurdon	$15,043	62.7%	40.1%	7.7%	3.0%	7.1%
Hamburg	$14,599	69.0%	35.9%	7.9%	9.2%	10.2%
Harrisburg	$13,813	66.0%	39.6%	5.9%	4.3%	11.8%
Heber Springs	$19,656	72.5%	33.0%	11.3%	3.4%	10.5%
Hope	$12,783	50.7%	37.0%	6.3%	8.7%	5.6%
Hoxie	$12,190	67.8%	43.7%	3.2%	5.7%	11.3%
Lake Village	$12,677	64.5%	31.7%	12.7%	13.4%	12.4%
Lonoke	$15,598	64.3%	29.0%	11.0%	4.9%	10.3%
Magnolia	$15,403	61.8%	29.4%	17.1%	9.2%	14.7%
Manila	$13,754	75.1%	35.7%	4.3%	8.1%	8.1%
Marion	$19,074	75.3%	32.7%	17.8%	6.7%	11.0%
McGehee	$14,191	63.4%	37.7%	10.6%	2.5%	7.3%
Mena	$14,710	69.8%	31.2%	8.3%	5.0%	12.4%
Mountain Home	$16,789	70.8%	35.4%	9.7%	3.2%	11.3%

Table (continued)

Human Capital Variables

Community	Income[a]	Homeown[b]	HSDegree[c]	BADegree[d]	Unemply[e]	SelfEmpl[f]
Mountain View	$17,375	52.2%	34.4%	7.8%	4.1%	17.8%
Nashville	$13,258	57.0%	33.0%	9.3%	5.5%	11.0%
Newport	$15,757	56.7%	31.8%	10.5%	6.9%	11.3%
Osceola	$12,406	47.6%	30.9%	8.4%	8.4%	7.3%
Ozark	$12,583	62.4%	30.4%	5.9%	4.9%	8.6%
Paragould	$18,076	65.8%	38.0%	9.6%	5.2%	10.3%
Paris	$14,738	69.4%	37.2%	7.9%	8.9%	12.5%
Prairie Grove	$16,154	75.2%	35.5%	13.1%	2.9%	13.2%
Prescott	$11,515	58.3%	33.7%	7.0%	9.2%	7.0%
Rector	$14,931	68.0%	36.3%	4.7%	6.4%	12.3%
Russellville	$16,315	59.7%	27.9%	16.7%	7.4%	8.3%
Searcy	$16,553	61.5%	29.3%	17.4%	22.1%	7.6%
Sheridan	$19,184	69.6%	34.2%	10.1%	2.5%	14.7%
Smackover	$14,461	74.9%	34.7%	10.4%	4.1%	6.9%
Stamps	$11,440	72.4%	37.6%	6.7%	10.3%	10.0%
Star City	$13,998	68.1%	33.6%	7.7%	10.8%	9.8%
Trumann	$12,419	60.1%	40.0%	2.8%	8.1%	7.8%
Van Buren	$14,948	68.9%	32.3%	8.0%	7.3%	10.4%
Vilonia	$17,495	76.3%	37.0%	15.1%	3.6%	10.3%
Waldron	$12,193	53.9%	32.7%	6.4%	5.8%	11.1%

Table (continued)

Human Capital Variables

Community	Income[a]	Homeown[b]	HSDegree[c]	BADegree[d]	Unemply[e]	SelfEmpl[f]
Warren	$13,453	64.3%	36.7%	7.3%	12.3%	10.0%
West Memphis	$13,679	58.9%	33.1%	7.6%	8.1%	6.6%

Note. Per Capita Income (Income[a]) from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample. P82. Per capita income in 1999 (dollars) [1] – Universe: Total population. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/census2000/sumfile3.html. Homeownership rate (Homeown[b]) from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample. H15. Total population in occupied housing units by tenure [3] – Universe: Population in occupied housing units. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/census2000/sumfile3.html. Population 25 and older with HS Degree/equivalent (HSDegree[c]) and Population 25 and older with BA (BADegree[d]) from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample. P37. Sex by educational attainment for the population 25 Years and over [35] – Universe: Population 25 years and over. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/census2000/sumfile3.html. Unemployment rate (Unemply[e]) from, Institute for Economic Advancement at the University of Arkansas, Little Rock. (2010). [Unemployment rate for sampled communities]. Unpublished raw data. Prepared by Demographic Research Division from U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000. Self-employed workers (SelfEmpl[f]) from, United States Census Bureau. (2000). Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)–Sample. P51. Sex by industry by class of worker for the employed civilian population 16 ears and over [65] –Universe: Employed civilian population 16 years and over. Retrieved November 15, 2010 from, http://www.census.gov/census2000/sumfile3.html

APPENDIX F

MULTICOLLINEARITY AND HETEROSCEDASTICITY TESTING FOR

RESEARCH QUESTION ONE AND REGRESSION RESULTS

Figure F1

Main Effects Histogram

Histogram
Dependent Variable: Graduate

Mean = -8.51E-16
Std. Dev. = 0.833
N = 63
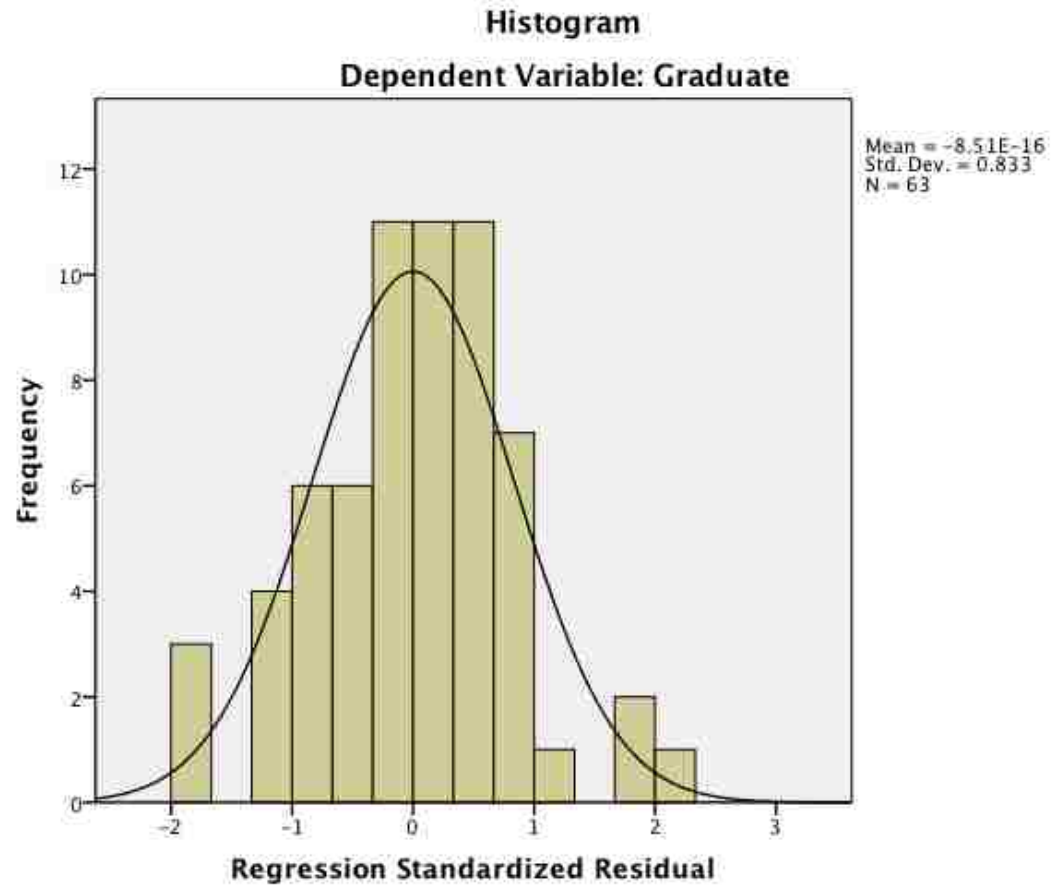
Figure F2

Main Effects Probability Plot
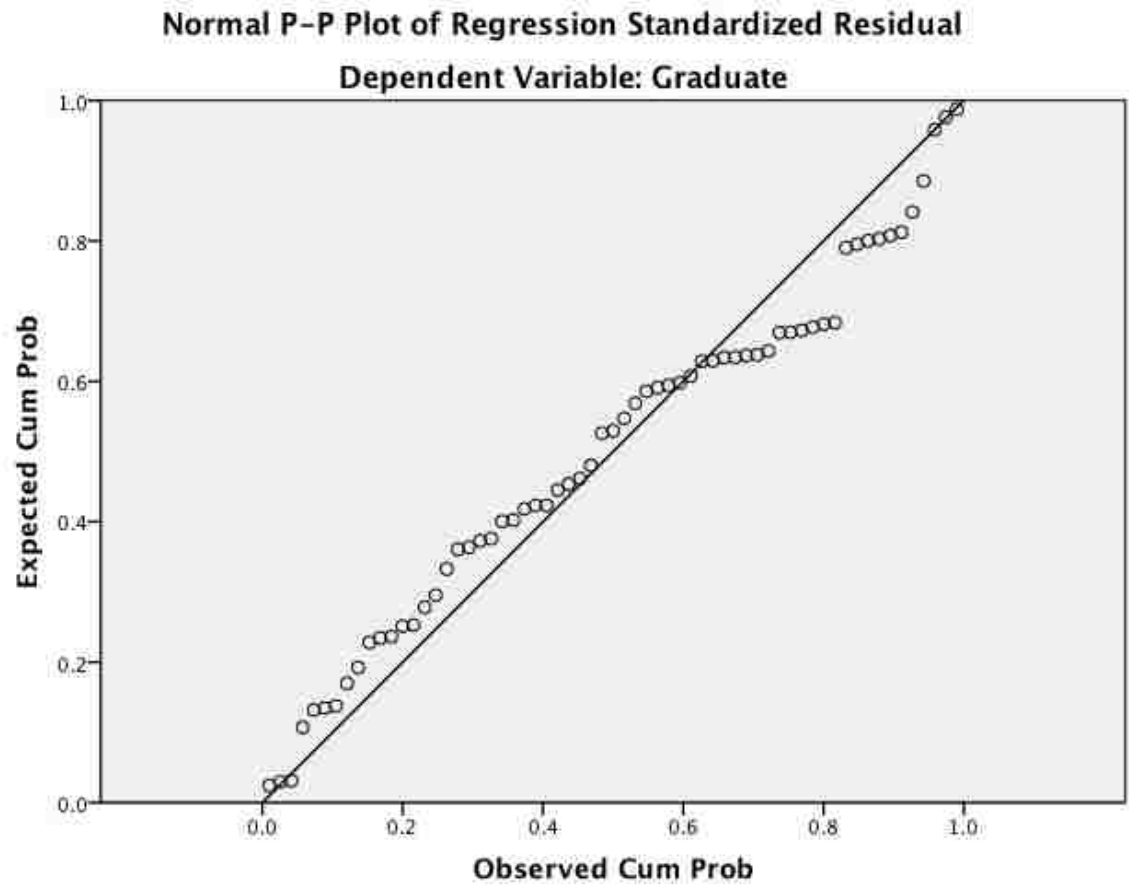
Figure F3

Scatterplot of the Unstandardized Residuals
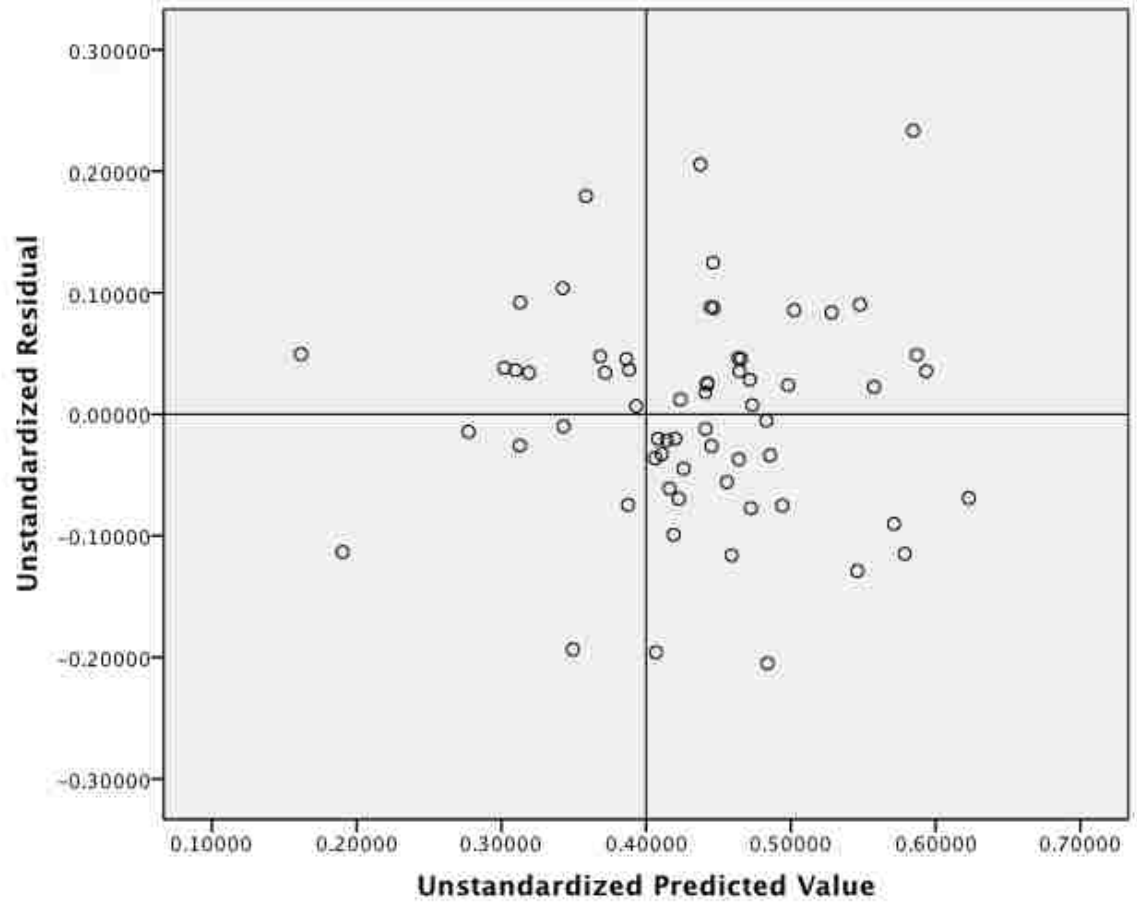
Table F1

Summarized Findings for Regressions Performed in Research Question One

	Main Effects	Minus Poverty	Minus Income & BADegree	Minus BA Degree	Minus Income	Plus term Income_BADegree	Minus %Nonwhite & Literacy	Minus Literacy	Minus %Nonwhite	Plus term %Nonwhite_Literacy
R^2	.524	.514	.510	.537	.510	.521	.434	.501	.436	.537
Adj R^2	.314	.316	.339	.317	.324	.309	.221	.297	.205	.317
F	2.494*	2.589*	2.438*	2.792*	2.750*	2.460*	2.032*	2.454*	1.888*	2.438*

Note. *p≤.05

Table F2

Summarized t-Values for Regressions Performed in Research Question One

Variable	Clubs	PopMgrtn	DepndRat	FamSize	Religion	%Nonwhite	Poverty
Main Effects	-1.060	1.149	-.019	.387	2.458*	-2.824*	.948
Minus Poverty	-1.313	.995	.080	.486	2.486*	-2.667*	x
Minus Income & BADegree	-1.398	1.131	.065	.384	2.641*	-3.172*	x
Minus BA Degree	-1.442	.978	.166	.534	2.494*	-3.156*	x
Minus Income	-1.345	1.090	.072	.377	2.572*	-2.896*	x
Plus term Income_BADegree	-1.343	.952	-.070	.570	2.218*	-2.763*	x
Minus %Nonwhite & Literacy	-.790	1.032	-.566	-.558	2.226*	x	x
Minus Literacy	-1.311	.364	-.267	.581	2.057*	-2.424*	x
Minus %Nonwhite	-.815	.688	-.574	-.425	2.120*		x
Plus term %Nonwhite_Literacy	-.656	1.307	-.260	.382	2.019*	.159	x

Table F2 (continued)

Variable	CrimeRate	Literacy	PPE	Arts	ProxColl	Library	Income
Main Effects	.398	1.327	-.433	.032	-.637	-3.129*	.994
Minus Poverty	.654	1.254	-.513	.145	-.564	-3.389*	.656
Minus Income & BADegree	.731	1.331	-.404	.127	-.767	-3.527*	x
Minus BA Degree	.646	1.366	-.507	.044	-.595	-3.418*	.588
Minus Income	.718	1.290	-.401	.104	-.755	-3.476*	x
Plus term Income_BADegree	.671	1.337	-.529	.194	-.525	-3.414*	.993
Minus %Nonwhite & Literacy	-.040	x	-1.630	.410	-.751	-2.840*	.644
Minus Literacy	.333	x	-.986	.439	-.496	-3.376*	.869
Minus %Nonwhite	-.082	-.341	-1.641	.452	-.711	-2.832*	.629
Plus term %Nonwhite_Literacy	.711	1.790[†]	.035	-.016	-.173	-3.520*	1.104

Table F2 (continued)

Variable	Homeown	HSDegree	BADegree	Unemply	SelfEmpl	Income_BADegree	%Nonwhite_Literacy
Main Effects	1.088	-2.625*	-.177	.272	-1.606	x	x
Minus Poverty	1.119	-2.612*	-.306	.507	-1.516	x	x
Minus Income & BADegree	1.352	-2.992*	x	.322	-1.458	x	x
Minus BA Degree	1.097	-2.715*	x	.453	-1.518	x	x
Minus Income	1.157	-2.642*	.035	.314	-1.442	x	x
Plus term Income_BADegree	1.142	-2.526*	.685	.488	-1.524	-.766	x
Minus %Nonwhite & Literacy	1.652	-2.585*	-.285	.811	-1.161	-.030	x
Minus Literacy	.308	-2.384*	.460	1.145	-1.468	-.594	x
Minus %Nonwhite	1.636	-2.474*	-.267	.873	-1.161	-.011	x
Plus term %Nonwhite_Literacv	1.339	-2.605*	.804	.338	-1.420	-.899	-1.218

Note. *p≤.05, two-tailed; [†] p≤.05, one-tailed

APPENDIX G

MULTICOLLINEARITY AND HETEROSCEDASTICITY TESTING FOR

RESEARCH QEUSTION TWO AND REGRESSION RESULTS
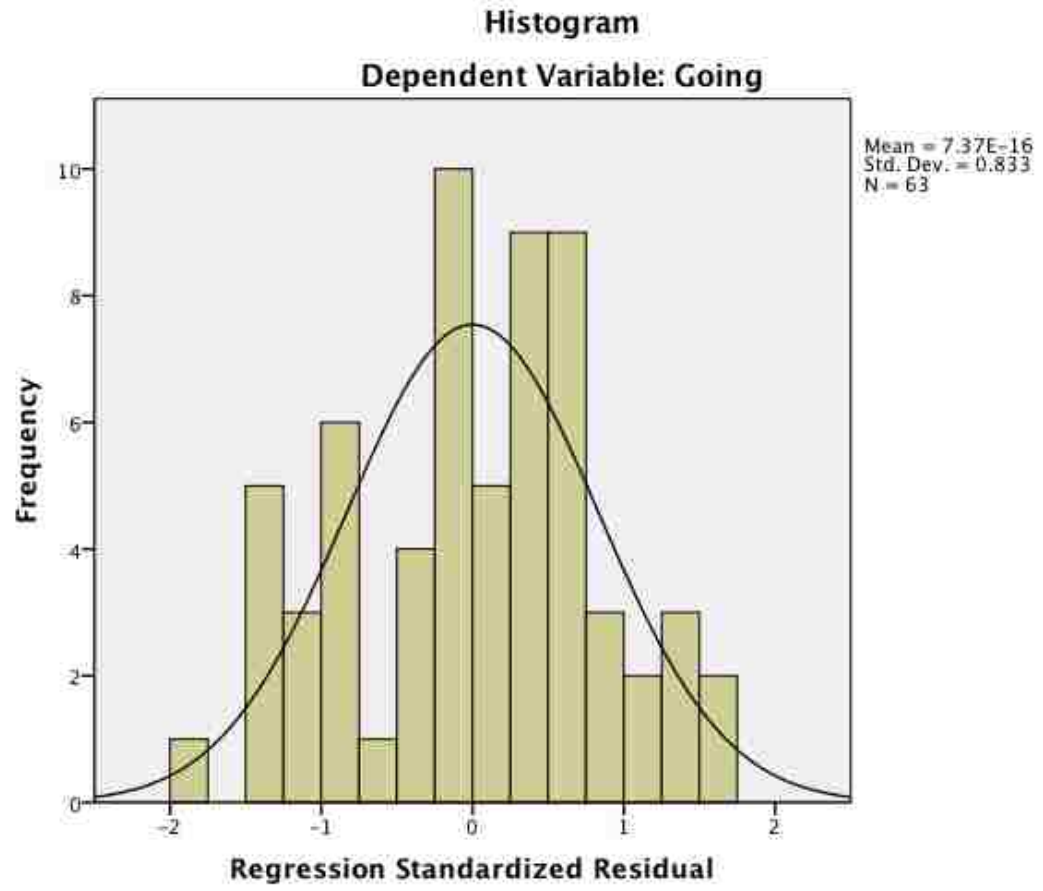
Figure G1

Main Effects Histogram

Figure G2

Main Effects Probability Plot
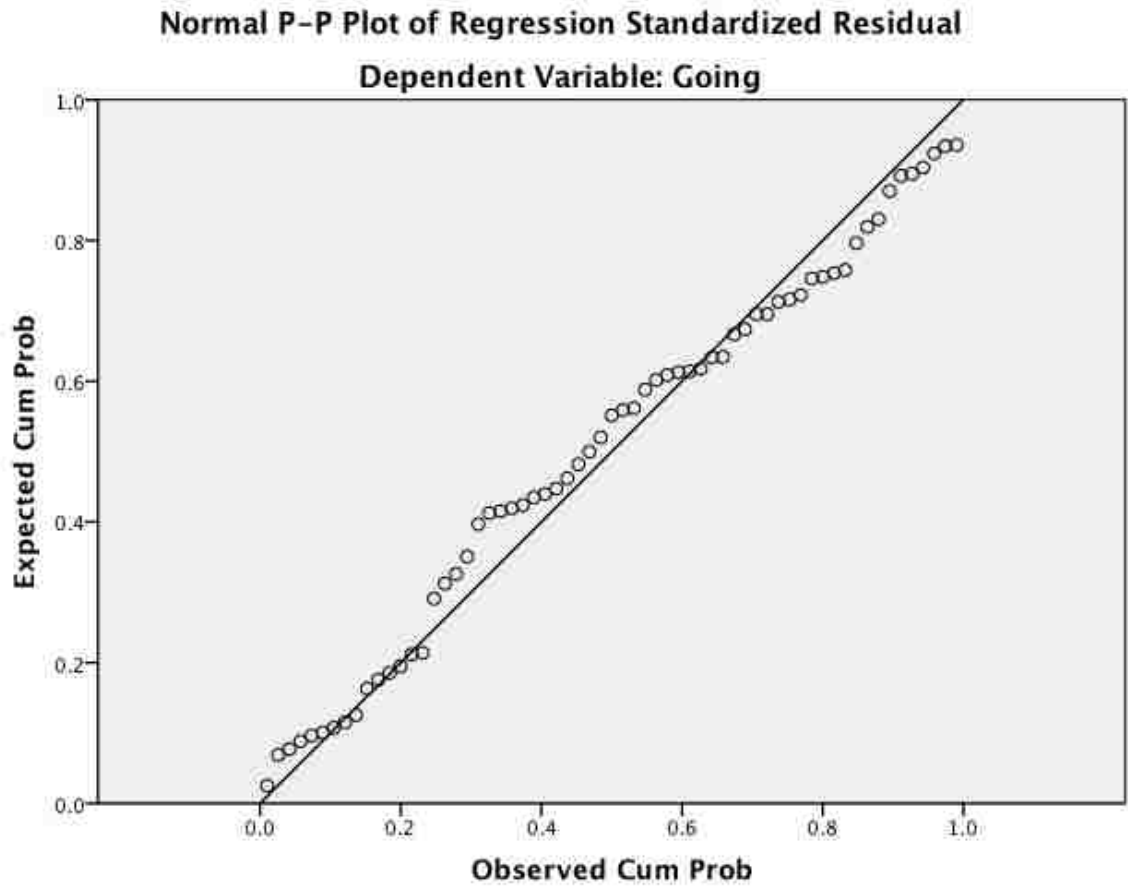
Figure G3

Scatterplot of the Unstandardized Residuals
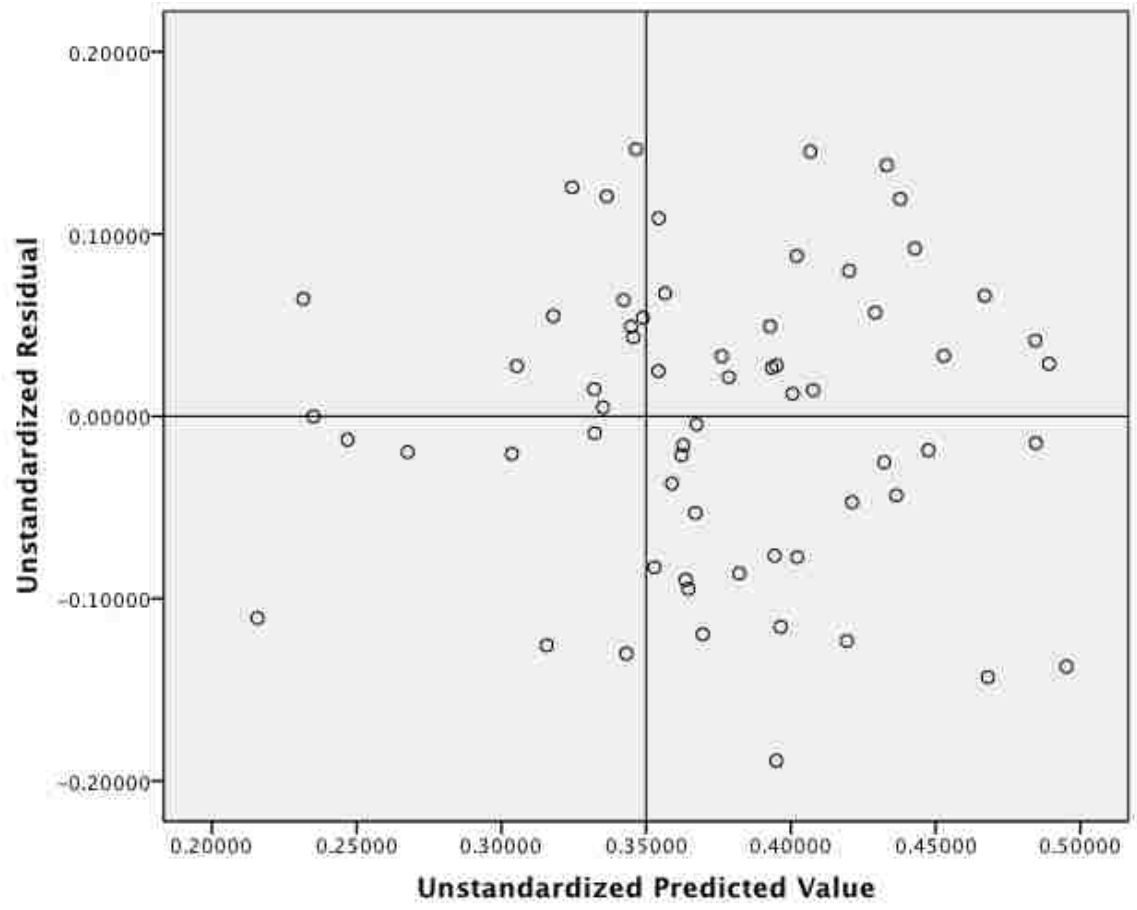
Table G1

Summarized Findings for Regressions Performed in Research Question Two

	Main Effects	Minus Poverty	Minus Income & BADegree	Minus BA Degree	Minus Income	Plus term Income_BADegree	Minus %Nonwhite & Literacy	Minus Literacy	Minus %Nonwhite	Plus term %Nonwhite_ Literacy
R^2	.377	.376	.331	.341	.375	.415	.405	.407	.415	.415
Adj. R^2	.102	.120	.099	.092	.139	.157	.180	.165	.176	.137
F	1.371	1.470	1.425	1.368	1.591	1.607	1.801	1.680	1.734	1.491

Table G2

Summarized t-Values for Regressions Performed in Research Question Two

Variable	Clubs	PopMgrtn	DepndRat	FamSize	Religion	%Nonwhite	Poverty
Main Effects	1.615	-1.288	1.362	.753	.578	.176	.345
Minus Poverty	1.594	-1.387	1.420	.800	.593	.338	x
Minus Income & BADegree	2.097*	-1.078	.912	.387	.872	1.145	x
Minus BA Degree	1.993†	-1.215	1.034	.598	.729	1.131	x
Minus Income	1.616	-1.427	1.437	.841	.592	.373	x
Plus term Income_BADegree	1.543	-1.497	1.093	1.011	.177	-.114	x
Minus %Nonwhite & Literacy	1.522	-2.346*	1.071	1.380	.042	x	x
Minus Literacy	1.562	-2.113*	.995	1.025	.088	.421	x
Minus %Nonwhite	1.605	-1.528	1.140	1.052	.182	x	x
Plus term %Nonwhite_Literacy	1.347	-1.406	1.071	.992	.178	-.068	x

Table G2 (continued)

Variable	CrimeRate	Literacy	PPE	Arts	ProxColl	Library	Income	Homeown
Main Effects	.058	.560	-.307	-.147	-.197	.090	.052	.037
Minus Poverty	.146	.539	-.340	-.108	-.172	.022	-.104	.049
Minus Income & BADegree	.273	.137	-.242	.568	-.254	-.098	x	1.000
Minus BA Degree	.170	.203	-.392	.450	-.051	-.010	.799	.702
Minus Income	.138	.541	-.369	-.102	-.152	.031	x	.045
Plus term Income_BADegree	.215	.765	-.388	.001	-.096	-.084	1.408	.114
Minus %Nonwhite & Literacy	.084	x	-.573	.145	-.033	-.160	1.403	.145
Minus Literacy	.017	x	-.662	.142	-.083	-.080	1.352	.212
Minus %Nonwhite	.193	.875	-.476	.013	-.108	-.069	1.421	.142
Plus term %Nonwhite_Literacy	.212	.447	-.360	.006	-.100	-.081	1.384	.106

Table G2 (continued)

Variable	HSDegree	BADegree	Unemply	SelfEmpl	Income_BADegree	%Nonwhite_Literacy
Main Effects	.243	1.584	-2.127*	-.695	x	x
Minus Poverty	.252	1.567	-2.125*	-.669	x	x
Minus Income & BADegree	-.574	x	-2.048*	-.625	x	x
Minus BA Degree	-.344	x	-1.784†	-.734	x	x
Minus Income	.257	1.782†	-2.234*	-.700	x	x
Plus term Income_BADegree	.400	2.004*	-2.206*	-.719	-1.707†	x
Minus %Nonwhite & Literacy	.545	2.164*	-2.070*	-.752	-1.793†	x
Minus Literacy	.480	1.911†	-2.087*	-.697	-1.630	x
Minus %Nonwhite	.400	2.117*	-2.241*	-.719	-1.758†	x
Plus term %Nonwhite_Literacy	.396	1.968†	-2.160*	.600	-1.673†	.976

Note. *p≤.05, two-tailed. †p≤.05, one-tailed.

APPENDIX H

FACTOR ANALYSIS TOTAL VARIANCE EXPLAINED

| | Initial Eigenvalues | | | Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings[a] |
Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	5.200	28.891	28.891	4.483
2	2.584	14.354	43.246	3.092
3	2.064	11.465	54.711	3.214
4	1.292	7.179	61.890	2.773
5	1.192	6.621	68.511	1.924
6	1.023	5.683	74.194	1.691
7	.869	4.828	79.022	
8	.803	4.463	83.485	
9	.639	3.548	87.032	
10	.442	2.454	89.486	
11	.392	2.180	91.666	
12	.344	1.913	93.580	
13	.304	1.687	95.267	
14	.280	1.553	96.820	
15	.198	1.102	97.922	
16	.165	.914	98.836	
17	.129	.716	99.552	
18	.081	.448	100.000	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. [a]When components are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.