BETWEEN A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE: URBANORMATIVITY AND RURAL LOCATED PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

BETWEEN A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE: URBANORMATIVITY AND RURAL LOCATED PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION

As urban areas have come to increasingly dominate the social landscape, rurality is often defined in negative ways such as being backwards, simple, or even deviant. Urbanormativity is a theoretical approach developed to capture the normative and structural impacts and implications of privileging the urban. The result is not only the construction of urban as correct and positive and rurality as abnormal and backwards, the cultural ideology impacts the structural flow of resources which negatively impacts and results in a marginalization of rural areas.

The primary question motivating this research is how does urbanormativity shape the interactions between rural towns and private institutions of higher education located in these towns? In particular, this research examines how the rural anti-idyll and idyll concretize the urbanormative cultural ideology in a local context. Additionally, this research investigates how everyday processes of inequality are enacted adding complexity to how urbanormativity plays out in a particular setting.

While much research has examined the role of higher education in urban areas, very little research has examined private higher education in rural places. Still, rural located higher education is important for rural locales as an employer, as a gathering place, as a source of job skills training, and for economic development. Emplacing rural higher education in its respective locale is also important because as an institution, rural located higher education is one mechanism through which rural localities are integrated into larger urban-focused normative and structural systems.

Using a case study, this research examined the effects of urbanormativity on local constructions of rurality and the impacts for both the rural locale and the rural located private higher educational institution. In particular, urbanormative cultural ideology played out in concrete ways for both local residents and for faculty and staff of the local private university as they explained the anti-idyllic and idyllic aspects of the local context. These conceptualizations of rurality and their place within the local context hold concrete implications for decision making by residents, those employed by the institution, and the institution itself. Viewed within urbanormativity as an institution that integrates
the locale with the larger society and system, this research found that the impact and implications of urbanormativity resulted in challenges including employee and student recruiting and retention as well as becoming a regional university rather than a local college placing both the local community and the private university between a rock and a hard place.

KEYWORDS: Urbanormativity, Private Higher Education, Rural Community

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BETWEEN A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE: URBANORMATIVITY AND RURAL LOCATED PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION

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Dedicated to Meghan, Gloria, Alice, Lukas, and Rosie
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My route to completing this dissertation was a bit circuitous. Thirteen years, four different jobs in three states and two countries after I finished my master’s degree I decided to go back to school to complete a Ph.D. in sociology. My path to sociology started with Kevin Schanning suggesting I take his Sociology of the Environment course and that was it for me. I thank Kevin for introducing me to the language, theory, and concepts of a world I had already begun to notice. I also want to thank Joseph Damrell and Derek Ogle at Northland College for their guidance and support in diving back into the academic work I needed to do to prepare to go back to graduate school.

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

Every institution of higher education has an “about” section on the homepage of their website dedicated to providing information about the institution’s history, leadership, and descriptive statistics. Typically, there is also a tab describing the location of the institution as well. “Nestled in a quiet, northeastern Indiana town 35 miles from Fort Wayne, Manchester’s main campus in North Manchester, Ind., is a true diamond in the rough” (Manchester University 2018d). This is how the Manchester University website describes the location of the university’s undergraduate campus in North Manchester.

Urbanormativity, the cultural ideology that posits that urban is seen as normal and real, and rural as abnormal and unreal, or deviant is at work in how Manchester University manages its location in North Manchester (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014:5). The language characterizing the location of the university is an example of the subtle ways urbanormativity shapes the broader culture. In this case, rural is defined by what it is not: valuable or precious. By emphasizing the beauty and sense of community of the campus as a “diamond” Manchester University’s webpage contrasts this valuable gem with the surrounding “rough.” In order to get to what is treasured, the university, one must dig through the overburden of rurality.

I conducted the research for and wrote this dissertation to discover how urbanormativity shaped the interactions between a rural community and a private college located in the community. The interactions between institutions in any local context occur within a greater sociological picture. Sociologists have long been intrigued by questions of inequality and power related to social class, race, and gender. Other
intersections of inequality include space and place (Gieryn 2000). While I do not discount
the myriad facets of the social world at play in the local context of this dissertation, my
focus is on the ways in which the urbanormative cultural ideology shapes interactions.

Urbanormativity is an ideology in which normative processes are created and
maintained resulting in structural inequality. There is a power differential at play in
urbanormativity where urban dominates rural. The variations of both urban and rural
localities are homogenized into a dualism that lifts up the advantage of urban and where
rural is placed in the service of urban. Urbanormativity is a cultural ideology in which
people and things that are urban are intelligent, complex, and desirable. Alternatively,
urbanormativity positions people and things that are rural as wild, simple, or places to
escape from the busyness of city life.

The urbanormative cultural ideology places rural localities between a rock and a
hard place. Rural places are defined as places where intelligence, creativity, and
innovation do not thrive. However, some rural places are able to attract tourists from the
city by recreating a rural simulacra, or a copy of what a rural community should look like
that has no original (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014:25). Rural places are also though to be
sources of violence and deviance. In short, seen through an urban lens people are
attracted to nostalgic imagery of rural places populated by simple, hardworking, and
wholesome people. At the same time, looking through the same urban lens means people
are repelled by the fear of violence, poverty, and other deviance.

Rural places are often described by what they lack or as being the absence of that
which is associated with urban. This subtlety is exemplified in official government
definitions of rurality. Urbanormativity shapes everything in the culture including how
we define rural. Rurality can be defined by smaller population size. Rurality can also be
determined by open space. Rurality is also defined culturally. The Rural-Urban
Continuum and Urban-Influence Codes both define rural places first as
“nonmetropolitan” (Cromartie and Parker 2018). In other words, in these official
government definitions rural is defined as whatever urban is not. Alternatively, rural
places are also defined as being a void into which cities can expand. The implications of
rurality as a void are that it is literally nothing until it is defined into existence by urban
elites. A classic example of this is the concentric zones model of urban development
(Park and Burgess 2012).

Urban bias is a preference for amenities, diversity, and cultural capital available in
urban places. Urbanormativity is not just urban bias. Urban bias is cultivated to grease the
wheels of urban domination of rural places. Concretizing urbanormativity has critical
implications for rural communities such as the local context in my dissertation.
Urbanormativity makes it possible to discard the local context and the institutions
including a private university as part of a bygone era in the United States. Investigating
urbanormativity in a specific place requires first going to the critical theoretical roots.
Equipped with this critical knowledge, rural communities can work towards
emancipation from processes of inequality.

I undertook this investigation to discover the implications of cultural norms and
values developed in order justify structural inequality. Sociologists Greg Fulkerson and
Alexander Thomas developed the concept of urbanormativity to link urban bias and
urban rural structural inequality. Writing about urbanormativity, Fulkerson and Thomas
state, “our concern with urbanormativity is derived from the fact that it is an unchallenged ideology that legitimates the global march toward urbanization” (2014:19).

Urbanization has led to a world system in which urban nodes are at the core and rural places are located in the semi-periphery and periphery (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014:16). Urbanormative cultural ideology positions urban as the future and rural as the past aids and abets urbanization. As time goes on, we come to believe that cities are critical to the survival of society because they are the source of knowledge and innovation.

Cities cannot survive without rural localities. Because rural places are politically and culturally dependent on cities this can be difficult to understand. Cities exist and grow due to urban dependency on rural places. Urban people and places are dependent on rural places for resources and materials for urban development. In order to maintain the flow of natural resources and human capital needed for urban growth, cultural hegemony of rural localities must be created and sustained (Thomas, Lowe, Fulkerson and Smith 2011:5).

Urbanormativity is the cultural ideology that has been accepted locally and nationally in the United States that situates urban people and places as normal, real, and desirable. Conversely, rural people and places are abnormal or deviant, unreal, and undesirable (Thomas et al. 2011:47-51). As a result, rurality is wild, simple, or a place to which one can escape the hustle and bustle of city life. Designating rurality in these ways means rural people and places are culturally dominated and prevented from defining themselves and their places in meaningful ways. This urbanormative cultural ideology plays out in concrete ways leading to physical and structural inequalities that
disadvantage rural individuals while simultaneously benefitting urban individuals (Thomas et al. 2011:5).

Research regarding rural education provided an excellent foundation for my dissertation. There are several reasons for this. First, every rural community has had experience with institutions of education. These encounters may be related to community development, school consolidation, cultural capital, or changes in rural localities. Secondly, a wealth of research has been conducted focused on various aspects of rural education in sociology and other disciplines.

Previous rural education research has focused mainly on K-12 public education. Research dedicated to interactions between higher education and rural communities has largely focused on students. The rural higher education research that has investigated institutions of higher education has been dedicated to understanding public colleges and universities. An excellent example of this research was the Rural Community College Initiative that investigated rural community colleges’ opportunities to contribute to economic development (Rural Community College Initiative 2001). Other research inquiry has been done on land grant universities and rurality, particularly in looking at extension services and their activities in rural communities (Marcus 2015). From this research foundation I wanted to investigate rural-located, private institutions of higher education because these colleges and universities and their respective communities have received virtually no previous research attention.

Urbanormativity is a relatively new theoretical concept. Because of this the previous investigations of urbanormativity have served to test the theory. To this point urbanormativity research has focused on representations of rurality. One of these
inquiries of the urbanormative cultural ideology was analysis of rural portrayals in horror films (Hayden 2014). Another inquiry into urbanormativity found that rural settings in film and television are portrayed as places that are populated with simple, good-hearted, if a little backwards characters (Fulkerson and Lowe 2016). These previous studies established the pervasiveness of the urbanormative cultural ideology. I wanted to learn how urbanormativity worked at the local level. My research for this dissertation concretized urbanormativity in a local context.

In order to discover how urbanormativity shaped the interactions between a private university and a rural community I needed to select a field site. Prior to conducting qualitative research in a particular field site I conducted secondary data research that situated the field site within a larger context of rural, private institutions of higher education. I used the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) to create a dataset of all rural-located private colleges and universities in the United States. Doing this gave me a sense of how many private colleges and universities were located in rural localities in the United States, what regions had more or less of these institutions, and what kinds of rural communities had private institutions of higher education.

The field site I chose for my dissertation was the rural town of North Manchester where a private university called Manchester University is located. I chose Manchester University and the town of North Manchester because it is located in the Midwest where many rural-located, private institutions of higher education exist. The university’s profile including endowment, admissions acceptance rate, and size are typical of rural-located, private institutions of higher education. Finally, I had previous knowledge of the local community and institution but I did not have any connections there before I began this
research. Initially I inquired about adjunct teaching at Manchester University with the thought that if I could spend some time teaching on an adjunct basis in the field site I would have a justifiable reason to spend time there collecting data. What I did not expect was that there would be an opening for a visiting instructor of sociology position. Getting this position allowed me to spend time conducting my research in an intimate way that would not have been afforded to me had not been in the position.

As I launched my dissertation research in this particular field site I became aware of a unique shared history between the local community, a church denomination, and a private university. This shared history of over 100 years has been instrumental in affecting the ways in which urbanormativity played out in concrete ways in this particular setting. The ways in which the local history has been written and passed down orally from one generation to the next contrasts with the larger historical picture of the establishment of institutions of higher education throughout the United States particularly in the nineteenth century.

Because I wanted to investigate how urbanormativity shaped interactions in the local context I used a qualitative methodology. Qualitative methods gave me opportunities to collect direct and indirect data. North Manchester has slightly less than 6,000 residents and Manchester University employs approximately 200 faculty and staff members at the North Manchester campus.1 Because the population of my field site was small I used a purposive sampling strategy to interview subjects with specific kinds of knowledge and experiences in terms of interactions between the local community and the university. I conducted 16 semi-structured interviews with 34 individuals in the North

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1 Manchester University’s primary campus is located in North Manchester. All of the undergraduate programs and several graduate programs are on this campus. Manchester University also has a College of Pharmacy located in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Fort Wayne is approximately 35 miles from North Manchester.
Manchester community. These interview participants included people involved in local
government, leadership of nonprofit organizations, local farmers, and retirees living in
the local community. I also conducted 20 semi-structured interviews with 37 employees
of Manchester University. These interviewees included senior administrators, staff
members, and faculty members.

In addition to semi-structured interviews, I wrote field notes during and after
doing many hours of participant observation. My participant observations on campus
included attending faculty and all-employee meetings, going to public lectures and arts
presentations, teaching a variety of sociology courses on campus, eating meals with
members of the campus community, and attending sporting events on campus. In addition
to participant observations on campus, I collected data by making field notes during and
after my participant observations in the local community. I did this work in a variety of
settings around the local community including eating in local restaurants, frequently
visiting the North Manchester Farmers’ Market, attending local festivals and events, and
taking part in a Black Lives Matter march in town. I used NVivo software to personally
transcribe all of my interviews and transfer my field notes. I used NVivo to record
analytical memos about the qualitative data I had collected. Finally, I used NVivo to code
my qualitative data into themes.

In this particular local context, urbanormativity shaped the interactions in several
ways. Urbanization and urban dependency are processes that occur in seemingly natural
ways. Urbanormativity is a cultural ideology that makes these processes appear to be part
of the inevitable way of things (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014:7). One of the ways I found
that urbanormativity was concretized in this local context was in the everyday, lived
experience. I used the rural idyll literature to develop a model of perceptions of the local community. People talked about their location in idyllic and anti-idyllic ways. These idyllic and anti-idyllic viewpoints were different based on whether people were considering the location prior to coming to the area or if people were reflecting on the local community from the perspective of insiders. I argue that these views of the local context were generated by urbanormativity. The urbanormative cultural ideology places this local context in an untenable position of being caught between a rock and a hard place. What some people see as drawbacks, others see as opportunities. The local context is dominated in structural ways by the urbanormative cultural ideology.

I investigated the complexities of an integrative institution in urbanormativity. Unlike many other rural communities, North Manchester has a private university. Fulkerson and Thomas posited that integrative institutions bring urbanormative values and beliefs to rural areas separated from urban centers. Integrative institutions also facilitate the flow of resources from the rural periphery to the urban core (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014:17). I found that Manchester University, as an integrative institution, operated in more complicated ways. Some of the entangled factors involved in this local community revolved around concrete realities. There were various reasons why interactions between the local community and the university were limited. The fact that the university was located in the town allowed local residents to opt out of being rural altogether or to at least opt out of the kinds of rural they thought were wrong or undesirable. Another concrete aspect of the complexity of the integrative institution concept was that there are interactions in the local community in which the university operates as an integrative institution. However, the university is a rural institution within
the broader urban-oriented arena of higher education. In the field of higher education, Manchester University itself is in need of integration into a larger urban normative system.

Each of the next seven chapters provides a necessary part of the concrete ways in which urban normativity shapes interactions in a local context. Chapter two lays out the theoretical foundations for the empirical work that comes later. Additionally, chapter two explains the background of previous research that has been conducted regarding rural education and specifically, intersections of rurality and higher education. Chapter three describes my methodological approach to answering the research question I have posed in this dissertation. Chapter four describes the process I went through to build a knowledge base about private institutions of higher education. This knowledge was then used to situate my field site for this research. The shared history between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University and how this local context fits into the greater history of higher education in the United States is the focus of chapter five. In chapter six I explain concrete results of urban normativity was present in everyday life. Interviewees shared about how they viewed the local context prior to relocating to the area. Other interviewees talked about how they viewed the local context after living in the community for many years. The focus of chapter seven features the complications involved in how Manchester University acts as an integrative institution in urban normativity. I found that Manchester University’s activity, as an integrative institution is more complex than Fulkerson and Thomas’ original conceptualization. Finally, chapter eight concludes this dissertation.

In the concluding chapter I write about the implications of this research. I also discuss the research limitations and future research possibilities of this research. The
practical implications of my research pose a challenge for the future of the local community and the university. The university is actively seeking to minimize vulnerabilities that perceived to result from the rural location by becoming a larger presence in the region. A primary way the university sees as becoming more relevant in the region is to increase its footprint in the largest city in the region. This activity comes at the cost of the local community. Another significant challenge is recruiting new students, staff, administrators, and faculty members as well as retaining them. Increasingly, perceptions of the location shaped by urbanormativity make tasks such as recruitment and retention more difficult than they once were. I end with a discussion of critical knowledge that can be cultivated jointly by the local community and the university. This critical knowledge has the potential to be used to build a sustainable and durable future that serves multiple institutions in this rural locality.
CHAPTER TWO – THEORY AND BACKGROUND LITERATURE

Introduction

There is a restored Victorian house near the historic downtown in North Manchester that has been converted into a coffee shop. This business does not resemble other restaurants and coffee shops in the community. Unlike other restaurants in town, working class people do not frequent this coffee shop. The majority of customers are people in the professional class, upper middle class retirees, or those affiliated with Manchester University. This coffee shop appeals to different tastes and dispositions than other businesses in the local community.

It is not odd to find a locally owned coffee shop in a rural town. Nor would it be difficult to find one that serves coffee and grilled cheese. However, this business is differentiated from others in the local community in several ways. One of ways this coffee shop can be contrasted with others in town is that it was established as a cooperatively owned business. Secondly, the coffee is made from fair trade, organic beans and the coffee beans are roasted in small batches in the area. Another example of difference is that the grilled cheese can be ordered as a “garlic scape pesto” or “bacon avocado” grilled cheese. The conversations among customers are different as well. It is common to overhear customers chatting with one another about art, volunteering, or spending a semester studying abroad.

During the course of my data collection I engaged in participant observation on several occasions at this coffee shop. I also conducted several interviews in the coffee shop. One afternoon I stopped in to eat lunch and write some field note from a recent interview. While I was eating I listened to a conversation between two people who had
met to catch up at the conclusion of the summer in which one of them had been travelling out of town over the summer. Matt is employed at the university and Eva works for a local non-profit organization. During the course of their conversation they started talking about various television series. Matt asked Eva if she had ever seen the show *Breaking Bad*. She responded that she had not and inquired about the show. “What is it about?” she asked. Matt proceeded to tell Eva that it was about a high school chemistry teacher who teams up with a former student to manufacture and sell methamphetamine. Eva responded saying that it sounded interesting. Matt concluded this part of the conversation by saying, “I don’t really need to watch *Breaking Bad*, I live in Wabash County!” This comment was referring to the presence of illicit drug production, use, and distribution in the local county. In the field site where I collected data for this dissertation space, place, and cultural capital are entangled in explicit and implicit ways that produce and maintain inequality. This inequality serves structural systems that benefit urban places at the expense of rural places.

Space and place are used in subtle ways to stratify society. In this instance, the rural county is portrayed as a deviant and therefore, lower status place because of the assumption that rural places are where drugs such as methamphetamine and opioids are dealt and abused. Scholars of social inequality often investigate the ways in which the structure of society and the economy create winners and losers. In addition to race, ethnicity, gender, and social class, space and place can determine unequal outcomes. However, culture can also be an insidious divider when it comes to who gets what and why.

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2 Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of individuals.
This chapter links the theoretical roots of urbanormativity to previous literature regarding the interaction of rural communities and higher education. The primary question of my dissertation is how the cultural ideology of urbanormativity shapes the interactions between a rural town and a private university located within the town. The concept of urbanormativity is derived from an application of critical theory to rural-urban interactions. Urbanormative processes pattern beliefs and values about rural communities. One of these beliefs is that young people should use education to leave rural communities. Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital lies at the core of urbanormativity because urban culture is more valuable than rural culture.

Urbanormative culture ultimately leads to changes in the local and wider social structure. The interaction between a local community and an institution of higher education is an excellent place to situate this research. Every rural community has interaction with education. Additionally, previous research has shown education to be a perpetuator of inequality.

Urbanormativity

Each time I sat down to conduct an interview I started by asking respondents to describe the local community and if they thought North Manchester was a rural town. In one interview with several community residents I asked about North Manchester being a rural community. The response was mixed. One of the individuals responded that North Manchester is a “rural town with a college.” This interviewee went on to explain that having Manchester University prevented the town from being rural. Another respondent in this interview initially equivocated before stating that it was a rural town. These responses reveal that the dominant culture in the United States is urbanormative, that is,
American culture is one in which urban is first and correct and rural is second and incorrect. In the interview, the respondents tried to find a way not to define the town as being rural because of the negative connotations that come with the rural descriptor. Urbanormative culture positions urban people and places as “normal and real, and rural as abnormal and unreal, or deviant” (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014). The responses to the question “Is this a rural town?” belie feelings and beliefs of negativity about rurality. Rural is boring or lacking in high culture of urban people and places. Furthermore the urbanormative cultural ideology creates a false dualism of urban and rural that does not account for variation. Urbanormativity constructs urban places as diverse, amenity-rich, and locations of innovation and creativity. Conversely, rural places are constructed as being simple, backwards, or even violent (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014).

The concept of urbanormativity describes assumptions about how culture is used to create and maintain structures of dominance and oppression in society based on where people and places are situated in urban or rural localities. Urbanormativity works in similar ways as cultural expressions and preferences of sexual orientation and race. For example, heteronormativity positions “institutionalized heterosexuality” makes up the guidelines “legitimate and prescriptive sociosexual arrangement” (Ingraham 1994). Heteronormativity situates all people in a society in a binary of sexual orientation. One is either male and is sexually attracted to females or vice versa.

Queer theory critically challenges various binaries regarding sex, gender, and sexual orientation (Ingraham 1994). White normativity privileges light skin tone and being or acting white as prescriptive of what is considered normal or correct (Ward 2008). Through the cultural processes of building values and belief, oppression of those
who identify as non-white is maintained. Behavior and thought that animate “whiteness” are unconscious and invisible. Organizations and institutions in society embrace these processes lifting up white culture over cultures belonging to people of color (Bailey 2013). Normative action and beliefs reduce diversity of expressions to an opposing binary. Rural, urban, black, white, heterosexual, and homosexual are all false binaries in reality. Thus, like heteronormativity and white-normativity, urbanormative culture creates power differentials that result in structural inequalities for marginalized groups.

Urbanormativity extends spatial inequality. Space and place can be the cause of processes of inequality. One way to think about inequality is to ask who gets what and why? Instead, one should ask who gets what where (Lobao, Hooks and Tickamyer 2007a)? Spatial inequality is a concept that can be used to understand an additional axis of inequality beyond race, class, and gender that results in unequal power. A central aspect of spatial inequality is the ways in which uneven development occurs. The ways systems are organized allow some places to disproportionately accumulate large amounts of wealth that can be leveraged to secure services, amenities, and physical infrastructure (Lobao et al. 2007a). Often urban localities have resources and attract more resources exacerbating spatial inequality. Urbanormativity includes processes in which expectations of behavior and thought about proximity and spatial density are urban-oriented.

The concept of urbanormativity is also connected with the critical theoretical perspective. The critical perspective addresses the ways in which cultural domination occurs in addition to a Marxian economic determinism. Urbanormativity shapes the ways in which culture is used to create informal and formal guides that lead to stratification
along the lines of place and space. Inequality and power occur somewhere. In other words, the processes that create and maintain dominance and subordination transpire in communities that are “emplaced” (Gieryn 2000).

Unpacking urbanormative processes ultimately leads building “critical rural theory” which has the potential to lead to the emancipation of rural people and places from urban cultural domination (Thomas et al. 2011). In order to break down urbanormativity in action it is important to understand the extent to which people have embraced this ideology. Secondly, uncovering the mechanisms by which the ideology of urbanormativity is built into the construction of physical and social spaces. Finally, if an urbanormative ideology is present, it is crucial to understand how rural people and places are subjugated while urban people and places are idealized (Thomas et al. 2011).

Fulkerson and Thomas use world systems theory to conceptualize urbanization and the systemic relations between urban and rural. World systems theory is helpful in emphasizing that rural urban relationships involve resource differentials. Urbanormative cultural values position urban places as centers of innovation and development where the rest of society including rural periphery is dependent on urban activity for progress and growth (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014). However, without resources such as raw materials and food largely extracted from rural places urban places would cease to grow. Within the hierarchy of urban systems, cities are at the core and rural places are in the semi-periphery and periphery. Cities are in constant need of resources. As a result, urban nodes are dependent on their rural semi-peripheral and peripheral nodes for survival. In order for cities to grow they must constantly extract natural and human resources from rural places.
places. The urbanormative cultural ideology justifies everyday processes that supply urban centers with resources (Thomas et al. 2011).

Coercion is one way urban dependency can be maintained within urban systems. However, the use of overt power and intimidation is largely impractical because it looks and feels heavy-handed and is difficult to preserve. Instead of the use of force, urban hegemony over the rural periphery is achieved through cultural ideology.

Using urban-focused cultural ideology that serves urban people and places, urbanormativity normalizes the flow of food, natural resources, and human capital from rural to urban places. Because of the importance of urban centers when viewing them through an urbanormative ideological lens, urban centers must be fueled by rural resources and protected from disaster even if when this protection comes at the expense of rural people and places (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014). In some instances, rural places are disconnected from urban centers. In situations where there is space between the urban and rural, Fulkerson and Thomas posit that the urban system utilizes integrative institutions as a conduit of urban cultural capital to reach rural periphery (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014).

The concept of urbanormativity is shaped by Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital. Urban-oriented cultural capital is used to differentiate tastes and preferences of urbane from rustic. For example, when students share tastes in music, rural students commenting that they like country music is a visible turn off to students coming from urban areas unless urban preferences permit country music to be an acceptable taste. The majority of students like mainstream music regardless of the genre. However, certain music is acceptable because it is synonymous with urban lifestyles whereas other music
such as popular country music is wrong to urban students because the sound and lyrics are for “rednecks, hillbillies, or hicks.”

In Bourdieu’s seminal work on social class and cultural capital *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* people who have newly ascended to the bourgeoisie social class are surveyed to discover what they find to be aesthetically pleasing and what they consider ugly or gaudy. These people attempt to answer questions in ways they think fit with bourgeoisie aesthetic choices because distinctions such as these differentiate between social classes (Bourdieu 1984). When I interviewed newer faculty members I asked them questions about lifestyle expectations in relation to the location of North Manchester and Manchester University. The responses I received indicated that there were “right” and “wrong” answers to these questions based on the assumption that urban cultural capital is more valuable than rural cultural capital.

The local context for this case study is a small town in the Midwestern United States where a private baccalaureate institution is located. In this context there are a variety of fields including a field of power. Social agents struggle for position and take positions by utilizing habitus and various forms of capital. This struggle is for domination and subordination by cultural values and beliefs that constructs urban knowledge and activities as correct and rural as deviant.

Habitus is shaped by urbanormativity. For example, in the fall after corn and soybeans are harvested in the fields surrounding North Manchester, farmers amend their fields with manure. The closest fields to campus in which this process occurs are less than a half a mile away. When the field amendment process occurs a pungent aroma of manure engulfs the campus. One morning the smell was particularly strong and a student
entered the classroom with her shirt covering her nose and mouth. This student has spent her entire life living in an urban area and she was angered and disgusted by the smell. In this instance this student’s habitus guided her thoughts and actions. When she shared her disgust with the rest of the class it was apparent that urbanormativity shaped her thoughts and values and reinforced her intentions to leave “this hick town” as soon as she could following graduation. The unspoken plan for the future was to return to the comfort and familiarity of an urban center as soon as she could close this chapter of life.

Bourdieu’s theory of practice offers a road map to explain how urbanormativity is enacted and plays out in a particular context. Urbanormativity is at the nexus of Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital. In order to increase high status cultural capital one must pursue urban-oriented things whereas lower status cultural capital is synonymous with rural ones (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014).

Urbanormative integrative institutions such as rural-located universities draw from Pierre Bourdieu’s conceptualization of cultural capital. Urban cultural capital flows through integrative institutions to rural localities. Bourdieu posited that cultural capital could be institutionalized in the form of credentials such as degrees from institutions of higher education. As a source of institutionalized cultural capital Manchester University in enmeshed in accumulation and dissemination processes of cultural capital. Cultural capital is accumulated and able to be converted to other forms of capital. In addition to being institutionalized, dispositions, knowledge, and competencies can be embodied or objectified as well (Bourdieu 1986). Hegemonic cultural capital is characteristically urban. The prestige that results from the accumulation of cultural capital occurs because the larger culture is grounded in an urban field (Thomas et al 2011:5).
Spatial Inequality

In one of my explorations of North Manchester I went in search of social services available in the town. Since North Manchester is not a county seat, I did not know what social services or government agencies I would be able to find. One morning I visited a community center in town. The building is a repurposed elementary school building that now houses a variety of nonprofit organizations and small businesses.

I spent a few minutes on a self-guided tour of the services and organizations located in the building. I walked down the first floor corridor and saw an open door and when I got to it I saw that it was the local WIC office. The Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) is a program that assists low-income families with women who have recently had children and or children under the age of five in getting access to healthcare, education, and healthy foods (USDA 2017).

When I entered the WIC office I was greeted in the office with a friendly “can I help you?” The office consisted of one large room that had formerly been a classroom. Near the door was a waiting area with some books and toys for children. Several cubicles that allowed for consultation divided the rest of the room. On the day I visited the office there were two people working there. Luckily, they were not busy at the time I visited and the WIC staff members were glad to talk with me about the services they provide through their office. During the course of our conversation I shared briefly about my research interests in rural communities. These comments got the director talking about the difficulties their particular office has because it is not located in a county seat.
The director shared that there is some fear that their office would close because officials at the state and federal levels believe that resources are better used if they are located in urban centers.

This visit to the local WIC office illustrates the one form of marginalization for rural people and places within urban society. Sociologists have devoted investigation towards inequality related to race, class, and gender among other intersecting identities. What is often left out of inquiries about social inequality is how society is stratified by space and place. Recently sociologists have renewed inquiry into space and place in thinking about inequality. Lobao, Hooks, and Tickamyer edited a book dedicated to investigating how space and inequality intersect at various sub-national levels. Inequality can occur across different kinds of spaces and on a variety of scales. Rather than just thinking about inequality across global or national levels, spatial inequality also occurs on sub-national levels (Lobao et al. 2007a). For example, in rural places, spatial inequality plays out even in sub-county levels. If the WIC office in North Manchester closes, it means that the clients it serves would have to make a trip 15 miles in one direction to the county seat to obtain WIC services. One assumption among many in this situation is that clients living in North Manchester have regular, year-round access to a reliable vehicle.

Considering spatial inequality in addition to other inequalities such as race and ethnicity, class, and gender brings the study of outlying people out of the periphery so that investigation into what social processes makes them peripheral in an urban-oriented society (Lobao 1996). Combining the study of inequality, a primary problem for sociology, with interest in how different places have different resources provides nuanced
insights into how things like economic well-being and access to resources vary due to space (Lobao et al. 2007a). The processes evident in this investigation are structural but power works through culture as well.

**Critical Theory**

I cannot begin writing about social inequality without acknowledging Marx’s materialist interpretation of historical development. Critical theorists advanced the discourse of social inequality developed by Marx that is at the theoretical roots of my dissertation. The advance of capitalism has meant that penetration of the market and bureaucratic organizations have increasingly extended beyond the economy to every aspect of life (Held 1980). Rooted in Marxian critiques of capitalism, critical theorists challenged the sharp focus of Marx’s economic determinism. Critical theorists argued that the systematic nature of both Marx’s concepts of economic base and superstructure were important, noting that the role of ideology was far more meaningful than previous critiques of capitalism had placed on it (Bronner 2011). Critical theorists insisted that the ways in which ideas, values, and beliefs are transmitted through culture must be investigated in order to understand inequality (Held 1980).

The most well known example of the critical theory movement was the Frankfurt School. This collection of scholars was referred to as the Frankfurt School because they formed the Institute for Social Research at Goethe University in Frankfurt between World War I and II (Bronner 2011). Having a front row seat to the ways in which capitalists, communists, and fascists were using culture, ideology, and identity in Germany led these social theorists to add complexity to Marx’s economic determinism (Held 1980). These neo-Marxian scholars saw that Marx’s theories focused too strongly on economic
processes and did not pay enough attention to the cultural aspects of domination and oppression.

Critical theorists also confronted positivist knowledge production. The enlightenment’s emphasis on reason and its positivist understanding of science were thought to be able to produce liberation from nature (Held 1980). Systematic study informed empirical observations from which meaning could be derived. Similarly to natural sciences structured methodology that produced laws in nature could also produce social laws. Critical theorists such as Horkheimer and Adorno noted that objective, empirical, and systematic knowledge is still interpreted (Held 1980). Knowledge built through empirical research is embedded in social relations and structure as well as a cultural context.

The culture industry was identified by critical theorists such as Adorno and Horkheimer as a way the masses were drawn into oppressive economic circumstances. Mass produced culture such as television, popular music, social media, and magazines convey messages that serve the powerful. By encouraging the fetishization of commodities for example, consumers of the culture industry unknowingly contribute to their own oppression and domination (Bronner 2011).

Culture is a system of knowledge, beliefs, behavior, artifacts, and symbolic information that created and learned. Critical theorists worked to understand how culture can be used to create and maintain power differentials in which privileged groups are able to subordinate marginalized groups. Sociologists Greg Fulkerson and Alexander Thomas have called for using critical theory to investigate the ways in which rural people and places are subordinated through the normative creation of values and beliefs that reinforce
inequalities of space and place. Urbanormativity situates rural places as simple, backwards, or as a location to escape the pressures of city life. As a result, rural places are unimportant, invisible, or deviant to urban places. In reality, rural places are important to the structure of urban society. Without rural people and places, urban centers could not exist. For example, the basic necessities for survival, food, shelter, and clothing require raw materials and processes located in rural places (Thomas et al. 2011). As social scientists continue to see space and place as crucial intersecting identities in society it is even more imperative to understand space and place and how they shape society in rural places.

It is through daily life such as interpersonal interactions that culture is created and recreated (Thomas et al. 2011). Culture is shaped by and shapes rural people and places in unique ways. As a result, sources of information, knowledge, and learning such as private institutions of higher education present fascinating case studies. Urban oriented culture includes a gamut of values including prosperity, knowledge, sophistication, and heterogeneity. Conversely, rural culture is associated with sameness, being dull or backwards, and poverty (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014).

Urban structural subordination of rural people and places goes hand in hand with a cultural ideology that positions rural as undesirable, incorrect, or deviant. One of the ways urban oriented cultural ideology is used to create and maintain processes of inequality is through what Fulkerson and Thomas call “integrative institutions” (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014). Integrative institutions serve as a conduit between the urban core and rural periphery. Information, people, and resources move between urban and rural through integrative institutions such as non-government agencies, multi-
national corporations, government, and religious organizations. Rural located institutions of higher education are unique integrative institutions (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014). For example, even though an individual resides in a rural location, she can accumulate urban cultural capital in her interactions with an institution of higher education.

**Cultural Capital**

Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital is necessary to the mechanics of urbanormativity. Like the critical theorists that came before him, Bourdieu saw culture as a powerful tool of social inequality. Bourdieu viewed cultural tastes and symbols as ways that higher classes differentiated themselves from lower classes (Gartman 2012). Bourdieu’s theory of practice is helpful to explain how urbanormative culture is created and maintained in rural communities. Bourdieu built his theory and concepts around the central question of how a society becomes stratified over generations without people in lower levels of the hierarchy recognizing their position or resisting this domination (Swartz 1997). Bourdieu’s work responds to this question by pointing to how privileged groups use culture to create and maintain stratification in society. For Bourdieu, power cannot be disentangled from any aspect of social life and his focus on culture lays bare the subtleties of how power is held and used to create differentiation among groups of people (Calhoun 1993).

Within his theory of practice, Bourdieu uses several concepts including various forms of capital, habitus, and the field. Forms of capital such as cultural capital could be accumulated and exchanged for increased power. For Bourdieu, habitus is what links practice or action to positions (Swartz 1997). Positions are taken by social agents in given fields.
Compared to the other forms of capital, my focus is on cultural capital because it is crucial to urbanormativity. Bourdieu viewed forms of capital as the resources used by agents in a particular field. Bourdieu defined capital as resources that could be divided by type, accumulated, and exchanged for other forms of capital that could be leveraged to maintain or change one’s position in a particular field. The primary forms of capital for Bourdieu are cultural, economic, and social (Bourdieu 1986). The relationship between differing amounts of economic capital and power differentials are numerous and varied. The complicated ways in which inequality is perpetuated through non-economic means such as cultural and social capital is part of Bourdieu’s contribution to the insidious nature of urbanormativity. Accumulating various forms of capital is “what makes the games of society…something other than simple games of chance.” Capital creates an inertia that persists in unequal ways depending on the agent possessing it (Bourdieu 1986). As a result, a person accumulating capital continues to be able to accumulate increasing amount.

The processes that Bourdieu came to define as cultural capital were evident to him throughout his career as a student and then as a professor. Cultural capital is evident in the resources a person possesses in taste, disposition, and credentials. Bourdieu noted that students held differing levels of cultural capital and this, in part, accounted for unequal academic achievement in his fieldwork on education (Swartz 1997). The son of a postman in a rural region of France, Bourdieu was teased for his regional accent when speaking (Grenfell 2008). Personal experiences such as these gave Bourdieu insights into how cultural capital could be used to create and maintain inequality.
Bourdieu noted three forms of cultural capital including in an embodied state, an objectified state, and in an institutionalized state. The way one speaks, for example is indicative of the embodied state of cultural capital. The kinds of cultural products a person possesses such as fine art or books are indicative of the objectified state of cultural capital. Additionally, the institutionalized state of cultural capital is evident in the type of academic degrees one has attained (Bourdieu 1986).

The habitus of an agent is embodied cultural capital. Bourdieu’s concept of habitus is made up of

“Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them” (Bourdieu 1990).

Habitus is a key concept for how Bourdieu worked through the structure and agency dichotomy. Habitus is a dialectical concept that informs a social actor in particular fields. At the same time, the field or context in which the social actor is located is shaping and defining what is possible for him or her (Grenfell 2008). Habitus structures and is structured by social context in which an actor is located.

Action that is informed by an agent’s habitus is included in Bourdieu’s theory of practice. Social action is how an agent pursues and uses various forms of capital. Bourdieu also saw the contexts in which all of this activity occurs as being important to develop. Bourdieu referred to these social settings as fields (Bourdieu 1990). Bourdieu used the metaphor of fields to describe the spatial nature of these relational constructs. The field of power determines struggle in all other field (Swartz 1997). As a result, fields are social spaces in which dominant and subordinate positions are taken or held. Because
of the interconnectedness of fields, changes in one field reshape positions held by an agent in all other fields as well (Swartz 1997). Social agents take positions based on the interplay of their habitus and accumulated capital with the particular field. As societal structure meets agency and interacts some agents are able to take dominant positions while others are relegated to subordinate positions within a particular field.

According to Bourdieu, fields are spaces of positions and position taking of agents that result from an interaction of the agent’s habitus and position in the field determined by the amount of accumulated capital (Calhoun, LiPuma, and Postone 1993). Urbanormative cultural ideology reinforces urban ways of knowing, or urban cultural capital, as preferred and correct (Thomas et al 2011:5). Bourdieu’s position is that all symbols and action including embodied cultural capital work to increase social distinction (Swartz 1997). The accumulation of cultural capital is, in part, a process of those in power having the privilege of deciding what kinds of cultural capital counts as valuable. Urban cultural capital is valuable and can be exchanged for other forms of capital at a higher rate than rural cultural capital (Thomas et al. 2011).

**Previous Research in Rural Education**

In the previous section I connected this dissertation about the interactions between a private university and a local community to its theoretical roots. At the same time, this study is about higher education in a rural place. Because of this, I situated my work in the context of the rich history of research in rural education. In order to delve into an investigation of rural education the work of preceding research regarding rural education must first be known. The bulk of education investigation related to rural localities has been dedicated to K-12 education. Research attention that has been paid to the
intersections of higher education and rurality has focused largely on students. Some research has been conducted inquiring about the roles of public institutions of higher education and their presence in rural localities. However, very little is known about private institutions of higher education in rural localities.

Research regarding rural education has focused on the multiple roles in which educational institutions play in rural localities. For example, educational institutions in rural localities are not only important employers, they are also providers of job training (Schafft 2016). Rural schools are sites for organized activities that maintain social networks and contribute to supporting local forms of community capital (Flora, Flora and Gasteyer 2015).

Since most of the educational institutions in rural communities are in the public K-12 arena it makes sense that much of the educational research in rural settings has been dedicated to inquiry this type of education. One aspect of this education research has been comparing academic performance of rural students to urban and suburban students (Brown and Schafft 2011). Another dimension of rural education research has been a focus on what schools mean to rural communities (Tieken 2014). For example, research has shown rural school consolidation is a threat to a sense of community in rural localities (Bard, Gardener and Wieland 2006). Another example of this research is the impact rural schools have on small town economies (Lyson 2002).

Rural education researchers have attended to retention of qualified professionals in rural communities. One example of this is the challenges related to recruiting and retaining good teachers (Monk 2007). Another example is research dedicated to problems rural schools have in attracting and keeping good school administrators (Wood, Finch
and Mirecki 2013). The need for empirical knowledge regarding rural K-12 education has been met. However, less research attention has been paid to the role of institutions of higher education and their contribution to rural communities.

**Higher Education and Rurality**

Higher education crosses paths with rurality in a variety of ways. Higher education in the United States is uniquely diverse compared to other higher education systems in the world (Trow 2000). Because of education’s role in social inequality and mobility, rural access to higher education has received research attention (Bowles and Gintis 1976). Concern about declining rural populations in some parts of North America has led to research focus on higher education’s part in young people leaving rural communities (Carr and Kefalas 2009, Corbett 2007, Jensen 2002).

The Carnegie Classifications of Institutions of Higher Education is a clearinghouse for information with respect to the variety of colleges and universities in the United States (2016). Carnegie’s basic classifications of institutions of higher education have six primary categories. These categories are doctoral universities, master’s colleges and universities, baccalaureate, associate’s colleges, special focus, and tribal colleges (Carnegie Classifications of Institutions of Higher Education 2016). What the Carnegie Classifications refer to as doctoral universities are commonly called research universities. Among research universities are state land grant universities. These universities direct the extension services in their respective states. The University of Kentucky is an example of a doctoral university and a state land grant university.

The Carnegie Classification of master’s colleges and universities are commonly known as comprehensive or regional colleges and universities (2016). Eastern Kentucky
University is an example of a master’s university. It is a public, regional university located in Richmond, Kentucky.

Baccalaureate colleges and universities are commonly referred to as liberal arts colleges. These colleges and universities are divided into two subcategories. The first subcategory of baccalaureate colleges and universities are those referred to as baccalaureate colleges and universities: arts & sciences. These institutions are baccalaureate colleges and universities that grant at least half of all undergraduate degrees in traditional arts and sciences majors (Carnegie Classifications of Institutions of Higher Education 2016). Transylvania University is an example of a baccalaureate university: arts & sciences located in Lexington, Kentucky.

The second subcategory of baccalaureate colleges and universities are those referred to as baccalaureate colleges and universities: diverse fields. Baccalaureate colleges and universities: diverse fields are institutions of higher education that grant 50% or more of undergraduate degrees in fields other than traditional arts and sciences (Carnegie Classifications of Institutions of Higher Education 2016). Brescia University located in Owensboro, Kentucky is an example of a baccalaureate university: diverse fields.

Associate’s colleges are typically referred to as community colleges. Associate’s colleges are divided into many subcategories based on how many students transfer to four-year institutions and the extent to which technical and vocational degrees are offered (Carnegie Classifications of Institutions of Higher Education 2016). An example of an associate’s college is Bluegrass Community and Technical College located in Lexington, Kentucky.
Special focus institutions are those that limit degrees to the confines of a particular field such as healthcare, fine art, or engineering. Galen College of Nursing in Louisville, Kentucky is an example of a special focus institution. Tribal colleges are institutions of higher education that are controlled and operated by American Indian Tribes (Carnegie Classifications of Institutions of Higher Education 2016). An example of a tribal college is Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa Community College in Hayward, Wisconsin.

Another way in which institutions of higher education in the United States can be grouped is by how colleges and universities are controlled. If an institution of higher education is funded by a state then it is public. Whereas privately funded universities are wholly dependent on tuition and donations for their funding.

The array of institutions of higher education in the United States is broad because of the differences in kind and the students whom they serve. The number of colleges and universities is also impressive due to the volume of institutions. According to the United States Department of Education’s National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) there were 4,724 degree-granting two and four year institutions of higher education in the United States in 2013-2014 (2017b). These institutions of higher education served approximately 20.4 million students (NCES 2017a). While most of these institutions of higher education are located in metropolitan counties some are not. Although some colleges and universities are situated in rural localities very little has been written about these institutions of higher education.

Higher education research has largely been dedicated to students. Higher education research regarding institutions of higher education has not attended to rural-
located colleges and universities. Rural higher education research has largely ignored private institutions of higher education. The majority of research that has been dedicated to rural-located institutions of higher education has focused on community and technical colleges. Between 1994 and 2001 a major project investigating rural community colleges was undertaken. This project was called the Rural Community College Initiative. Because of their structure and mission to develop programs aligned with local industry, rural community colleges in particular have been studied as a source of economic development (Eller, Jensen, Robbins, Russell, Salant, Torres and Viterito 2003). Another facet of the Rural Community College Initiative was the relationship of community colleges to local communities in increasing the levels of civic participation by local citizens including coal miners, teachers, local business leaders, and college staff members (Jensen 2003). The Rural Community College Initiative emphasized the creation of academic programs that contributed directly to the local industries and community capacity where the community colleges were located (Kennamer and Katsinas 2011). While higher education has been examined through the lens of public institutions, especially through the Rural Community College Initiative, private colleges and universities have been left out. Yet, these too, hold particular relationships with the communities in which they are located.

Education researchers have also looked at tribal colleges. Tribal colleges are located on tribal land. Tribal land is often located in rural areas. As a result, education research with respect to tribal colleges is inherently rural. One example of the research on tribal colleges has been looking at ways in which tribal colleges create access to higher education for low-income students (Pavel 1999).
Another path of investigation for education researchers looking into rural-located higher education has been extension services. Every state in the U.S. has a land grant university. The Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 created institutions of higher education that focused on “practical knowledge” in fields such as engineering and agriculture in addition to traditional academic disciplines (Marcus 2015). Because, in part, of the connection to agriculture, land-grant universities have interacted with rural communities through extension services (Land 2015).

Among private institutions of higher education in rural localities there is a variety of types of colleges and universities. Although rare, doctoral or research universities exist in rural localities. Somewhat more common in rural areas are master’s or comprehensive colleges and universities. The majority of rural-located institutions of higher education are baccalaureate colleges and universities. Some of the rural-located baccalaureate colleges and universities belong to the Carnegie subcategory of arts & sciences. However, the largest group of rural-located, private institutions of higher education is baccalaureate colleges and universities: diverse fields (Friesen and Zimmerman 2017).

One way in which rural education research has focused on students has been inquiry into access to higher education for rural students. Students from rural places attend college at higher rates than their urban counterparts. However, rural students are behind students from suburban places in attending college (Schafft and Biddle 2014). Another strand of rural education research in higher education has focused on rural students completing undergraduate degrees once they begin (Chenoweth and Galliher 2004, Yan 2002).
Rural education research has also shed light on what happens to rural communities when students from these places make the decision to go to college. Rural education researchers have investigated the concept of “brain drain.” “Brain drain” occurs when there is a migration of human capital from one place to another (Cervantes and Guellec 2002). Rural brain drain happens when there is an outmigration of the most talented young people moving away in search of more diverse labor markets or educational opportunities (Gibbs 2005). There are differing conclusions about the outmigration of high achieving young people. Carr and Kefalas outlined how rural communities are inadvertently weakened when their best and brightest students are encouraged to leave to pursue higher education (2009). Corbett found a more complicated picture of rural students consideration of leaving their community to pursue higher education. The connection to place caused students to struggle to pursue higher education (2007).

However, other rural education researchers have questioned if rural brain drain actually exists beyond anecdotal evidence. Georgeanne Artz suggested rural brain drain may exist but in more nuanced ways. According to her, the decrease of residents with college degrees is not accurate across all rural counties (Artz 2003).

Rural education researchers have also attended to what happens for those that do not leave rural communities when “brain drain” occurs for those who leave for college. Sherman and Sage found that moral categories that followed social class were socially constructed and maintained. One’s view of education was connected to a family’s moral worth and resulted in some students leaving the rural community for economic reasons and those that stayed to an economically precarious existence (Sherman and Sage 2011).
Conclusion

Social inequality is complex. Historic materialism, status, and party are among the ways in which power is unequally distributed. However, my dissertation focuses on the intersecting axes of inequality including space and place. Urbanormativity is a theoretical concept that knits together space and place with culture. Urbanormativity is based on assumptions that “the conditions of urbanism” are normative and whatever is not urban is deviant (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014:32). The product of space, place, and culture is structural change in which the benefits accumulate to urban people and places rather than being equally distributed across space. Urban cultural capital is more valuable than rural cultural capital and the difference in value is real in its consequences for rural communities.

While previous research has investigated many aspects of interactions between rural localities and institutions of higher education one angle has been left out. Research in this area has not investigated rural-located, private colleges and universities. These institutions of higher education come in contact with their communities in unique ways. The interactions between rural communities and private colleges and universities occur within local and broader, national cultures. These interactions are fraught with inequality. This inequality is not only built into the structure of society but also in the culture. One way cultural inequality is present can be seen critically in the concept of urbanormativity. The mechanisms of urbanormative processes can be understood using Bourdieu’s theory of practice. Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, forms of capital, the field, and position taking are crucial to illuminating the ways in which urbanormativity works.
Urbanormativity shapes the interactions in all communities in embodied and physical ways.

Due to the importance of the institution of education in society researchers have paid extensive attention to a variety of aspects of education in rural localities. The largest category of education in the United States is public K-12 schooling. Because of this it makes sense that the bulk of rural education research has investigated facets of public K-12 education. Rural education research has attended to higher education. However, most of this research has been dedicated to rural students attending higher education. One of the ways in which rural education researchers have studied students in higher education has been about the push and pull factors for rural students in deciding to attend college. For example, education researchers have looked into the challenges in preparation for attending higher education for rural students (Roscigno 2006). Another example of this has been inquiry into connection to place impacting rural students considering attending college (Wiborg 2004).

Not all of rural education research regarding higher education has focused on students. Interactions between institutions of higher education and rural localities have been researched in several ways. Rural community colleges have been a key source of knowledge produced about how rural localities and higher education interact (Eller et al. 2003, Howley, Chavis and Kester 2013, Katsinas and Hardy 2012). Tribal colleges in rural localities are another aspect of the interactions between rural places and institutions of higher education (Faircloth and Tippeconnic III 2010). A well-known connection between institutions of higher education and rural localities has been the work that
extension services of public, land-grant universities have done (Marcus 2015, McDowell 2001, Stephenson 2011).
CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

My earliest memories are of living on the campus of a private college in a rural town. I attended college sporting events, theater and choir performances, and art exhibits on campus. I also went to public school, was a member of a Cub Scouts pack, and attended church in the local community. When I went to college as an undergraduate I attended a private university in a rural town. Prior to going to graduate school I worked at two different institutions of higher education located in rural towns. Because of these experiences I was aware of the unique social interactions in rural towns that had private colleges and universities because I have been immersed in these contexts the majority of my life. These personal experiences gave me the inspiration to conduct research examining how rural location impacts private universities and their respective communities.

**Ground an Understanding of Urbanormativity**

During my time in the field, I participated in various faculty professional development workshops. One area of focus in these workshops is providing faculty members with information on how to improve various aspects of their teaching. I participated in a professional development workshop dedicated to inclusive pedagogy. In one session, the discussion leader asked a question about axes of identity that might cause a professor to approach a student or group of students differently. He began by listing race, class, and gender and then asked the audience of faculty members to list off as many other identities as we could. People talked about physical ability, age, and sexual orientation among others. I raised my hand and said, “Place.” The facilitator looked puzzled and asked what I meant. I said, “For example, differences between rural and
urban.” He responded, “That’s interesting because I grew up on the East Coast and I never thought about rural places mattering to students.”

Often people who spend most of their lives in cities or urban-oriented regions do not see rural people or places. Rural localities to people living in places such as the “I-95 corridor” where urban centers are nearly contiguous from Boston, Massachusetts to Washington, D.C. are invisible (I-95 Corridor Coalition 2018). These biases and subsequent inequality are what I wanted to investigate.

To examine the research question of how urbanormativity shaped the interactions between private universities and rural towns I chose to use a qualitative methodology. A qualitative methodological approach gave me the opportunity to see context in which I conducted my inquiry through the lens of a participant alongside others that lived and worked there (Mills and Birks 2014).

In order to answer the primary research question I needed to gather experiential data. The lived experience, in what people said, what they did, and how they interacted with local social institutions gave me insights into the concrete ways in which the theoretical concept of urbanormativity played out in a particular context (Stake 2010). My ontological assumptions of this investigation were driven by my interest in learning how people do life in a particular context and how life is contoured by a cultural ideology. In other words, the assumptions in which I grounded this research are that cultural ideology is real in its consequences (Thomas and Thomas 1928). The best way to frame this work methodologically was through a qualitative lens. Epistemologically, the knowledge I wanted to generate was a reflection of the reality of groups of people in the local context (Mills and Birks 2014).
In addition to the qualitative methods, I used secondary data analysis to situate the field site within the broader, national context of rural located, private higher education. Using a qualitative methodological lens informed the choices of methods I used to collect specific types of data. To ensure the protection of all participants in this inquiry I submitted a plan of investigation to two ethical reviews.

I needed to gain access to a field site. Because of the uniqueness of the way in which I gained access to the field site my data collection included participant observation and interviews. My position in the local context of this investigation led to careful decisions regarding the use of pseudonyms and protection of the identity of the local context and the institutions located in that context. Each of these methodological choices and ethical considerations are examined below.

**Investigating Urbanormativity: Qualitative Methods**

I used qualitative methods to capture perceptions, values, beliefs, and feelings that resulted in behavior of individuals, groups, and institutions. I was reminded of the advantages of qualitative methods in moments when I observed students’ reaction to the smell of manure wafting over campus or in being present for conversations in which I participated right up to the deadline for this dissertation that would become data included in this research. Qualitative methods such as interviews gave me opportunities to not only ask follow up questions but to know how to word those questions based on real time verbal and nonverbal feedback I received from interview participants in the moment.

**Data Collection Methods**

In order to examine perceptions of the interactions between the university and the local community I used semi-structured interviews. I started every interview with the
same two questions. “If you were to describe this local community to someone who has
never been here before, what would you say?” “Is this a rural community?” I followed up
the second question asking why the person answered how he or she did. When I
interviewed people from the local community I asked questions regarding the kinds of
interactions the organization, agency, or business has with university. I also asked
questions about perceptions of the university such as the extent to which the university
imposes itself on the community and what the university contributes to the local
community. When I interviewed people affiliated with the university I asked questions
about the interactions between the particular university office or department and the local
community. I also asked university administrators, faculty member, and staff members
about individual perceptions and decisions. These questions had to do with what people
thought about the university when applying for their positions, decisions where to live
once they took the job, and the extent to which they or their families interact with the
local community.³

Typically, I arranged interviews with between two and four individuals. Although
there were times when it was only possible to interview one person. In most cases the
small groups and individuals were selected because they represented a particular group in
the local context. These groups could be non-profit community organizations or local
governing bodies. In some instances, a single person was asked to participate in an
interview because of his or her unique position within the local community or at the
university.

I interviewed 34 members of the local community in 16 interviews. I interviewed
37 current employees or recently retired employees of the university in 20 interviews.

³ See Appendix A. Semi-Structured Interview Guide
The interviews lasted between 50 and 90 minutes. I began each interview with a list of questions guided specifically to the work of the group or individuals I interviewed. I used a digital audio recorder to record the interview and I made notes throughout each interview. I continued conducting interviews until I reached a point of saturation where I was no longer gathering any new information.

In order to conduct semi-structured interviews with local community residents and university-affiliated people I needed to create a sample. I used a purposive sampling technique to find participants for interviews (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls and Ormston 2013). I used this non-probability sampling approach so that I could get rich explanations and descriptions from specific stakeholder groups within the local context.

My non-probability sampling strategy began with people I had met on campus at Manchester University. Secondly, by spending time conducting participant observations in the local community and on campus I was able to add to a list of individuals and representatives of groups to ask to do interviews. Previous experience on private college and university campuses and my time spent on campus at Manchester University provided me with an idea of where to begin planning who to interview. Additionally, I found potential interview subjects by using Internet searches for non-profit groups, local governmental agencies and offices, and private business owners. Finally, some of the participants who were included in my sample of local community residents and university-affiliated people were selected using a snowball sampling technique.

I also employed participant observation in order to assess lived experiences in the field site. Each time I was a participant observer I took notes. This meant that either I carried a piece of paper and a pen, found a scrap of paper to make notes, or I would write
down field notes as soon as I left the field. For example, I would make notes while
listening to guest speakers on campus or during outdoor festivals in the local community.
One many times I visited the North Manchester farmers’ market a group of Manchester
University students, faculty members, and local community members were gathering for
a march. I decided to participate in this “Black Lives Matter” march through town during
an outdoor community festival. In this instance, I was not able to make notes during the
march but directly following the march I sat in my car and wrote down my observations
and actions from the day.

I used participant observation in a variety of situations in the local community and
on campus at the university. In addition to making notes, I took photographs at events, of
posters, signs, political bumper stickers and other places in the local context I thought
could be important for analysis. Examples of situations where I conducted participant
observation included attending festivals and public events such as community art shows.
There were other times when I conducted participant observation data collection such as
faculty and all-employee meetings at the university, sporting events, in restaurants and
bars, in churches, during university-sponsored community service events, and at various
other events on campus.

To supplement the semi-structured interviews and participant observations I
collected administrative data. I was able to get data about the start date and current listed
town for every Manchester University employee without getting names from the Office
of Human Resources. The Manchester University Office of Institutional Effectiveness
provided me with descriptive data regarding the undergraduate student population. This
information included how many states and different countries are represented in the
Manchester University undergraduate student population and what percentage of the undergraduate student population identified as being affiliated with the Church of the Brethren. I also used historical accounts such as books and a recent documentary regarding local community and the university.

The Field Site

Because I wanted to investigate the everyday lived experience of a place I chose to conduct a case study of one local context that was rural and had a private university. Using an analysis of secondary data from IPEDS, the Census Bureau, the Urban Influence Codes, and the Carnegie Classifications I created a dataset that allowed me to understand how Manchester University fit within the rural located higher education landscape in the United States. The rural community of North Manchester and Manchester University was the field site that would give me the opportunity to investigate how urbanormativity shapes the interactions between a private university and the rural town in which the university is located. The case study approach meant that I needed to define what fit into the unit of interest, or local context (Stake 2010). Defining this unit of interest allowed me to concentrate on the fine points of detail in the local context (Flyvbjerg 2011).

There are several reasons why I chose North Manchester as my field site. I wanted a field site that was typical of the type of towns and the type of institutions in the database. One example of this is that North Manchester is located in a county that is a micropolitan county adjacent to a small metro area. Micropolitan counties are where the majority of institutions of higher education in my database are located. Manchester University is typical of the kinds of institutions of higher education in my database. For
example, Manchester University, like the majority of rural, private institutions of higher education in the database were Baccalaureate Colleges: Diverse Fields.

Another reason this field site was optimal is that before I made contact with anyone in the local context I knew I would be able to access the town and university in timely and cost effective manner. I had access to low cost lodging in a neighboring county. Additionally, I knew several individuals that I believed could serve as gatekeepers for me in gaining access to various groups of people and institutions in the field site.

Initially, I contacted Manchester University to ask about the possibility of working as an adjunct faculty member in sociology. I thought that if I could spend time teaching on campus it would give me greater access and a realistic reason to be on campus and in the local community. What I did not expect is that I contacted Manchester University a week after a longtime sociology faculty member had unexpectedly resigned and left the institution. As a result, I applied for and was offered a two-year visiting instructor position at Manchester University.

Working as a visiting instructor allowed me to become an insider within the local community and on campus. There were moments some people were suspicious about my intentions when I contacted them about letting me interview them. However, in almost every case, I was able to arrange an interview with key community members and various university employees in part because of my affiliation with a local institution such as the university.

Obtaining a visiting instructor position was a boon for this inquiry. I likely would not have been able to observe, interview, and document as much as I did if I had not held
a position that legitimated my presence in the community. Another reason having a visiting instructor position was an advantage was in the sheer amount of time I had to spend on campus and in town in order to do my work as a visiting instructor of sociology.

**Qualitative Data Analysis Methods**

I personally transcribed every interview I conducted. Following each interview, I would transfer the audio file of the recorded interview into NVivo on my personal laptop computer. Throughout the data collection process and after data collection had concluded I transcribed interviews. Transcribing interviews gave me the opportunity to relive the interview and listen carefully to what respondents said. When interesting thoughts occurred to me during transcription I would stop and write analytical memos in NVivo.

Once I completed the transcription process, I began to code the transcriptions. I used two different coding methods in the first cycle of transcript analysis. First, I used open coding and then concept coding in the first cycle of coding. These initial coding schemes gave me the opportunity to stay open to a large swath of theoretical possibilities. The first cycle codes can be seen in Table 3.1. In my second coding cycle I began searching for finer details in the transcripts.
Table 3.1 First Cycle Codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Cycle Codes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Open Coding</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threats to community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University isolation from community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church denomination isolation from community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a result, I looked for commonalities among motives for why people did and said what they did. These motives included values, judgments, and emotions. In the second cycle of coding, the specific coding process I used was values coding. I used values coding to identify statements that reflected interview participants’ values, attitudes, and beliefs (Saldana 2015). The second cycle codes can be seen in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Second Cycle Codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Cycle Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Values Coding</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From afar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From within</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following both of these coding processes I used NVIVO to collect all transcription passages coded in the same themes. I printed these passages so that I could complete my coding by hand. Coding by hand gave me the opportunity to think about the content of the interviews in a different way. Rather than simply adding up the number of times respondents conveyed particular thoughts, coding by hand gave me the opportunity to make connections, organize, and synthesize among pieces of data (Saldana 2015). Coding by hand meant that I was able to get to know the data far better than if I had only used computer software.
I used the analytical memos I had written in NVivo to check my coding to see if the codes reflected what I had written previously in memos. Analytic memos became the framework for the structure of chapter six and chapter 7, two of the results chapters. I used analytic memos to put thoughts into words about the relationships between themes.

**Building a Foundation: Secondary Data**

Prior to conducting the qualitative research for this dissertation, I began by building a foundation of knowledge regarding rural communities with institutions of higher education. The first problem was that no one had yet done the work of establishing any information about where rural, private institutions of higher education were located. When I began to review the literature about higher education in rural places, I found very little had been written already about the kinds of places with which I have had personal experiences. One of the unique characteristics of postsecondary education in the United States is the diversity of the colleges and universities (Bok 2013). According to the American Council on Education there are nearly 2,200 4-year degree-granting, non-profit, public and private institutions of higher education in the U.S. These colleges and universities serve over 9 million graduate and undergraduate students across the U.S. (Eckel and King 2006).

This investigation focused on private institutions located in rural areas. Specifically, this aspect of my research examined how many of them there are in the United States. Additionally, there were secondary questions. For example, in what types of nonmetropolitan counties are these colleges and universities located? Are they clustered in a particular region or state? Additionally, what were the characteristics of the localities where the 164 rural, private colleges and universities are located? These
characteristics include household income, age, percentage of residents 25 years and older who have completed a bachelor’s degree or more, and the percentage of homes occupied by the owners. This inquiry included the distribution and characteristics of rural, private institutions of higher education. What category of higher education are they? An additional aspect of this study was to examine the characteristics of rural institutions of higher education including characteristics such as institution endowment, net revenue, admissions acceptance rates, percentage of undergraduates receiving grant financial aid, and undergraduate student populations.

I used secondary data available from the United States Department of Education. The Department of Education has a branch called the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) that maintains a database of a variety of information about every postsecondary educational institution that accepts federal financial aid. This database is called the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). Each year postsecondary educational institutions submit information about their location, control, enrollment, graduation, finances, financial aid, institutional prices, and faculty and staff (NCES 2016b).

In addition to the foundational research question of how many private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities are in rural localities, another question was posed to discover the extent to which rural, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities were clustered in specific regions of the United States. Being able to see how rural located, private institutions of higher education were clustered gave me insights into where my field site was located relative to other, similar sites in the Midwest. Rural localities are shaped by the geographical and historical context in which they are situated. For
example, a county in eastern Kentucky may have the same population size as a county in western Kansas but the economies and histories of these two places are very different. Another example is the South. Due, in part, to slavery and subsequent de jure racial segregation, the rural South has been shaped in different ways than rural localities in New England. As a result, this aspect of the study examined whether the institutions were clustered in a particular region of the U.S. To determine the regions of the United States, the study utilized the regions designated by the Census Bureau. The Census Bureau uses four regions that include the Northeast, Midwest, South, and West (Table 3.3). All 50 states are included in one of the four Census Bureau regions.

Table 3.3 United States Census Bureau Geographic Regions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Bureau Region</th>
<th>States included</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>CT, ME, MA, NH, NJ, PA, RI, VT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwest</td>
<td>IL, IN, IA, KS, MI, MN, MO, NE, ND, OH, SD, WI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>AL, AR, DE, DC, FL, GA, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>AK, AZ, CA, CO, HI, ID, MT, NV, NM, OR, UT, WA, WY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using the Census Bureau regional designations, “MapCustomizer” was used to visualize the regional distribution of the rural location institutions. MapCustomizer is a free tool available through Google Maps that allows users to map multiple locations around the world (Map Customizer 2016). A map of rural institutions of higher education color-coded by region was created in order to visualize where these colleges and universities are located in the United States and in relation with one another. Two additional maps were created to show rural institutions of higher education by Carnegie Classification and by urban influence codes.

A key aspect to discovering how many private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities are in rural localities is discerning what can be included in definition of rural
localities. Finding the number of rural, private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities provided the opportunity to discover what categories of rural localities had colleges and universities located in them. Urban influence codes were used to determine whether counties were metropolitan or nonmetropolitan. In addition to population density, the urban influence codes account for additional variation among nonmetropolitan counties. Rather than thinking about rurality as either a dichotomy or as a continuum, the Urban Influence Codes take into account urban clusters and the relationships among counties. Using the metropolitan/nonmetropolitan designations from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), Urban Influence Codes were developed by the Economic Research Service (ERS) in the USDA in order to provide a detailed way to differentiate among nonmetropolitan localities in the U.S. Because counties outside metropolitan areas comprise a great deal of heterogeneity, the ERS Urban Influence Codes were used to disaggregate among the nonmetropolitan locations. The Urban Influence Codes divide all counties in the United States into 12 categories differentiated by metropolitan and micropolitan classifications. The first two categories are types of metropolitan counties. The remaining 10 categories are divided into micropolitan and noncore counties. Population size and adjacency to metropolitan and micropolitan areas demarcate counties that are classified broadly as being nonmetropolitan (Economic Research Service 2016).

Among nonmetropolitan counties the urban influence codes differentiate between micropolitan and noncore categories. Micropolitan counties are counties that include an “urban cluster of 10,000 to 49,999 persons” (Economic Research Service 2016). Micropolitan counties are broken into three classifications based on the size of the largest
urban cluster within the county and the extent to which the county is adjacent to metropolitan areas. The three categories of adjacency include adjacent to a large metropolitan area, adjacent to a small metropolitan area, and not adjacent to a metropolitan area (Economic Research Service 2016).

Alternatively, nonmetropolitan noncore counties are counties that do not have an urban cluster of 10,000 persons or more. Noncore counties are divided into seven groups categorized by their adjacency to metropolitan or micropolitan counties and if these counties have a town of at least 2,500 residents (Economic Research Service 2016). Micropolitan and noncore codes are part of how Urban Influence Codes take urban cluster size and relationships among counties into account. Finally, the number of private colleges and universities located in micropolitan and noncore counties was compared to the overall populations of these categories of rural counties according to the U.S. Census Bureau (Economic Research Service 2016).

In order to examine what kinds of colleges and universities are located in rural areas I used IPEDS to determine the number of rural, private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities and key descriptive variables. One of the variables in the “Institutional Characteristics” category of IPEDS data was Carnegie Classification. In order to ascertain which colleges and universities could be categorized as private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities Carnegie Classifications of Institutions of Higher Education were used. Institutions classified as Research Universities, Doctoral/Research Universities, Master’s Colleges and Universities, and Baccalaureate Colleges were included in this study. These categories were used because the other Carnegie Classifications identify postsecondary educational institutions as two-year and
specialty educational institutions. The use of the criteria in this study resulted in creating a database of 840 private, nonprofit colleges and universities. 101 cases were dropped from the initial database as a result of missing data (e.g. endowment value, net revenue, and/or admission and acceptance numbers). The Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education divides four-year colleges and universities into eight categories based on what types of degrees offered and how many degrees are awarded in a given year. For example Baccalaureate Colleges are institutions that award less than 50 master’s degrees each year. Baccalaureate Colleges is a category further broken into two sub-categories “arts & sciences” and “diverse fields.” If the majority of degrees are awarded in disciplines in the arts & sciences an institution falls in that category. Conversely, the majority of bachelor’s degrees are awarded in disciplines outside of arts & sciences then the institution falls in the “diverse fields” category (Carnegie Classifications of Institutions of Higher Education 2016). Since this analysis focused on four-year institutions, two-year institutions such as community colleges, technical schools were not included in the database. Additionally, specialty institutions such as art institutes, Bible colleges, and engineering schools were not included in this study. In addition to Baccalaureate Colleges there are six Carnegie Classifications that divided institutions of higher education based on the financial resources devoted to graduate research and the level of degrees awarded. In this study these institutions were combined in a group called “Research-Focused Universities.” The group of “Research-Focused Universities” included different subgroups. Master’s Colleges and Universities are defined as institutions of higher education that, award at least 50 master’s degrees and not more than 20 doctoral degrees in an academic year. Research Universities are defined as institutions
of higher education that, at a minimum, award more than 20 doctoral degrees in an academic year. Additionally, variables in the “Institutional Characteristics” category included regions of the United States in which each institution in the dataset was located. Finally, the control of the institution was an institutional characteristic that identified each institution as being private as opposed to publicly controlled.

The following characteristics were selected because they are basic descriptors of institutions of higher education. To determine the institutional characteristics of the rural located institutions, data were gathered on five specific variables. The institution’s endowment and the institution’s net revenue at the end of the fiscal year were chosen because these variables provide information about the financial wealth of the institution. Institutional admissions acceptance rates, and undergraduate student population were selected because collectively, they provide information on institutional selectivity and stability.

Using these criteria resulted in the creation of a dataset of 164 private, non-profit colleges and universities located in nonmetropolitan counties. The resulting descriptive statistics from the methods explained above are explained in Chapter Five, “Rural, Private Institutions of Higher Education: Building A Knowledge Base.”

IPEDS is an excellent source of information about many variables of institutions of postsecondary education. One reason for this is because colleges and universities must complete the surveys that gather the data for the IPEDS databases in order to maintain eligibility to receive federal financial aid (NCES 2016b). However, this means that if an institution of higher education does not accept federal financial aid that institution’s
information is not in the IPEDS data.\textsuperscript{4} Another limitation in gathering descriptive data was that there were a small number of cases that were dropped from the rural, private colleges and universities database because of missing data. In all, 11 cases were dropped from the database due to missing data (e.g. endowment value and/or admission and acceptance numbers).

**Ethical Considerations**

I decided to use the real names of places in this study. The context of social life and social institutions in this specific field site matter because the locale is not an open stage where social activity such as urbanormativity occurs. Instead, the locale and even defined “regions” within the locale work with social actors to create phenomena specific to locale (Giddens 1984). In this case, an example of a region is the neighborhood surrounding the Manchester University campus.

Another reason I used the proper names of places and institutions such as North Manchester and Manchester University is because of the character of the place and the shared history among the institutions in the local context. Understanding these particulars is critical to discovering how urbanormativity shapes and has shaped the interactions. Creating fictitious names for institutions in this context would have been futile because it would take very little searching to see where I had been a visiting instructor and now have a tenure-track position.

\textsuperscript{4} I was limited in several ways in gathering descriptive data about rural, private institutions of higher education and rural towns. For example, Hillsdale College would have been included in my database of rural, private colleges and universities but Hillsdale does not accept federal financial aid. Hillsdale College is located in the town of Hillsdale in Hillsdale County, Michigan. According to the USDA Urban Influence Code for Hillsdale County, Michigan it is a nonmetropolitan county that is micropolitan, adjacent to a small metro area.
Finally, I used the real names of places is because of the large percentage of people in the local context that know about my inquiry. People and organizations in the local context are eager to hear about the results of my work. The fact that people are interested to know the results of this study speaks to a history of citizens investing in the community. For example, in the early 2000s the community conducted two self-studies, wrote, and disseminated reports about these studies in order to critically evaluate challenges and assets and goals for the future (Hudson Institute 2002). In the winter of 2019 I plan to present my research to various interested groups on campus at Manchester University and within the local North Manchester community. Ultimately, I plan to be a part of efforts to use critical knowledge as a way to join others in the local community to build and maintain a stronger community.

I completed a review of ethical concerns regarding this research at the University of Kentucky and Manchester University. Since this research was conducted for my dissertation in sociology at the University of Kentucky I also went through the IRB process for an exempted, nonmedical research study through the Office of Research Integrity. Because I conducted research on campus at Manchester University including participant observations and semi-structured interviews I went through an evaluation of the ethical concerns of my research by the Institutional Review Board at Manchester University. Each of these institutions sent me a letter of approval for my research, which I included in all documentation given to participants prior to any interview.

Although I am using the real names of places, I have made every effort to write about people in ways so that they cannot be identified. I protected the identities of people to ensure that no negative consequences impacting employment or personal wellbeing
would occur for any individual who participated. The process of ensuring participants could not be identified began by informing participants that I would not be recording their names anywhere in my field notes. In interviews I never used individuals’ names or titles. In instances where they self-identified in interviews I made sure not to write field notes or analytic memos that reveal the identity of any participant. All individuals have been written about using pseudonyms and with an effort to not disclose a person’s identity due to a position held or job title.

Another ethical consideration I made prior to the beginning of this investigation was the decision not to interview any participant under the age of 18. All of the adults participated after I read a letter of my research intentions informing them of their rights to not answer questions and to discontinue an interview at any point. I gave each participant a copy of this letter, an explanation of my dissertation study, copies of my IRB letters, and a copy of their signed consent to participate. Using only adults meant that I would avoid conducting research with anyone who was not a member of a vulnerable population and who was able to knowingly give consent to participation.

Following the language of my IRB application I followed the same process each time I contacted and then interviewed any participant for this research. First I would contact a participant via email. If the individual did not use email or did not respond to email I called to request an interview. If necessary, I followed up by contacting potential participants in person to ask if they would be willing to participate in my research.

Once an interview was scheduled I would bring copies of my research cover letter, consent to participate in a research study, the University of Kentucky IRB exemption certification, and a Manchester University IRB letter of support. These
documents were given to the participant to keep for their own records. The last page in the packet included a space to sign to give consent to me as the primary investigator to conduct an interview and any follow-up conversation. I gave each participant a copy of this page and kept the original for my own records.5

Conclusion

At the beginning of the chapter I shared my personal history with rural communities and private colleges and universities located in these places. In addition to my personal history, I acknowledge that my position in relation to the social and political context of this dissertation has not occurred in a vacuum. Instead, my positionality has occurred within a larger social structure that makes it impossible for any individual to enter into research completely neutral. Because of this, my methodological approach included being clear about my own experiences as well as why and how I went about conducting my research. Doing so allows me to be transparent in my investigation and transparency contributes to the overall objective rigor of the study. In his 1967 presidential address to the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Howard Becker stated,

“We can never avoid taking sides. So we are left with the question of whether taking sides means that some distortion is introduced into our work so great as to make it useless. Or, less drastically, whether some distortion is introduced that must be taken into account before the results of our work can be used” (Becker 1967:245-46).

Rather than ensuring the right kinds of groups are represented in research, the real issue is to insist that the highest standards of scientific inquiry are met. Additionally, it was important that my own values and sympathies did not render my investigation invalid

5 The approved research integrity documents for this study can be found in Appendix B. IRB approval documents.
(Becker 1967). Although at times interviewees found me to be skeptical of events or actions of various institutions in the local context of my field site, I have an abiding affection for places like North Manchester and Manchester University. The wider culture considers private institutions of higher education to be bastions of elitism but my experience with rural located private higher education is that the majority of these institutions serve middle class and working class populations. My personal experiences in these settings have given me the insight that there are people who are deeply invested in the local community and the colleges and universities not because of wealth or prestige but because they believe in community and the missions of these respective institutions of higher education.

The proceeding chapters explain the results of the methods outlined in this chapter. Chapter four begins the results by describing what was found in creating a foundation of information about private universities and rural places that have them. Chapter five describes the shared history of the local North Manchester community and Manchester University. Chapter six explains what I found to be the case of how urbanormativity shapes the relationships between North Manchester and Manchester University from the perspective of individuals. Finally, chapter seven describes my investigation of Manchester University as an integrative institution.
CHAPTER FOUR – RURAL, PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION: BUILDING A KNOWLEDGE BASE

Before I went to graduate school to study sociology I had a thirteen-year career working in various aspects of student affairs on college campuses. Two of the institutions of higher education where I worked were located in rural communities. On occasion, I would purchase food from local restaurants for students programs or trainings I did. One evening I walked into Lucci’s to pick up the order of pizzas I was getting for an event later that evening. I waited at the bar where there were several other customers eating and drinking and when the bartender was free I told her I was there to pick up and order for the college where I worked. The order came out of the kitchen and the bartender began to ring up my pizzas. I quickly remarked, “Hold on, I have a tax-exempt number.” At this, one of the patrons sitting at the bar looked at me dumbfounded and said, “Wait a minute, you guys don’t pay taxes either?” I told him no and he mumbled, “As nice as that campus is you’d think the least they could do is pay their fair share in town.” In that moment, invisible boundaries between town and gown were suddenly made apparent. It was then that I first became aware of inequality and power in the context of the interactions between rural communities and private institutions of higher education. Processes of inequality are complex. In rural localities, part of this complexity includes the ways in which the urbanormative cultural ideology shapes local institutional interactions resulting in structural changes.

Moment such as the one in the pizza place piqued my curiosity about the social and cultural aspects that shape the interactions of private colleges and rural communities. However, the attempt to find literature regarding rural, private colleges and universities yielded almost nothing. Therefore, the first step in conducting this research was to
establish a knowledge base. How many colleges and universities existed in nonmetropolitan places in the United States? Where were these institutions located in terms of different types of nonmetropolitan counties and geographic regions of the United States? What were some of the ways in which these rural localities could be described? How many of the rural colleges and universities public or private institutions? Finally, in order to progress to more in depth study what types of colleges and universities are located in rural localities and what other descriptors do they have in common? Coming to conclusions about these questions creates a foundation from which further inquiry can accomplished.

**Background**

In the spring of 2016, St. Catharine College announced that it would be closing after 83 years in operation. Saint Catharine College was a small, private, non-profit college and was a key institution in Washington County, a rural county in Kentucky. What does the closing of St. Catharine College mean for its rural locality? At first glance, it may appear that small colleges and universities provide modest benefits to their localities. However, for rural places like Washington County, Kentucky (pop. 11,717) the difference of having and not having $45,000 in annual occupational taxes is significant impact on the county budget and is just one of the many losses its closing is expected to bring to the community (Lama 2016). St. Catherine College’s story is indicative of the many reasons educational institutions play multiple roles in rural localities. For example, rural schools are sites for organized activities that maintain social networks and contribute to supporting local forms of community capital (Flora et al. 2015).
The importance of private colleges and universities within their respective rural localities is embodied in the Wendell Berry Farming and Ecological Agrarianism Program. This example extends beyond local employment. Several years before closing in 2016, St. Catharine College partnered with the Berry Center to create the Wendell Berry Farming and Ecological Agrarianism Program. As a Kentucky farmer, author, and activist, Wendell Berry has dedicated his life’s work to the connections between sustainable agriculture, rural communities, and developing a sense of place. This agriculture program combined the writing of Wendell Berry with the mission of the Dominican Sisters of Peace who operated St. Catharine College (The Berry Center 2014). This program sought to teach students to consider the land and the community in agricultural practices. To that end, locating such a program at a small, private college in a rural place made more sense than if the Berry Center had collaborated with a large public land grant university. The loss of St. Catharine’s affects the surrounding rural community in the loss of partnerships with local farmers and the loss of public cultural events on campus that this program brought to the college and community.

The Wendell Berry Farming and Ecological Agrarianism Program is just one example of how private, non-profit colleges and universities contribute to local community and to the county’s various overlapping forms of community capital (Flora et al. 2015). These community capitals included financial (payroll and property taxes), cultural (guest speakers and art exhibits), human (credentials and skills), and built (campus facilities) capital among other forms. Moreover, college campuses can also be “sticky capital” in that the physical aspects of campus cannot be moved to another location (Maurrasse 2002).
While there has not been a large amount of research on education in rural areas focused on private higher education, there are commonalities between rural, private higher education and issues identified in other areas of research on education in rural areas. One example of this is the work that has been done to understand the community impacts of K-12 consolidation. Tieken’s work comparing and contrasting two rural Arkansas communities facing school consolidation, for example, crystalized how important having a high school in a locality is for those living there (2014). In other work, Lyson found that the economic benefits such as taxes for local governments outweighed the savings of school consolidation (2002). Rural institutions of education also contribute to a shared sense of community as rural educators use the physical space of the school and curriculum to promote “the commons” and interdependence within a locality (Theobald 1997).

Research has also attended to issues related to rural students examining topics such as rural access, attendance, and aspirations. Bauch examined how rural communities can play an active role in improving the process of educating students in their schools (2001). Beaulieu and Israel found that rural high school student achievement was associated with individual-level social capital (Israel, Beaulieu and Hartless 2001). Byun, Irvin, and Meece found that rural students were more likely to delay college attendance than their non-rural peers. Additionally, rural students experience disruptions in their college careers at higher rates than non-rural students (2015).

Relationships to community have also been examined from a student-focused approach. Much of this has examined the community consequences resulting from rural individuals accessing higher education or staying home. Carr and Kefalas, for example,
examined the impacts of rural education on college-going aspirations (Carr and Kefalas 2009). Corbett examined how locality shapes and is shaped by individuals deciding to leave for higher education and not return to rural communities (Corbett 2007). Sherman and Sage looked at the intricacies involved in the process of sorting students to leave or stay in one rural community. For example, they wrote, “In Golden Valley, the schools were agents, not only of the brain drain itself, but of firming and defending social boundaries between the morally upstanding and the morally degenerate poor” (2011).

The role of higher education in rural localities has been focused on public institutions. In her book, Jensen researched the presence of a public college in the vicinity of her field site and explored its impact on the educational decisions of young community members. Jensen’s research found that educational achievement resulted in positive change for individual students but offered little for rural communities (2002).

Some of the research regarding the role of higher education in rural localities has attended to rural community colleges. Because of their structure and mission to develop programs aligned with local industry, rural community colleges in particular have been studied as a source of community and economic development. The relationship of community colleges to local economies has been researched through the Rural Community College Initiative (Eller et al. 2003). The Rural Community College Initiative emphasized the creation of academic programs that contributed directly to the local industries and community capacity where the community colleges were located (Kennamer and Katsinas 2011).

While higher education has been examined through the lens of public institutions, especially through the Rural Community College Initiative, private colleges and
universities have been left out. Yet, these too, hold particular relationships with the communities in which they are located. To fill this gap, this chapter is an investigation of private colleges and universities in rural areas. In particular, this groundwork must be completed in order to understand the characteristics and distribution of these institutions of higher education.

Rural Towns with Private Universities

In this aspect of my dissertation I sought to find out how many private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities were located in rural counties. Because of this, it was critical to demarcate between rural and urban counties. The Urban Influence Codes were used to discern among metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties. In addition to population density, the Urban Influence Codes account for additional variations among nonmetropolitan counties (Economic Research Service 2016). There was a difference in what types of nonmetropolitan counties had private colleges and universities. Micropolitan and noncore Urban Influence Codes differed in the percentages of colleges and universities located in them. Additionally, there was a difference between micropolitan counties adjacent to and not adjacent to metropolitan counties. There were also differences between noncore counties containing colleges and universities adjacent to metropolitan and micropolitan areas.

Of the 840 private, four-year colleges and universities included in the initial dataset gathered from IPEDS. Of the 164 rural-located private colleges and universities, the majority of these were located in micropolitan counties. These are counties with an urban core of at least 10,000 residents. Of those in micropolitan counties, 55 or 33.54% were located in micropolitan counties adjacent to small metropolitan areas. This was the
largest number of institutions for any nonmetropolitan code. For micropolitan-located colleges and universities adjacency to metropolitan areas is important. 71.43% of all micropolitan-located colleges and universities are located in counties that are adjacent to metropolitan areas (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Numbers and Distribution of Micropolitan Institutions by Micropolitan Urban Influence Codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Influence Codes</th>
<th>Number of Nonmetropolitan Institutions</th>
<th>Counties Containing Private Colleges and Universities</th>
<th>Percentage of Nonmetropolitan Institutions (164)</th>
<th>Percentage of Micropolitan Institutions (119)</th>
<th>Percentage of Metro Adjacent Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 - Micropolitan area adjacent to small metro area</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>33.54%</td>
<td>46.22%</td>
<td>71.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - Micropolitan area adjacent to large metro area</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>18.29%</td>
<td>25.21%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 - Micropolitan area not adjacent to a metro area</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>20.73%</td>
<td>28.57%</td>
<td>Not Adjacent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 164 rural, private colleges and universities, 45 were located in noncore counties. These are counties in which the largest urban center is not larger than 9,999 residents. The noncore code with the most institutions of higher education was “Noncore adjacent to small metro area and contains a town of at least 2,500 residents.” This subcategory included 22 of the 164 or 13.41% of rural, private colleges and universities in this study. Two categories, “Noncore adjacent to small metro area and does not contain a town of at least 2,500 residents” and “Noncore adjacent to micro area and does not contain a town of at least 2,500 residents,” had the least or no private institutions of higher education (Table 4.2).
Table 4.2 Numbers and Distribution of Noncore Institutions by Noncore Urban Influence Codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Influence Codes</th>
<th>Number of Nonmetropolitan Institutions</th>
<th>Percentage of Nonmetropolitan Institutions (164)</th>
<th>Percentage of Noncore Institutions (45)</th>
<th>Percentage of Metropolitan Adjacent Institutions (29)</th>
<th>Percentage of Micropolitan Adjacent Institutions (8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 - Noncore adjacent to small metro area and contains a town of at least 2,500 residents</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13.41%</td>
<td>48.89%</td>
<td>75.86%</td>
<td>Not Adjacent to Micro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - Noncore adjacent to micro area and contains a town of at least 2,500 residents</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.87%</td>
<td>17.78%</td>
<td>Not Adjacent to Metro</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - Noncore adjacent to large metro area</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.66%</td>
<td>13.33%</td>
<td>20.69%</td>
<td>Not Adjacent to Micro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - Noncore not adjacent to metro or micro area and contains a town of at least 2,500 residents</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.66%</td>
<td>13.33%</td>
<td>Not Adjacent</td>
<td>Not Adjacent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 - Noncore not adjacent to metro or micro area and does not contain a town of at least 2,500 residents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.22%</td>
<td>4.44%</td>
<td>Not Adjacent</td>
<td>Not Adjacent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - Noncore adjacent to small metro area and does not contain a town of at least 2,500 residents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.61%</td>
<td>2.22%</td>
<td>3.45%</td>
<td>Not Adjacent to Micro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - Noncore adjacent to micro area and does not contain a town of at least 2,500 residents</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>Not Adjacent to Metro</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although not perfect, the pattern of Urban Influence Codes with the largest number of private, non-profit institutions of higher education mirrors the population numbers for each of these types of nonmetropolitan counties. The nonmetropolitan code with the largest population in the U.S. was “Micropolitan area adjacent to small metro area” with just over 11 million residents (Economic Research Service 2016). With 55
institutions, this was also the type of nonmetropolitan counties with the largest number of private, non-profit colleges and universities.

It is not surprising that micropolitan counties had the largest number of colleges and universities. However, it is interesting that there were more colleges and universities in counties adjacent to smaller metropolitan or micropolitan areas compared to the number of nonmetropolitan colleges and universities located in counties adjacent to larger metropolitan areas. Discourses of urbanormativity posit that urban is preferred over rural and that more urban is preferred over less urban (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014). Since colleges and universities are closely connected to urban-oriented sources of funding and employment opportunities for graduates it would stand to reason that if colleges and universities were located in nonmetropolitan counties the majority of those colleges and universities would be located in closer proximity to larger (i.e. preferred) urban areas. The findings from this study show that is not the case.

**Regional Location**

Geography and history shape different places in the United States. As a result, this study examined whether the institutions were clustered in a particular region of the United States. Similar nonmetropolitan population sizes do not necessarily mean two counties are the same when geography is taken into account. For example, the historic economy in one place may have shaped a place into something quite different than another place of similar size population.

The majority of rural, private colleges and universities were located in two regions. Of the 164 rural, private colleges and universities 72 or 44% were located in the
Midwest. A slightly lower number (60 or 37%) were located in the South. Of the four Census Bureau regions, only two institutions were located in the West (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Numbers and Distribution of Nonmetropolitan Institutions by Census Regions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographic Region</th>
<th>Number of Institutions</th>
<th>Percentage of Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwest</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Midwest region had the most rural, private colleges and universities but they were not evenly distributed across all the states in the region. The state in the Midwest with the most rural, private colleges and universities was Ohio (11 institutions). Iowa had 10 institutions and two other states each had nine rural, private colleges and universities. The South region had the second most with 60 institutions. The southern state with the highest number of rural, private colleges and universities was North Carolina (9 institutions). The Northeast had a lower number of institutions but Vermont had the highest concentration of rural, private colleges and universities (9 institutions).

The fact that the Midwest had the largest number of these institutions may be a result of religious groups establishing church-related colleges in the 19th century. Another explanation could be that the nonmetropolitan populations in Midwestern states are large enough to support institutions of higher education unlike more sparse nonmetropolitan populations in the West.

**Characteristics of Rural Localities**

Schools are important institutions in rural localities. I explored characteristics of localities where rural, private colleges and universities are present. A few common assumptions about rural localities are that they have aging populations, lower rates of household income, and lower numbers of citizens with college degrees (Flora et al. 2015,
Keating and Phillips 2008, Schmitt-Wilson, Downey and Beck 2018). Additionally, there are automatic assumptions about a locality if an institution of higher education is present. These assumptions include lower rates of owner-occupied housing due to college renters (Gumprecht 2003). In order to explore these characteristics of rural localities where the colleges and universities in this study were present the median age and household income, percentage of residents with a college degree or higher, and the percentage of owner-occupied homes were explored.

The median household income of the localities of the 164 rural, private colleges and universities in this study was $44,762.50, which is slightly below $48,600, or 200% of the federal poverty line for a family of four people (U.S.Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services 2018). This guideline is commonly used for federal financial assistance program such as Women, Infants, and Children (WIC). The median age for localities, where rural, private colleges and universities are present was 40.40 years old. The median age was almost identical to the mean age of these localities, which was 40.25 years old. The median percentage of residents 25 years of age and older with at least an undergraduate degree was 21.38% which was slightly higher than 19.45%, the mean percentage of residents aged 25 years or more with at least an undergraduate degree. Finally, homeowners occupy the majority of homes in the nonmetropolitan localities with private colleges and universities. The median percentage of owner-occupied homes was 71.40%, which was slightly more than 70.96%, the mean of the percentage of owner-occupied homes in these nonmetropolitan localities (Table 4.4).
Table 4.4 Characteristics of the Localities of 164 Nonmetropolitan Colleges and Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Income</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Percentage of Residents 25+ Years w/ College Degree+</th>
<th>Percentage of Owner-Occupied Homes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median $44,762.50</td>
<td>40.40</td>
<td>21.38%</td>
<td>71.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interquartile Range $39,879.25 to $49,372</td>
<td>38.4 to 40.4</td>
<td>16.53% to 19.45%</td>
<td>68.6% to 74.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean $44,762.00</td>
<td>40.25</td>
<td>19.45%</td>
<td>70.96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation $7,701.24</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>6.74%</td>
<td>4.88%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, these nonmetropolitan localities have relatively low household incomes. Most residents 25 years of age and older do not have an undergraduate degree. This is interesting given that they live in close proximity to a college or university. The majority of residents in these localities live homes they own. Finally, an interesting finding in this study is that out of 164 rural, private colleges and universities, 15 pairs are located in the same county. McPherson County, Kansas has three rural, private colleges and universities located there.

Figure 4.1 displays the geographic distribution of nonmetropolitan, private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities. These institutions are predominantly in the Midwest, South, and Northeast United States. One explanation for the lack of nonmetropolitan institutions in the West is that many private colleges and universities were established in the 19th century when large portions of the western United States were still sparsely populated territories.
The geographical distribution of nonmetropolitan colleges and universities divided into micropolitan and noncore nonmetropolitan county categories is displayed in Figure 4.2. The colleges and universities located in micropolitan counties are identified in blue and the colleges and universities located in noncore counties are identified in green. It is interesting to note that with few exceptions the rural private institutions of higher education do not exist past the geographic center of the United States. The fact that this type of institution of higher education does not extend to the Mountain West or the West Coast may be a result of human settlement patterns since the majority of rural private colleges and universities in this study began in the 19th century when white people were just settling the West.
A goal of my research was to discover what categories of higher education are found in rural localities. Another research question I explored was the extent to which nonmetropolitan-located colleges and universities are clustered in regions or states. In order to learn about this aspect of the spectrum of higher education it was critical to examine the characteristics of rural institutions of higher education including institution endowment, net revenue, admissions acceptance rates, percentage of undergraduates receiving grant financial aid, and undergraduate student populations.

**Carnegie Classifications**

Understanding what types of private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities were nonmetropolitan-located was critical to this dissertation because this information challenges common ideas of rural places being homogenous. In other words,
if institutions of higher education exist, one assumption is that there are only small liberal arts colleges in these localities. Furthermore, in considering the importance of educational institutions to rural communities knowing what kinds of colleges and universities exist in rural localities contributes to understanding the ways in which these institutions of higher education interact with their respective local communities.

Using the Carnegie Classifications of Institutions of Higher Education, there were two broad categories of institutions in which all of the colleges and universities in the dataset fit. These categories were Baccalaureate Colleges, or those institutions serving primarily undergraduate students and Research-Focused Universities, or those institutions serving undergraduates, Masters, and Doctorate level students.

Of the 164 institutions, the largest numbers of rural located institutions were Baccalaureate Colleges. These are colleges that primarily serve undergraduate students. There were 127 Baccalaureate Colleges in this study. 77.44% of the 164 nonmetropolitan colleges and universities were categorized as Baccalaureate Colleges. Compared to the percentage of all 840 private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities in the original database created for this study 50.47% of institutions are categorized as Baccalaureate Colleges. A larger percentage of nonmetropolitan colleges and universities were classified as Baccalaureate Colleges compared to the percentage of all private colleges and universities in the original database of 840 colleges and universities.

Among the nonmetropolitan Baccalaureate Colleges, 81 were categorized as “Baccalaureate - diverse fields.” This means that Baccalaureate Colleges in this classification awarded the majority of degrees outside of arts & sciences disciplines. Examples of degrees in “diverse fields” include degrees such as criminal justice or
nursing. These degrees are designed to enable people with Bachelor’s Degrees to enter the workforce shortly after graduation. This type of institution included Dordt College in Sioux Center, Iowa, Tuskegee University in Tuskegee, Alabama, and Unity College in Unity, Maine.

The other group of *Baccalaureate Colleges* was categorized as “Baccalaureate – arts & sciences.” These institutions award most degrees in arts & sciences disciplines. This type of institution is often what comes to mind when one thinks of liberal arts colleges. There were 46 “Baccalaureate – arts & sciences” institutions. Examples of this type of institution included Middlebury College in Middlebury, Vermont, Grinnell College in Grinnell, Iowa, and Sewanee – The University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee (Table 4.5).

While *Baccalaureate Colleges* made up the majority of rural located colleges and universities, *Research-Focused Universities* can also be found in nonmetropolitan counties. *Research-Focused Universities* devote more resources towards scholarly research. Included in these resources are graduate-level programs where students are pursuing advanced degrees. *Research-Focused Universities* included 37 of the 164 or 22.56% of rural, private colleges and universities. This group included several subgroups including *Master’s Colleges and Universities* and *Doctoral and Research Universities*. The percentage of all 840 institutions in the original database of all private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities was 50.53%, which was higher than the percentage of nonmetropolitan colleges and universities classified as *Research-Focused Universities*.

Among rural, private colleges and universities, the largest subcategory of *Research-Focused Universities* was *Master’s Colleges and Universities*. These
comprised 33 of the 164 or 20.12% of nonmetropolitan-located institutions. This same subcategory makes up a combined 360 or 38.26% of all private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities in the original database. Within Master’s Colleges and Universities subcategory of Research-Focused Universities, the largest Carnegie Classification was Master’s Colleges and Universities – Larger Programs. These are programs that award at least 50 Master’s degrees and fewer than 20 Doctoral degrees annually. Examples of these institutions are the main campus of Indiana Wesleyan University in Marion, Indiana, St. Bonaventure University in Allegany, New York, and Muskingum University in New Concord, Ohio.

The smallest subcategory of Research-Focused Universities was Research Universities and Doctoral/Research Universities. Only 4 out of 164 or 2.44% of rural, private colleges and universities were classified as such. This subcategory of Research-Focused Universities makes up a combined 115 of 840 or 12.27% of all private colleges and universities in the original database. These institutions include Dartmouth, in Hanover, New Hampshire, Clarkson University in Potsdam, New York, Ashland University in Ashland, Ohio, and Saint Mary’s University of Minnesota in Winona, Minnesota (Table 4.6).

Table 4.5 Numbers and Distribution of Nonmetropolitan Baccalaureate Colleges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carnegie Group</th>
<th>Carnegie Classification</th>
<th>Number of Nonmetropolitan Institutions</th>
<th>Percentage of Nonmetropolitan Institutions (164)</th>
<th>Percentage of Baccalaureate Colleges (127)</th>
<th>Percentage of All Private Institutions (840)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baccalaureate Colleges - Diverse Fields</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>49.39%</td>
<td>63.78%</td>
<td>26.67%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baccalaureate Colleges - Arts &amp; Sciences</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>28.05%</td>
<td>36.22%</td>
<td>23.80%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.6 Numbers and Distribution of Nonmetropolitan Research-Focused Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carnegie Classification</th>
<th>Number of Nonmetropolitan Institutions</th>
<th>Percentage of Nonmetropolitan Institutions (164)</th>
<th>Percentage of Research-Focused Universities (37)</th>
<th>Percentage of All Private Institutions (840)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Master's Colleges and Universities (smaller programs)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.04%</td>
<td>13.51%</td>
<td>5.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Colleges and Universities (medium programs)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.70%</td>
<td>29.73%</td>
<td>10.73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Colleges and Universities (larger programs)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10.37%</td>
<td>45.95%</td>
<td>21.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral/Research Universities</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.22%</td>
<td>5.41%</td>
<td>4.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Universities (high research activity)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>2.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Universities (very high research activity)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>4.72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adding all Master’s Colleges and Universities (smaller, medium, and larger programs) of all private colleges and universities from the original database of 840 yields a result (38.26%) that is almost twice the combined percentage (20.11%) of nonmetropolitan Master’s Colleges and Universities.

The majority of rural, private colleges and universities are classified as Baccalaureate Colleges. Of the nonmetropolitan located Baccalaureate Colleges over half were categorized as “Baccalaureate Colleges – Diverse Fields.” Because most of the degrees awarded from these colleges and universities are outside of traditional arts & sciences degrees this finding suggests these institutions are seeking to meet the needs of lower-income students. Lower income students are likely to pursue a college degree as a means to a career path (Lehmann 2009). Conversely, the low percentage of rural, private colleges and universities classified as Research-Focused Universities is not surprising.
given that these institutions tend to have larger undergraduate and graduate populations, which contributes to the overall population of the county making them metropolitan counties rather than nonmetropolitan counties.

Figure 4.3 displays the geographical distribution of nonmetropolitan colleges and universities by their respective Carnegie Classifications. Although the distribution of “Baccalaureate Colleges – Arts & Sciences,” “Baccalaureate Colleges – Diverse Fields,” and “Research-Focused Universities” appears to be even, almost half of all nonmetropolitan “Research-Focused Universities” are located in the Northeast.

Institutional Characteristics

In order to ascertain the nature of rural, private colleges and universities data were gathered on five specific variables. The institution’s endowment at the end of the fiscal year, annual net revenue, and percentage of undergraduates receiving grant financial aid
were selected was chosen because these variables provides information about the financial wealth of the institution. The variable of admissions acceptance rates was selected because this variable provides insight into the institution’s level of selectivity in prospective students. The size of the undergraduate student population provided information about stability.

An institution of higher education’s endowment value is a measure of institutional wealth. The median end-of-year endowment value of rural, private colleges and universities was slightly more than $27,800,000 (Table 4.7). The median of end-of-the-year endowments shows that overall, nonmetropolitan, private colleges and universities have relatively modest endowments. Comparing nonmetropolitan endowments to all private, non-profit colleges and universities shows that nonmetropolitan endowments are lower than endowments of all private colleges and universities. The median of end-of-year endowments of all 840 private, non-profit colleges and universities is $44 million.

Among rural, private colleges and universities, there is a large variation in end-of-the-year endowments. There are institutions in the database with endowment values over one billion dollars. Examples of institutions with endowment values over $1 billion are Dartmouth College ($3,733,596,412), Grinnell College ($1,553,629,000), Washington & Lee University ($1,345,356,000), and Berea College ($1,012,401,100). The variation is also brought into relief when considering the range of endowment values. The interquartile range of end-of-year endowment values of institutions in this study shows that the lower 50% of endowment values are between $10.21 million and $86.46 million.

---

6 The mean end of fiscal year endowment for all nonmetropolitan-located colleges and universities was over $118 million. There were several extreme outlier institutions causing the large discrepancy between mean and median endowment figures.
Table 4.7 End of Fiscal Year Endowments of Nonmetropolitan Colleges and Universities (values in the millions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Nonmetropolitan Institutions</th>
<th>Micropolitan-Located Institutions</th>
<th>Noncore-Located Institutions</th>
<th>Adjacent Institutions</th>
<th>Non-Adjacent Institutions</th>
<th>All Private Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Institutions</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Endowment Value</td>
<td>$27.82</td>
<td>$27.31</td>
<td>$31.85</td>
<td>$31.98</td>
<td>$24.61</td>
<td>$47.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Endowment Value</td>
<td>$118.05</td>
<td>$114.98</td>
<td>$126.19</td>
<td>$112.58</td>
<td>$133.94</td>
<td>$365.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endowment Interquartile Range</td>
<td>$10.21 to $86.46</td>
<td>$9.70 to $10.30</td>
<td>$9.62 to $9.94</td>
<td>$11.72 to $49.64</td>
<td>$16.88 to $134.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Net revenue was a variable created for this study in order to examine into the annual budgets of institutions of higher education in this study. Total annual income less total annual expenses were calculated to create the net revenue variable. Knowing an institution’s net revenue provided a measure with which the institution’s ability to meet financial budgetary needs can be understood. There were 20 institutions in this study that had negative net revenue meaning these institutions were spending more than they were bringing in at the end of the year. Most of the rural, private colleges and universities that had revenues that did not meet budgetary needs were Baccalaureate Colleges located in several different types of nonmetropolitan counties. In addition to 20 rural, private colleges and universities losing money another 20 of these institutions brought in less than $1 million. While $1 million appears to be a large sum, even the smallest colleges and universities in this study have annual budgets of $25-30 million so a margin of $1 million is slim. The median net revenue for all nonmetropolitan colleges and universities was $3,600,000. Using an interquartile range of net revenues for all nonmetropolitan colleges and universities shows that middle 50% of all net revenues was between $1.03 million and $9.76 million (Table 4.8). The median net revenue for all private colleges and
universities was just over $3 million more at $6.78 million with a larger IQR of $1.91 million to $19.92 million compared to rural, private colleges and universities.

The median net revenue for micropolitan institutions was lower than the median net revenue for noncore-located colleges and universities. The median net revenue for micropolitan-located was just over $3 million compared to almost $4 million for noncore-located colleges and universities. The median net revenue for institutions located in non-adjacent counties was $2.68 million compared to $4.01 million for institutions located in adjacent counties. Similarly, to other institutional characteristics, the range of net revenue amounts for nonmetropolitan colleges and universities is wide. This result shows the diversity of wealth and income among these colleges and universities.

Table 4.8 Net Revenue of Nonmetropolitan Colleges and Universities (values in the millions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Nonmetropolitan Institutions</th>
<th>Micropolitan-Located Institutions</th>
<th>Noncore-Located Institutions</th>
<th>Adjacent Institutions</th>
<th>Non-Adjacent Institutions</th>
<th>All Private Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Institutions</strong></td>
<td>164</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Median Net Revenue</strong></td>
<td>$3.57</td>
<td>$3.11</td>
<td>$3.95</td>
<td>$4.01</td>
<td>$2.68</td>
<td>$6.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mean Net Revenue</strong></td>
<td>$11.66</td>
<td>$11.23</td>
<td>$12.82</td>
<td>$12.04</td>
<td>$10.58</td>
<td>$40.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Net Revenue Interquartile Range</strong></td>
<td>$1.03 to $9.76</td>
<td>$1.05 to $9.91</td>
<td>$.77 to $9.03</td>
<td>$1.41 to $11.32</td>
<td>$9.5 to $6.82</td>
<td>$1.91 to $19.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The median of the percentage of undergraduate students receiving grant aid for all nonmetropolitan colleges and universities was 91% this was slightly higher compared to a median of 87% for all private colleges and universities. Table 4.9 shows the range of the percentage of students receiving grant aid was 22% to 100%, which was identical for all nonmetropolitan and overall private colleges and universities.
The median of the percentage of undergraduate students receiving grant aid was 91% for micropolitan colleges and universities matching the rate of all nonmetropolitan institutions. The median of 94% was higher for institutions located in noncore counties and the range for noncore-located colleges and universities was identical to all nonmetropolitan colleges and universities going from a low of 22% to a high of 100% of students receiving financial aid. Institutions in adjacent counties had a lower median of 91% compared to 93%, the median for institutions located in non-adjacent counties. Overall the median percentage of students receiving grant financial aid was higher in every category than the mean. This is a result of several rural, private colleges and universities having significantly less students attending that demonstrate financial need.

Table 4.9 Percentages of Students Receiving Grant Financial Aid (Federal, State, Institutional, Other) of Nonmetropolitan Colleges and Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Nonmetropolitan Institutions</th>
<th>Micropolitan-Located Institutions</th>
<th>Noncore-Located Institutions</th>
<th>Adjacent Institutions</th>
<th>Non-Adjacent Institutions</th>
<th>All Private Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Institutions</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Percentage of UG Students Receiving Aid</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Percentage of UG Students Receiving Aid</td>
<td>85.45%</td>
<td>84.78%</td>
<td>87.22%</td>
<td>85.45%</td>
<td>85.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of UG Students Receiving Aid</td>
<td>81% to 97%</td>
<td>78% to 97%</td>
<td>84% to 98%</td>
<td>80.50% to 97%</td>
<td>84% to 96.25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Admissions acceptance rate is a measure of how many prospective undergraduate students were accepted out of the total number of those who applied. In higher education a low admissions acceptance rate is indicative of a greater degree of selectivity of prospective students. The overall median admissions acceptance rate for rural, private
colleges and universities in this study was 66.64% and the middle 50% had acceptance rates between 55.08% and 74.14% at the top (Table 4.10).

The median admissions acceptance rate for colleges and universities located in micropolitan areas was slightly higher 67.91% compared to a rate of 65.80% of noncore-located colleges and universities. The median acceptance rate for adjacent institutions was 66.51%, which was slightly lower than 68.29%, the median acceptance rate for institutions located in non-adjacent counties.

The percentage of undergraduate students receiving grant aid is part of what indicates if an institution of higher education has students who are financially able to fund their own college education. In this case lower rates mean more students able to pay larger amounts to attend college. Furthermore, if institutions of higher education were prevented from receiving federal financial aid as was the case with St. Catharine College this would be a crippling blow for many nonmetropolitan, private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities.

Table 4.10 Admissions Acceptance Rates of Nonmetropolitan Colleges and Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Institutions</th>
<th>All Nonmetropolitan Institutions</th>
<th>Micropolitan-Located Institutions</th>
<th>Noncore-Located Institutions</th>
<th>Adjacent Institutions</th>
<th>Non-Adjacent Institutions</th>
<th>All Private Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Admissions Acceptance Rate</td>
<td>66.64%</td>
<td>67.91%</td>
<td>65.80%</td>
<td>66.51%</td>
<td>68.29%</td>
<td>65.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Admissions Acceptance Rate</td>
<td>64.74%</td>
<td>65.33%</td>
<td>63.19%</td>
<td>64.53%</td>
<td>65.35%</td>
<td>62.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admissions Acceptance Interquartile Range</td>
<td>55.08% to 74.14%</td>
<td>56.46% to 74.38%</td>
<td>50.77% to 73.78%</td>
<td>54.53% to 74.5%</td>
<td>56.12% to 72.83%</td>
<td>52.29% to 75.16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There was a wide range of nonmetropolitan colleges and universities in this study when it comes to the size of their respective full-time, undergraduate populations. The median undergraduate student body size was 1,118 among nonmetropolitan colleges and universities. While this is a modest size compared to other types of institutions of higher education, table 4.11 shows the smallest nonmetropolitan, undergraduate population was just 104 students and largest undergraduate population was 14,376. However, there is a greater range among all four-year, private, non-profit colleges and universities. The range of all private colleges and universities was even smaller with a low end of 66 students and higher as well with 25,911 undergraduates. 1,577 students was the median for all private colleges and universities, which was higher than the median of all nonmetropolitan colleges and universities.

The median undergraduate student population of 1,143 for colleges and universities in micropolitan localities was slightly larger than 1,068, which was the median undergraduate population of noncore-located colleges and universities. The median student body size of adjacent-located institutions was 1,161 compared to a median of 926 for non-adjacent located institutions.
Table 4.11 Full-Time Undergraduate Student Populations of Nonmetropolitan Colleges and Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Nonmetropolitan Institutions</th>
<th>Micropolitan-Located Institutions</th>
<th>Noncore-Located Institutions</th>
<th>Adjacent Institutions</th>
<th>Non-Adjacent Institutions</th>
<th>All Private Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Institutions</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Undergraduate Student Population</td>
<td>1,118</td>
<td>1,143</td>
<td>1,068</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>1,577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Undergraduate Student Population</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>1,462</td>
<td>1,145</td>
<td>1,464</td>
<td>1,118</td>
<td>2,288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate Student Population Interquartile Range</td>
<td>613 to 1,585</td>
<td>723 to 1,695</td>
<td>527 to 1,393</td>
<td>629 to 1,743</td>
<td>605 to 1,449</td>
<td>1003 to 2,516</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examining characteristics of rural, private colleges and universities provides a baseline from which to take on more complex questions. Looking at endowment values, net revenues, percentages of undergraduate students receiving grant financial aid, admissions acceptance rates, the size of undergraduate populations provides insights into the unique position these rural institutions occupy.

This initial research showed that rural, private colleges and universities are modestly endowed compared to the 840 private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities in the original database. Rural, private colleges and universities bringing in annual income but in fiscal year 2013, 20 of these colleges and universities did not bring in revenues to meet their annual budgets. Most students attending rural, private colleges and universities receive grant financial aid and without this money, it is likely these students could not afford to attend. Rural, private colleges and universities are not highly selective institutions of higher education. Selectivity is related to institutional prestige and institutions’ financial budgets. If any college or university could afford to be more
selective with respect to admissions, it would be in order to increase student retention and graduation rates as well as institutional prestige. The majority of rural, private colleges and universities have small undergraduate student populations. The small size is utilized as a marketing advantage to prospective students and their families but it is also used against them in that with small size often comes the perception of less opportunities than larger, public universities can offer.

In every characteristic except the percentage of students receiving grant financial aid the results for non-adjacent located rural, private colleges and universities was lower than all private, all nonmetropolitan, all micropolitan, all noncore, or all adjacent-located colleges and universities. Colleges and universities located in non-adjacent counties are the most isolated and so it is not surprising that they are the most vulnerable when looking at multiple characteristics.

Since St. Catharine College closed, they have gone through the processes of liquidation and foreclosure confirming to Springfield County residents that St. Catharine College will not reopen. Recently, a newspaper reported that the property may be converted into a site to replace an older hospital structure used by the Veterans’ Administration (Shafer 2017). If the VA hospital relocates to the former St. Catharine College campus this will provide jobs and tax income to the county. However, critical losses include cultural events such as lectures from renowned authors such as Wendell Berry. In short, this transition will not be replacing apples with apples.

Research shows that schools matter to rural communities. Up to now, private institutions of higher education have not been investigated. Yet, these colleges and universities can be important employers, sources of tax revenue, offer social and cultural
opportunities for the community, and work with the local community to address
education and skill needs.

These results create a foundation from which exploring more of the landscape of
educational institutions in rural localities can be accomplished. Of the 840 private, four-
year, nonprofit colleges and universities in the United States, 164 are located in
nonmetropolitan counties. The majority of nonmetropolitan colleges and universities are
classified as baccalaureate colleges that place primacy on undergraduate education. Many
nonmetropolitan colleges and universities possess modest financial means. The financial
situations of nonmetropolitan colleges and universities have an impact on admissions
standards because when institutions of higher education can financial afford it, they
choose to be more selective. Selectivity contributes to institutional prestige and
contributes to higher retention and graduation rates. Having large numbers of students
with financial need means that without the current and additional sources of financial aid
many students currently attending nonmetropolitan, private, non-profit, four-year
colleges and universities could not afford to attend these institutions.

The 2016 presidential election and the subsequent cabinet appointments
contribute to an unknown future for higher education. As one of the smallest features of
the American higher education landscape, rural, private, non-profit, four-year colleges
and universities will have to adjust to higher education policies created with larger, public
universities in mind. Grave predictions about the survival of private colleges and
universities have been made at previous points in history (Breneman 1994, Chopp, Frost
and Weiss 2015). In a culture and economy that privileges consolidation and efficiency
nonmetropolitan colleges and universities face an uncertain future. St. Catharine’s
College closing is example the loss of a long time community institution in a rural locality.

**Conclusion**

This research has illuminated a previously uninvestigated aspect of the rural education landscape. Now it is known how many and where nonmetropolitan, non-profit, four-year, private colleges and universities there are. Additionally, this chapter has established what types of nonmetropolitan counties have these institutions and what kinds of private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities they are. Finally, this research has established a foundation of information about rural located private institutions with comparison to all private, non-profit, four-year colleges and universities.

The next steps in investigating rural, private higher education is to delve into the complexity of the interactions of rural localities and private colleges and universities. The subsequent chapters focus on a case study of a particular local context in which these interactions were examined. These colleges and universities interact with their respective rural localities and these interactions are shaped by urbanormativity. Prevailing urban norms and values shape these relationships between rural towns and institutions of higher education.

Learning about the ways in which private colleges and universities interface with rural localities will provide knowledge that could be crucial to the sustainability of both. How can rural localities leverage private colleges and universities to enhance and maintain community resiliency? Alternately, how can private colleges and universities focus on their rural places in order to carve out space within higher education to
sustainably meet their missions? These are questions that new research into rural higher education may be able to answer in the nick of time.
CHAPTER FIVE: A UNIVERSITY, A TOWN, AND A CHURCH: A SHARED HISTORY

In the spring of 2018 the Manchester Historical Society released a documentary entitled A Sense of Place. Several individuals in the North Manchester community including members of the Manchester Historical Society and two retired Manchester University faculty members living in the area created this film. This film project is a contemporary example of the kinds of partnerships individuals associated with the university and individuals associated with the town have engaged in throughout their shared history (Adams 2017). The film collaboration features the ways in which the town of North Manchester and Manchester University combine resources to produce something in which the focus is on something larger than any individual institution in the community.

In the nineteenth century the United States was still forming as a nation. Most of the land that is now the United States remained uninhabited by Europeans. As major sources of organization and instruction churches turned their interests towards higher education in response to a variety of changes in American society. One reason for the growth in higher education attendance was the immense growth in the United States population. The U.S. Census measured the population of the entire country in 1860 at over 31 million. Just 40 years later in 1900 the population of the United States had more than doubled to over 76 million people (Forstall 1996).

Another change in the United States in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the increase of compulsory school attendance. The rise in compulsory education was linked with the changes in the economy (Richardson 1980). The growing population of
women, southern Europeans, and non-white Americans attending college also contributed to the growth of public and private, religious higher education.

The role of “boosterism” or the promotion of the growth of towns by securing key assets for the local community such as an institution of higher education contributed significantly to the proliferation of colleges and universities in the United States in the nineteenth century. Additionally, credentialing was a way of institutionalizing cultural information so that recruitment decision-makers in businesses and organizations could ensure that degree-holding applicants would have the same life experiences as they did (Brown 1995). The process of credentialing contributed to the increase in the number of colleges and universities because young people saw “having the ticket” of a college degree as admission into desired career options and lifestyles.

Urbanormativity has been part of the shared history between North Manchester and Manchester University since the nineteenth century. Today, urbanormativity is shaping a new context for the interactions between the university and the local community. The interactions between the local community and the university are changing as the university moves towards being a regional institution and devotes more resources to building a presence in a larger regional city. Looking ahead, the future of relationships built between local community, church, and university are tenuous as new relations are increasingly shaped by urbanormativity.

The contemporary context of this dissertation would not be what it is without the unique combination of individuals and institutions over a shared history. In order to understand how urbanormativity shapes the interactions between the North Manchester community and Manchester University several strands of historical background must be
described. There would be no Manchester University today without the town of North Manchester. The white settlement that became known as North Manchester would not have the unique flavor it does without being settled by members of a Protestant Christian sect that would come to be called the Church of the Brethren.

I was not able to find much printed material about the history of North Manchester. However, I was able to locate a self-published book called *The History of North Manchester Indiana* in the North Manchester Public Library. The largest section of this book contained a chronological list of events in the town’s history. It is evident in this book how much the history of Manchester University is seen as also being the history of the town. The chronology marking the establishment of the current town newspaper (1873), the opening of the first public library in town (1912), and start of one of the few bookbinding companies in the United States (1931) is littered with significant moments in the history of Manchester University (Ringenberg 2006a).

How the town of North Manchester was established, how Manchester University came into existence, and the flavor of these institutions provided by a Protestant Christian sect committed to community, nonviolence, and simplicity are all critical to understanding this particular local context. Additionally, the activity in the local community was and is built, in part, by current events in the larger society and specifically in higher education. The urbanormativity cultural ideology shapes social activity in all rural places. However, in each place, the context matters for how urbanormativity contours what people say, think, and do in that place. Urbanormativity also presents itself differently in each rural place because the unique context in each place is built over time through countless institutional and personal interactions.
Fulkerson and Thomas noted rural communities often have integrative institutions such as universities through which rural places are connected to dominant urban centers within the urbanormativity cultural ideology (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014). The context is one that is historical and place-based and can be likened to a three-legged stool. In addition to the town and the university, the third leg of this stool is the Church of the Brethren. Manchester University is affiliated with this Protestant Christian denomination. Although the relationship between the denomination and the university is loose today, the Church of the Brethren was instrumental in the survival of university in its early days. The continual disconnect between the denomination and the university means the university has less interaction with the local community today and will have even less in the future.

**National history shaped the local history**

In the nineteenth century, religion played a significant role in shaping society compared to modern American society. According to the United States Census Bureau the U.S. population became more urban than rural in 1920\(^7\). In 1890 the majority of Americans lived in rural places (United States Census Bureau 2018). Urbanormativity had not yet taken hold as the dominant cultural lens. For the majority of people, living subsistence-oriented lives in rural American meant that daily life in these places was relatively isolated from urban centers. The majority of white settlers living in the United States in the 1800s were living and working in subsistence agriculture. These families were minimally tied to larger national or global economies. The United States was still a new nation and so government did not have the significant role it would in modern times.

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\(^7\) In the 1920 census 51.2 percent of the total population was urban and 48.8 percent of the total population was rural in the United States.
Mass communication other than newspapers and telegraph was still far in the future. For these reasons religion and particularly, Protestant Christianity, was central to many white people living in the United States in the century developed into the town of North Manchester and Manchester University.

**History of higher education shaping the local history**

In the nineteenth century American social institutions including higher education were nascent. Although there are unique aspects of the shared history between the local community of North Manchester and Manchester University, this local context was also being shaped by national social activity. The United States in the 1800s experienced a significant increase in the number of institutions of higher education (Thelin 2011). These new colleges and universities sprang up as products of various social forces acting on localities.

The social forces in play in developing the American higher education landscape in the nineteenth century include town “boosterism,” credentialism, and increased compulsory, public high school. A significant uptick in European immigration to the United States beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century was one precipitant to change in the American higher education landscape. More citizens meant more people seeking a college education. Additionally, rather than trying to gain admission into existing colleges and universities, immigrants belonging to religious sects started new colleges (Thelin 2011). For religious reasons, immigrant groups started many rural institutions of higher education. Examples of these colleges and universities include Northwestern College, which was started by Dutch Reformed Christians in 1882, and Finlandia University, started in 1896 by Finnish Lutherans. Many of these colleges did
not have long lifespans due to their narrow religious character. The religiously-affiliated colleges that did survive, did so because they were able to provide practical education (Brown 1995).

So far, the history of the early days of higher education fits with the dominant American ideology regarding higher education. This ideology is that work was becoming increasingly complex and therefore many people sought higher education in order to become prepared to enter the modern workforce in the late nineteenth century (Brown 2001). The history of the rise of higher education institutions such as Manchester University in the 1800s is more complex than immigration and the need for advanced skills.

Another reason so many institutions of higher education began in the nineteenth century was because towns and cities throughout the United States saw the value in having a college. Colleges and universities were a way of “boosting” or promoting a town. Institutions of higher education were a source of local civic pride and the local community was a source of students and financial assistance for the newly formed colleges (Thelin 2011).

Sociologist David K. Brown argued that the business of college founding outpaced the growing U.S. population. One of the key reasons for this was “boosterism.” In the nineteenth century, competition between towns was fierce. Decisions such as where to locate a county seat or a railroad connection were crucial to local communities thriving, surviving, or failing (Brown 1995). Convincing religious leaders that they should start a college in a particular town was a sure way to assure community growth. Because neither the state or the church had “centralized control over higher education,”
local communities used institutions of higher education to establish a town or complete for growth over neighboring communities (Brown 1995).

Another significant deviation from the common sense notion that higher education led to more advanced work is the role credentialing played in the origins of the American system of higher education. The role of credentialing in the growth of the number of institutions of higher education means that religious colleges and universities were not started to minister to heathens. Instead, these institutions of higher education provided education for the children of local elites. Credentialing is a system of “culturally based stratifying entry barriers to occupations and organizations” (Brown 2001:19-20). Credentialing is a process that ensures that businesses and organizations seeking to hire new employees will select candidates who have similar tastes and dispositions.

Colleges and universities had to create the “college man” or “college woman” social type to renew the attraction for students. Public high schools had become more prevalent and many students began choosing this terminal option to their educations. A “college man” was less about accumulating knowledge and skills in college and more about knowing how to socialize and still get work tasks completed (Brown 1995). Firms had a greater chance of hiring a person who knew how to play the game if the candidate had graduated from college.

**The Church of the Brethren in North Manchester**

The descendant group of what is now known as the Church of the Brethren began in Germany in resistance to followers of earlier reformers. Some of the central differences revolved around adult baptism and strict pacifism (Bowman 1995).
The Church of the Brethren continued throughout their history to focus on these tenets as well as a commitment to community and simplicity. Like other Protestants that eventually would become known as “historic peace churches” including the Mennonites and Quakers, the Brethren came to America in search for freedom to practice their faith without the influence of the state or state-affiliated Protestant churches. A group of what was called the Schwartzenau Brethren immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1719. These Brethren were committed to community, nonviolence or pacifism, and simplicity. The Schwartzenau Brethren came to be known in the United States as the German Baptist Brethren (Bowman 1995). Similarly, to other religious groups, the German Baptist Brethren were primarily agrarian. Periodically, as communities grew, smaller groups would break off in search of affordable land to farm and establish a new community.

The German Baptist Brethren, like other White settlers pushed westward in search of new land. Some of the first White people to come to the area that is now North Manchester were a small group of German Baptist Brethren. In 1835 a group of eight men belonging to the German Baptist Brethren did so by walking from Montgomery County, Ohio (near Dayton) over the course of 28 days (Winger 1917). A custom among the German Baptist Brethren was to provide land for farming for each son in a family. As a result, these early settlers were looking for affordable land to farm. The United States government had recently opened new land for interested settlers in the area of what is now North Manchester. For example, a descendant of one of the eight men who had walked from Ohio recorded that they would be able to purchase land where North Manchester is now located for $1.25 per uncleared acre of forest compared to $20 per cleared acre where they had been in Ohio (Adams 2017). The settlement that would
become North Manchester was located on the Eel River in 1936 so that a gristmill for making flour could be built. In 1936 the first German Baptist Brethren church was built on property where an Old Order German Baptist Church stands today (Ringenberg 2006a). The group known as the German Baptist Brethren changed their name to the Church of the Brethren in 1908 (Winger 1917).

Although the German Baptist Brethren had established North Manchester, the idea of Manchester University was still far in the future. Education was not a priority for the German Baptist Brethren because the vast majority of members were farm families with little need for formal education in the nineteenth century (Winger 1917). Eventually interest in providing education for young people among the Brethren grew.

The history of higher education in the United States intersects with the local history when considering “boosterism.” The local history does not make mention of the term “boosterism” but this activity was going on in North Manchester. Although the Brethren did not see the need for higher education in their early years in the United States, they would begin to adapt to their new country. A gathering of Brethren in 1870 took of the idea of establishing a college. Other Protestant Christian groups had already established colleges in the United States. For example, Harvard College began in 1636 largely as a training ground for clergy. Other Protestant Christian denominations became increasingly interested in clergy obtaining more education. Churches also responded to their congregations’ interest in literacy (Ringenberg 2006b).

The German Baptist Brethren became concerned because there were no Brethren high schools or colleges and yet their young people were leaving home for school but not able to receive teaching from their own sect. In his History of the Church of the Brethren...
in Indiana, former Manchester College president Otho Winger quoted Elder P.R. Wrightsman in a particularly colorful urging of his fellow church members,

“There are now hundreds of our Brethren’s children away from home, receiving their education in the high schools of other denominations, some of the teachers of which are Universalists, infidels, and deists, and to say the least may do their best to explain away the plain, simple commandments of Christ’s church. Now shall we, who profess to be the true followers of Christ, lie still and suffer these sectarians thus to poison the minds of our dear children? God forbid! Brethren, forbid it” (1917).

In 1870 Salem College was started by the Brethren 35 miles from North Manchester in Bourbon, Indiana. After only three years, Salem College closed its doors due to poor finances. While slower to come around to higher education than other Protestant Christian churches, the German Baptist Brethren became very involved in the creation of colleges. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the German Baptist Brethren eventually started five colleges. These five institutions of higher education are Bridgewater College in Bridgewater, Virginia (1880), Juniata College in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania (1876) and Elizabethtown College in Elizabeth Town, Pennsylvania (1899), McPherson College in McPherson, Kansas (1887), and Lordsburg College, now called University of La Verne in La Verne, California (1891) (Winger 1917). All five of these colleges and universities are still in existence today.

Manchester College comes to North Manchester

In addition to starting other colleges, the German Baptist Brethren took control of two other faltering institutions of higher education. These colleges included Mount Morris College in Mount Morris, Illinois (1839) and Manchester College, now called Manchester University in North Manchester, Indiana (1860). Mount Morris College
merged with Manchester College in 1932 after 93 years, almost of all of which were financially precarious (Frantz 1964).

Establishing Manchester University was part of a larger trend. The nineteenth century was a period of time in which many colleges and seminaries were started in the United States. A perusal of establishment dates of many private colleges and universities in the Midwest point to this period. For example, 20 of the 29 of private colleges and universities in Indiana were started between 1800 and 1899 (Independent Colleges Indiana 2018). The majority of private colleges and universities in Indiana that began in the nineteenth century did so in the latter half of the century. Many new colleges and universities disappeared shortly after they began operations. One of the reasons for this was because although Protestant Christian denominations were instrumental in starting colleges it is more accurate to say that individual clergy were often the primary drivers of the creation of many religiously-affiliated colleges and universities (Ringenberg 2006b). Frequently, these institutions functioned as high schools and provided additional postsecondary training (Ringenberg 2006a). Some of the short-lived institutions of higher education that began in the nineteenth century suffered from a narrow, denominational mission and set of goals.

The United Brethren Church in Northern Indiana started Roanoke Classical Seminary in 1860. Although similar in name, this Protestant Christian sect is not related to the German Baptist Brethren. After 18 years, the seminary was in financial trouble and reached out to Otterbein College in Ohio. Otterbein College was also a United Brethren Church affiliated institution. Otterbein College agreed to support the seminary financially with the promise that some of the seminary students would subsequently attend Otterbein
(Frantz 1964). The approximately 165-mile distance between Otterbein College in Westerville, Ohio and Roanoke Classical Seminary in Roanoke, Indiana meant that the seminary president, David Howe had little supervision over his activities. Representatives of Otterbein College learned of the move of the Roanoke Classical Seminary to North Manchester, Indiana by reading about it in the newspaper (Frantz 1964).

The role of individual clergy being instrumental in creating institutions of higher education is exemplified in the origins of Manchester University. In the case of the Roanoke Classical Seminary, Reverend David Howe was the engine in the beginning and the individual who would orchestrate the move from Roanoke to North Manchester (Frantz 1964).

Howe’s Roanoke Classical Seminary had grown too large for its accommodations. Additionally, Howe was facing challenges in keeping the seminary financially afloat. Thus, the first interaction between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University was the town collectively raising funds to bring the institution to North Manchester. This was an excellent example of local efforts to “boost” the town in order to increase the public perception of the local North Manchester community. In early 1889, Reverend Howe preached at a United Brethren Church in North Manchester and not long after this the North Manchester News-Journal newspaper reported that Reverend Howe had agreed to relocate his school to North Manchester (Frantz 1964). The agreement reported by the North Manchester newspaper was between Reverend Howe and the town of North Manchester. The school would move to North Manchester and open for classes in the fall of 1889 if the town agreed to pay $8,000. In 1889 a cornerstone for the first building was laid in a ceremony in August and new college was
opened in November (Jones 1989). Securing an institution of higher education was a boon to the town and likely contributed to the survival of North Manchester as a town.

After moving to North Manchester the college changed its name to Manchester College. In the next few years, Manchester College continued to increase its attendance. Even though the fledgling college was growing its student population finances were unsteady. One story related to the university’s early financial challenges speaks to the power charismatic individuals had over institutions of higher education as they became established in the United States. In 1894 a “professor” Kriebel visited North Manchester and claimed to represent an anonymous millionaire who would be willing to provide an endowment of a million dollars. Kriebel outlined the conditions that must be met in exchange for this gift. The conditions included that he be placed in charge of the North Manchester city schools including the college, that the town provide free electric lighting and water to the college, and finally that money be donated to provide one-year scholarships for 100 students (Jones 1989).

The next fall, Kriebel was installed as president of the college but the endowment never came. Instead Kriebel was confronted by college representatives and confessed that not only was there no million dollar endowment but that he had “not given the college a day’s service since last August” and was discouraging students from attending the college (Frantz 1964). Making matters worse, Kriebel’s business manager for the college was apprehended by officers trying to leave town without paying a variety of bills including some owed by the college (Jones 1989). The experience with Kriebel left Manchester College in a dire financial situation and the college was forced to sell.
A professor from Mount Morris College in Illinois came to the area to teach a Bible Institute and saw there was a collection of healthy Brethren churches in and around North Manchester. Several German Baptist Brethren came together and decided to purchase or build a college for their denomination in Northern Indiana. The German Baptist Brethren purchased Manchester College in 1895. The deal for the sale of the college was again negotiated with the town of North Manchester. The German Baptist Brethren were also in negotiations with two other towns in Indiana about the location of their college. Ultimately, the town decided it would give $5,000 and the Manchester College property to the German Baptist Brethren. The German Baptist Brethren in turn would commit to matching the $5,000 so that a total of $10,000 could be used to build an additional building. In order to raise money to complete this deal, the town of North Manchester purchased a farm on the north end of town and sold it in lots for new homes for at least $50 per lot (Frantz 1964).

The German Baptist Brethren changed the name of their denomination to the Church of the Brethren in 1908. The Church of the Brethren proved to be a steadying force for Manchester College as it moved into the twentieth century. Faculty members and college leadership came from the Church of the Brethren. The son of a Brethren farm family, Otho Winger, graduated from Manchester College in 1902 and was elected president of Manchester College in 1911 (Schwalm 1952). Winger served as the president of the college for 30 years. Winger’s tenure provided a steady hand through the early years of Manchester College. Vernon Schwalm wrote a biography of Winger while he was serving as president of Manchester College wrote about the college during Winger’s time, “during which the college grew from a weak, struggling, non-standard
preparatory, Bible and commercial school to a fully standardized liberal arts college annually enrolling more than one thousand students” (1952).

The first president of Manchester College who was not a member of the Church of the Brethren came in 1986, 91 years after the denomination purchased the institution. The first German Baptist Brethren president of Manchester College came from Mount Morris College, which was the first time these two institutions would work together. The next time the two colleges collaborated was the last. After many years of financial turbulence Mount Morris College suspended operations in Illinois and merged with Manchester College in 1932 sending their remaining students and equipment to Indiana (Frantz 1964).

Throughout Manchester College’s history, the close connection to the Church of the Brethren was central to several key moments in the college’s history. Like other historic peace churches, the characteristics of the Church of the Brethren have set this sect apart from other groups in Protestant Christianity in the United States. Culturally and theologically distinct features such as a strong commitment to nonviolence, simplicity, and community have all been woven into the fabric of Manchester College and continue to be present in Manchester University today. One example of this was that in 1948 Manchester College created the first Peace Studies program at an institution of higher education in the United States. Because of his background, experiences, and education, Andrew Cordier, a Manchester College alum and former faculty member helped to establish the United Nations following the end of World War II (Jones 1989). Building on Dr. Cordier’s interest in international politics and relations Manchester College president Vernon Schwalm wanted to build a program to prepare undergraduate students
for vocations related to peace, justice, and international relations. Professor Gladdys Muir came from a sister college to Manchester College to create and teach in the Peace Studies Program. The Peace Studies Program would be the first of its kind and it sought to merge the tenants of the Church of the Brethren with social science disciplines such as sociology, economics, and political science (Jones 1989).

Another example of the amalgamation of Church of the Brethren values and academic work was at play when Manchester College alum Dan West created the economic development organization Heifer International in 1944. West grew up in the Church of the Brethren, graduated from Manchester College in 1917, and had been a conscientious objector in World War I (Jones 1989). West was also instrumental in starting a Christian volunteer organization called Brethren Voluntary Service (BVS) in 1948. Many Brethren and non-Brethren conscientious objectors to war have completed alternative service through BVS programs (Bowman 1995).

**Town gown interactions in the local context**

The positions of the Church of the Brethren and Manchester College have not always blended well with the local and regional political contexts in which they have been situated over the years. Moments in American history in which the country was engaged in armed conflict created several challenges for Manchester College in addition to the ramifications wars had on student enrollment. The reverberations of the decline in the student enrollment had repercussions for the college and the local and regional communities in which Manchester drew its students and did business. Being a small institution of higher education meant that loosing even a few students had a significant impact. In 1940, one year prior to the bombing of Pearl Harbor Manchester College had a
student enrollment of 645 students. Just two years later, the student enrollment was 495, a
drop of nearly 25 percent (Jones 1989).

Another example of the unique challenges of this particular town gown
relationship was the differences of opinions and values related to military service.
Although people associated with the sect that would become the Church of the Brethren
had been in North Manchester from its inception, there were many others in town that
held vastly different positions about war and armed conflict. On campus, students had
different positions about joining the military as well. In the 1940s approximately 50
percent of the student body came from the Church of the Brethren and not all those who
were Brethren were opposed to military service. Students did register as conscientious
objectors and completed alternative service instead of joining the military during World
War II. At the time, a student named T.Q. Evans recalled working at a store in downtown
North Manchester stating, “Non-college people were often critical of ‘those damn
C.O.’s’…our presence created tension with the townspeople” (Jones 1989).

The 1960s and 1970s were also times of tumult on campus and in the town.
In my interviews and participant observations, multiple local community members talked
about instances of students and faculty protesting against the Vietnam War and for civil
rights by marching, chanting, and holding signs at the post office in town. On campus,
students and faculty held anti-war protests that in at least one instance included students
burning their draft cards. Racial tensions on campus became frayed in this period as well.
In one memorable instance, African American students confronted a group of White
students demanding an apology for a previous incident. Security guards used tear gas to
disperse the students and the African American students took over the chapel on campus.
These students refused to leave the chapel until they could talk with college leadership (Jones 1989). These instances and others like them were known about within the town community. In interviews with local community members who lived in these times respondents would talk about this time period as being “tense” or a “difficult period” but did not have much more to say when pressed for details. Perhaps, their young ages at the time of these events or a desire to present the local community in the best light was at play in their comments about these moments of tumult.

Manchester College has had a long history of inviting insightful and inciting speakers to campus. At various historical junctures guest speakers have be a source of division between the town and the college. The primary example of this was when Martin Luther King Jr. spoke at Manchester College in 1968. Martin Luther King Jr. was a polarizing guest speaker for several reasons. Originally, he was scheduled to speak in May of 1967 just following his declaration of opposition to the Vietnam War. In addition to his turn toward more broad justice issues such as poverty and the ongoing war, King was a towering figure of a Civil Rights Movement in the United States that had largely skipped over places like North Manchester. In his book written to commemorate the centennial of Manchester College, Timothy Jones wrote a retelling of some of the events of the day King was to speak on campus in 1967. “On the day he was to speak, remembers Professor of History David Waas, scores of people from the surrounding community arrived to protest King’s visit. A number of people walked around campus with placards scribbled with invectives, such as ‘Crucify the King.’...’We were ill-prepared,’ Waas recalls. ‘We had no idea there would be so much reaction” (1989).
Due to inclement weather, King’s visit was postponed. Months before his death in 1968, King spoke on campus in February.

Following the postponement of King’s trip to North Manchester, Manchester College president A. Blair Helman received many letters from various college constituencies including local community members urging the college to rescind its invitation to King to speak on campus. Helman refused to cancel and proceeded even though threats were made against him and Martin Luther King Jr. Manchester College attempted to appease local community members by having the 1964 Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater speak on campus one week after King (Jones 1989). Manchester College was the last college or university campus on which he would speak as he was assassinated roughly two months later. In addition to Martin Luther King Jr. other provocative guest speakers have come to campus throughout the years including Eleanor Roosevelt, Dick Gregory, Ralph Nader, and Jesse Jackson (Frantz 1964, Jones 1989).

The memory of these campus speakers lingers in the minds of many in the community even if they were not yet born when the events occurred. Depending on the speaker, the historical context of the speaking engagement has changed between the time it actually occurred and the present day. For example, Martin Luther King Jr. has largely been embraced as an American icon by present day White Americans where this has not always been the case.

The history of the town of North Manchester, Manchester University, and the Church of the Brethren denomination are intimately connected. It would be difficult to inquire about the history of the university, town, or denomination without including the
other two institutions. For example, from the moment David Howe expressed interest in moving the Roanoke Classical Seminary to North Manchester some of the underlying attractions for the town were related to economics.

Historical events and processes that happened in nineteenth century America also shaped the shared history of the local context. “Boosterism,” credentialing, and the advent of the availability of public high school all contributed to local actors’ decisions about local institutions. For example, twice the town raised capital to attract and then keep Manchester College in town. “Boosters” in North Manchester saw the wisdom in attracting and keeping a college. Having a college in town would mean having a cornerstone institution in the local economy. People from other places came to town specifically because of the college’s presence.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, the competition among towns was fierce. Just two miles outside of North Manchester a town called Liberty Mills is located. North Manchester and Liberty Mills are both on the Eel River and were platted just a year apart. In the 1800s many people thought Liberty Mills would become the economic hub of the northern part of the county instead of North Manchester. Having a college was part of what helped North Manchester grow while Liberty Mills dwindled in population.

Manchester University was and is a reason that many visit North Manchester. In the early days, largely through connections established by the Church of the Brethren, students from other countries attended the college. Today students from 20 countries attend Manchester University and would not have ever visited North Manchester if they did not attend the university (Manchester University 2017). In addition to other countries and other states, students and their families come to campus each fall to begin college and
again in the spring for graduation. These students and their families interact with the
town of North Manchester in a variety of ways while they are in town visiting the
university.

The town of North Manchester has viewed itself in a different way because of the
presence of Manchester University. These perceptions of town continue today, for
example, in interviews with local community members, I asked every participant if the
town was rural. Several participants responded that it would be a rural town if it did not
have a college. In their minds, having a college was something that set their town apart
from other towns with similar populations and distances to larger cities. Even if these
individuals were not associated with the university, they were glad to have the university
in town because of the institutionalized cultural capital that is afforded to higher
education in American society.

There have been a variety of economic benefits as the college and then the
university grew. Some of those benefits include the types of businesses and services that
are supported in town. These include a public pool and fitness center, a new early
learning center, medical and banking services as well as retail options not present in
many nonmetropolitan towns like North Manchester. Compared with towns and cities in
the surrounding area, there is a prevalent rental housing market in town as well. The
values and beliefs that make the Church of the Brethren unique also gave the college its
distinct history. Vernon Schwalm was the president of Manchester College from 1941 to
1956. During World War II Schwalm sought to strike a balance between the college’s
various constituencies while remaining true to his own positions on war and violence.
In 1942 Schwalm wrote, “I am still a pacifist in that I will not kill, and I want to uphold our pacifist students, but I am not an obstructionist nor an anarchist. I want to be a constructive, cooperative American citizen” (Jones 1989).

Throughout the history of the Church of the Brethren and Manchester University positions that one or both held to be true have manifested themselves in particular political and social positions. These positions have tended to be more progressive leaning at Manchester College and more conservative in rural congregations of the Church of the Brethren. The balance of values and actions has been precarious from time to time throughout the church and college’s shared history. This has been true even when a particular congregation has been in close geographic proximity to the college. Additionally, in some instances, townspeople and college students may have agreed in principle on a particular value but the outward expression of the two could be drastically different. During the era punctuated by protests of the Vietnam War Dr. L.Z. Bunker, an alum of the college and a North Manchester resident remembered being a college events and seeing students “barefoot and dirty and [in] ragged overalls” as they sat on the floor in the aisles of the auditorium (Jones 1989).

With an interconnected history, North Manchester and Manchester University continue their interactions in the present day in the midst of a more complex picture. And like earlier times, outside social forces are contributing to change. In 2012 Manchester College changed its name to Manchester University. This change was made to reflect the institution’s growing postgraduate programs. 2012 marked the opening of the Manchester University College of Pharmacy (Manchester University 2012). The College of Pharmacy was located 43 miles away in Fort Wayne. The creation and urban location of a pharmacy
program was done for several reasons. The College of Pharmacy provided Manchester University, a primarily tuition-dependent institution of higher education with a unique revenue stream. The College of Pharmacy set Manchester University apart from other colleges and universities in Indiana because it became only the third pharmacy program in the state. Having a presence in Fort Wayne, the second largest city in Indiana, was a significant move toward creating more of a regional presence. Consequently, one of the potential challenges of serving a larger region is being less connected to the local community of North Manchester.

Some of the ways in which Manchester University and in turn its relationship with the local community has changed are the reasons why students are attending college. Students have always pursued college in part to open the door to career options but credentialism has contributed to the need to go to college. Having a college degree is a credential that one has the same experiences, disposition, and outlook as those doing the hiring. These processes impact how students see their time at Manchester University. Rather than being there to learn, students are checking the necessary boxes to earn a degree and move on to the next step in life. This means that students are far less aware of world events, much less involved in activism. Pursuing education as a means to an end means that Manchester University students do not tend to go off campus into the local community and they are often at home on the weekends working at a part-time job.

Another way in which the picture of interactions between North Manchester and Manchester University is not as clear as it once may have been is because the world is a different place. There is no longer a military draft. Additionally, as the American
economy has shifted from manufacturing to service and technology industries attending college has become seen as the gateway to a middle or upper middle class lifestyle. In my interviews with local townspeople it was clear that people in town generally support the university and want the university to do well. Part of the reason for this is because the university has demonstrated durability that many other organizations and businesses in town have not. In the spring of 2018 one of the longest operating businesses in North Manchester, a foundry, called its employees to an afternoon meeting and abruptly announced it was closing immediately (Fenker 2018a). Originally, this business was called North Manchester Foundry when it opened in 1911 (Ringenberg 2006a). In the midst of these changes in the local economy, the university and two large retirement communities continue to operate. One of the retirement communities is affiliated with the Church of the Brethren. In addition to the local public school district, the retirement communities and the university are the largest employers in North Manchester (STATSIndiana 2018).

Urbanormativity provides a lens through which to view change in the interactions between Manchester University and the town of North Manchester. The questions remain as to how this work will change the interactions between town and university going forward. One example of the university becoming more of a regional presence is in the development of new academic programs. In the spring of 2018 Manchester University President Dr. Dave McFadden announced to the campus that the university would be pursuing a new set of goals that would lead to establishing Manchester University as the leading provider of healthcare education in the region (McFadden 2018). The healthcare education initiatives will be built on success the university has had in forming the College
of Pharmacy. The healthcare education initiatives include things such as starting an undergraduate nursing major.

The communications president McFadden has had with various university constituencies suggest that many of the future endeavors in healthcare education will be located in Fort Wayne. In the middle of the 20th century half of the student body came from the Church of the Brethren. Today the number of students coming to Manchester University from Church of the Brethren congregations is slightly more than three percent of the total undergraduate student population (Manchester University 2017).

Following the occupation of the campus chapel by African American students, the administration responded by establishing a center on campus operated by Black students in 1970. The AAFRO House was named for the Black student organization of the same name. AAFRO stood for Afro-Americans Forming Rightful Objectives (Jones 1989). The AAFRO House was the forerunner of the Intercultural Center. The Intercultural Center intended to reach out to all domestic and international, ethnic and racial minority students.

In the fall of 2018 a newly constructed Intercultural Center will open as a “front door” to the university on the south end of campus. At the groundbreaking ceremony for this building president McFadden shared that the intended vision for this new building was to become a resource for the Northeast Indiana region. These examples point out the attention that Manchester University has placed on becoming a significant player in the region, which means investing less in being an institution of significance in the local community. One of the outcomes that will come from them as a result is unintended. As the university moves to strengthen its ties to the larger region, the ties to the local community...
community and the church denomination that have had such a close shared history will continue to loosen. The disconnection of these local ties is one of the ways in which urbanormative culture has shaped the Manchester University and the town of North Manchester.

Today, the urbanormativity cultural ideology creates new conflicts and challenges to the interactions between the university and local community. Urbanormativity subtly shapes the interactions (and the lack thereof) between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University and frames structural issues within the larger social system. Manchester University continues to take physical and figurative steps toward the city by developing academic programs and friendships with Fort Wayne-based philanthropists. As the history of the town, university, and the Church of the Brethren enter a new chapter the rural context of these relationships is being cast off. One way this has already occurred is that the university president’s cabinet is made up of six individuals. Four of the six of these individuals live in the greater Fort Wayne area. The decisions of where to live was informed partly by the need for these individuals to spend time on both the Fort Wayne and North Manchester campuses. However, the individuals that live in the Fort Wayne area also told me about their desire or that of their families to live nearer to amenities not offered in a small town such as big box stores and anonymity.

Much has changed since the institution now known as Manchester University first came to North Manchester in the late nineteenth century. The population of the United States is even larger and more urbanized. High school is compulsory and now a bachelor’s degree is increasingly considered a baseline credential replacing a high school diploma. Alternatively, many things have stayed the same. Urbanormativity was a
powerful cultural ideology in the past and it continues in the modern era. These broad forces in society contribute to change in all local contexts including the one I investigated in this dissertation.

Although the historic base of the university is located in North Manchester, the university continues to move philosophically away from the town of North Manchester. As one local community member remarked in an interview, “I bet you I couldn’t name more than two faculty members up at the college.” The “college” as it is still referred to by many local people feels less like a neighbor than in previous times.
“Do you know what Whole Foods is?”

During the academic year the entire undergraduate faculty made of approximately 75 members gathers for a monthly faculty meeting. These meetings are held to allow faculty to discuss, work, and vote on various information. Additionally, the undergraduate program at Manchester University is divided into four colleges. Each college functions as a division of the larger university, for example, the College of Education and Social Sciences includes faculty members from disciplines such as communications, criminal justice, economics, education, history, political science, psychology, social work, and sociology (Manchester University 2018c). When these meetings end there is small talk among colleagues from different departments.

At the conclusion of a faculty meeting, Alicia, a faculty member who has been at Manchester University for many years asked Dave if he lived in town. Dave was new to the university. He responded saying he lived in a larger city and commuted to North Manchester. After saying where he lived, Dave noticed the surprise on Alicia’s face because his commute is longer than an hour one way. Dave responded by saying, “I know this sounds odd but do you know what Whole Foods is?” Alicia nodded to say that she knew of the trendy grocery store. Dave then said, “Being able to shop at Whole Foods helps with the transition to Indiana.” I observed several moments such as this one during my fieldwork. This vignette highlights the importance of living in proximity to urban amenities and that since North Manchester is a rural place, the people there would not know what Whole Foods is. Not only have preferences for living near urban amenities

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8 Pseudonyms were used to protect the identities of individuals.
changed the structure of the local context but also assumptions exist that local people do not know about the world beyond their small town.

This sketch came from field notes made while doing participant observations in faculty meetings throughout the course of the past two years. Throughout the academic year there are different types of meetings in which faculty gather on a regular basis. Attending these meetings provided a unique opportunity to observe how urbanormative ideas and values result in structural change in this particular context.

The concept of urbanormativity is shaped by Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital. Urban-oriented cultural capital is used to differentiate tastes and preferences of urbane from those that are rustic. For example, when a faculty member shares preferences in where to purchase food it is not just about the kinds of food available. The preference is to be able to shop in an upscale grocery store only located in urban areas. Organic foods including meat and dairy are available in stores, at farms, and at the farmers’ market in the local context.

In Bourdieu’s seminal work on social class and cultural capital Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste people who have newly ascended to the bourgeoisie social class are surveyed to discover what they find to be aesthetically pleasing and what they consider ugly or gaudy. These people attempt to answer questions in ways they think fit with bourgeoisie aesthetic choices because distinctions such as these differentiate between social classes (Bourdieu 1984). When I interviewed people I asked them questions about lifestyle expectations in relation to the location of North Manchester and Manchester University. The responses I received indicated that there
were “right” and “wrong” answers to these questions based on the assumption that urban cultural capital is more valuable than rural cultural capital.

Previous research inquiries into the processes of urbanormativity have focused on portrayals or representations of rural life (Fulkerson and Lowe 2016, Hayden 2014, Jicha 2016, McKay 2016). I investigated urbanormative processes on the ground in a particular locality. The results in this chapter move beyond cultural representations of urban bias and urbanormativity such as in film and television. What I found contributes to the concept of urbanormativity by explaining the complexities and contradictions of how urbanormativity plays out in everyday interactions. Urbanormative conceptualizations have structural implications because they are mobilized in decision-making. Urbanormative cultural ideology played out in concrete ways for people as they explained the anti-idyllic and idyllic aspects of the local context. Respondents discussed their views of the local context prior to coming to work and or live in the local context. Interviewees also expressed their views from within the local context. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the difficult position of a rural, private university caught between a rock and hard place as urbanormative cultural expectations help to create and maintain structural inequality.

**Extending the Concept of Urbanormativity**

Throughout my time conducting interviews and conducting participant observation in the field, I gathered data regarding the implicit and explicit ways in which urbanormativity is maintained in a local context. Urbanormativity positions urban as correct, forward thinking, and desirable. Conversely, rural is backwards, simple, and
deviant. The urbanormative cultural ideology paves the way for structural domination of rural people and places (Thomas et al. 2011).

Moments such as the one in the vignette at the beginning of the chapter elucidate a model I have created that is indicative of the ways in which urbanormativity presents itself in everyday life in a concretized local context by incorporating the rural idyll literature. Urban cultural capital lies at the core of urbanormativity. This was particularly evident in the responses of newer faculty members. These individuals are often in the beginning of their careers and as a result, they are aspiring members of the bourgeoisie. Because of their ascendance they gave responses that may be what they actually feel but their responses may also be evidence of what they think people in the class positions they want to achieve would say.

The rural idyll is an urban social construction as a contrast to the city (Bell 2006). The rural idyll is representative of “real” America. The rural idyll consists of imagery and symbols that are nostalgic for the unchanging tranquility and stability of pastoral scenes where face-to-face community is located (Halfacree 1996). Anti-idyll is a counterpoint to the rural idyll and it is also an urban construction (Yarwood 2005). If idyllic scenes are “not-modern in a good way” then anti-idyllic situations are “not modern in a bad way” (Bell 2006:150). One example of anti-idyllic views of the local context was when respondents talked about North Manchester being in the middle of nowhere. The middle of nowhere is an urbanormative idea that supports classic theories of urbanization such as the concentric zones model (Park and Burgess 2012). In the concentric zones model of urbanization cities develop the outer zones into a void of nothingness. In other words, non-urban places must be made invisible so that urban places can expand their zones.
The concepts of the rural anti-idyll and idyll are present in Michael Bell’s argument for an interplay of what he refers to as the “first rural” and the “second rural.” The first rural or the material rural in which rural is thought of as being places of lower population density, space, and locations of primary production. On the other hand, the second rural is the ideal moment of rural or representation of rural such as anti-idyllic and idyllic views of rural places (Bell 2007). Rural and urban places are increasingly interdependent of each other making it unclear where rural ends and urban begins. In spite of these interconnections or perhaps because of the blurring of boundaries, the rural idyll and anti-idyll are embraced (Lichter and Brown 2011).

I found that in this local context, the urbanormative cultural ideology produced anti-idyllic and idyllic perceptions. Interview participants presented anti-idyllic and idyllic ideas in different ways. People who relocated to this area from other places talked about the ways in which they viewed the local context from afar. Alternatively, people who have been in the local context for a number of years related their views of the place in different ways. In contrast to the anti-idyllic and idyllic descriptions of the local context, interview participants also viewed urban places in idyllic and anti-idyllic ways. I argue that these results move urbanormativity beyond a simplistic narrative of urban perpetrators and rural victims. In this setting urbanormativity was not a diabolical plan of urban people. Instead people’s actions and thoughts displayed an urbanormative ideology in ways that were “indirect, nonstrategic, and accidental” (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014). Ultimately, the ways in which outsiders and insiders view the local context have concrete implications for the local context that will change the social structure moving forward.
The concrete outcomes of urbanormativity in this local context reveal the power differentials that result from unequal accumulations of urban cultural capital.

“Here I wanted to do my due diligence before”: The Rural Anti-Idyll

The rural idyll literature was informative as I made sense of how urbanormativity was in action in the local context. The overarching urbanormative culture constructs images of rural people and places. One the ways these urban-based images are created is in an anti-idyllic way. Interview respondents were accepting of the presence of the rural idyll because it was pleasing to their ideas of what a rural place should be. However, not all of what is rural fits into the rural idyll. The other kinds of rural or anti-idyll are feared or at least things to be avoided if possible. Ultimately, both the anti-idyll notions of the rural underbelly and idyllizations that other different forms of rural life are both urban constructs (Bell 1997). Participants shared the anti-idyll ideas they had of the local context when they recalled their activities and thought processes when they considered the possibility of relocating to the area to live and or work. Participants also revealed anti-idyllic sentiments even when they had lived in the local context for a number of years.

I found several distinct facets of the anti-idyllization of the local context. In general, nonurban places such as this one are permeated by nothingness. Rural places have characteristics but these characteristics do not include amenities often found in urban places. The characteristics that are found in rural places are to be avoided because of their undesirability. When interviewees talked about how they viewed the local context prior to arriving they took a one size fits all approach. All rural places have the same
basic characteristics. These characteristics include a lack of culture and racism among others.

**Question: What’s in Indiana? Answer: Nothing: The Anti-Idyllic View From Afar**

Some of the people I interviewed moved to live and or work in North Manchester or the surrounding area. Because many interview respondents relocated from other places at some point prior to talking with me I was able to ask questions pertaining to how they thought of the local context of North Manchester and Manchester University before they actually accepted a job or moved to the area. Interviewees viewed and thought about the possibilities of coming to the area showed that people had anti-idyllic ideas about North Manchester as a rural place. These urbanormative images cast rural people and places as backward, uneducated, or violent. These negative ideas about rural life oppose the rural idyll. The local context conjured up impulses of dread or at least hesitancy (Bell 2006). In other words, interview respondents talked in ways that display urban life as normal and desired and rural life as deviant and undesirable or intolerable (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014).

One of the most significant ways respondents revealed anti-idyllic views of the local context was in the ways they explained to others where they would be going when they were considering relocating to the local community or region. In interviews, people had anti-idyll images of what life in North Manchester would be like. When family and friends would hear about the possibility of relocating to the North Manchester area respondents were met with dismay. Anti-idyllic views ranged from derision to fear.

In one instance, a respondent recalled a joke his family taught his young child learning to speak. “What’s in Indiana?” the child would ask. Then the young child would
respond with the punch line: “nothing.” In the minds of this person’s relatives, not only was North Manchester devoid of interesting activities or anything that mattered to urban people, but the entire state of Indiana typified the “flyover state” concept. Flyover states are places to pass through or over on the way to “real” places where life and activity abound.

One member of the local community recalled his thoughts of leaving the greater Chicago area to move to North Manchester. Prior to coming to live in Indiana, not only did he think of the local context as rural, he thought of the entire state as a rural place. In this case, rural was synonymous with a lack of places to buy things he wanted or encounter interesting people. This rural place was a boring space with nothing but farm fields compared to the excitement of the suburbs of Chicago.9

A common theme throughout the data collected from interviews was a belief that North Manchester is in the middle of nowhere. The middle of nowhere suggests space and distance but it is also a suggestion regarding the cultural aspects of space and place such as a lack of urban lifestyle including shopping, restaurants, and the arts. The thought that the local context was the middle of nowhere was not used in a way to suggest escape from the stresses of urban life. Instead, the middle of nowhere signified anti-idyllic qualities of boredom and simplicity. In one interview, a respondent talked about how his family sees where he lives:

“My brothers all live in big cities across the country. All of them think I live in the middle of nowhere…they’re all like, ‘yeah, you live nowhere.’”

9 Anyone who has spent any time in the suburbs of Chicago knows that there are few farm fields there but a strong sense of sameness is present in the innumerable strip malls, chain restaurants, and apartment complexes.
Other interviewees spoke about lifestyle expectations. North Manchester seemed nice if somewhat simple but could not offer the depth and breadth of activities and consumer options they were used to living in larger communities.

In an interview, the respondent talked about taking a position at the university and deciding not to relocate to the local community but to make a long commute instead:

“Probably if I had thought it through a little bit more, we still would have stayed even if we didn't have kids just because I would have felt like, well a, basically half the year, one hour each way commute to live in a place that did have a lot of what they don't have here probably would have been worth it. You know, even though it, it does take a lot out of you to drive a large distance to let's say avoid the one stoplight town.”

This response points out the tradeoffs one makes in life to avoid living in a rural place. In this person’s situation there are a variety of reasons to limit and even avoid interaction with the local context. Uprooting children to change schools and social networks as well as moving from a diversity of restaurants and shopping opportunities are seen as more significant negatives than hours each day spent driving.

Similarly to the view that North Manchester is nowhere is the position that there is no culture in North Manchester. What is meant in these statements is not literal in that the local community is a cultural vacuum but that there is an assumption that there is no culture such as fine art, classical music, or movie theaters in the local community. One interviewee responded to a question about what considerations went into selecting where to live:

“What we found…in looking at the town…that town itself did not necessarily offer everything as far as food options, cultural options, education for my family that we desired…And so, this area, although it's quaint and it's sweet, and it's everybody knowing each other, and there is definitely a benefit to that, for us, we were looking for all the added dimensions that a, living in a suburb of a large metropolis would offer…So, it's a thriving arts scene, it's the orchestra, it's the museums.”
There is an assumption that there are no cultural activities such as ethnic food, classical music, visual arts, theater, or live music available in the North Manchester community.\textsuperscript{10}

The ascendant bourgeoisie class position is apparent here in that the respondent listed amenities that he believes the urban bourgeoisie enjoy. Additionally, in this instance living near these cultural amenities in a suburb and having to drive into the city is preferred.

In my data collection, culture was also a word used to describe ethnic and racial diversity. The default view is the local community is devoid of ethnic and racial diversity.

In one interview, the respondent spoke about the lack of racial and ethnic diversity in North Manchester and other rural localities in the region:

“On my way to the campus interview I passed by little towns and didn't feel comfortable...And I just, you know, didn't want to live, and when I talked with others they said, yeah we agree, you shouldn't be going up there with, you know, those racists and all that. So, originally they agreed that, you know, I shouldn't come here. But then, when I did more research and you know, at the time was going to possibly live in Fort Wayne and they said okay, that's fine for you to work in Manchester and live Fort Wayne.\textsuperscript{11}”

In this case, rural localities represent danger, violence, and backward thinking regarding racial and ethnic differences. The diversity that is present such as Amish and old-order German Baptists is not the right kind of diversity. There is a sizeable Latino population in the local context. Conversely, the city offers safe haven from the fears of rural localities.

Rural places including North Manchester and the entire states such as of Indiana are painted with the same brush when thinking about space, amenities, and culture.

Similarly to this, interviews produced a theme of other kinds of homogeneity. Examples

\textsuperscript{10} All three of these examples of high culture are present in North Manchester.

\textsuperscript{11} In addition to a growing Latino population in North Manchester, the racial, ethnic, and religious diversity includes populations of old-order German Baptists and Amish.
of this include homologous politics and assumptions that the local community would be racially bigoted. With the 2016 presidential election fresh on his mind, one university faculty member recalled being concerned about the lack of diversity of personal politics given that the Republican vice presidential nominee had been the governor of Indiana. An assumption that the only political views held by an entire local community are conservative is a precarious position let alone the political views of an entire state.

Expectations of rural political views include the presumption of racism. This is one of the ways rural people and places are cast as uneducated and undesirable. From the outside looking in at North Manchester and Manchester University some people reasoned that if the state votes for particular political candidates and most of the students at the university come from the state then there is reason to be concerned about the worldviews of students. Interestingly, assumptions about the students did not crossover to assumptions about the politics of future colleagues.

Beyond political views an assumptions from outside the local community were made about the beliefs and values of the North Manchester community. The urbanormative view of the local community was that everyone thinks and acts in the same ways. The North Manchester community was seen as being homogenous in beliefs and values. One respondent described the community and the reasons why he decided not to live in town when he considered taking a position at Manchester University. In this place you have, he stated:

“One elementary school, middle school, and high school. You have a community that's very homogenous in their beliefs…their workforce that's very much centered in certain industries and there's not a lot of diversity beyond that. So, within the workforce, within the beliefs, for me this is a rural community.”
These comments expose an urbanormative lens that suggests reasons why all rural people think and believe alike. This respondent alludes to the preservation of a Gemeinschaft community (Tönnies 2012). The anti-idyllic view of community present in these remarks is that the perception of community solidarity has kept various forms of diversity out.

Rural people in a particular community go to one school where everyone is taught the same things. These people attend the same church or type of churches and these churches preach the same message. Following school, rural people are engaged in a narrow list of industries primarily related to agriculture, natural resource extraction, and manufacturing. All of these activities supposedly ensure that entire rural communities will remain narrow-minded and simple in their shared worldview.

“*There’s nothing to do here*”: The Anti-Idyllic View from Within

Anti-idyll was not exclusive to how people thought about the local context prior to relocation. People who had been in the local context for a number of years also expressed anti-idyllic views of their surroundings. Although there were similarities in how views from afar and from within expressed the anti-idyll, the views from within were more complex. Local people consider their location to be rural but see anti-idyllic elements around them. They may be rural in a good way but rural in a bad way is nearby.

In developing and maintaining a sense of place, locals expressed how their town was not like others of similar size and in similar locations. A primary example of how North Manchester is different is that Manchester University is located there and most similar places did not have this differentiating feature of an institution of higher education. Another complexity of how locals expressed anti-idyllic views is that they are tainted by another rurality. This other rurality is the historical presence of an Appalachian
or Southern influence in the county where North Manchester is located. Because of the Appalachian or Southern influence in the county, residents of North Manchester see themselves as separate from the rest of the rural county.

There were several anti-idyllic themes shared by interview respondents that display the processes in which the urbanormative ideology shapes rurality as deviant or undesirable. Talking about reasons many local community members do not attend events at Manchester University, some respondents said it was because most local people have no interest in arts or culture. One longtime community member discussed her upbringing and how that differs for many other community residents:

“I had a lot of exposure as a child, we traveled as a family . . . we attended . . . programs, public programs, musical things, lectures [at the university], and I feel like I had a pretty, intellectually, a cosmopolitan view of the world more so than [most] . . . I'm not sure that describes the town of North Manchester.”

While this person differentiates herself from the rest of the community. She expresses the anti-idyllic view that the rest of the community is simple or backwards.

Travel or the lack of travelling experience is another way urbanormativity casts rural people as unworldly and lacking experience. Urban people may have more experience with travel but it also may be that the idea conveyed here is that just being in an urban area will give one a wealth of experience and diversity. Interview respondents talked about how they thought people in North Manchester have not travelled beyond their local region. One community member stated,

“My sense is, maybe the same in any rural community anywhere in North America, lot of people haven't had any experience outside the county. Some not outside the state. So, there's a whole vacuum, I feel, in their experience. And then, that shows in how they live and how they think and how...they act. So, I just feel like people need a bigger picture of the world . . .”
In this quotation it is apparent that local residents view lack of travel as being a contributing factor of backward or simple behavior in the local community. Interestingly, this respondent specifically points out that all North American rural communities are the same in that people living in these places lack firsthand knowledge of the world beyond the local boundaries. Furthermore, like other interviewees, this person points out that she is not like the rest of the community or like the rest of rural people when it comes to having experiences beyond the local context.

Respondents also talked about what local people seek out when they do travel out of town. One community member commented,

“It's not about finding experiences or anything because they'll drive to Fort Wayne and then eat at a Wendy's. Well we don't have a Wendy's I guess so maybe there you go.”

Another respondent stated,

“I mean I know people here who are scared to drive to Fort Wayne and if they do go to Fort Wayne they only eat at a place like Chili's or someplace that's real well-known nationally . . . Really? You know there's a whole bunch of funky little restaurants there . . .”

These types of statements reinforce the idea of how isolation, a lack of diversity of experiences, and simple thinking are linked together. Interestingly, people who lived in the local community shared all of these comments with me but excluded themselves when thinking about ways to describe the local populace. This is an example of how anti-idyllic views of longtime residents are complex. A sense of place, idyllic views of community, and anti-idyllic views are present in how local residents see their community. It is not an “all or nothing” situation but instead, one that is “both and.”
The perception of being remote is idyllic when presented with images of glacier-fed lakes or a cabin in the woods. However, when people described North Manchester as being in the “middle of nowhere” remoteness or the perception of being remote was meant in a decidedly anti-idyllic way. In describing the local community a resident stated, “you can drive not quite half an hour in any direction before you come to any significant town and, and almost all of the time that you're driving, you're going through farm fields . . . and that's all you see for twenty minutes in any direction.” Several interview respondents talked about the presence of a Wal-Mart as a marker of civilization. A community member said, “We don't have a Wal-Mart here but within twenty minutes or a half hour you can go two different directions and you can get a Wal-Mart.” For people in my dissertation research, Wal-Mart was a source for a multitude of goods especially if the need for something is pressing. On the other hand, for urbane people, a Wal-Mart could be seen as an artifact of rural life. In North Manchester there is no Wal-Mart at all lending to feeling of isolation felt by many local community members.

Another part of what is meant by being in the “middle of nowhere” is a lack of amenities found in urban areas like activities, restaurants, and shopping. Alternatively, being in the “middle of nowhere” means being located in a void. A common phrase that local residents used in describing their community was that there was “nothing to do.” One interview respondent discussed what she believed to be a challenge for the town and the university:

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“So I think that one of the biggest disadvantages the town has is a such a
dearth of things to do. We have no movie house and that's becoming less
of a problem as everybody sees stuff on Netflix . . . There is almost no
entertainment in this town. There's no interesting shopping . . . There's no
interesting restaurant. There's the Mexican restaurant, which is pretty
decent . . . So I think that the biggest problem this town has . . . is a lack of
things to amuse yourself . . .”

The perception that there is nothing to do can be translated through the
urbanormative lens, as “there are no urban amenities” or there are no amenities associated
with urban cultural capital. It is not that there literally nothing to do, it is that the quality
of urban as normal and desirable means that activity and amenities located in the city are
preferred to the point where rural activity and amenities are rendered invisible.

Lastly, a clear anti-idyllic theme of residents in and around North Manchester was
the long held knowledge that Wabash County, the county in which North Manchester is
located had a Southern or Appalachian influence. When the Southern or Appalachian
influence was used it was usually by way of replacing the word “Wabash” with the word
“Wabatucky.” Each time a reference was made to Southern or Appalachian influence I
asked about the origin of this information. People were often unclear about how it started
but they generally placed the origins in one of several employment migration periods.13
Talking about a Southern or Appalachian influence was meant in a way that contributed
to the anti-idyll in my participant observations or interviews.

In one interview a university employee talked about why he would define the
local community as rural:

“Another component that kind of contributes to that ruralness I think is the
Southern flavor, the Kentucky-ness that comes up. Wabash is known as
"Wabatucky" and I think it kind of comes up to about where we are
[referring to the Northern half of the county] and then northern Indiana has

a different flavor. There's definitely, some people have called it the South's middle finger, but I prefer just to think of it as southern influence.”

Another resident suggested the Southern or Appalachian flavor became a part of Wabash County early in the county’s history and helped to create a difference in the kinds of people living in the North Manchester community and in and around the city of Wabash, which is the county seat. She stated,

“Southern Wabash County, a lot of people came in on the [Erie] Canal. Scotch-Irish. People from Kentucky, so you have a different, um, uh, a little feistier they're, they're not as willing to sort of agree and compromise and that's been the history…”

The idea in this statement is that North Manchester may be rural but not the negative kinds of rural like the southern half of the county.

A faculty member spoke about how people in academia rank regions of the United States: “There's the coasts which are civilized, there's the Midwest which was seen as . . . not the most sophisticated and then everyone looked down on the South.” This quote is a good summation of how people would speak of a Southern or Appalachian flavor within the local community. When this descriptor was used it was meant to suggest that the local community was tinged with the deviance of different kind of rurality other than the one in they locate themselves. This anti-idyllic, other rurality is produced by urbanormativity. Through an urbanormative lens urban people and places are normal whereas rural ones are deviant producing images of violence and backward thinking. Quotes such as the one above allude to the addition of unequal power differentials that come from including culture to the inequality of space and place.
“We have a covered bridge. How cute is that?”: The Rural Idyll

Urbanormative cultural ideology produces an urban-generated rural idyll. The rural idyll is rural life as idyllic or romanticized construction. The contrast of a rural other or anti-idyll contributes meaning to the rural idyll (Short 2006). The concept of the rural idyll allowed me to see how the views of interview respondents were created by urbanormativity. Powerful imagery of rural places as repositories of best values of America such as the moral value of agriculture (e.g. hard work, faith, family, and gratitude) were among the ways interviewees conveyed the rural idyll to me (Short 2006).

When I talked with newer residents about their views, they shared their ideas and assumptions of the idyllic nature of the local context. In these ways, the urban construct of the rural idyll shaped the perceptions of what people hoped they would find in relocating to the area. Conversely, locals were influenced by the rural idyll in their perceptions but also how they physically built their town. By this, I do not mean the original building of the town but the ways different groups in town planned and then implemented restoration and preservation projects that would help to physically present the town in idyllic ways pleasing to the urban gaze. An example of these projects included the downtown business district façade project in which building owners could receive grant money to renovate their building according to specific style guidelines developed by an organization called Manchester Main Street. In this context, the rural idyll is invoked and rural is posited as a contrast to the urban. Essentially, rurality does not have its own qualities separate from urbanity.
“I wanted a smaller, saner life for me and my family”: The Idyllic View From Afar

After reading about the ways in which people saw where they would eventually relocate as anti-idyllic it may be difficult to understand why anyone would make the move if it were not necessary. However, there were also ways in which people saw the North Manchester community and Manchester University as idyllic. These idyllic views of the local context were as consistent as anti-idyllic views that saw rurality in negative terms.

At first glance, these themes might be taken as positive features of North Manchester and Manchester University. These themes are indicative of how the urban gaze casts some aspects of rural people and places as desirable. However, urban desires reinforce the idea that rural places are constructed in service to the urban. Idyllic rural places are seen as repositories of American values such as community building, wholesomeness, honesty, and hard work. The rural idyll is located in cultural representations of rurality (Bell 2007). Idyllic scenes of livestock lounging in fields, peace and quiet, and places where kids can safely play outside are all aspects of the rural idyll (Bell 2006). Idyllic rural places are also seen as peaceful and simplistic areas in which to escape the fast-paced, action-oriented, and stress-inducing creativity and productive urban life.

From the outside of the local context interviewees talked about the idyllic aspects of rurality. Interviewees made assumptions about North Manchester because it is a rural place. One of these assumptions was that it would be a safe place. For some people with children the belief that the local community was safe was a primary reason they decided to live in the area. One respondent stated,
“I actually like living in a rural community, that's why I've chosen to continue to be here. I think it's a good thing because...I know that my kid's going to go to school here and probably know who all of his classmates are and the odds are pretty good that there's not going to be a violent day or violent occurrence there. I know that, I like being in a community where I know the other people around me and so I know the kids that he's going to go to school with and I know their parents because I work with them or have some sort of interaction with them.”

One of the questions I asked every respondent in interviews is how they would describe the North Manchester community to someone who has never been there. One common response was a quick “small town U.S.A.” or “typical small town Indiana.” In this way the rural idyll as definitional of national values was presented (Lichter and Brown 2011). There is a collection of expectations included in this type of response. Part of that collection of expectations is that North Manchester will be a place full of honest and good people. Fundamentally, the type of people that live in the idyllic “small town U.S.A.” I interviewed a local resident who had moved from a large metropolitan area. This interviewee spoke about her expectations of people in North Manchester being honest and good:

“I would say, I came very unaware to the town. I thought nobody in North Manchester would take advantage of me. I was very trusting...I think the people in Manchester are very... wary of change from anyone from the outside. There's, there used to be, I don't know, I'm learning about these things. There used to be a population of swingers, of, of wife swappers, have you heard about that?”

An urbanormative ideology of the rural idyll includes viewing places like North Manchester as being populated with people guided by Protestant Christianity to work hard and build community together. What is expected in a rural community is wholesomeness that is incongruent with sexual exploration and promiscuity. What is unspoken in these images of idyllic wholesomeness is the simplicity of work, belief, and
thought. What produces this belief in rural simplicity is the idea that underpins their worldviews is that rural people are simple, aware of their simplicity, and content with their lot in life.

Another aspect of how the North Manchester community was seen from afar in idyllic ways was that it was expected to be clean. One respondent spoke about her expectations of North Manchester in moving from a large city in the United States: “I imagined this pristine, welcoming community.” Recall that previously it was stated that the urbanormative ideology positions space as void. A more positive but no less dominating view of space is that rural communities are far from cities and therefore are expected to be spoiled by pollution due to traffic, larger populations, and industry. Because rural people do not do anything, they cannot generate waste. The disconnection from urban places (e.g. small population, lack of economic innovation or activity, etc.) renders the rural idyll as unspoiled.

These expectations and assumptions of a rural local context were made before people came to the area and experienced daily life. Although people expressed various views shaped by urbanormativity regarding Indiana, North Manchester, and or Manchester University, ultimately they all came to the local community or surrounding region. In addition to the urbanormative gaze from outside the local context, there were many moments from within the local context in which the urbanormative cultural ideology was evident.

**A Diamond in the Rough: Idyllic Views From Within**

While I did find expression of the rural idyll in views from afar, much more often I found idyllic views of the local context from within. Whether they lived in the North
Manchester Community or lived in a city and commuted to work at Manchester University, people revealed the rural idyll in their comments about the local context. Interview respondents were asked a variety of questions about the local community of North Manchester and the responses included evidence of how urbanormativity constructs the rural idyll.

One of the most common ways people saw North Manchester was that it was friendly and honest. These comments show that local people see themselves and their neighbors as the salt of the earth and this local context is the type of place populated by reliable, hardworking, and trustworthy people. Interview respondents would comment about the sense of community in North Manchester. Some of the aspects of the sense of community included the large number of churches and small number of bars. Another part of the sense of community was the perception that there is a significant portion of the town’s population that is retired or elderly. One town resident stated,

“I believe . . . compared to urban environments . . . the feeling is you have more folks that will lend you sugar if you knock on a door. You know? Can I borrow some flour?”

Quotations such as the previous one show that people in North Manchester believe they are the type of rural place that embodies the best of who Americans are. In doing so, they take part in the building of the urbanormative construction of rurality that is idyllic. The urbanormative construction of rurality makes unwholesome activity invisible or hidden and assumes positive American values do not exist in urban areas.

Interview respondents often described the North Manchester community as being quaint. That something or somewhere is quaint refers to nostalgic imagery of rural American places abound with that which is right and good. Red fire engines, shopkeepers
sweeping the sidewalk in front of their businesses, and American flags flapping in the breeze are examples of what is meant when quaintness was invoked. This fits with the urbanormative construction of rurality that is made up of idyllic aspects of rural places. When people were asked to describe what makes the North Manchester community quaint they often pointed out physical features. One example of this was when a community woman told me she loved how wide Main Street is and that the parking on Main Street is still on a slant. Another community resident stated, “Well first of all, we have a covered bridge. How cute is that? We have all sorts of wonderful Victorian buildings.”

Fitting closely with the views of North Manchester as a trustworthy and quaint place were ideas that is also a safe place. Time and again, interview respondents remarked that unlike cities, the North Manchester community was a safe place to raise a family, to live if one was elderly, or to do business. When respondents share comments about the idyllic aspects of their community they invoke an urban anti-idyll. The urban anti-idyll is apparent in notions that cities are dangerous places full of violence and isolation from community. Rather than being resistance to the urbanormative cultural ideology, the urban anti-idyll is another reminder that rural places exist only in contrast to urban places. Without urban places rurality is invisible.

Comments such as this one typifies these beliefs,

“It’s a safer community, you know more people, you kind of know their business, versus an urban, I don't think I'd knock on someone's door for fear of getting shot or rejected or not even answer the door, right?”

Safety is a concept that has multiple meanings. Taken on its face, when respondents talked about safety, they believe they are safe from the kinds of violence that occur in
cities. Safety also means there are very few people who are not white and none of the town officials or members of law enforcement are people of color. Another way safety is felt by people in the local context is that it is quiet place. There is little activity going on from day to day or at least this is the perception of residents when they make references to the town as “Mayberry” or that “Andy Taylor would love it here.” A town that is sleepy and boring is also a safe place.

Interviewees expressed anti-idyllic views of the local context as they were considering relocating to the North Manchester area as well as by residents who had been there for years. Idyllic views were also expressed by newcomers as well by respondents who already living in the local context. The anti-idyllic and idyllic views are an expression of the urbanormative cultural ideology. Both anti-idyllic and idyllic views of the local context rely on the primacy of urbanity as something against which to compare rurality. An example of these processes was expressed in how urban places were seen as idyllic in the minds of interviewees.

**Urban Idyll**

Up to this point only rural places have been constructed as idyllic. However, a core piece of urbanormativity is that urban places are not just normal but also desirable. As society is shaped by a cultural ideology that constructs urban places desirable the city has its own idyll. Furthermore, the social construction of the urban idyll papers over the grittiness and violence that are often associated with urban life. In the urban idyll, urban cultural capital comes close to economic capital because not all urban settings fit with the urban idyll. Interview respondents were explicit and implicit in how they saw urban places as idyllic.
The urban idyll is a collection of idealized visions of the opportunities, diversity, and amenities present in cities (Hoskins and Tallon 2004). In the interviews I conducted assumptions were often made about the shortcomings of the local context compared to urban places. Cities were idyllized when interview respondents wanted to contrast the backwards nature of where they were located. The urban idyll does not exist independent of rural anti-idyll but instead as a counter. The urban idyll also counters the urban anti-idyllic images of urban poverty, violence, and blight.

One way the urban idyll was presented in the interviewing process was that some faculty and staff members who identify as LGBTQ assumed life will be easier if they considered living in a larger city and commuting to work in North Manchester. Similarly to racial and ethnic diversity concerns urban places are idyllic because of the assumed higher level of acceptance with which differences are received in the city. The contrast of this is that the local context seen as anti-idyllic in the assumption that rural people are universally closed off, offended by, or even violent towards LGBTQ identities.

Some members of the university administration mentioned the attraction of positions they had sought at the university in part because the university has a college of pharmacy located in Fort Wayne, the second largest city in Indiana. One interview respondent stated,

“I would not have come to this…to the university… because I would have felt an obligation to live in North Manchester…so, we chose specifically Fort Wayne and it was easily justifiable because we [the university] have a huge presence.”

The rural anti-idyll and urban idyll go hand in hand in this quote. If Manchester University did not have a significant presence in a city then the university believes it would have a difficult time attracting qualified job candidates because these people, who
may be ascendant bourgeoisie, are the kind of people who are disinterested in living a rural context.

Employees at Manchester University often viewed cities as being idyllic sources of amusement and commerce. This was one reason when interviewing at Manchester University, employees stated that they began to plan to live outside of the North Manchester community. One employee talked about her thought process in considering where to live: “I was searching for a more urban area and when I came to interview, I really enjoyed North Manchester…but because of the lifestyle I desired I would not live in North Manchester.” The lifestyle expectations some employees have exist in the city because of the urban idyll in which city is viewed as amenity rich. When I asked one Manchester University employee what considerations he took into account in choosing where to live he stated, “for me it was ability to get to what I would call civilization…the ability to get to a store, theater, restaurants, entertainment is how I really chose where I was going to live.” This comment differentiates urban places from rural ones in that urban represents civilization whereas rural places are absent of civilization. Rural is outside of civilization or existing in a void. What is striking about this line of thought is that there is not gradation. Instead there is a dualism where the city streetlights shine at night and the rest of the land lies beyond the darkness at the edge of town.

Any employment opportunity presents one with trade offs. Manchester University faculty and administrators are more willing to commute to work if it means living closer to urban amenities than they have been at any other time in the university’s history. University employees brought up proximity to restaurant options, shopping, being around
diverse people and schooling options for their children as reasons why they live in or near cities.

Safety is part of the rural idyll but another facet of safety is that the local context is boring. Compared to the urban idyll, North Manchester offers nothing to do. People at Manchester University and in the town of North Manchester are well aware that they have few local options to go shopping or get something to eat in the evening. This is another way urban areas were talked about as being idyllic.

In addition to university employees, people in the North Manchester community talked about their children aspiring to go live in the city. One university staff member discussing the difficulty in drawing students to a university in a small town commented,

"I think it presents a challenge to get kids to come . . . eighteen years old, what's new and exciting even if you lived in a small town, is to go to the city and experience all the life."

This quote embodies urbanormativity as a cultural ideology in that cities are believed to be the centers of life from which all else is derived. Seen through an urbanormative lens, a rural place such as North Manchester and a rural-located university such as Manchester University have none of the “life” that is present in the urban idyll.

Another way urban areas were seen as idyllic is that several times university employees talked about discussions regarding attracting candidates due to the location of the university. There is a belief that it is difficult to attract millennials to work at Manchester University because potential job applicants want lifestyle options that are available in the city but not in the local context of the university.

One university employee commented,

“My observation of millennials is they would rather be in places where they can get a loft, they can have, you know, live in smaller, you're not
ready to buy housing yet right away and they want these kinds of activities and things to do that, that a bigger city provides . . . a lot of millennials wanted to live downtown and want to live in those areas because there was a lot to do there and it's hard to duplicate that kind of thing in a smaller, rural community.”

Where university employees choose to live and what they are willing to do in terms of tradeoffs so that they can work at Manchester University and live a lifestyle they prefer is an example of how urbanormative values presented in an idyllic view of urban areas have specific structural outcomes.

**Conclusion**

Urbanormativity is a cultural ideology that results in structural implications. Urban cultural capital is at the heart of urbanormativity. Ascendant bourgeoisie, specifically, newer faculty members who are attempting to join the bourgeoisie class may have urbanormative preferences but they may also have responded in ways that suggest urbanormativity because they believe those are the preferences of a class of people to which they want to belong.

Anti-idyll and idyll ways of viewing this rural context are important because they affect the flow of resources. For the town urbanormative anti-idyll views of rurality and the promise of the urban idyll have resulted in fewer Manchester University employees living there. One example of actual loss for the town is that money from high-paying, dependable jobs in town is not contributed to the community by way of property taxes. For the university the urbanormative anti-idyll and contrasting urban idyll have led to challenges in attracting employees. More recently, the university has identified the rural location of the undergraduate campus as a potential challenge for student retention. The
latter challenge is significant because the operating budget of the university is built primarily on tuition.

Bourdieu theorized that one way the upper class separated itself from lower classes was in having different tastes. Taste in music, art, and travel destinations were all various forms of cultural capital that upper class people possessed and used to their advantage (Bourdieu 1984). The concept of urbanormativity borrows from Bourdieu’s forms of capital in that cultural preferences have physical outcomes. Power is involved in the processes by which idylls are constructed whether they are rural or urban. In these ways, rural and urban places are built to serve an urbanormative cultural ideology.

This chapter shows the concrete ways in which urbanormative cultural ideology constructed anti-idyllic and idyllic views of this local context. The North Manchester community and Manchester University are subject to an urbanormative cultural lens as are all rural institutions. Anti-idyllic and idyllic perceptions of the local context were extensions of urbanormativity presented in interviews with people recalling their views from afar and from those who have lived in the community for many years. The interview respondents also implied what makes up aspects of the urban idyll. In addition to showing the real ways in which urbanormativity presents in values and beliefs, urbanormative ideology also results in structural outcomes that affect the people and institutions present in the local context. The town of North Manchester and Manchester University are both dealing with the recent trend of university employees choosing not to live in the community unlike their predecessors. The university is finding that its location may be a reason why some prospective students decide not to come and why some current students transfer to other colleges and universities. Tuition-dependent colleges
and universities typically have smaller endowment funds from which to draw resources for annual operating budgets. For a tuition-dependent institution of higher education this is deeply troubling. In 2012, the university started a college of pharmacy in Fort Wayne. Without a presence in a larger city, Manchester University is vulnerable to smaller and or unqualified pools of candidates for jobs. If the university focuses on basing other programs in Fort Wayne it will be a clear sign that the university has continued to transition into being a regional university rather than the local college it once was. Pulling at any thread in the mosaic of the North Manchester community reveals all the ways in which people and institutions are woven together. As a result, none of the structural results of urbanormative cultural ideals have happened or will occur in a vacuum. It is also important to remember that none of what was described in this chapter is any one person or any one institution’s doing. Instead, a confluence of social activity produces intended and unintended consequences.

Urbanormativity has taken hold in the national culture and therefore it shapes all of what happens in society. Furthermore, very little of what I observed in living life and working in the community and university was happening in explicit ways. Urbanormativity shapes thoughts, beliefs, values, and action in insidious ways. So much so that much of what was shared feels natural to most people. That it appears to be the inevitable way of things ensures the domination of rural people and places in the service of urban. The results of urbanormativity leave the town of North Manchester and Manchester University between a rock and a hard place of valuing what has been built together over the course of more than 100 years and remaining competitive in an urbanormative higher education arena.
The next chapter will delve into the ways in which Manchester University is an integrative institution within urbanormativity. For a variety of reasons the university is a link through which cultural values and norms pass from urban to rural. The urbanormative processes through which Manchester University serves as an integrative institution are complex and at times, contradictory. This is a unique private university in that it is not an elite institution as is the case with other rural private colleges and universities. As a result, there are a variety of unique aspects of the urbanormative integrative institution in this particular local context.
CHAPTER SEVEN – AN INTEGRATIVE INSTITUTION

In September 2018, the front page of the North Manchester News-Journal featured a story about the Manchester Symphony Orchestra celebrating its 80th season. The Manchester Symphony Orchestra wanted to put together a big event so the season will kick off with a concert at the end of October on campus at Manchester University. This unique performance will include Manchester Symphony Orchestra playing the soundtrack live to a film that will be screened simultaneously. The program, entitled “The Universe at an Exhibition,” is an event that is a collaboration of Manchester University and the North Manchester community.

In addition to the music and film, Manchester University is hosting the filmmaker as a guest speaker. The university invited approximately 300 K-12 students from area public schools. Additionally, a physics professor will be taking people to the on-campus observatory and the Region 8 “Digitarium,” an inflatable planetarium will be on campus. Region 8 is an education service funded by the state to enhance learning. Finally, chemistry faculty members are making liquid nitrogen ice cream and it will be served to attendees. The Manchester Symphony Orchestra sought out a new pharmacy opening in town to sponsor the event and Manchester University will also cover some of the expenses. This event is an example of the interweaving of university staff and faculty members with local residents. The interdisciplinary nature of the program speaks to the liberal arts mission of the university. Additionally, the university and the local community will benefit from having so many high school and grade school students visiting the community and the campus.
According to Fulkerson and Thomas the urbanormative cultural ideology reaches rural localities through integrative institutions. Organizations such as institutions of higher education integrate the rural places where they are located into urban systems (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014:17). The concept of urbanormativity is shaped by Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital. Urban-oriented cultural capital is used to differentiate tastes and preferences of urbane from those that are rustic. Classical music is an iconic example of high cultural capital. In a rural setting high cultural capital is synonymous with urban lifestyles. In a rural setting, country or bluegrass has a lower cultural capital value.

In Bourdieu’s seminal work on social class and cultural capital Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste people who have newly ascended to the bourgeoisie social class are surveyed to discover what they find to be aesthetically pleasing and what they consider ugly or gaudy. These people attempt to answer questions in ways they think fit with bourgeoisie aesthetic choices because distinctions such as these differentiate between social classes (Bourdieu 1984).

Over the course of the shared history in this particular local context many partnerships have been conceived between the local community and the university. Some of these partnerships have been formal whereas the majority has been informal in nature. An example of a formal partnership between North Manchester and Manchester University has been the Manchester Symphony Orchestra. Historically, university faculty members have received release time to serve as symphony conductors. University students and other faculty members have played instruments in the orchestra. Additionally, the university has provided rehearsal and performance space. From the
community, individuals and businesses in the local community have financially supported the Manchester Symphony Orchestra including the funding of scholarships for students to attend the university. Local community members have also played instruments and served alongside Manchester University faculty members on the Manchester Symphony Orchestra board of directors (Bourdieu 1984).

Integration into Urban Systems

Integrative institutions carry urban cultural capital to rural people and places. However, as I concretized the activity of Manchester University as an integrative institution I found this to be more complex in actuality. Fulkerson and Thomas conceptualize integrative institutions as one-way conduits for urbanormative cultural ideology, they do not consider that these institutions themselves operate within their own urban-focused systems. Furthermore, what has been written about integrative institutions to this point does not take into account the collective impacts of individual decisions examined in the previous chapter. Ultimately, the complexity of these different impacts puts institutions such as Manchester University and local communities like North Manchester between rock and hard place, which can advertently and inadvertently leave the rural community behind.

This chapter examines Manchester University as an integrative institution that acts as a conduit of urbanormative culture to the local context of North Manchester. One aspect of the complexity of an integrative institution in action is the limitations of the concept. A drawback of integrative institutions as a conduit of urbanormativity would be that it is difficult to convey urban cultural capital to rural communities if there is limited interaction between the local community and the university. For example, North
Manchester residents are rarely on campus. Another complication is that in some instances Manchester University is a node of urbanormativity in a rural setting, yet in other situations the university is itself a rural institution within larger systems such as the broader arena of higher education. Finally, I link the previous chapter to this one in considering the collective impact of the decisions of individual to the concept of integrative institutions.

**Bringing the city to the country**

Urbanormative cultural values position urban places as centers of innovation and development. The power differential between urban and rural is legitimized through the urbanormative cultural ideology. The rest of society including rural periphery is dependent on urban activity for progress and growth (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014).

Within the hierarchy of urban systems, cities are at the core and rural places are in the semi-periphery and periphery. Cities are in constant need of resources. As a result, urban nodes are dependent on their rural semi-peripheral and peripheral nodes for survival. In order for cities to grow they must constantly extract natural and human resources from rural places. The urbanormative cultural ideology justifies everyday processes that supply urban centers with resources (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014:16).

Using urban-focused cultural ideology that serves urban people and places, urbanormativity normalizes the flow of food, natural resources, and human capital from rural to urban places. Because of the importance of urban centers when viewing them through an urbanormative ideological lens, urban centers must be fueled by rural resources and protected from disaster even if when this protection comes at the expense of rural people and places (Thomas et al. 2011:47).
Hegemonic cultural capital is characteristically urban. The prestige that results from the accumulation of cultural capital occurs because the larger culture is grounded in an urban field (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014:5-6). Fulkerson and Thomas’ concept of integrative institutions draws from Pierre Bourdieu’s conceptualization of cultural capital. Colleges and universities are sources of institutionalized cultural capital. In this instance, Manchester University acts as an integrative institution in that it both a source of urban cultural capital and a conduit through which urban cultural capital flows to the local context (Thomas et al. 2011:5).

Urbanormative cultural ideology reinforces urban ways of knowing as preferred and correct (Bourdieu 1986). Bourdieu’s position is that all symbols and action including embodied cultural capital work to increase social distinction (Thomas et al. 2011:5). The accumulation of cultural capital is, in part, a process of those in power having the privilege of deciding what kinds of cultural capital counts as valuable. Urban cultural capital is valuable because it can be exchanged for other forms of capital at a higher rate than rural cultural capital (Swartz 1997).

The vignette about the Manchester Symphony Orchestra that opened this chapter serves as a practical example of how Manchester University operates as an integrative institution in the local North Manchester context fits Fulkerson and Thomas’ conceptualization. The knowledge and abilities involved in directing and playing orchestral music as well as the capabilities to appreciate the symphony are iconic examples of the type of cultural capital held by high status groups. Throughout its history, the Manchester Symphony Orchestra has been a partnership between Manchester University and the North Manchester community that, according to the Manchester
Symphony Orchestra website, has sought to “enrich the cultural lives of its patrons” (Thomas et al. 2011:6). The urbanormative assumption here is that the lives of rural patrons are void of culture without the symphony or filled with the wrong kind (rural) of culture previously.

There are other ways that Manchester University fits Fulkerson and Thomas’ conceptualization of integrative institutions. For example, Manchester University performs as an integrative institution when it invites guest speakers to campus. The university has a long history of inviting provocative lecturers to campus. Historically, the university has had various programs that have student attendance requirements such as “convocation” and the current iteration is an annual series called “Values Ideas and the Arts.” University faculty and staff select guests who will speak on topics that relate broadly to the mission and educational goals of the university. These events are open to the public and there is no cost to attend (Manchester University 2018a). During the two years I attended and noted what kinds of speakers would be on campus, almost all of the lecturers were either talking about topics located in or dealing with urban areas or the speaker was coming from urban places.

In addition to the examples that fit Fulkerson and Thomas’ treatment of integrative institutions, I encountered an additional feature not previously considered by Fulkerson and Thomas but that still fits their conceptualization. Manchester University acts as an integrative institution in ushering the cultural ideology of urbanormativity into the local context by simply being located in North Manchester. Time after time I heard interviewees tell me how the local North Manchester community was not a rural place because the town has a university. One local community member commented,
“I would say the only thing that sets it (North Manchester) apart maybe from being a rural town is the fact that we do have a university here and that they (Manchester University) are the stimulus for a lot of cultural interest.”

A university faculty member who lives in town stated,

“If it [North Manchester] didn't have the university here it would be a different experience. I mean it is rural in terms of identification on the map, it's rural because it's not a big, cosmopolitan area but the mindset, there's something else about it, like it's thriving.”

Manchester University being located in North Manchester means the town is differentiated from other towns of similar size in similar locations. The latter quote also conveys an urbanormative notion that to be a rural place means your local community is not thriving.

The presence of Manchester University in the local community represents urban cultural capital. If the local community was seen as being rural then this allowed residents to opt out of being from a place that is classified as rural. In an interview response to a question about how he would describe the North Manchester community, a local farmer that had returned to the area after living in several urban areas talked about how he describes North Manchester to urban friends saying,

“I know that a lot of the people that I associate with, might, if I just say a small rural town in Indiana, might associate, you know, different things with that. So I always say there's a super liberal university in town. So, absolutely, I mention the university as I describe it [North Manchester].”

Just having a private university being located in North Manchester is enough to differentiate from other kinds of rural. Furthermore, associating himself or herself with the university or associating the local community with the university was a way local individuals accessed institutionalized urban cultural capital.
In order to become and remain a cultural ideology that frames the broader culture urbanormativity must reach everyone living in the larger culture. Integrative institutions serve as conduits that move urbanormativity from cities to the rural periphery. These types of cultural activities make urban extraction of resources from rural places seem normal and natural.

**Discovering the Complexities of Institutions of Higher Education as Integrative Institutions**

When they introduced the concept of integrative institutions Fulkerson and Thomas used Colgate University in Hamilton, New York as an example. While it is accurate that Colgate University is a private university located in a rural place, there are a number of ways this example is not indicative of the everyday, lived experience of interactions between a private institution of higher education and a rural locality. Colgate University is an elite university and because of this, Colgate is not typical of private colleges and universities in rural localities in the United States like I found in chapter four.14

Even though an example like Colgate University may come to mind when thinking of rural-located private higher education, the reality is that the typical rural-located private institution of higher education makes the concept of integrative institution precarious. At the beginning of the chapter, I described ways that Manchester University acts as an integrative institution. In the process of concretizing the concept of an

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14 Colgate University’s endowment at the end of the 2015 fiscal year was $760,825,400 compared to an average of $118,053,805 for all rural, private institutions of higher education. Colgate University’s undergraduate admissions acceptance rate was 26% for 2014-2015 compared to an average of 65% for rural, private institutions of higher education Friesen, J. Jared and Julie N. Zimmerman. 2017. “Building a Knowledge Base Regarding Rural, Private Colleges and Universities.” University of Kentucky.
integrative institution in a local context I also found that there are complications that interrupt the flow of urban cultural capital to the North Manchester community.

**What If No One Attends?**

Even though on-campus events were often advertised in North Manchester this did not always yield public participation at these events. Blockages to the flow of urban cultural capital were created when no one from the local community attends on campus events. Manchester University typically advertised its on-campus events to the local community. These on-campus events included guest speakers and presentations of the arts. When I would go to local stores and restaurants, I frequently made note of posters advertising campus events. Over the course of my fieldwork, I subscribed to the local weekly newspaper. A regular section of the newspaper entitled “News in Brief” featured scheduled free events on campus open to the public.

Over the past two years, I attended a variety of events on campus. Among the events I attended were the Manchester Symphony Orchestra, Manchester University choirs, a professional ballet company, and guest lecturers. Frequently my field notes from these events included comments that showed I saw few if any local community residents in attendance. In my interviews, I asked local community residents why they thought the community did not attend on-campus events. One local elected official stated,

“'I've always believed that if the personnel on the campus were more integrated into the community, people would feel more comfortable when they're on the campus. Now you and I were talking about how I knew where the parking lot was and secret door and this and that. Well, it's because I end up coming here for a lot of meetings and things. However, if you take, say my neighbor across the street, Mrs. Simpson, if you brought her to this campus, she would stand here and go ‘I can't find anything, I don't see anybody...I’m lost and this is very intimidating.’”
When local residents do not know any university employees on a personal level, they do not feel comfortable being on campus. As I reflect on why people did not attend, several other possibilities emerged.

At the beginning of the fall of 2018 one of my committee assignments as a faculty member was to serve on the Values, Ideas, and the Arts committee. This university committee is charged with vetting proposals for on campus events and guest speakers that are part of a series that students attend for credit. From my brief time on this committee, I know that student schedules are a primary consideration taken into account when scheduling these events. One of the unintended consequences of scheduling on campus events when students will be able to attend is that members of the public are often working or doing daily activities like picking up children at the end of the school day.

A further scheduling challenge that keeps local community members from attending is presented in that some lectures are put together on short notice. An example of this occurred when a new faculty member brought a colleague from another institution to campus to share her research on Latino migration to the Midwest. This would have drawn local interest because North Manchester and other communities in the area have experienced an influx of Latinos in the past 10 years. Nevertheless, because the event was scheduled on a weekday at five o’clock in the evening the public did not attend this presentation. Without off-campus advertising, with short notice, and if events are scheduled at times that do not fit people’s schedules local community members are effectively not invited to this on-campus event despite its local relevance.

There are on campus events that have practical connections to the local community as well as the broader regional community. An example of this has to do with
the opioid epidemic. Rural communities around the United States see the opioid epidemic as a pressing concern.\textsuperscript{15} The opioid epidemic is also on the minds of people in the local community (Fenker 2018b). In a span of several months two events were held in the local community and surrounding county that dealt with opioid use, abuse, and distribution. There was a local community event forum on illegal drug use was convened at a vocational and technical school in the county. The Indiana Drug Czar and state-level Extension employees spoke at this gathering (Fenker 2018b).

By contrast, Manchester University hosted Dr. Vivek Murthy MD, the United States Surgeon General under President Barack Obama to talk about opioid drug use as a public health crisis. This talk was held at 3:30 PM in the afternoon on a Thursday. I attended this event and as I looked around the auditorium, I did not see anyone in attendance not affiliated with the university. The fact that there were two large-scale events on this topic in the county within a span of six months but the audiences for these similar events were completely different speaks to a lack of interaction between the university and the local community.

In interviews with local community, residents and university-affiliated people there were many comments that showed that most people would like more interaction between the university and the town and not less. When I asked about what could be done to encourage more interaction, interviewees’ minds would often go to entertainment events. Many people would light up when they thought back to a particularly vibrant period in which many local community residents spent time on campus. Interviewees

\textsuperscript{15} A recent survey of rural Americans published on the website The Daily Yonder showed that drug addiction is at the top of the list of concerns facing their communities ibid.
would recall attending Manchester University men’s basketball games in the early 1990s. During this period, the university’s gymnasium was filled beyond capacity for men’s home basketball games by university and local community people alike.

While intercollegiate athletics might not fit when it comes to transmitting urbanormative cultural ideology, attending on-campus athletic events did increase the ease local community members felt about coming onto campus.

I found a different kind of example of interaction between the university and the local community in the annual, community Independence Day celebration. Each year Manchester University budgets for and spends approximately $5,000 to host the community fireworks display on campus. While this event could have provided another informal opportunity for local community members and university administrators and members of the faculty and staff to interact, when I attended this event, I noted there were thousands of local residents on campus but less than 10 members of the faculty, staff, or administration. In this instance, the interaction is hindered because even though community residents are on campus, they only interact with each other because there are almost no university administration, faculty, or staff members in attendance.

Another factor not considered by Fulkerson and Thomas but that I found in my research was the role of unseen yet durable boundaries. Manchester University, like other colleges and universities has an invisible boundary that keeps the majority of local people off campus because they feel like they do not belong. The differing levels of cultural capital, urban and otherwise, themselves prevent urbanormative values and beliefs from integrating in the local context. Many local community members feel like they do not

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16 A confluence of events having to do with Indiana high school basketball and Indiana University basketball legend Steve Alford getting his first head coaching position at Manchester (then) College contributed to this period of unprecedented level of success.
know how to be on campus. That is, they do not possess the cultural capital involved in knowing where to go, how to talk, or what to wear to events like guest speakers on campus. Additionally, even issues as simple as not knowing where to park on campus can be intimidating for people who are outsiders to the campus environment.

These boundaries that limit interaction between the university and local community can themselves be seen as having an urbanormative component. For instance, rural people feel like they know how to be at a basketball game because it is something they have done their entire lives. According to urbanormative expectations, attending lectures or artistic performances on a university campus is not part of rural life in the same ways, for example, that attending a livestock auction or walking into a welding shop is.

One retired faculty member recalled his lack of interaction with the local community this way,

“Many of us never went south of Seventh Street. We all lived up in that corner of town, lived together but did not associate much beyond Seventh Street which, as I saw, as I see it now, there was good interaction between the town leadership and the college administrators. But there was, limited interaction below that [level] both ways.”

The invisible boundaries have been maintained throughout the shared history in the local context. University employees and local community residents have contributed to the creation and maintenance of these unseen boundaries. When I asked a local resident about division between the local community and the university she stated,

“There used to be protests and rallies and things and most often they would march around the post office. Remember seeing those there? Um, that was a real turnoff to people. It's like oh for God's sakes can't you just do that up there in your corner?”
The perceptions of local community residents and university personnel that were shared with me show that the boundaries in the local context are physical and cultural.

**A Rural Institution in an Urban Higher Education System**

While Manchester University may serve as an integrative institution that brings urbanormativity to their rural local context there are moments when the university itself is a rural institution. Like other manifestations of American culture, the system of higher education is urbanormative. Examples of how rural-located, private institutions struggle to operate in an urbanormative higher education system are evident in news articles regarding rural, private institutions of higher education approach their locations as a hurdle to survival (Biemiller 2016, Gluckman 2017, Kaeding 2017). Within an urbanormative field of higher education, Manchester University is a rural institution competing against other colleges and universities located in urban areas or other rural-located institutions that possess higher levels of urban cultural capital that allow them to be able to stand out as integrative institutions in rural contexts like the example of Colgate University.

This is a further complication to the original conceptualization of integrative institutions. In contrast institutions like the example of Colgate University used by Fulkerson and Thomas, in 2015 Manchester University had an admissions acceptance rate of 71% and had an endowment value of just over $47 million at the end of the fiscal year (NCES 2016a). This data demonstrates that Manchester University is not an elite institution.

Competition for students is fierce among institutions of higher education. Similarly, to other colleges and universities, Manchester University has dedicated
significant financial and human resources to market itself to prospective students and their families. One aspect of Manchester University’s marketing strategy is to figure out how to talk about the rural location of the university in ways that are both honest and positive. In a conversation with university marketing staff, an employee talking about how the university characterizes its location stated,

“We talk about a relationship with the community . . . to offer students things to do off campus. There aren't a lot of things in our local community for them to do so, our expanded community talks about Fort Wayne and other communities, Warsaw, Wabash, other communities around as far as offering activities for them.”

In an effort to make the local context more appealing, “local” is defined in a more regional way to minimize the ideas that there is nothing to do in North Manchester because it is often perceived as being in the middle of nowhere. Associating the university with a wider “local” area is an effort to accumulate urban cultural capital. A Manchester University enrollment and marketing staff member commented,

“I think our physical location is, I mean it's something we can't do anything about. So we just have to be authentic about it. But, it does hamper us sometimes from maybe recruiting a little, a little higher end student who might be looking for some more urban opportunities . . . The one that wants a Whole Foods and a Starbucks at the corner.”

Remarks such as this point out that Manchester University sees location as something they would change if they could. This quote shows the connections between cultural and economic capital with urban places in associating a “higher end student” with higher status brand name stores and restaurants.

Previously, I worked at a different rural, private institution of higher education located in northern Wisconsin. At that institution, the marketing department worked to show off the rural setting by featuring photos of students canoeing, rock climbing, and
skiing. When I asked about why Manchester University did not tout the advantages of their location a marketing staff member talked about his interactions with a counterpart at a rural-located, private college in Minnesota. He said,

“(A private, rural college) which is very rural, more so than us even, they're not really even a town they're in, they're just in the middle of the woods. They use that as selling point though because they talk about, they have this big wilderness preserve, they're in the wilds of Minnesota and all this, so they talk about that. Others who are in a location like us where everything's flat and it's mostly fields, there's no lake right there, there's no mountains, there's no trees, don't really talk about location. If there is beautiful wildlife, if there's a lot of outdoor activities, that's when they start talking about it. When I was doing the research on other colleges and towns under ten thousand, under fifteen thousand, that's what I kept seeing over and over again.”

Without some appealing aspect of rurality such as scenic vistas, the university marketing team instead saw their rural location as a barrier to overcome.

Urbanormativity situates rural places as places where one can escape the busyness of urban life which why rural, private colleges and universities tout rivers, lakes, forests, and mountains if they are nearby. On the other hand, the urbanormative lens casts rural landscape surrounding a private institution of higher education as being simple, boring, or undesirable if it is filled with farm fields. In the latter case, the rural location is challenge to be surmounted.

I found that the university worked to transcend its location and so that it could help its students transcend the rural location of the university they attended. In the course of interviewing people on campus at Manchester University, I interviewed several senior administrators. With each member of the university president’s cabinet, I asked about responses from others when they were at professional conferences or meetings where they would encounter counterparts from other colleges and
universities. Talking about conversations he has with other college and university administrators, one of the senior-level administrators at Manchester commented,

“If I were introducing Manchester to you, we have twelve hundred and fifty students on an undergraduate campus in a small town in Northeast Indiana . . . a town of six thousand and we have a second campus in Fort Wayne which is the second largest city in Indiana and we've got a professional pharmacy program over there. If someone introduced their institution to me that way, I'm able to conjure up an image pretty quickly of what that school would be like. And, and I can identify pretty quickly in that shorthand what the issues are then for them. The issues are going to be student activities . . . whether or not the community is growing or declining, whether or not your students feel like they've got access to other places . . . by the time they graduate, 40% of our students have travelled abroad or studied abroad. That says something about the kind of place we are . . . the conversation is how we transcend institutionally, the community of which we're a part.”

In this quotation there are several points where the interview respondent reveals the extent to which Manchester University as an institution has an urgency to manage location with the mention of the pharmacy campus in Fort Wayne and study abroad for example. This quotation also alludes to some of the ways Manchester University is working to become more of a regional university and leave behind their parochial existence when the university solely existed in a rural location.

**Urbanormativity and the Collective Impact of Individual Decisions**

In the previous chapter I described how individuals viewed the local context in ways that reflected the rural idyllic and anti-idyll. These micro level urbanormative perceptions have a collective impact that goes beyond the individual. A striking change for the university and the local community has been that faculty are increasingly choosing to live outside of North Manchester. Historically, faculty not only lived in town but in the neighborhoods near the campus. I interviewed several retired faculty members who live in North Manchester and one stated,
“We . . . obviously worked at the college. We all lived north of Seventh Street in the northeast corner of town. Many of us, if not most went to the Church of the Brethren, which happened to be, at that time, in the northeast part of town . . . All of our children went to Thomas Marshall Elementary School.”

As this retired faculty member spoke a retired colleague agreed with a silent nod. Even though faculty may not perceive that they had much interaction with the town, local community residents spoke regretfully about the loss of faculty members and their families.

People at the university are aware that community members dislike the trend of fewer faculty members living in North Manchester. But, it’s not just faculty. 48.2% of all employees on the North Manchester campus do not live in town. As of May 2018 more than half of faculty (58%) lived in North Manchester. Table 7.1 divides faculty members by where they live and how long they have been at the university. Overall, there is still more than half of the undergraduate faculty living in North Manchester. However, the lowest percentage living in North Manchester is the quartile of the faculty that are newest to the university.

Table 7.1 Comparisons of Where Manchester University Faculty Members Live Based on Longevity at the Institution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty (n=81)</th>
<th>North Manchester</th>
<th>Other Places</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newest Q1*</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2*</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3*</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longest tenured Q4*</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Each quartile is 25% of the employment category in terms of length of service to the university
Source: Manchester University Human Resources Office

In addition to the trend of faculty members living outside of North Manchester, senior-level administrators at Manchester University no longer live in town. With the exception
of the president who lives on campus, all but one member of the five other cabinet members live outside of North Manchester.

The North Manchester residents I interviewed lamented the feelings of being disconnected from the university because of faculty members and their families no longer living in the local community. One lifelong community resident stated,

“One of the biggest bugaboos people have that live in North Manchester is that university people don't live here. They don't participate in our lives... So our kids don't know your kids. We don't know who your wife is... The university people do not weave into our community... And I truly, I couldn't name three professors from this university. I really couldn't.”

It is not just that when faculty members do not live in town any longer the town misses out on property taxes from residents with good paying, secure jobs, it is that local residents miss being connected to these individuals and their families.

It is difficult not to think of faculty members as individuals with large amounts of various forms of capital. However, the problem of faculty members not living in town is extended to not having their families in town. These family members also possess various forms of capital. Of course, not every faculty member has a partner and or children, but enough children of faculty members’ families have grown up in town and gone to the public schools historically for local community members to notice when there is a drop in the number of these young residents. One lifelong resident told me about raising his family in North Manchester. During the course of the interview, he shared a story about how the children of faculty members have made a difference in the lives of his children. He stated,

“I wish more faculty lived in town, I mean, when my son was in high school he was a little challenged academically and a lot of his friends were professors’ children and did very well in school and it really helped him. I mean, it really made him work harder to kind of keep pace with these kids
and I mean, it made a difference in his life. It really, I mean, I have no doubt in my mind that he worked harder at it because his friends were all working hard at it. It's a good influence to have in the local schools.”

Some past faculty and staff members may have thought they did not interact much with the community before they retired. However, the responses I received from local community residents in interviews showed that there were and are explicit and implicit ways in which the community has felt the presence of the university faculty over the course of their shared history and they mourn the loss of these interactions.

Without the individual ties to local community social networks, the university is more likely to make institutional decisions that do not take the community into consideration. These decisions can be small such as the time of day to schedule on campus events. However, larger decisions made by the university will also be made without considering the local community. Without personal ties to the local community, the university does not feel the impact of decisions in the local community in the same ways it once did.

Conclusion

In the fall of 2018, Manchester University opened the Jean Childs Young Intercultural Center on the North Manchester campus. This standalone building is a new space dedicated to diversity and inclusion that will further the first part of the mission statement that says, “Manchester University respects the infinite worth of every individual” (Manchester University 2018b). In the fall of 2019, another new building called the Chinworth Center will open on the North Manchester campus. The Chinworth Center will house the Manchester University College of Business on the second floor and various campus offices such as the Registrar and Student Accounts on the first floor. For
the university, these buildings are physical reminders that the university is dedicated to remain in North Manchester going into the future. However, the investments that are being made in the North Manchester campus are aimed at the undergraduate students living on campus. These efforts to enhance the North Manchester campus do not help the university and community come together in other ways.

At the same time investments are being made on the North Manchester campus, the university is moving ahead with plans to become more of a presence in the region. This activity will further complicate Manchester University’s role as an integrative institution through which the urbanormative cultural ideology is carried into the rural locality of North Manchester. It remains to be seen if the university will become a more dis-integrated institution in the local community. In the process of becoming more involved in a larger regional city such as Fort Wayne, Manchester University may be itself drawn further into the urban system while leaving the North Manchester community behind. Or what may happen is that as Manchester University becomes more involved in the region with an increased presence in urban areas this may strengthen the university’s role as an integrative institution in solidifying its own integrative properties. If this happens, the interactions between North Manchester and Manchester University could change from more holistic interactions of the past where the university and local community were “in it together” to a more paternalistic, top down approach to the local iteration of town gown interactions.
CHAPTER EIGHT - CONCLUSION

On a sunny homecoming Saturday in late September the future for North Manchester and Manchester appears as strong as the past. As I drove into North Manchester I passed a manure spreader and got stuck behind a combine. The presence of these farm implements lets the rest of us know that it is harvest season. The fields buzz day and night with action as the farmers work to bring in their crops.

At the edge of town, the North Manchester Farmer’s Market was busy with vendors selling late season produce, pumpkins, and gourds. The farmer’s market is eye-catching when it is the first thing you see when you cross the Eel River coming into town. I saw university students and employees browsing the vendors’ bounty.

I arrived on campus to attend the homecoming festivities. The highlight of the morning was the dedication of the Jean Childs Young Intercultural Center. Jean Childs graduated from Manchester College in 1954 and spent her life working for racial equality in education. Shortly after her graduation from Manchester College, Jean Childs married civil rights activist, former mayor of Atlanta, and former United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young. Although Jean Childs Young passed away in 1994, Andrew Young and other members of her family were on hand for the dedication of a building in her name. In a way, this building is the harvest of a hard-fought history of creating safe spaces on campus that would foster a more diverse and inclusive institution.

Over the course of this autumn morning, the future made possible by a long, shared history between the local community and the university was evident. It is not a great leap to think that a visitor to this local context would take a look around and conclude that a strong foundation has been built that will produce a sustainable future
filled with vitality. Shared possibilities, like the shared history in this local context seemed inevitable. Yet, even though a new building is being built on campus that has a direct connection to the long history of this institution of higher education being located in North Manchester, the future seems uncertain. The university faces challenges related to where it is located and this in turn affects the local community.

Learning about the ways in which private colleges and universities interface with rural localities will provide knowledge that could be crucial to the sustainability of both. How can rural localities leverage private colleges and universities to enhance and maintain community resiliency? Alternately, how can private colleges and universities focus on their rural places in order to carve out space within higher education to sustainably meet their missions? These are questions that new research into rural higher education may be able to answer in the nick of time.

I conducted the research for and wrote this dissertation to discover how urbanormativity shaped the interactions between a rural community and a private college located in the community. The interactions between institutions in any local context occur within a greater sociological picture. Urbanormativity does not exist in a vacuum. Material conditions and class processes are actively shaping every local context. Sociologists have long been intrigued by questions of inequality and power related to social class, race, and gender. Other intersections of inequality include space and place (Lobao, Hooks and Tickamyer 2007b, Manchester University 2018b). To be clear, the local context of this dissertation is shaped by a variety of factors. Class conflict, unequal political power, and status groups are among the forces in society that have shaped the
local context of this dissertation. However, my focus was on the ways in which the urbanormative cultural ideology shapes interactions.

At its heart, the concept of urbanormativity attaches a cultural component to spatial inequality. Higher status norms and values are ascribed to urban people and places in contrast to rural people and places. Urbanormativity is an ideology in which normative processes are created and maintained resulting in structural inequality. There is a power differential at play in urbanormativity where urban dominates rural. The variations of both urban and rural localities are homogenized into a dualism that lifts up the advantage of urban and where rural is placed in the service of urban. Urbanormativity is a cultural ideology in which people and things that are urban are intelligent, complex, and desirable. Alternatively, urbanormativity positions people and things that are rural as wild, simple, or places to escape from the busyness of city life (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014).

Rural places are defined as places where intelligence, creativity, and innovation do not thrive. However, some rural places are able to attract tourists from the city by recreating rural simulacra, or copies of what a rural community should look like that has no original. Rural places are also thought to be sources of violence and deviance. In short, seen through an urban lens people are attracted to nostalgic imagery of rural places populated by simple, hardworking, and wholesome people. At the same time, looking through the same urban lens means people are repelled by the fear of violence, poverty, and other deviance (Fulkerson and Thomas 2014).

The concept of urbanormativity draws on Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital. Urban-oriented cultural capital is used to differentiate tastes and preferences of urbane
from rustic. Instead of thinking about the diversity of descriptions and meaning that can be identified in rural or urban places I found that people in my fieldwork talked about rural and urban in homogenous ways. Urban was seen as desirable and of greater cultural value than rural. In talking in these ways, interview respondents actively constructed urban and rural.

I found that concretizing urbanormativity in this local context uncovered some of the complexity of Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital within urbanormativity. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* Bourdieu found that people who have newly ascended to the bourgeoisie social class answered questions in ways they believed were what was expected of bourgeoisie aesthetic choices (1984). When I interviewed newer faculty members I asked them questions about lifestyle expectations in relation to the location of North Manchester and Manchester University. The responses I received indicated that there were “right” and “wrong” answers to these questions based on the assumption that urban cultural capital is more valuable than rural cultural capital.

In this dissertation, I found that urbanormativity affected the interactions between Manchester University and North Manchester through several specific mechanisms. First, in relation to complexities and contradictions of how urbanormativity plays out in everyday interactions. Urbanormative cultural ideology played out in concrete ways for individuals as they explained the anti-idyllic and idyllic aspects of the local context.

I also wanted to investigate how urbanormativity shaped the interactions between Manchester University and the local community of North Manchester in other ways. I looked at how urbanormativity shaped interactions in relation to the concept of integrative institutions in this particular local context. In order to concretize how
urbanormative cultural ideology is used to link rural places with the larger urban-focused system in a particular local context.

**Moving Forward**

Urbanormativity results from and maintains unequal power between urban and rural. Like other axes of inequality, those with power can build and preserve a society that works well for them while leaving less powerful others behind. In the near future, Manchester University will expand its undergraduate and graduate offerings in healthcare and allied fields. The ease clinical placements and increased regional visibility are reasons cited as to why these programs will be located in Fort Wayne, the largest urban area in the region. It remains to be seen how local community residents will view these moves by the university. Some will feel like it is more of the same from the university. Others may sympathize and see moving toward urban areas as the natural way of things. Regardless of how local community residents perceive this move by the university, urbanormative cultural ideology will result in the local community being left behind.

At the fall 2018 Board of Trustees meetings on campus faculty members were invited to attend a breakfast meeting with trustees to informally discuss undergraduate student retention challenges facing the university. When I arrived at the breakfast, I saw that there were place cards at each round table so that faculty members and trustee members would be interspersed. During the course of the conversation at the table where I was sitting a trustee shared that at the spring meetings the board created a new committee dedicated to evaluating student life. This committee’s purview includes all of the non-academic aspects of the undergraduate student experience. One of the topics discussed at the table where I was sitting for the faculty breakfast with the trustees was a
story of several African-American students being denied service at a fast food restaurant in town. The details were cloudy but that did not deter one faculty member from immediately suggesting the university should boycott the restaurant. Not surprisingly, this story was deeply concerning to the trustees sitting at the table. Following the fall trustees meetings the monthly undergraduate faculty business meeting was held. At this meeting, faculty members were invited to share their thoughts about the meetings in which they presented or attended. It was shared that the trustee committee dedicated to undergraduate student life decided to give attention to growing concern about “town gown” issues.

The discourse about “town gown” issues that I observed at the breakfast with other faculty members and board members and in other instances was shaped by urbanormativity. The assumptions about what needs to be done in response to the story include putting the onus on institutions and individuals in the local community to fix the university’s problems because the rurality of the place is responsible for problems. There was no conversation about contributing factors related to what happened during the incident in question. The automatic reaction was that local community residents needed to correct their behavior because once again they are backwards country folk who must be racist.

The other dynamic I noted in this conversation was that there was no acknowledgement of how the local community and the university might work together to solve their shared problems. There was a striking dualism that people from the local community caused the problem and the university will fix the problem. Undoubtedly, there are multiple forms of inequality in play in this example. The ever-present power
dynamics of class, status, and educational attainment are aspects of the interactions in this local context as well. However, the discourse around this incident is a reminder that urbanormativity subtly pervades the interactions between Manchester University and North Manchester.

If the current trend of where university employees live continues, in just a few years most Manchester University faculty and staff members will no longer live in North Manchester. This means the disconnect community members already feel from the university will increase. The structural and cultural losses felt in town by the loss of university families will be greater. When faculty and staff do not live close to campus, they are around the campus less frequently in the evenings and on the weekends. This weakens the sense of community on campus and contributes to the student retention challenges facing the university. When faculty and staff do not live in town this negatively affects the local schools, neighborhoods, organizations, and businesses.

**Limitations**

Every study has limitations and my dissertation is no exception. These limitations resulted from constraints such as time, money, and human resources. The primary limitation is that a case study approach to answering the research question provides a deep understanding of the interactions in this specific local context. Consequently, the ability to generalize from my findings is hindered.

Because I wanted to know how urbanormativity shaped the interactions between a rural town and a private university, I opted to use qualitative methods to collect data. Although I began by using secondary data to situate my field site within the larger
context of rural, private higher education in the United States, this dissertation primarily utilizes qualitative research methods.

The town of North Manchester has approximately 6,000 residents and Manchester University has approximately 1,200 undergraduate students and about 200 faculty and staff members. These are not large populations from which to draw samples. At the same time, I made choices about which groups I interviewed and which ones I did not. Some local populations were left out of the scope of my dissertation. According to the United States Census Bureau, just over 90% of residents in North Manchester identify as white. At just over 7%, the next largest racial category in town is Hispanic or Latino. The number of individuals who identify as Hispanic or Latino in North Manchester may be higher than 7% as well, if people who are undocumented could be counted.

Another community of people that chose not to interview is the old order German Baptist population. I chose not to interview any old order German Baptists because they deliberately isolate from the surrounding community in which they are located. This means old order German Baptists have as little interaction with any other groups of people or communities as possible. This sect broke from other German Baptists who would eventually form the Church of the Brethren. The old order German Baptists are distinct because of their plain dress and conservative practices. Additionally, a community that adds to the diversity of people in and around the town of North Manchester is the Amish.

The limitations of this dissertation are the results of decisions I had to make in proposing and conducting this research. The tradeoffs I made helped me to optimize my
time in the field. The forethought and advice I sought prior to and during this study minimized the number of paths of inquiry that led in the wrong direction.

**Directions for Future Research**

Throughout the research and writing process, several new research possibilities occurred to me. The research I have done for this dissertation begs to be broadened to include one or two additional field sites. Comparisons and contrast would provide an opportunity to find out more about how urbanormativity shapes the interactions between private universities and rural communities. Furthermore, reliability, validity, and generalizability of the overall project would be strengthened.

Future research could address a larger range of community members. For example, administering a survey built from the data I gathered in interview responses in this research would give me the opportunity to increase the diversity of my sample in terms of race and ethnicity as well as social class. For example, in the current field site conducting interviews and surveys with the local Latino, Old Order German Baptists, and Amish would provide insights into the extent of the reach of the university within the local context. These populations have limited interactions with the university and it would be fascinating to know to what extent the presence of the university matters to them.

Survey research based the qualitative data in this research could be conducted with administrators, faculty members, and staff members at a sample of the rural located, private institutions of higher education in my original dataset. This group would be easily accessible since who they are and their contact information are listed on college and university websites. Additionally, these people have personal interest in the findings of a
study like this because many of these institutions of higher education face similar challenges.

Undergraduate students are people I would like to speak with in future research. Unlike the faculty members I interviewed, not all of these people come from urban places to attend Manchester University. Some students are coming from local communities that are smaller in population than North Manchester. Urban students have also made the decision to attend a university in a rural locality. Because many of the rural located, private institutions of higher education are residential campuses, students have many interactions with the local community. Additionally, these interactions are quite different from the kinds of interactions faculty and staff members have with the local community. For example, students are interacting with the local community at odd hours of the day such as late at night. I often had informal conversations with my own students prior to class about some of the things that came up in my data collection and invariably there were comments made by students on which I wanted to follow up.

One of the areas where I saw opportunity for future research stemming from this dissertation was in the area of applied research. Because urbanormativity involved inequality at its core, future research that takes inequality into account would contribute to local community resiliency. For example, when I wrote about the faculty trustee exchange regarding an alleged incident of racial discrimination I saw the potential of an imbalance in power when people discussed solutions to the problem. Using a research method such as participatory development research in this local context would invite voices to the research process that builds critical knowledge. Rather than treating the community as the subject, in the participatory action incorporated in participatory
development research the community is included as co-investigators. As a result, I would work with community groups to find their own voice and let that voice be heard in research (Bourdieu 1984). Unique insights and directions for future research could be produced with the help of local community members.

Ultimately, one of my hopes in conducting this research was to strengthen and create new partnerships between Manchester University and the surrounding communities. This coming spring, undergraduate students taking my social research methods course will be joining me in a process evaluation of the Wabash County problem-solving courts. Wabash County needs to conduct an evaluation of their drug and reentry courts in order for these problem-solving courts to continue to be in good standing with the state of Indiana. This evaluation research is one way practical community development projects could be developed based on the foundation of this dissertation. Any future research I conduct in the local context will seek to find the complex in the seemingly simplistic conclusions about rural communities founded in an urbanormative cultural ideology.

**In Closing**

Leading up to and following the 2016 United States presidential election there was a flurry of literature produced that sought to explain the disconnections between political conservatives and liberals. These books spoke to the disconnectedness between elites and the working class but at the core of the arguments is a perceived divide between rural and urban people (Hochschild 2018, Wuthnow 2018). These authors were trying to wrap their minds around the improbable election of Donald Trump to the presidency. This election and subsequent aftermath represented a low water mark in the
divisions involved in the intersections of race, class, status, power, and I argue, place. The authors that have sought to discover what is happening with regard to rural and urban interactions have hit upon some key pieces of the puzzle. Some of them have also wildly missed the mark. Urbanormativity has the potential to apply critical theory to a divide that many in America have not seen previously in their lifetimes. Urbanormativity is viewfinder through which rural marginalization by urban centers can be seen.

Critical knowledge is a source of relief from the hold urbanormativity has on the local context. Equipped with critical knowledge, the university and local community can become aware of its position as an integrative institution in urbanormativity. This awareness could lead to making decisions that serve both the university and the local community. Practical possibilities could be developed with critical knowledge of the structural effects of urbanormativity in mind. For example, currently new faculty members who are not ready to buy a house find a dearth of rental options in North Manchester. A university-community partnership could develop rental housing for new faculty and staff members in the historic downtown shopping district. In addition to rental housing for new employees, some spaces could be developed as Air B&Bs available for visiting parents, interview candidates, friends of the university, and guest speakers when they visit North Manchester. Beyond people visiting the university, others coming to North Manchester would be able to utilize this resource as well.

Manchester University will move ahead with locating new programs at least partially in Fort Wayne. However, these moves should always be made with the knowledge that there would be no Fort Wayne campus or programs without the solid foundation of a long history in North Manchester. Additionally, when decisions are made
to increase the university’s footprint in the city, balance needs to be sought to consider how these decisions will affect the North Manchester campus and the local community. In this way, the university can reimagine its role as an integrative institution to include serving its rural community.

A critical awareness of urbanormativity and the ways urbanity is held up as right and desirable complicates the common sense notion that change that leaves North Manchester and Manchester University behind is natural. The critical knowledge that cultural ideologies have had a hand in the structural changes in the local community can be a game-changer. Equipped with this knowledge rural communities can turn urbanormativity on its head. By this, I do not mean to do the opposite and attempt to oppress urban people and places with “ruralnormativity.” Instead, this knowledge should be used to work towards a culture that treats all places as unique nodes of human activity so that the human condition no matter the location may have a more durable future.
APPENDIX A. – SEMISTRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDES

Interview Guides – Community

MEDCOR – Manchester Economic Development Commission
The MEDCOR Board meets to establish goals, and define and implement objectives encouraging industrial growth in the North Manchester community. MEDCOR seeks to encourage investment by enterprises, expansion of present enterprises within the community, development and expansion of agribusiness industries, new and innovative industries tied to higher education and research, and service industries that respond innovatively to the needs of older citizens. Five citizen members serve three-year terms. Two Chamber of Commerce appointees also serve on the Commission. The Town Manager and Clerk-Treasurer are ex-officio members serving as secretary and treasurer.

Questions:
- How would you describe the community of North Manchester, Indiana to an outsider?
- Is North Manchester a rural town?
  - If so, why?
  - If not, why not?
- Describe the work of MEDCOR.
- What are some of the successes MEDCOR has had?
- From the perspective of MEDCOR, what are some of the challenges facing the North Manchester community?
- The city website includes the phrase “new and innovative industries tied to higher education and research,” what does this mean?
  - What are hopes, plans, goals, or dreams for what this phrase might mean in the future?
- Has MEDCOR partnered with Manchester University?
  - If so, in what ways?
- In what ways does Manchester University benefit the community?
  - How does Manchester University impact the local economy?
  - How do Manchester University’s contributions to the community compare to other organizations and businesses in town (e.g. Timbercrest Senior Living Community, etc.)?
- Does the presence of Manchester University present any challenges for the community?
- Does the university ever impose itself on the community?
  - If so, in what ways?
- Are there any other ways would you like to see Manchester University interact with the community?

Grow Wabash County
Grow Wabash County seeks to set goals and accomplish tasks similar to MEDCOR but on a countywide level. Grow Wabash County has a focus that is beyond the county, seeking to attract new businesses and industries to Wabash County, Indiana. In order to attract new commercial activity Grow Wabash County has promoted the amenities of Wabash County including Manchester University.
Questions:
- How would you describe Wabash County, Indiana to an outsider?
- Is this a rural county?
  - If so, why?
  - If not, why not?
- Describe the work of EDGWC.
- What are some of the successes EDGWC has had?
- From the perspective of EDGWC, what are some of the challenges facing Wabash County?
  - Are there ways in which Manchester University could respond to these challenges?
- Wabash County covers a large geographic territory, how does EDGWC prioritize its work?
  - How does the town of North Manchester fit into the goals and plans of EDGWC?
  - How does Manchester University fit into the goals and plans of EDGWC?
- In what ways does Manchester University benefit Wabash County?
- Does the presence of Manchester University present any challenges for Wabash County?
- Has EDGWC ever partnered with Manchester University?
  - If so, in what ways?
- In what ways would you like to see Manchester University interact with Wabash County?

Manchester Main Street
Following the goals of the national Main Street America organization, Manchester Main Street, Inc., seeks to stimulate revitalization of downtown North Manchester through economic development, citizen participation, and historic preservation. This work is done in part by identifying and highlighting assets of the North Manchester community. The core values that motivate Manchester Main Street’s work include town beautification, local investment, strategic improvements, and cultivating partnerships.

Questions:
- How would you describe North Manchester, Indiana to an outsider?
- Is this a rural town?
  - If so, why?
  - If not, why not?
- Describe the work of Manchester Main Street.
- What are some of the successes Manchester Main Street has had?
- From the perspective of Manchester Main Street, what are some of the challenges facing North Manchester?
  - Are there ways in which Manchester University could respond to these challenges?
- How does Manchester University fit into the goals and plans of Manchester Main Street?
- In what ways does Manchester University benefit North Manchester?
  - Does Manchester University spend money locally?
  - Does Manchester University sponsor local events?
  - How do Manchester University’s contributions to the community compare to other organizations and businesses in town (e.g. Timbercrest Senior Living Community)?
- Does the presence of Manchester University present any challenges for North Manchester?
  - Does the university ever impose itself on the community?
    - If so, in what ways?
- Has Manchester Main Street ever partnered with Manchester University?
  - If so, in what ways?
- In what ways would you like to see Manchester University interact with the North Manchester community?

North Manchester Chamber of Commerce
The Chamber of Commerce is a business membership organization dedicated to the promotion and retention of businesses located in North Manchester and it's surrounding communities. The Chamber prides itself on partnering with civic, government, and community leaders to ensure Wabash County has the infrastructure and resources for our businesses to grow and thrive. We work diligently to bring people to our community thru events such as the Fun Fest by the River and the Harvest Festival.

Questions:
- How would you describe North Manchester, Indiana to an outsider?
  - Is this a rural town?
    - If so, why?
    - If not, why not?
- Describe the work of the North Manchester Chamber of Commerce.
- What are some of the successes the North Manchester Chamber of Commerce has had?
- From the perspective of the North Manchester Chamber of Commerce, what are some of the challenges facing North Manchester?
  - Are there ways in which Manchester University could respond to these challenges?
- How does Manchester University fit into the goals and plans of the North Manchester Chamber of Commerce?
- In what ways does Manchester University benefit North Manchester?
  - Does Manchester University spend money locally?
  - Does Manchester University sponsor local events?
  - How do Manchester University’s contributions to the community compare to other organizations and businesses in town (e.g. Timbercrest Senior Living Community)?
- Does the presence of Manchester University present any challenges for North Manchester?
  - Does the university ever impose itself on the community?
    - If so, in what ways?
- Has the North Manchester Chamber of Commerce ever partnered with Manchester University?
  - If so, in what ways?
- In what ways would you like to see Manchester University interact with the North Manchester community?

**North Manchester Community Foundation**
The North Manchester Community Foundation is a philanthropic organization that seeks out monetary gifts and bequests. This money is spent on community projects and education such as scholarships for local students.

**Questions:**
- How would you describe North Manchester, Indiana to an outsider?
  - Is this a rural town?
    - If so, why?
    - If not, why not?
- Describe the work of the North Manchester Community Foundation.
  - What, if any, are the connections between the North Manchester Community Foundation and the Wabash County Community Foundation?
- What are some of the successes the North Manchester Community Foundation has had?
- From the perspective of the North Manchester Community Foundation, what are some of the challenges facing North Manchester?
  - Are there ways in which Manchester University could respond to these challenges?
- How does Manchester University fit into the goals and plans of the North Manchester Community Foundation?
- Can local students use scholarship money granted by the North Manchester Community Foundation to attend Manchester University?
  - Approximately how often does this occur?
  - Do local students see Manchester University as a viable option for college?
- In what ways does Manchester University benefit North Manchester?
- Does the presence of Manchester University present any challenges for North Manchester?
  - Does the university ever impose itself on the community?
    - If so, in what ways?
- Has the North Manchester Community Foundation ever partnered with Manchester University?
  - If so, in what ways?
- In what ways would you like to see Manchester University interact with the North Manchester community?

**North Manchester Town Council**
In Indiana the size of a municipality’s population is not what determines whether it is classified as a town or a city. However, if the municipality has less than 2,000 citizens it cannot become a city. The primary difference between towns and cities in Indiana is the format of the local government structure. A town elects a town council, which then elects
a council president. North Manchester is classified as a town and therefore, it has a town council. A five-member Town Council elected by the residents of the town and serves on a part-time basis for a four-year term governs the town of North Manchester.

Questions:
- How would you describe North Manchester, Indiana to an outsider?
- Is this a rural town?
  - If so, why?
  - If not, why not?
- Describe the work of the North Manchester Town Council.
- What are some of the successes the North Manchester Town Council has had?
- From the perspective of the North Manchester Town Council, what are some of the challenges facing North Manchester?
  - Are there ways in which Manchester University could respond to these challenges?
- How does Manchester University fit into the goals and plans of the North Manchester Town Council?
- In what ways does Manchester University contribute to local economy?
  - Are there any ways in which the town of North Manchester collects taxes from Manchester University?
- In what ways does Manchester University benefit North Manchester?
- Does the presence of Manchester University present any challenges for North Manchester?
  - Does the university ever impose itself on the community?
  - If so, in what ways?
- In what ways would you like to see Manchester University interact with the North Manchester community?

Town Manager
The primary difference between towns and cities in Indiana is the format of the local government structure. A town elects a town council, which then elects a council president. Towns then appoint a town manager to handle day-to-day administrative work.

Questions:
- How would you describe North Manchester, Indiana to an outsider?
- Is this a rural town?
  - If so, why?
  - If not, why not?
- Describe your work as the North Manchester Town Manager.
- What are some of the challenges you face in your work?
  - Do you have challenges in your work due to the size of the town (e.g. distance to services, distance to amenities, etc.)?
- In your work, do you ever have interaction with Manchester University?
  - If so, what kinds of interactions do you have with Manchester University?
  - Do town employees you manage have interactions with Manchester University?
  - How would you characterize these interactions?
- In what ways does Manchester University contribute to local economy?
  - Are there any ways in which the town of North Manchester collects taxes from Manchester University?
- In what ways does Manchester University benefit North Manchester?
- Does the presence of Manchester University present any challenges for North Manchester?
  - Does the university ever impose itself on the community?
    - If so, in what ways?
- In what ways would you like to see Manchester University interact with the North Manchester community?

Clerk-Treasurer’s Office
The North Manchester Clerk-Treasurer is an elected position in the town of North Manchester, Indiana. In addition to the Clerk-Treasurer in this office there is an appointed position of Deputy Clerk-Treasurer. Citizens contact this office to register to vote, apply for building permits, inquire about local ordinances and regulations, purchase town maps and booklets, and file claims for payment of services rendered to the town. Additionally, the Clerk-Treasurer is the secretary to the Town Council.

Questions:
- How would you describe North Manchester, Indiana to an outsider?
- Is this a rural town?
  - If so, why?
  - If not, why not?
- Describe your work in the North Manchester Clerk-Treasurer’s Office.
- What are some of the challenges you face in your work?
- Do you have challenges in your work due to the size of the town (e.g. distance to services, distance to amenities, etc.)?
- In your work, do you ever have interaction with Manchester University?
  - If so, what kinds of interactions do you have with Manchester University?
    - How would you characterize these interactions?
- In what ways does Manchester University contribute to local economy?
- Are there any ways in which the town of North Manchester collects taxes from Manchester University?
- In what ways does Manchester University benefit North Manchester?
- Does the presence of Manchester University present any challenges for North Manchester?
  - Does the university ever impose itself on the community?
    - If so, in what ways?
- In what ways would you like to see Manchester University interact with the North Manchester community?
Manchester University President
Manchester University has a main campus in North Manchester, Indiana and a College of Pharmacy in Fort Wayne, Indiana. The majority of the 1,600 students are undergraduate students on the North Manchester, Indiana campus. The president of the university serves at the pleasure of the board of trustees. The president is responsible for oversight of the operations and vision of the institution including raising funds for future projects.

Questions:
- How many years have you lived in North Manchester?
  - Have you ever lived in any other city/town while you have worked at Manchester University?
  - If not, why have you decided to live in the town of North Manchester even when you lived somewhere besides Tall Oaks?
- What are some of the ways in which your work at Manchester University interacts with the town of North Manchester?
- Do you actively recruit people from North Manchester to be on the president’s leadership council?
  - Why/why not?
  - Does the board of trustees actively recruit new members from North Manchester?
  - Why/why not?
- How would you describe the relationship between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University?
  - Has this relationship changed over time?
  - If so, in what ways?
- How does the location of North Manchester shape the character of Manchester University?
  - North Manchester is rural compared to the locations of other private colleges and universities. When you are at conferences with leaders of other institutions of higher education do differences in setting/location come up?
  - How do leaders of other colleges and universities characterize rural-located, private colleges and universities like Manchester University?
  - In your interactions with organizations and businesses does the location of North Manchester get talked about?
    - If so, in what ways?
    - How is the location of Manchester University characterized by organizations and businesses?
- In what ways is it important to Manchester University that the town of North Manchester thrives?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for Manchester University?
  - Does the location of North Manchester present any advantages for Manchester University?
- Does Manchester University have a responsibility to contribute to the local community?
- In what ways does the university contribute to the local community?
- What does Manchester University get out of these contributions?
- Why does Manchester University hold events for the local community (e.g. Independence Day Celebration, Kids’ Triathlon, etc.)?

**Manchester University Vice-President of Human Resources and Strategic Initiatives**

This vice president position leads university-wide human resources operations, strategic communications, and new program development and executive education programs for corporate partners.

**Questions:**
- When you first considered the opportunity to work at Manchester University what kinds of things did you think about (e.g. location, size of institution, region of the country, etc.)?
- What did your friends and family say when you told them about the possibility of relocating here and working at Manchester University?
- What were some of the deciding factors for you in deciding where to live (town/city) when you came to work at Manchester University?
- In what ways (if any) do you interact with the town of North Manchester in your current work?
- How would you describe the relationship between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University?
- Compared to other institutions where you have worked is the relationship between Manchester University and North Manchester similar?
  - In what ways?
- How would you say people at the university think of the town of North Manchester?
- Does Manchester University consider whether candidates for position openings will accept offers and/or stay in a position because of the location?
- How does the location of North Manchester shape the character of Manchester University?
  - North Manchester is rural compared to the locations of other private colleges and universities. When you are at conferences with administrators of other institutions of higher education do differences in setting/location come up?
  - How do administrators of other colleges and universities characterize rural-located, private colleges and universities like Manchester University?
  - In your interactions with organizations and businesses does the location of North Manchester get talked about?
    - If so, in what ways?
    - How is the location of Manchester University characterized by organizations and businesses?
- In what ways is it important to Manchester University that the town of North Manchester thrives?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for Manchester University?
  - Does the location of North Manchester present any advantages for Manchester University?
- Does Manchester University have a responsibility to contribute to the local community?
  - In what ways does the university contribute to the local community?
  - What does Manchester University get out of these contributions?
- Why does Manchester University hold events for the local community (e.g. Independence Day Celebration, Kids’ Triathlon, etc.)?

**Assistant Vice President of Enrollment and Marketing**
The assistant vice president of enrollment and marketing leads the university’s admissions and marketing efforts. The combination of these two areas allows for better aligning the two offices and prepare Manchester University for more complex enrollment opportunities within undergraduate, graduate and professional programs.

**Questions:**
- Why did you decide to attend Manchester University?
  - Did you consider any other colleges or universities?
When you first considered the opportunity to attend Manchester University what kinds of things did you think about (e.g. location, size of institution, region of the country, etc.)?
- What were some of the deciding factors for you in deciding where to live (town/city) when you started working at Manchester University?
- In what ways (if any) do you interact with the town of North Manchester in your current work?
- How would you describe the relationship between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University?
- How would you say people at the university think of the town of North Manchester?
- How would you say local high school students and their families think of Manchester University?
  - Is there an average percentage of students from Manchester High School that attend Manchester University?
  - Is there an average percentage of students from Wabash County that attend Manchester University?
- How does the location of North Manchester shape the character of Manchester University?
- When Manchester University creates marking materials what are the goals in terms of portraying the location of the university (e.g. the fall 2015 Manchester University magazine)
  - North Manchester is rural compared to the locations of some other private colleges and universities. When you are at conferences with admissions and/or marketing professionals from other institutions of higher education do differences in setting/location come up?
  - How do admissions and/or marketing professionals from other colleges and universities characterize rural-located, private colleges and universities like Manchester University?
- In what ways is it important to Manchester University that the town of North Manchester thrives?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for Manchester University?
Does the location of North Manchester present any advantages for Manchester University?
Does Manchester University have a responsibility to contribute to the local community?
  In what ways does the university contribute to the local community?
  What does Manchester University get out of these contributions?
Why does Manchester University hold events for the local community (e.g. Independence Day Celebration, Kids’ Triathlon, etc.)?

Vice President for Advancement
The vice president for advancement serves as the chief fundraising officer of the institution. This position oversees development, alumni relations and advancement services.

Questions:
- When you first considered the opportunity to work at Manchester University what kinds of things did you think about (e.g. location, size of institution, region of the country, etc.)?
- What did your friends and family say when you told them about the possibility of relocating here and working at Manchester University?
- What were some of the deciding factors for you in deciding where to live (town/city) when you came to work at Manchester University?
- In what ways (if any) do you interact with the town of North Manchester in your current work?
- Compared to other institutions where you have worked is the relationship between Manchester University and North Manchester similar?
  In what ways?
- How would you describe the relationship between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University?
- How would you say people at the university think of the town of North Manchester?
- How does the location of North Manchester shape the character of Manchester University?
  - North Manchester is rural compared to the locations of other private colleges and universities. When you are at conferences with administrators of other institutions of higher education do differences in setting/location come up?
  - How do administrators of other colleges and universities characterize rural-located, private colleges and universities like Manchester University?
  - In your interactions with organizations and businesses does the location of North Manchester get talked about?
    - If so, in what ways?
    - How is the location characterized by organizations and businesses?
- In what ways is it important to Manchester University that the town of North Manchester thrives?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for Manchester University?
  - Does the location of North Manchester present any advantages for Manchester University?
- Does Manchester University have a responsibility to contribute to the local community?
  - In what ways does the university contribute to the local community?
  - What does Manchester University get out of these contributions?
- Why does Manchester University hold events for the local community (e.g. Independence Day Celebration, Kids’ Triathlon, etc.)?

**Chief Business Officer and Vice President for Finance**
The administrator in the chief business officer and vice president for finance position has oversight of all business transactions made by Manchester University. The wide array of tasks involved in this position includes employee salaries, student tuition, vendor contracts, and purchasing.

**Questions:**
- When you first considered the opportunity to work at Manchester University what kinds of things did you think about (e.g. location, size of institution, region of the country, etc.)?
- What did your friends and family say when you told them about the possibility of relocating here and working at Manchester University?
- What were some of the deciding factors for you in deciding where to live (town/city) when you came to work at Manchester University?
- In what ways (if any) do you interact with the town of North Manchester in your current work?
- Compared to other institutions where you have worked is the relationship between Manchester University and North Manchester similar?
  - In what ways?
- How would you describe the relationship between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University?
- How would you say people at the university think of the town of North Manchester?
- How does the location of North Manchester shape the character of Manchester University?
  - North Manchester is rural compared to the locations of other private colleges and universities. When you are at conferences with administrators of other institutions of higher education do differences in setting/location come up?
  - How do administrators of other colleges and universities characterize rural-located, private colleges and universities like Manchester University?
  - In your interactions with organizations and businesses does the location of North Manchester get talked about?
    - If so, in what ways?
    - How is the location characterized by organizations and businesses?
- In what ways is it important to Manchester University that the town of North Manchester thrives?
- Does Manchester University take local suppliers and vendors when considering purchases and contracts?
  - Why/why not?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for Manchester University?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any advantages for Manchester University?
- When hiring for open positions does Manchester University consider whether or not candidates will accept offers and/or stay in the position based on the location?
- Does Manchester University have a responsibility to contribute to the local community?
  - In what ways does the university contribute to the local community?
  - What does Manchester University get out of these contributions?
- Why does Manchester University hold events for the local community (e.g. Independence Day Celebration, Kids’ Triathlon, etc.)?

Manchester University New Faculty (faculty members who have been at the institution for 5 years or less)
These faculty members are in a variety of departments and primarily teach undergraduate courses. These faculty members work at the North Manchester campus of Manchester University. The new faculty members represent a diversity of races, ethnicities, genders, and ages but share a common thread that they started working at Manchester University within the past five years.

Questions:
- When you first considered the opportunity to work at Manchester University what kinds of things did you think about (e.g. location, size of institution, region of the country, etc.)?
- What did your friends and family say when you told them about the possibility of relocating here and working at Manchester University?
- What were some of the deciding factors for you in deciding where to live (town/city) when you came to work at Manchester University?
- In what ways (if any) do you interact with the town of North Manchester in your current work?
- In what ways do you or your families interact with the town of North Manchester?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for you in your work at Manchester University?
  - When you are in North Manchester and you tell people you are a faculty member at Manchester University how is this information received?
  - When you are in other places and you tell people you are a faculty member at Manchester University how is this information received?
- How would you describe the relationship between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University?
- Compared to other institutions where you have worked or attended is the relationship between Manchester University and North Manchester similar?
  - In what ways?
- How would you say people at the university think of the town of North Manchester?
- How does the location of North Manchester shape the character of Manchester University?
  - North Manchester is rural compared to the locations of other private colleges and universities. When you are at conferences with people from other institutions of higher education do differences in setting/location come up?
- How do people from other colleges and universities characterize rural-located, private colleges and universities like Manchester University?
- In your interactions with organizations and businesses does the location of North Manchester get talked about?
  - If so, in what ways?
  - How is the location characterized by organizations and businesses?
- In what ways is it important to Manchester University that the town of North Manchester thrives?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for Manchester University?
  - Does the location of North Manchester present any advantages for Manchester University?
- Does Manchester University have a responsibility to contribute to the local community?
  - In what ways does the university contribute to the local community?
  - What does Manchester University get out of these contributions?
- Why does Manchester University hold events for the local community (e.g. Independence Day Celebration, Kids’ Triathlon, etc.)?

**Manchester University Student Life Staff**

Individuals in these positions are charged with working with undergraduate students in the primarily non-academic aspects of the lives of students. This work includes diversity and inclusion, student conduct, student activities, physical, spiritual, and emotional well being, and student housing and eating among other things.

**Questions:**
- When you first considered the opportunity to work at Manchester University what kinds of things did you think about (e.g. location, size of institution, region of the country, etc.)?
- What did your friends and family say when you told them about the possibility of relocating here and working at Manchester University?
- What were some of the deciding factors for you in deciding where to live (town/city) when you came to work at Manchester University?
- In what ways (if any) do you interact with the town of North Manchester in your current work?
- In what ways do you or your families interact with the town of North Manchester?
- In what ways do students interact with the town of North Manchester?
  - Food, recreation, services, clothing, etc.?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for you in your work at Manchester University?
  - When you are in North Manchester and you tell people you work at Manchester University how is this information received?
  - When you are in other places and you tell people you work at Manchester University how is this information received?
- How would you describe the relationship between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University?
- Compared to other institutions where you have worked or attended is the relationship between Manchester University and North Manchester similar?
  - In what ways?
- How would you say people at the university think of the town of North Manchester?
  - How do students think of the town of North Manchester?
- How does the location of North Manchester shape the character of Manchester University?
  - North Manchester is rural compared to the locations of other private colleges and universities. When you are at conferences with people from other institutions of higher education do differences in setting/location come up?
  - How do people from other colleges and universities characterize rural-located, private colleges and universities like Manchester University?
  - In your interactions with organizations and businesses does the location of North Manchester get talked about?
    - If so, in what ways?
    - How is the location characterized by organizations and businesses?
- In what ways is it important to Manchester University that the town of North Manchester thrives?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for Manchester University?
  - Does the location of North Manchester present any advantages for Manchester University?
- Does Manchester University have a responsibility to contribute to the local community?
  - In what ways does the university contribute to the local community?
  - What does Manchester University get out of these contributions?

**Manchester University Non-Academic Staff**

Individuals in these positions are charged with many of the day-to-day operations of the university. This work includes maintenance and keeping up the grounds, serving students, faculty, staff, and visitors in a variety of administrative offices, and cleaning the interiors of campus buildings.

**Questions:**
- Did you move to this area to work at Manchester University or were you already living here when you first started?
- When you first considered the opportunity to work at Manchester University what kinds of things did you think about (e.g. location, size of institution, region of the country, etc.)?
- What did your friends and family say when you told them about the possibility of relocating here and/or working at Manchester University?
- What were some of the deciding factors for you in deciding where to live (town/city) when you started work at Manchester University?
- In what ways (if any) do you interact with the town of North Manchester in your current work?
- In what ways do you or your families interact with the town of North Manchester?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for you in your work at Manchester University?
  - When you are in North Manchester and you tell people you work at Manchester University how is this information received?
  - When you are in other places and you tell people you work at Manchester University how is this information received?

- How would you describe the relationship between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University?
- How would you say people at the university think of the town of North Manchester?
  - Are there things you know about North Manchester that others at Manchester University do not get?
    - If so, what kinds of things?
  - How do people you know in the town of North Manchester think of Manchester University?

- North Manchester is rural compared to the locations of other private colleges and universities. How does the location of North Manchester shape the character of Manchester University?
  - In your interactions with local organizations and businesses does the location of North Manchester get talked about?
    - If so, in what ways?
  - How is the location characterized by organizations and businesses?
  - In what ways is it important to Manchester University that the town of North Manchester thrives?
  - Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for Manchester University?
    - Does the location of North Manchester present any advantages for Manchester University?
  - Does Manchester University have a responsibility to contribute to the local community?
    - In what ways does the university contribute to the local community?
    - What does Manchester University get out of these contributions?

**Manchester University 3rd Year Students from Rural Counties**

These students are undergraduate students who have been in college for three years. Manchester University requires all non-commuting students to live on campus for three years so most of these students have lived on campus in North Manchester since they started college. This group is fairly representative of the racial and ethnic diversity and gender make up of the campus. The vast majority of undergraduate students at Manchester University are between the ages of 18-24. This group is representative of the typical ages of Manchester University undergraduate students. The students in this group come from nonmetropolitan counties.

**Questions:**
- When you first considered the opportunity to attend Manchester University what kinds of things did you think about (e.g. location, size of institution, region of the country, etc.)?
- What did your friends and family say when you told them about the possibility of relocating here and attending Manchester University?
- How is the town of North Manchester similar to your hometown?
  - How is the town of North Manchester dissimilar to your hometown?
- In what ways (if any) do you interact with the town of North Manchester as a Manchester University student?
  - Food, recreation, services, clothing, etc.?
  - Are there places you do NOT go in North Manchester?
    - If so, why not?
  - Is there anything you or other students fear or dislike about the town of North Manchester?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for you in your life at Manchester University?
  - When you are in North Manchester and you tell people you attend Manchester University how is this information received?
  - When you are in other places and you tell people you attend Manchester University how is this information received?
- How would you describe the relationship between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University?
- How would you say Manchester University students think of the town of North Manchester?
- North Manchester is rural compared to the locations of other private colleges and universities. How does the location of North Manchester shape the character of Manchester University?
- Is it important to Manchester University that the town of North Manchester thrives?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for Manchester University?
  - Does the location of North Manchester present any advantages for Manchester University?
- Does Manchester University have a responsibility to contribute to the local community?
  - In what ways does the university contribute to the local community?
  - What does Manchester University get out of these contributions?
- Would you ever live in a town like North Manchester after college?
  - Why/why not?

**Manchester University 3rd Year Students from Urban Communities**
These students are undergraduate students who have been in college for three years. Manchester University requires all non-commuting students to live on campus for three years so most of these students have lived on campus in North Manchester since they started college. This group is fairly representative of the racial and ethnic diversity and gender make up of the campus. The vast majority of undergraduate students at Manchester University are between the ages of 18-24. This group is representative of the typical ages of Manchester University undergraduate students. The students in this group come from metropolitan counties.
Questions:
- When you first considered the opportunity to attend Manchester University what kinds of things did you think about (e.g. location, size of institution, region of the country, etc.)?
- What did your friends and family say when you told them about the possibility of relocating here and attending Manchester University?
- How is the town of North Manchester similar to your hometown?
  - How is the town of North Manchester dissimilar to your hometown?
- In what ways (if any) do you interact with the town of North Manchester as a Manchester University student?
  - Food, recreation, services, clothing, etc.?
  - Are there places you do NOT go in North Manchester?
    - If so, why not?
  - Is there anything you or other students fear or dislike about the town of North Manchester?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for you in your life at Manchester University?
  - When you are in North Manchester and you tell people you attend Manchester University how is this information received?
  - When you are in other places and you tell people you attend Manchester University how is this information received?
- How would you describe the relationship between the town of North Manchester and Manchester University?
- How would you say Manchester University students think of the town of North Manchester?
- North Manchester is rural compared to the locations of other private colleges and universities. How does the location of North Manchester shape the character of Manchester University?
- Is it important to Manchester University that the town of North Manchester thrives?
- Does the location of North Manchester present any challenges for Manchester University?
  - Does the location of North Manchester present any advantages for Manchester University?
- Does Manchester University have a responsibility to contribute to the local community?
  - In what ways does the university contribute to the local community?
  - What does Manchester University get out of these contributions?
- Would you ever live in a town like North Manchester after college?
  - Why/why not?
APPENDIX B. – IRB APPROVAL DOCUMENTS

EXEMPTION CERTIFICATION

IRB Number:
42433

TO:
Jonathan Friese, PhD - Sociology
Educational Policy Studies and
PI phone #: 8594472684
PI email: jaredfriese@uky.edu

FROM:
Chairperson/Vice Chairperson

SUBJECT: Non Medical Institutional Review
Board (IRB)
Approval for Exemption Certification

DATE: 7/27/2017

On 7/27/2017, it was determined that your project entitled “Rural Towns and Independent Gowns: How Urbanomrativity Shapes the Interactions of a Rural Locality and a Private University” meets federal criteria to qualify as an exempt study. Because the study has been certified as exempt, you will not be required to complete continuation or final review reports. However, it is your responsibility to notify the IRB prior to making any changes to the study. Please note that changes made to an exempt protocol may disqualify it from exempt status and may require an expedited or full review.

The Office of Research Integrity will hold your exemption application for six years. Before the end of the sixth year, you will be notified that your file will be closed and the application destroyed. If your project is still ongoing, you will need to contact the Office of Research Integrity upon receipt of that letter and follow the instructions for completing a new exemption application. It is, therefore, important that you keep your address current with the Office of Research Integrity.

For information describing investigator responsibilities after obtaining IRB approval, download and read the document “PI Guidance to Responsibilities, Qualifications, Records and Documentation of Human Subjects Research” from the Office of Research Integrity’s Guidance and Policy Documents web page. Additional information regarding IRB review, federal regulations, and institutional policies may be found through ORI’s website. If you have
Robert D. Beckett, PharmD, BCPS
Director of the Drug Information Center
Assistant Professor of Pharmacy Practice
Manchester University College of Pharmacy, Natural and Health Sciences

Chair, Institutional Review Board
Manchester University

May 31, 2017

To Whom It May Concern:

As representative of the Manchester University Institutional Review Board, I have reviewed the proposed study “Rural Towns and Independent Gowns: How Urbanormativity Shapes The Intersections of a Rural Locality and a Private University” from Mr. Jonathan Jared Friesen.

I have found that the project is appropriate to conduct at Manchester University in terms of the planned human subject population and adequacy of the facility to perform the procedures described in Mr. Friesen’s proposal. I have also found that Mr. Friesen has completed appropriate CITI training to complete this project. No additional Manchester University personnel other than Mr. Friesen are planned to contribute to this project, and he has the appropriate expertise to conduct research in the described area.

Upon approval by the University of Kentucky Institutional Review Board, and notice of approval provided by Mr. Friesen to the Manchester University Institutional Review Board, this study is approved to be conducted at this site.

Please do not hesitate to contact me at rilbeckett@manchester.edu or 260-470-2663 with any questions or concerns.

Sincerely,

Robert D. Beckett, PharmD, BCPS
In order to conduct this research I am asking to interview participants in the North Manchester, Indiana community and on campus at Manchester University. I will ask potential subjects if I can interview them or if they would be willing to participate in a focus group using the script below. I will contact prospective participants first via email and then follow up with a phone conversation. This script includes the basic elements of informed consent and will be read to individuals who I request to interview.

My name is Jared Friesen and I am currently conducting research for my dissertation at the University of Kentucky. I am conducting a study on the interactions between Manchester University and the communities of North Manchester, Indiana. This is a unique setting in which a private university is located in a rural community in the United States. In order to understand the ways in which the rural-located university and rural community interact in an urbanized world, I would like to interview you.

Although you will not get personal benefit from taking part in this research study, your responses may help me understand more about the ways in which the university and the community interact and how these interactions could be strengthened to benefit all institutions in the North Manchester, IN community.

I hope to talk to about 80 people, so your answers are important to me. Of course, you have a choice about whether or not to participate in this interview, but if you do participate, you are free to skip any questions or discontinue at any time.

The interview will last no longer than 60 minutes. There are no known risks to participating in this study. Your name will not be asked during the interview and your identity will be kept confidential to the extent allowed by law. When I write about the study you will not be identified. I will not have a record of your name anywhere in my field notes.

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the study, you can contact the investigator, Jared Friesen at (859) 447-2684.

If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact:

The Office of Research Integrity at the University of Kentucky between the business hours of 8am and 5pm EST, Mon-Fri, at 859-386-9431 or toll-free at 1-866-409-9431.

Would you be willing to be one of the people I interview?

Jared Friesen will give you a signed copy of this consent form to take with you.

Sincerely,

Jared Friesen
PhD Candidate, Sociology Department
University of Kentucky
859-447-2684
jfriesen@manchester.edu
Consent to Participate in a Research Study
Rural Towns and Independent Gowns: How Urbanomativity Shapes The Interactions of a Rural Locality and a Private University

WHY ARE YOU BEING INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH?
You are being invited to take part in a research study about the relationships and interactions between a university and community in a rural setting. You are being invited to take part in this research study because you have unique insights and perceptions about the ways in which the community and university interact in this particular setting. If you volunteer to take part in this study, you will be one of about 80 people to do so.

WHO IS DOING THE STUDY?
The person in charge of this study is Jared Friesen (Principal Investigator, PI) of University of Kentucky Department of Sociology. This research is being conducted as a part of doctoral dissertation. Jared Friesen is being guided in this research by Dr. Julie Zimmerman PhD. There may be other people on the research team assisting at different times during the study.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?
By doing this study, we hope to learn the ways in which a rural-located university and the surrounding community interact with each other formally and informally in an urbanized world.

ARE THERE REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?
If you are under 18 years of age, if you do not want to participate in an audio recorded interview, and/or if you expect to be paid for your participation you should NOT take part in this study.

WHERE IS THE STUDY GOING TO TAKE PLACE AND HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?
The research procedures will be conducted in the town of North Manchester, Indiana. Jared Friesen will communicate with you about the best place in which to conduct an interview. The interview should last between 40-60 minutes. Most likely, your participation will be limited to one interview session but there may be need to participate in a follow-up interview. In total, you will be asked to participate in up to two hours in this research project.

WHAT WILL YOU BE ASKED TO DO?
The interview will be recorded using a digital audio recorder. The interview is semi-structured which means that Jared Friesen has a guide including several questions but that the overall style of the interview should be conversational. The conversation is meant to gather perceptions and insights about how university interacts with the community and/or how the community interacts with the university.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS?
To the best of our knowledge, the things you will be doing have no more risk of harm than you would experience in everyday life.

WILL YOU BENEFIT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?
There is no guarantee that you will get any benefit from taking part in this study. However, your willingness to take part, however, may, in the future, help society, as a whole better understand this research topic.
DO YOU HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY?
If you decide to take part in the study, it should be because you really want to volunteer. You will not lose any benefits or rights you would normally have if you choose not to volunteer. You can stop at any time during the study and still keep the benefits and rights you had before volunteering. Additionally, you may skip any questions you do not feel comfortable answering.

WHAT WILL IT COST YOU TO PARTICIPATE?
There are no costs associated with taking part in the study.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION THAT YOU GIVE?
I, Jared Friesen, will make every effort to keep confidential all research records that identify you to the extent allowed by law.

Your information will be combined with information from other people taking part in the study. When Jared Friesen writes about the study to share it with other researchers, he will write about the combined information he has gathered. You will not be personally identified in these written materials. We may publish the results of this study; however, we will keep your name and other identifying information private.

Jared Friesen will make every effort to prevent anyone who is not on the research team (Jared Friesen and dissertation committee faculty members) from knowing that you gave him information, or what that information is. All field notes and audio recordings will be stored on a private computer that is password protected outside of Wabash County, Indiana.

Jared Friesen will keep private all research records that identify you to the extent allowed by law. Jared Friesen and his doctoral dissertation committee members (University of Kentucky faculty members) are the only people who will have access to data you provide. However, there are some circumstances in which we may have to show your information to other people. For example, the law may require us to show your information to a court. Also, we may be required to show information which identifies you to people who need to be sure we have done the research correctly; these would be people from such organizations as the University of Kentucky or the University of Kentucky Department of Sociology.

CAN YOUR TAKING PART IN THE STUDY END EARLY?
If you decide to take part in the study you still have the right to decide at any time that you no longer want to continue. You will not be treated differently if you decide to stop taking part in the study.

WHAT ELSE DO YOU NEED TO KNOW?
There is a possibility that the data collected from you may be shared with other investigators in the future. If that is the case, the data will not contain information that can identify you unless you give your consent or the UK Institutional Review Board (IRB) approves the research. The IRB is a committee that reviews ethical issues, according to federal, state and local regulations on research with human subjects, to make sure the study complies with these before approval of a research study is issued.
Contacting Research Subjects for Future Studies
Do you give your permission to be contacted in the future by Jared Friesen regarding your willingness to participate in future research studies about the interactions between universities and local communities?

☐ Yes  ☐ No  ___________ Initials

WHAT IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS, SUGGESTIONS, CONCERNS, OR COMPLAINTS?
Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the study, you can contact the investigator, Jared Friesen at (859) 447-2684. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact:

The Office of Research Integrity at the University of Kentucky between the business hours of 8am and 5pm EST, Mon-Fri. at 859-257-9428 or toll free at 1-866-400-9428.

Jared Friesen will give you a signed copy of this consent form to take with you.

__________________________________________  __________________________
Signature of person agreeing to take part in the study  Date

__________________________________________
Printed name of person agreeing to take part in the study

__________________________________________  __________________________
Name of (authorized) person obtaining informed consent  Date
REFERENCES


McFadden, Dave. 2018. "Email to Manchester University Faculty and Staff.” Manchester University, Unpublished Email.


Yan, Wenfan. 2002. "Postsecondary Enrollment and Persistence of Students from Rural Pennsylvania."
J. Jared Friesen

Educational Institutions Attended and Degrees Already Awarded

M.A., Student Affairs Personnel in Higher Education, Ball State University (Muncie, IN), 2002, Thesis Title: Thesis: Developing Christians in student affairs: a collaborative effort of Taylor University and Ball State University

B.A., Psychology, Huntington University (Huntington, IN), 1998

Professional Positions Held

**Assistant Professor of Sociology**
Manchester University
August 2018 - present
North Manchester, IN

**Visiting Instructor of Sociology**
Manchester University
August 2016 – August 2018
North Manchester, IN

**Graduate Teaching Assistant**
University of Kentucky
August 2013 – May 2016
Lexington, Kentucky

**Associate Dean for Student Life**
Northland College
July 2011 – July 2013
Ashland, Wisconsin

**Director of Residential Life**
Northland College
July 2008 – July 2011
Ashland, Wisconsin

**Program Director**
Creation Care Study Program
December 2005 – May 2008
Belize, Central America

**Area Coordinator**
Calvin College
August 2004 – December 2005
Grand Rapids, Michigan

**Resident Director**
Calvin College
August 2002 – August 2004
Grand Rapids, Michigan

**Assistant Residence Hall Director**
Taylor University
August 2000 – May 2002
Upland, Indiana

Scholastic and Professional Honors

2016 Howard W. Beers Summer Research Fellowship given by the University of Kentucky Department of Sociology

Professional Publications