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The Landscape of Federal Programs Addressing Access to Higher Education by Low-Income Students Between 1964 and 1993

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FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

THE LANDSCAPE OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS ADDRESSING
ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION BY LOW-INCOME
STUDENTS BETWEEN 1964 AND 1993

By

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To my family

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
Abstract	ix
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	10
3. METHOD OF STUDY	36
4. FINDINGS	54
5. CONCLUSIONS.....	129
References.....	159
Biographical Sketch	163

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Public Laws.....	41
Table 4.1 Primary Program Vehicles Enacted under the Higher Education Act.....	56
Table 4.2 Primary Program Vehicles Enacted under the Public Health Service Act	82
Table 4.3 Primary Program Vehicles Enacted under the Economic Opportunity Act	90
Table 4.4 Primary Program Vehicles Enacted under the Elementary and Secondary Education, the Job Training Partnership, and the Energy Policy Acts	100
Table 4.5 Evolution and Frequency of Policy Objectives	110
Table 4.6 Evolution of Target Populations	118
Table 4.7 Evolution of Delivery Systems	125

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Evolution of Primary Program Vehicles, 1964-1993	107
Figure 4.2: Frequency of Policy Objectives, 1964-1993	109
Figure 4.3: Frequency of Target Populations, 1964-1993	116
Figure 4.4: Frequency of Delivery Systems, 1964-1993	124

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to analyze the evolution of the federal government's role in developing policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. Specifically, the study analyzed public laws beginning in 1964 with the first federal policy directed to the issue and extending thirty years to 1993. Seventy-six laws were analyzed.

This study contributes to the field of higher education policy research in two ways. First, the study uses an historical evolutionary approach to describe the landscape of federal programs designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. This study, for the first time, applies Hearn's (2001) framework of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems to explain the evolution of federal policy in this area over time.

This study found that Congress enacted 30 primary program vehicles between 1964 and 1993. These primary program vehicles were enacted in fits and starts resulting in a proliferation of vehicles offering overlapping services. Examining the evolution of the vehicles over time shows increased Congressional attention at the end of the period covered by the study.

Congress took a fragmented approach to policy objectives. This study reveals that a clear focus on access was supplemented by a focus on preparation, information, and cost. By addressing these objectives, Congress focused on the barriers – academic, social, and financial – that low-income students face in accessing higher education.

Congress charted a clear path with target populations. This study found that Congressional attention slowly shifted away from low-income students between 1964 and 1993. From the mid-1960s to the 1970s, low-income students were the main target population. By the

late-1970s, Congressional attention shifted to include some students who were not low-income. By the end of the period covered by the study, the focus was clearly on middle-income students.

One area of relative stability was delivery systems. This study reveals that Congress primarily provided assistance through campus-oriented vehicles rather than through student-oriented vehicles. On the whole, the approach taken by Congress to the delivery systems is restrictive because it limits the choices that low-income students have in where to attend college.

Although Congress attended to access, it did not maintain its commitment to assist low-income students exclusively; instead, its attention gradually shifted to middle-income students. Combining analysis of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems shows that Congress failed to focus enough on low-income students to close the higher education access gap for low-income students.

Second, this study fills the gap in attention that has been paid to whether Congress used laws other than the Higher Education Act to address the income-based disparities in access to higher education. This study found that primary program vehicles were enacted under the Higher Education Act, the Public Health Service Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Job Training Partnership Act, and the Energy Policy Act. By including laws that were passed outside of the higher education arena, the study also reveals the way Congress has attended to the college access issue in areas such as public health, K-12 education, job training, and energy. In doing so, it shows that 46.67% of federal action around college access is addressed outside of the Higher Education Act and its reauthorizations.

Finally, this study builds what is arguably the most comprehensive database of federal laws directed at college access for low-income students (Table 3.1). This study also contributes

an enumeration of the primary program vehicles enacted under those laws (Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4). By providing a more complete description of the actions that Congress has taken in its attempts to address the gap, this study also provides future researchers, evaluators, advocacy groups, and policymakers with fertile ground for further exploring the federal role in assisting low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For over three hundred years, access to higher education in the United States was reserved for students from high-income families. During the twentieth century, federal policymakers began opening the doors of higher education to students whose families were not wealthy. The change began with a challenge from the 1947 Truman Commission to provide “equal education opportunity for all persons” (Hannah, 1996). Neither Congress nor the country was ready for equal educational opportunity in 1947. Granting money to students to attend college was derided by members of Congress as giving some students a free ride (Gladieux & Wolanin, 1976). Despite support for equal educational opportunity from the subsequent administrations of Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, the Truman Commission’s proposal did not gain the backing needed to become law during the 1950s or the early 1960s (Gladieux & Wolanin, 1976).

By the early 1960s, however, signs of movement on the issue began to appear at the federal level. Just days before President Kennedy’s assassination, Kennedy discussed a program to combat poverty with the chair of his Council of Economic Advisors, economist Walter Heller (Groutt, 2003). After Kennedy’s death, Heller approached President Johnson to carry forward Kennedy’s plans, and Johnson picked up the mantle by forming the Task Force on Poverty in 1963 (Groutt, 2003). Soon thereafter, President Johnson introduced the War on Poverty in his first State of the Union address (Johnson, 1964). Congress responded to Johnson’s call by passing a myriad of laws in the following months including the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, and the Higher Education Act (HEA) of 1965. The EOA produced the first federal effort to prepare the nation’s

disadvantaged youth for college (Groutt, 2003). The HEA contained the first federal program for need-based aid for higher education (Gladieux & Wolanin, 1976). President Johnson indicated his recognition of the importance of the HEA by returning to his alma mater Southwest Texas State College for the signing ceremony (Gladieux & Wolanin, 1976; Hannah, 1996).

In the ensuing fifty years, the federal government has continued to add programs designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. This dissertation is aimed at tracing the evolution of federal policies to support low-income students' college attainment over time, even as the gap between higher and lower income families persists. The study also seeks to understand the ebb and flow of the federal policymakers' attention and the federal policy solutions generated by that attention. While in some respects, access to higher education has expanded for low-income students in the United States over the course of the last five decades, statistics illustrate that the problem remains.

Gap in College Attendance for Low-Income Students

Since federal efforts coalesced into the formalized policy plan for equalizing educational opportunity contained in the Higher Education Act of 1965, the federal government has continued its attempt to increase the numbers of students from all income levels who attend college. Access to higher education for low-income students has been and continues to be a public problem to which federal policymakers have attended.

Federal attempts to provide equal educational opportunity appear to have been successful by some measures. The total number of students enrolled in degree-granting postsecondary institutions increased from 7.4 million in the fall of 1970 to 17.6 million in the fall of 2009. In addition, the percentage of students between 16 and 24 years of age who enrolled in a two-year

or four-year postsecondary institution the fall after completing high school increased from 51% in 1975 to 70% in 2009 (Aud et al., 2011).

These improvements have not occurred equally across the income spectrum, however, and low-income students continue to attend college at rates well below rates for their high-income counterparts. In every year from 1975 through 2009, low-income students (those whose family income fell in the bottom 20%) enrolled in college immediately after completing high school at rates substantially lower than their high-income counterparts. As of 2009, 55% of low-income students enrolled in college immediately while 84% of high-income students enrolled immediately (Aud et al., 2011). This income-based disparity in college attendance rates – a gap of 29 percentage points – deserves increased attention from federal policymakers.

Statement of the Problem

On February 24, 2009, President Barack Obama addressed a joint session of Congress and called on “every American to commit to at least one year or more of higher education or career training.” President Obama also outlined a new goal for higher education – “by 2020, America will once again have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world” (Obama, 2009). Reaching the President’s bachelor’s degree attainment goal will be difficult, and The Pell Institute for the Study of Opportunity in Higher Education has asserted “that income-based inequality in educational attainment is a central obstacle to achieving the 2020 goal and that decreasing income-based attainment gaps must become a central focus of federal education policy” (Nichols, 2011, p. 1).

Based on analyses of bachelor’s degree attainment rates by dependent 18- to 24-year-olds from 1970 to 2009 conducted by Tom Mortenson (2010), Nichols (2011) found that “degree attainment rates have steadily increased for students from families in the top half of the income

distribution and remained fairly constant for students from families in the bottom half” (p. 2). Mortenson’s (2010) research clearly shows that the change in bachelor’s degree attainment over the past thirty years by dependent 18- to 24-year-olds differs dramatically based on family income, specifically bachelor’s degree attainment rates increase with each quartile. The increase for students from the bottom income quartile is merely 2% over the 30 year period while the increase for students from the second income quartile is 7.3%, the increase for students from the third income quartile is 17.2%, and the increase for students from the top income quartile is 45% (Mortenson, 2010, p, 9). In 2009, students in the lowest income quartile have an estimated baccalaureate degree attainment rate of 8.3% while students in the top income quartile have an estimated attainment rate of 82.4% meaning that students from the top income quartile are ten times more likely to earn a bachelor’s degree than their counterparts from the bottom income quartile (Mortenson, 2010).

Nichols (2011) analyzed the bachelor’s degree attainment rates based on whether students came from families in the top half or the bottom half of the income distribution. He found that the bachelor’s degree attainment rate for students from the bottom half was 12.0% while the attainment rate for students from the top half was 58.8% -- representing what Nichols (2011) termed “an astonishing 46.8% gap in bachelor’s degree attainment based on family income” (p. 2). Extrapolating these findings to Obama’s degree attainment goals, Nichols (2011) asserts that our country would already have the highest bachelor’s degree attainment in the world if students from all income levels performed at the 58.8% attainment rate – the rate for students from the top half of the income distribution.

To make Obama’s 2020 attainment goal a reality, Nichols (2011) encourages federal policymakers to focus on “reducing income-based disparities in educational attainment through

targeted intervention for students from low-income and working class families” (p. 3).

Although Nichols (2011) made policy recommendations specifically aimed at increasing degree attainment, these recommendations could just as easily be ways to increase access to college. In fact, Nichols (2011) recognizes that goals need to be developed to decrease the gap in college access.

Mortenson’s (2010) research shows that access to college depends on family income. Although the overall 2009 college continuation rate (the percentage of students who were either enrolled in college or who had enrolled in college but left) for dependent 18 to 24 year old high school graduates was 74.4%, the rates vary tremendously based on family income. While 90.1% of dependent 18 to 24 year old high school graduates from the top income quartile continued into college in 2009, merely 58.9% of their counterparts from the bottom income quartile continued into college – meaning that the college continuation gap based on income was 31.2% as of 2009 (Mortenson, 2010).

Looking at college participation rates reveals an even larger income-based gap. Mortenson (2010) defines the college participation rate as “the share of the population that has enrolled in college. It is the product of the high school graduation rate and the rate at which high school graduates have continued into college” (p. 7). In 2009, the overall college participation rate was 61.9% for dependent 18- to 24-year-olds. Again, the rate varies dramatically based on family income. For students from the top income quartile, the college participation rate was 84.2% in 2009; however, the college participation rate was 41.4% for students from the bottom income quartile – less than half the rate for students from the wealthiest families (Mortenson, 2010). The income-based gap between the top income quartile and the bottom income quartile for college participation was 42.8% as of 2009.

While Nichols' (2011) recommendations for federal policymakers focused on degree attainment rates, Mortenson's (2010) research shows that a significant problem exists much earlier in the educational pipeline. The income-based gap exists at the point at which students continue into college after high school graduation – an access gap persists despite half a century of federal attention directed toward equalizing educational opportunity.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to analyze the evolution of the federal government's role in developing policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. The research design will follow an historical evolutionary approach by looking at federal policymaking over an extended time frame. Specifically, the study will trace federal policymaking by analyzing public laws to assess the evolution of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems beginning in 1964 with the enactment of the first federal policy designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college and extending thirty years to 1993.

Research Question

My research question is as follows: How did the primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college evolve between 1964 and 1993?

Methodology

The study uses an historical evolutionary approach to describe the landscape of federal programs designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. To do so, it relies on Hearn's (2001) framework, a framework that helps analysts identify four key features that define a given policy: the primary program vehicle, the policy objective, the target

population, and the delivery system. Various legislative databases were searched using a common set of criteria to identify a set of actions taken by the federal government between 1964 and 1993 aimed at improving college access. The resulting laws were content analyzed using codes derived from Hearn's (2001) framework of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems. The primary program vehicles were grouped based on the law under which the vehicle was enacted. Congressional interest in each aspect was tracked based on the frequency with which each code appeared in each vehicle. Finally, the evolution of each aspect was traced over time.

Significance of the Study

Understanding the evolution in the primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems embedded in federal efforts to improve college access can aid policymakers and researchers alike. Knowing, for example, which federal laws include student grant aid could enable future studies assessing which primary program vehicles best meet the policy objective of providing access to the target population of low-income students. Such research is particularly important given that existing research (including this study) shows that Congress has shifted its focus to middle-income students.

Despite the efforts that federal policymakers have made to increase access to higher education for low-income students, some researchers argue that many of the choices that policymakers have made since the 1970s have worked against reducing the disparate college attendance rates based on income. For example, researchers assert that federal policies have shifted from concentrating on equal opportunity for low-income students through grant programs to focusing more on middle-income students through loans and tax incentives (St. John, 2003; Wolanin, 2003). In 1970-71, grants made up 55% of the total aid to students while loans

comprised 38.5% (St. John, 2003). By 1999-2000, grants made up merely 20.5% while loans had skyrocketed to 77.5% (St. John, 2003). By 2009-2010, loans still comprised 61.3% of total federal aid while grants made up 37.4% of total federal aid (College Board, 2010).

The Obama Administration has presented policymakers with an opportunity to change the policy decisions at the federal level. To help reach the Obama Administration's goals of preparing all Americans to enroll in at least one year of postsecondary education to strengthen the 21st century workforce, federal policymakers could focus on encouraging low-income students to enroll in college by providing policies designed to assist them in overcoming the barriers that result in their disparate college enrollment rates. This research will help federal policymakers understand the landscape in which those decisions are made including characteristics such as the policy objective, target population, and delivery system of each primary program vehicle.

Moreover, the study supplements the existing literature in two ways. The study uses an historical evolutionary approach to describe the landscape of federal programs designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. This study, for the first time, applies Hearn's (2001) framework of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems to explain the evolution of federal policy in this area over time. By including laws that were passed outside of the higher education arena, the study also reveals the way Congress has attended to the college access issue in areas such as public health, K-12 education, job training, and energy. In doing so, it shows that 46.67% of federal action around college access is addressed outside of the Higher Education Act and its reauthorizations. Finally, this study builds what is arguably the most comprehensive database of federal laws directed at college access for low-income students.

Organization of Dissertation

The remainder of the dissertation is organized in four chapters. Chapter 2 reviews two kinds of literature: (1) research related to the federal role in increasing access to higher education for all groups and for low-income students specifically and (2) studies in the education policy field that have used an historical evolutionary approach. Chapter 2 also situates this study within the context of prior studies. Chapter 3 outlines the methods employed. Findings are presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 details the significance of the study, summarizes the findings, discusses implications, and suggests potential avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

As shown in chapter 1, a persistent gap in access to higher education based on income level exists despite half a century of federal attention directed toward equalizing educational opportunity. Significant research has been conducted on the federal role in providing access to higher education for all students as well as the federal role in providing access to higher education for low-income students. The studies which review Congressional efforts to provide access to higher education for low-income students almost exclusively begin with the assumption that Congress acted solely through the Higher Education Act; however, scant attention has been paid to whether Congress has used other laws to address the income-based disparities in access to higher education.

This study seeks to fill that gap by describing the landscape of federal programs designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. Specifically, the study examines the federal government's involvement in developing programs to address the income-based disparities and traces the ways in which the primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems combine to explain the evolution of federal policy over time. To do so, this study follows an historical evolutionary approach and, ultimately, contributes a database of federal laws directed at this issue.

This chapter is presented in three parts. The first portion of the chapter reviews research related to the federal role in increasing access to higher education and includes studies about access to higher education for all groups as well as studies about access to higher education for low-income students specifically. The second section describes studies in the field of education

policy that have used an historical evolutionary approach. The final part of the chapter situates this study within the context of prior studies.

The Federal Role in Increasing Access to Higher Education

Prior researchers have divided the evolution of access to higher education in the United States into stages. For instance, St. John, Duan-Barnett, and Moronski-Chapman (2013) divided the evolution into four stages. Stage one began in the colonial era and extended through the Civil War. In this first stage, access to higher education was limited; however, efforts were made to expand access by creating new public institutions in the fledgling nation. Stage two spanned from the Civil War to World War II. The second stage was characterized by the development of the American system of public institutions, but access to higher education remained limited to the “‘elite,’ with a relatively small percentage of the population attending college” (p. 79). Stage three covered the period between World War II and the 1980s. During the third stage, access became a national priority first for returning veterans and then for their offspring. This third stage has been called a period of mass access (St. John, Duan-Barnett, & Moronski-Chapman, 2013; Trow, 1973). Stage four began in the 1980s and has been characterized as moving toward universal access (Altbach, 2010; St. John, Duan-Barnett, & Moronski-Chapman, 2013).

Rather than beginning her analysis with the colonial period, Eaton (1997) focused on the twentieth century and divided access to higher education into five stages. She concentrated on efforts taken by the federal government to assist citizens overcome barriers to higher education access. The first stage covered the period from World War II through the enactment of the Higher Education Act of 1965. In stage one, the federal government focused on assisting students who were academically prepared but who lacked the financial means to attend college.

During the second stage, the federal government added efforts to assist students who were not academically prepared and lacked financial means by helping them overcome inadequate academic preparation. Beginning in the 1970s, efforts expanded further during the third stage to cover students who faced barriers based on race or gender as well as students who were not academically prepared or lacked financial means. During the fourth stage in the 1980s, federal efforts zeroed in on removing barriers to prestigious institutions in addition to efforts aimed at students who faced barriers based on race or gender, students who were not academically prepared, and student who lacked financial means. The measure of access in the fourth stage was based on the ability of disadvantaged students (whether disadvantaged by income, race, or gender) to enroll in an institution perceived as offering a high-quality postsecondary education. The fifth stage began in the late 1980s and added students who faced barriers due to motivation to the already existing categories. In the final stage, institutions of higher education were expected to intervene “in a potential student’s life well before he or she attempts college work. Access policy had come to mean that higher education had the responsibility for getting students onto college campuses” (Eaton, 1997, p. 239).

These stages describe efforts by the federal government to provide access to higher education for all students; however, they do not address the federal role in providing access to higher education for low-income students. Efforts directed specifically at low-income students will be described in the next section.

The Federal Role in Increasing Access to Higher Education for Low-Income Students

Researchers have also analyzed the federal role in increasing access to higher education specifically for low-income students. For instance, Fitzgerald and Delaney (2002) did not lay out stages of access to higher education for all students; instead, they provided an historical

overview of higher education in the United States with a focus on efforts to provide access to low-income students. Similar to St. John, Duan-Barnett, and Moronski-Chapman (2013), they began in the colonial period. The earliest attempts to provide access occurred in 1787: first, the delegates to the Constitutional Convention debated and ultimately decided against opening a national university in the newly formed nation (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002; Thelin, 2004), and second, the Northwest Ordinance provided land grants to fund institutions of higher education (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002). The Northwest Ordinance combined with the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 to enable the states to develop the country's system of public universities (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002; Thelin, 2004). None of these efforts were specifically directed to low-income students. Such targeted efforts did not appear until the twentieth century.

Fitzgerald and Delaney (2002) point out that “the modern federal role emerged as higher education was called upon to reintegrate America's veterans into a peacetime society” (p. 5). Congress passed the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 (better known as the GI Bill) which not only allowed returning soldiers to access higher education by distributing funds directly to them but also became a model for federal efforts to assist low-income students in the 1960s and 1970s (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002; Rivlin, 1970). The 1940s were a pivotal time for establishing the modern federal role in providing access to low-income students (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002; Thelin, 2004). The Truman Commission on Higher Education laid out plans in 1947 to eliminate the barriers to higher education for low-income students (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002).

No federal action was taken in response to the Truman Commission report until the 1960s (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002; Thelin, 2004) when Congress acknowledged that the country was facing “a crisis of opportunity and equity” (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002, p. 5). Thus began the

federal government's efforts through the Higher Education Act to increase access to higher education for low-income students.

As part of the War on Poverty, Congress passed the Higher Education Act (HEA) of 1965. The HEA of 1965 was passed during a time of cooperation and collaboration between Congress and the executive branch. Its three main programs – grants, loans, and work-study – were based on three pillars for national student debt policy: need-based aid, parental contribution, and student earnings (Keppel, 1997). The HEA of 1965 included need-based financial assistance for low-income students in the form of Educational Opportunity Grants – making what Fitzgerald and Delaney (2002) called “the promise of access” (p. 6) and setting in motion a long-term federal policy aimed at narrowing the income-based gap in rates of college participation. Gladieux (2002) called it “the first explicit federal commitment to equalizing college opportunities for students regardless of ability to pay” (p. 54).

Congress also established the Upward Bound and Talent Search programs to bolster academic preparation and to provide students with information about college opportunities (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002; Groutt, 2003). The idea for Upward Bound originated with scholar Stanley Salett and was based on existing experiments at higher education institutions and non-profit organizations such as the National Science Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation (Groutt, 2003). Upward Bound was part of the “crusade to eliminate poverty through education” (Groutt, 2003, p. 2).

Talent Search was the brainchild of James Moore and Samuel Halperin who worked with the federal Office of Education. Moore and Halperin worried the money appropriated for Educational Opportunity Grants would not be used because no one knew how to get low-income students into college – neither the high school counselors nor the college personnel nor the

students themselves had any experience in this area. Enrolling low-income students in college was quite simply uncharted territory. Moore and Halperin wanted to market the Educational Opportunity Grants by providing “information about the existence of the new money and how to access it” (Groutt, 2003, p. 3).

As low-income students began to enroll in higher education, institutions realized that they needed support to succeed in college. Congress established the Special Services for Disadvantaged Students (SSDS) program to provide these services. Along with Upward Bound and Talent Search, the SSDS program formed what became known as the TRIO programs. In short order, TRIO expanded beyond three programs when Congress passed a bill sponsored by Senator Jacob Javits in 1972 to establish Educational Opportunity Centers. These Centers provided assistance with college selection and application as well as with applying for financial aid to citizens living in high poverty areas (Groutt, 2003).

By 1972, Congress was attacking the income-based gap in access to higher education from multiple fronts. Congress expanded efforts to assist low-income students to the states by creating the State Student Incentive Grant program to support states in their efforts to provide need-based grant programs (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002).

Although Congress strongly supported the idea of access to higher education for low-income students, a schism developed over whether the aid should go directly to the student or should flow through the institution to the student. Contributing to the debate were a proposal from the Carnegie Commission and the Rivlin Report: both advocated for aid going directly to the student. Also on the side of aid going directly to the student were the new chair of the Senate Subcommittee on Education Claiborne Pell and the powerful Senator Walter Mondale; both introduced bills to support such aid. The view was different on the House side where the chair of

the Higher Education Subcommittee Edith Green was in favor of aid going directly to institutions both because she had close ties to the higher education community and because she personally believed that merit-based aid was a better use of federal dollars. The chambers brought forward opposing positions on the Education Amendments of 1972: the House version retained aid going to the institutions while the Senate version introduced aid going directly to the student. After much debate and compromise, the amendment that passed closely reflected Senator Pell's vision with aid going directly to students (Gladieux & Wolanin, 1976).

Fitzgerald and Delaney (2002) characterize the Higher Education Act and its amendments in 1972 as "watersheds in federal policy" (p. 8) related to access for low-income student for two reasons. First, the laws provided educational choice to students because the grants were portable. Second, the laws directed need-based funding to institutions and states as well. The purpose of the funding was "to increase access and equalize opportunity" whether the funding went to the student, to an institution, or to the state (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002, p. 8).

The mid-1970's have been referred to "as something of a 'golden era' in federal student aid policy, notable both for an emphasis on need-based grants rather than loans and for relatively high levels of consensus among policymakers, leaders in different postsecondary sectors, and student aid officials" (Hearn & Holdsworth, 2004, p. 40). Another view is that the mid-1970s were "more an aberration than an early state of grace from which policymaking has fallen" (Hearn & Holdsworth, 2004, p. 41) because loans had been a part of federal student financial aid since the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, a new focus for the student financial aid programs emerged. Congress became concerned about affordability for middle-income families (Gladieux, Hauptman, & Knapp, 1997; Hearn & Holdsworth, 2004; St. John, 2003; St. John, Duan-Barnett,

& Moronski-Chapman, 2013; Thelin, 2004; Zumeta, 2004). In fact, Congress took several actions to assist the middle-class. For instance, the Middle Income Student Assistance Act of 1978 expanded eligibility for Educational Opportunity Grants, and the Education Amendments of 1980 extended eligibility for student aid programs using the need analysis provisions (Gladieux, Hauptman, & Knapp, 1997).

By the mid-1980s, the tenor in the federal government was fundamentally different than it had been when the Higher Education Act was originally enacted in 1965. Congress and the executive branch no longer saw the federal role as it related to access to higher education in the same way. In 1965, higher education was seen as a good investment for the federal government because it provided both societal and individual returns (St. John, 2004; St. John, Duan-Barnett, & Moronski-Chapman, 2013; St. John & Parsons, 2004). This view was shared across the political spectrum. According to St. John and Parsons (2004), liberals supported investment in higher education as a way to expand educational opportunity while conservatives saw the investment as a way to bolster economic development. By the 1980s, support for federal investment in higher education was much less enthusiastic. New conservatives saw investment in higher education as ineffective (St. John & Parsons, 2004) and began to focus on issues such as academic preparation which shifted support from higher education to the K-12 arena (St. John, 2004). New liberals directed their attention to advocating for early intervention programs (St. John, 2004). St. John, Duan-Barnett, and Moronski-Chapman (2013) observed that it was “much more difficult for advocates of equal opportunity to build support for need-based student aid as a means of equalizing higher education opportunity” (p. 7) given the changing views about support for investment in higher education.

In spite of the differences based on ideology, Congress continued to reauthorize the HEA in the 1980s. The Higher Education Act of 1986 itself retained some of the essential qualities of the original legislation, including language supporting access for low-income students. In addition, student financial aid was still primarily comprised of grants, loans, and work-study plus the three pillars of student debt policy (need-based aid, parental contribution, and student earnings) stood strong. Keppel (1997) described the reauthorization in 1986 as differing from the original legislation but in essence being “a continuation of its 1965 predecessor; it was expanded to include the middle class, it relied far more heavily upon loans, it was far more expensive, and more federally driven—but it was a continuation nevertheless” (p. 197).

Hannah (1996) examined the 1992 reauthorization of the Higher Education Act and concluded that the focus of the law had shifted from providing grants for needy students to loans for middle-income students. Moreover, she observed that the political participants no longer agreed on the importance of equal opportunity for low-income students; instead, election year appeals to the middle class took precedence.

During the 1992 reauthorization, Congress prioritized factors beyond financing that impact low-income students’ access to higher education. Congress established the National Early Intervention Scholarship Program to encourage states in assisting low-income students through early intervention efforts such as providing information about college and support for academic programs and scholarships to participants in those services (Perna & Swail, 2002).

As shown in this chapter, research on the federal role in providing access to all students as well as research on the federal role in providing access specifically to low-income students exists. The studies, however, almost exclusively begin with the assumption that Congress acted solely through the Higher Education Act. They also do not utilize Hearn’s (2001) framework of

primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems to explain the evolution of the federal role in this area over time.

Only two chapters located during this study mentioned that laws other than the Higher Education Act address the income-based disparities in access to higher education. St. John (2003) alluded to laws other than the HEA because he included specially-directed student aid such as benefits under the GI Bill for veterans in his study; however, his study provided neither a list of other laws nor a compilation of vehicles enacted under other laws. Gladieux, Hauptman, and Knapp (1997) briefly discussed the “decentralized” approach that the federal government has taken to student aid and concluded that “simply trying to enumerate the programs” was challenging (p. 107). Not only do Gladieux, Hauptman, and Knapp (1997) leave the enumeration of programs to a later study but they also leave the compilation of the laws used to address the issue for future research.

The study seeks to fill that gap by describing the landscape of federal attention to programs designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. To do so, this study follows an historical evolutionary approach and contributes a database of federal laws directed at this issue. The following section reviews education policy studies conducted in the various sectors of education using an historical evolutionary approach.

Studies in the Field of Education Policy Using an Historical Evolutionary Approach

This section of the literature review describes research that takes an historical evolutionary approach to the study of education policy because this dissertation follows an historical evolutionary approach. This approach traces the evolution of federal involvement in a particular educational issue over time and is organized around constructs such as the various goals of the federal policies and the stages of policy development. Such studies have been

conducted in K-12 (Cohen-Vogel, 2005; Stein, 2004), early childhood education (Kalifeh, Cohen-Vogel, & Grass, 2011), and higher education (Hearn, 2001; St. John, 2003).

Historical evolutionary studies in the field of K-12 education policy.

Stein's (2004) historical evolutionary analysis reviewed the compensatory education policies directed at low-income students in Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). To conduct her study, Stein (2004) traced ESEA from its roots in President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty through 1994.

Stein (2004) looked at "the procedures and assumptions built into policy process" (p. 12). Specifically, she looked at historical moments such as the War on Poverty and institutional arrangements such as funding streams.

Stein (2004) was particularly interested in how the beneficiaries of the policy – poor schoolchildren – were portrayed. In the beginning, ESEA responded to a societal concern about the poor and to scholarly works on poverty including Oscar Lewis' notion of a culture of poverty. Stein (2004) outlined three characteristics of the culture of poverty: (1) a view that poor people are different from the mainstream norm and are usually perceived as inferior, (2) a belief that the government can fix the poor, and (3) a governmental system that includes incentives for programs to identify, maintain, and perpetuate the inferior poor because the programs are funded only if they have a population of poor clients to serve. Rhetoric about the culture of poverty had been used during the debate about whether to enact ESEA both in support of a compensatory education policy as a way to lift the poor into the middle class and in opposition to assisting the "undeserving" poor.

Viewing K-12 education policy through the lens of the culture of poverty resulted in programs directed at children who were seen "as academically deficient by virtue of their

family's socioeconomic status" (Stein, 2004, p. 47). Federal policymakers in the 1960s thought that they could "save" poor schoolchildren through compensatory education policies. By the 1970s, the focus shifted away from the children's socioeconomic status and turned to measuring the effectiveness of the policies; therefore, the primary focus was on academic performance. In 1978, some members of Congress proposed that Title I services be expanded to include children who were academically deficient regardless of the child's socioeconomic status while others argued that the original intent of ESEA was to assist poor children regardless of their level of academic performance. In the 1980s, the focus of policymakers shifted completely away from schoolchildren and, instead, focused on the programs, more specifically on consolidating programs. By 1988, federal policymakers had turned ESEA into a policy targeting schools rather than schoolchildren. Members of Congress argued that they were staying true to ESEA's origins because the targeted schools had concentrations of low-income students. When Stein completed her study in 1994, the focus had expanded to all children in schools with concentrations of low-income students rather than the low-income students in those schools (Stein, 2004).

Another historical evolutionary analysis in the field of K-12 education policy focused on the role of the federal government in teacher education and development. Cohen-Vogel (2005) tracked federal involvement in the issue by analyzing eight federal laws – beginning her analysis in 1958 with the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) and ending with the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB). She analyzed three dimensions of federal involvement in teacher education. First, she looked at the goals and assumptions of the policies. Second, she examined the policy instruments that the federal government used to accomplish the goals. Third, she traced federal funding devoted to teacher education and development.

Cohen-Vogel (2005) found that the initial goals of federal involvement in teacher education in 1958 were to secure the nation's defenses and allow the country to compete globally with the underlying assumption that these goals could be achieved by improving math, science, and foreign language instruction. By the late 1960s, the goals had changed to filling teacher shortages and improving teaching. In the 1990s, the goal shifted to using accountability measures to reform both K-12 schools and the higher education institutions that prepare the teachers with the underlying assumption that all students can meet high standards if taught by quality teachers. One of the eight national goals set forth in 1994 "promised America's teachers access to programs for the continued improvement of their professional skills and the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to instruct and prepare all American students for the next century" (p. 26). The goal of the NCLB Act of 2001 was that all children would be taught by highly qualified teachers with the underlying assumption that teachers who demonstrate content knowledge will provide better instruction and such teaching will result in improved student achievement.

The policy instruments also shifted over time – beginning with training institutes in 1958, moving to district and school site training in the late 1960s, expanding in the 1990s to partnerships between K-12 and institutions with schools, colleges and departments of education (SCDEs) providing training that included subject area content and pedagogy, and including school-level accountability and alternative training providers by 2001. Federal funding was originally directed primarily to SCDEs but shifted in the 1990s to partnerships between SCDEs and local educational agencies and individual schools and ended with funding primarily directed to the district and school levels. Cohen-Vogel (2005) observed that the shifts in the goals, instruments and funding took off in the 1990s when "federal policy broke with its traditional role

of attempting to fill teacher shortages and began to directly address what teachers should know and be able to do” (p. 38). Furthermore, NCLB did not set out a new path for teacher education and preparation; instead, NCLB merely “extended recent assumptions that teaching quality matters” (p. 38).

Cohen-Vogel (2005) pointed out that scholars such as Lindblom argue “that policy making in general favors incremental change over radical innovations” (p. 39). She said that an “alternative or additional explanation for the tinkering that characterizes federal involvement in teacher education is a will for tighter policy alignment” (p. 39). She concluded that the accountability movement “focused education policy at all levels of government on performance outcomes” (p. 39). She agreed with other scholars that good teaching is created through “a complex and lifelong process, requiring opportunities to connect preservice preparation to new teacher induction to ongoing professional development” and further observed that placing the responsibility for such efforts on multiple levels “what some have called garbage-can governance, makes this kind of coordination unlikely” (p. 40).

Historical evolutionary study in the field of early childhood education policy.

Kalifeh, Cohen-Vogel, and Grass (2011) followed Cohen-Vogel’s approach in their historical evolutionary analysis of the federal involvement in early childhood education. They traced the federal involvement in the largest early education program – Project Head Start – beginning with its enactment during the War on Poverty in the mid-1960s and ending in 2007. They assessed three elements: policy goals, governance structures, and policy instruments. They define policy goals as “the stated and implicit objectives of the program and the assumptions about the public problem for which the policy sought redress” (p. 38). For them, governance structures are “the individuals and bodies in which the development and administration of

Project Head Start was/is vested” (pp. 38-39) while policy instruments are “mechanisms designed to affect policy change and advance the program objectives” (p. 39).

The initial policy goal for Head Start in the mid-1960s was to allow participants to overcome poverty by improving intelligence and self-sufficiency. By the mid-1970s, the goals had shifted to achieving high results and increasing program accountability. The goal changed to improving quality by the late 1980s. Early in the twenty-first century, the goal for Project Head Start became improving literacy and school readiness.

The policy instruments for Head Start were comprehensive services including health screenings, good nutrition, family services, and preschool when the program was enacted. By the early 1970s, the instruments began to focus on accountability and program monitoring such as the Head Start Performance Standards. Program monitoring began to zero in on teacher credentials in the late 1980s beginning with a requirement that at least one teacher must have an early childhood degree. By 2001, half of the teachers were required to hold an associate’s degree in early childhood education. As of 2007, a National Reporting System was in place to measure learning outcomes for Project Head Start.

Unlike the goals and instruments, the governance structure was relatively stable. The program was originally assigned to the Office of the President. In 1969, authority transferred to Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). When HEW was divided into the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) and the Department of Education (DOE) in the late 1970s, Project Head Start was assigned to DHHS where it remained in 2007 despite several attempts to move the program under DOE.

Kalifeh, Cohen-Vogel, and Grass (2011) concluded that the “life of Head Start has been marked by periods of policy expansion and relative stasis” with expansion “most notably in the

policy instruments through which services have been delivered” while “(s)tasis has characterized program governance” (p. 56). Moreover, “an early emphasis on the whole child through health, nutrition, family, and preschool services has remained consistent over time” while “changes have occurred in the guiding ideas about how much service is enough and who should deliver it” (p. 56). They explain that the program expanded from a summer program to a program offered during the school year and finally to a year-round program.

Historical evolutionary studies in the field of higher education policy.

In addition to the historical evolutionary studies in the field of education policy addressing K-12 (Cohen-Vogel, 2005; Stein, 2004) and early childhood education (Kalifeh, Cohen-Vogel, & Grass, 2011) discussed above, two recent higher education policy studies took an historical evolutionary approach to the review of federal financial aid programs. St. John (2003) reviewed the development of federal aid programs at the postsecondary level beginning in the 1940s and ending in the 1990s. He assessed access to postsecondary education from three perspectives: (1) access for the majority, (2) equal opportunity to enroll, and (3) justice for taxpayers.

St. John began by looking at the first federal financial aid programs which began after World War II and were provided to veterans and their families through the GI Bill. Until the mid-1960s, financial aid programs such as the National Defense Student Loan program and the Social Security Survivors Benefits Program were directed to targeted populations. With the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965, federal financial aid programs were directed to low-income students for the first time. In the 1970s, federal financial aid was concerned with equalizing educational opportunities for low-income and minority students, and student financial aid mainly consisted of federal grants (St. John, 2003).

In the 1980s, the focus of federal efforts moved from equalizing educational opportunity for low-income students to efficient assistance for the middle class. Despite no real empirical support, the idea that the middle class was being squeezed out of postsecondary education occupied the minds of policymakers. To make loans readily available for middle-income families, Congress passed the Middle Income Student Assistance Act. Subsequently, federal investment in higher education finance switched from grants to loans with loans replacing grants as the principal form of student assistance by the end of the 1980s. The policymakers of the 1980s argued that investing in grants was wasteful and providing loans was more efficient because students pay back a portion of their loans. The Reagan administration also focused on improving high school performance. Underlying the focus on academic preparation was the assertion that college enrollment would increase and the disparity between groups would decrease if students have adequate academic preparation before college (St. John, 2003).

In the 1990s, federal policies focused again on the middle class under the moniker of justice for taxpayers. The Clinton administration supported tax incentive programs such as Hope Tax Credits and Lifetime Learning Tax Credits. Overall, the decade of the 1990s did not shrink the disparity in educational opportunity for low-income and minority students. Rather than focusing on equalizing opportunity, policies in the 1990s targeted tax relief to middle-income students who would have attended college without the incentives, thus continuing the trend of inefficient use of federal policies begun in 1980s (St. John, 2003).

Hearn (2001) conducted another historical evolutionary study of federal financial aid programs; however, he also attempted to explain why the programs continued to garner funding support when the programs did not have the traditional hallmarks of successful federal policies as analyzed under rational models of policymaking – a condition he called the “paradox of

federal student aid” (p. 268). Hearn described four phases in federal financial aid policy between 1965 and 1990: (1) policy emergence from 1965 through 1972-1973, (2) policy refinement and expansion from 1972-1973 through 1977-1978, (3) destabilization of the policy agenda from 1977-1978 through 1980-1981, and (4) policy drift from 1980-1981 through 1989-1990.

Hearn (2001) also analyzed the following eight aspects of federal student aid policy development: (1) policy objective(s), (2) target population, (3) primary program vehicle(s), (4) delivery system, (5) Congressional status, (6) interest-group status, (7) federal/state/institution relationships, and (8) spending growth. He applied these aspects to each policy phase. For instance, the target population was needy students primarily from low-income families during the policy emergence phase and needy students from lower-income and middle-income families during the policy refinement and expansion phase. The destabilization phase began by targeting middle-income and upper-income students; however, the destabilization phase ended by moving away from middle-income and upper-income students – a move which continued during the policy drift phase.

In addition, Hearn (2001) evaluated five perspectives which might explain the continued growth of federal financial aid. First, he looked at whether entrenched bureaucracies concentrate on keeping their programs funded without paying attention to whether the policies were accomplishing the underlying program goals. Second, he analyzed whether student aid interest groups were supportive enough of the programs to maintain funding but not aligned enough to support meaningful reforms. Third, he considered whether policymakers simply settled for maintaining the programs at the status quo because their primary focus was on larger economic issues. Fourth, he assessed whether the programs had expanded to so many middle-class

families that their mainstream popularity made them difficult to change. Fifth, he examined whether “*the failure of reform and cutback efforts may be traced to the nonlinear, ‘anarchic’ qualities of federal policymaking in education*” (Hearn, 2001, p. 302). The essence of the fifth explanation is that the policymaking process “is in fact, *regularly*, not irregularly, unpredictable, uncertain, and chaotic” as opposed to the rational theories models of policymaking (Hearn, 2001, p. 303).

Ultimately, Hearn concluded that the fifth explanation or the organized-anarchy model best explained the paradox. Applying Kingdon’s multiple streams (or, in Hearn’s terms, the organized-anarchy approach), Hearn found that “a highly visible cluster of legislative and administration actors controlled the federal *agenda*. A more hidden cluster, including specialists in the bureaucracy and in professional communities, continually generated *alternatives* from which authoritative choices could be made, but none of these putatively rationalist reforms ever achieved status as a true agenda item. Policy proposals may have been rather well coupled to the problems of the programs, but they remained largely uncoupled from the ongoing politics of the programs” (p. 305). Hearn concluded that the organized-anarchy model’s “view of the paradox as the predictable outcome of a game involving multiple legislative, bureaucratic, and interest-centered agents is persuasive in its sweep, and resonates especially well with general perceptions of the contested aid arena of the 1980s” making it the best explanation available (p. 306).

Hearn, however, did not find that the Kingdon model provided a complete explanation. He pointed out that “one cannot dismiss the distinctive contributions of the other four models to our understanding of the processes at work in the federal aid programs’ survival and growth” (p. 306). He concluded, “The development of a single, more comprehensive theoretical model for understanding the paradox necessarily must await another analysis” (p. 306).

Situating the Current Study in Existing Studies

The prior sections of this chapter reviewed research in two areas: first were studies related to the federal role in increasing access to higher education for all groups as well as for low-income students specifically and second were studies in the field of education policy conducted using an historical evolutionary approach. This portion of the chapter situates this study within the context of prior studies.

This study supplements existing literature in two ways. First, the study uses an historical evolutionary approach to describe the landscape of federal attention to programs designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. To do so, it looks at the ways in which Hearn's (2001) framework of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems combine to explain the evolution of federal policy in this area over time. Second, this study fills the gap in attention that has been paid to whether Congress used laws other than the HEA to address the income-based disparities in access to higher education. Specifically, this study provides a more complete description of the actions that Congress has taken in its attempts to address the gap and contributes a database of federal laws directed at this issue. Each of these contributions is discussed below.

Conceptual framework used to describe the landscape of federal attention to increasing low-income college access.

As stated above, this study follows the historical evolutionary approach taken by numerous scholars discussed earlier in the chapter (Cohen-Vogel, 2005; Hearn, 2001; Kalifeh, Cohen-Vogel & Grass, 2011; Stein, 2004; St. John, 2003), but it applies the approach in a new area: federal programs designed to assist low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college. Applying Hearn's (2001) framework to programs designed exclusively for low-income

students provides a more comprehensive analysis of federal efforts on behalf of such students than has previously been conducted.

Prior research has applied an historical evolutionary approach in the education policy field when reviewing the federal role in early childhood education programs, specifically Project Head Start (Kalifeh, Cohen-Vogel & Grass, 2011). The approach has also been used in education policy studies at the K-12 level to examine the federal role in compensatory education policies (Stein, 2004) and teacher education and development (Cohen-Vogel, 2005).

Prior studies in higher education policy have been conducted by both Hearn (2001) and St. John (2003) using an historical evolutionary approach to analyze the federal role in the development of federal financial aid programs. Both researchers included various federal loan vehicles among the programs analyzed and focused primarily on the relationship between these federal loan vehicles and select federal grant programs.

Hearn's (2001) study included only "generally available" (p. 267) student aid programs, meaning funds available for students that are not targeted to a special population such as veterans. His study specifically excluded specially-targeted aid such as funding targeted for special populations or occupational groups because funding for such programs is comparatively small. Hearn's (2001) study considered only the following programs: college work study, income contingent loans, parent loans for undergraduate students, Pell grants, Perkins loans, Stafford loans, state student incentive grants, supplemental educational opportunity grants, and supplemental loans for students.

St. John's (2003) study, on the other hand, included both generally available aid programs funded through Title IV of the HEA and specially-directed programs. Examples of the specially-directed programs include benefits under the GI Bill for veterans, benefits under the

Social Security Survivors Benefits program for children whose deceased parents contributed to Social Security, and benefits for students enrolling in majors in the health professions. He acknowledged that the funding available under these specially-directed programs was not a significant part of the total funding but included such programs because he asserted that they may influence whether a student enrolls in college. St. John's (2003) study considered the impact of total aid – generally available aid and specially-directed aid – on access for low-income students. In other words, the study focused on the impact that the amount of funding that the federal government provided through total aid had on access. St. John (2003) did not, however, provide a description of the specially-directed programs or consider aspects other than the financial impact of total aid.

As stated earlier, this study applies an historical evolutionary approach in a new area of education policy research. Specifically, this study traces the evolution in the following area: federal programs designed to assist low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college. This study includes both generally-available aid programs and specially-directed aid programs. Unlike Hearn (2001) and St. John (2003), this study does not include loan programs because such programs have always targeted middle-income students – even when the loan programs were also directed at low-income students. Instead, this study focuses on programs designed to benefit low-income students exclusively. Because this study includes a different set of federal programs, it supplements Hearn (2001) and St. John (2003) and extends the higher education policy literature related to federal financial aid.

Historical evolutionary studies, as stated earlier in this chapter, are organized around constructs. Studies using this approach do not, however, utilize the same constructs. Kalifeh, Cohen-Vogel, and Grass (2011) organized their analysis of federal involvement in early

childhood education around policy goals (underlying assumptions and program objectives), governance structures (where the programs are developed and administered), and policy instruments (mechanisms promoting the policy objectives). Cohen-Vogel (2005) tracked the federal role in teacher education using goals and assumptions, policy instruments, and federal funding. Stein (2004) evaluated federal involvement in compensatory education programs using underlying assumptions of policymakers, historical moments, and institutional arrangements. St. John (2003) analyzed the federal role in financial aid programs via access for the majority, equal opportunity to enroll, and justice for taxpayers; in addition, he looked at the financial impact of funding for total aid programs. Hearn (2001) also looked at federal involvement in financial aid but utilized the following eight aspects: (1) policy objective(s), (2) target population, (3) primary program vehicle(s), (4) delivery system, (5) Congressional status, (6) interest-group status, (7) federal/state/institution relationships, and (8) spending growth.

This study utilizes four of Hearn's (2001) aspects – primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems. Specifically, the study explores the ways in which these aspects combine to explain the evolution over time of federal policy designed to assist low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college.

Although the aspects used in this study were drawn from Hearn's (2001) work, each aspect is similar to constructs applied in the other historical evolutionary studies reviewed earlier in this chapter. For instance, primary program vehicles as used in this study are the programs designed to accomplish the objectives. This construct was used by Kalifeh, Cohen-Vogel, and Grass (2011) and Cohen-Vogel (2005); however, both studies referred to the construct as policy instruments. Neither Stein (2004) nor St. John (2003) used the construct of primary program vehicles as an analytical lens; however, Stein's (2004) study considered a single primary

program vehicle – Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act – while St. John’s (2003) study analyzed a myriad of primary program vehicles including both generally-available aid programs and specially-directed aid programs.

For this study, policy objectives are the goals of the program. All of the historical evolutionary studies reviewed as part of this chapter used this construct: Kalifeh, Cohen-Vogel, and Grass’s (2011) policy goals, Cohen-Vogel’s (2005) goals and assumptions, and Stein’s (2004) underlying assumptions are the same as this study’s policy objectives. St. John’s (2003) constructs – access for the majority, equal opportunity to enroll, and justice for taxpayers – are specific types of policy objectives.

Target populations, as applied in this study, are the individuals to whom the programs are directed. None of the studies other than Hearn (2001) specifically refer to target populations; however, each looked at a target population. Stein (2004) and St. John (2003) examined the federal role in assisting a specific target population – low-income students – in K-12 and higher education respectively. Kalifeh, Cohen-Vogel, and Grass’s (2011) target population was children in early childhood education programs. Cohen-Vogel (2005) assessed teacher education programs, so her target population was teachers.

As used in this study, delivery systems are the entities given responsibility for providing assistance to the target populations. Kalifeh, Cohen-Vogel, and Grass (2011) used this construct but referred to it as governance structures while Stein’s (2004) terminology was institutional arrangements. Cohen-Vogel’s (2005) federal funding construct explains which entities received funding to provide teacher education and development programs; therefore, it is comparable to the delivery systems used in this study. Only St. John’s (2003) study did not include a construct comparable to delivery systems.

This study did not analyze all constructs used in the other historical evolutionary studies. Because the sources for data collection for this study were limited to public laws, data were not available to analyze Stein's (2004) historical moments or Hearn's (2001) Congressional status, interest-group status, federal/state/institution relationships, and spending growth.

Filling the attention gap to laws other than the Higher Education Act.

As explained in the prior section, this study describes the landscape of federal programs designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college by looking at the ways in which four aspects combine to explain the evolution over time. In addition, this study fills a gap in the research by asking whether Congress used laws other than the HEA to address the income-based disparities in access to higher education. Specifically, this study provides a more complete description of the actions that Congress has taken in its attempts to address the gap and contributes a database of federal laws directed at this issue.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, research exists both on the federal role in providing access to all students (Eaton, 1997; St. John, Duan-Barnett, & Moronski-Chapman, 2013) and the federal role in increasing access to low-income students (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002; Gladieux, 2002; Gladieux, Hauptman, & Knapp, 1997; Gladieux & Wolanin, 1976; Groutt, 2003; Hannah, 1996; Hearn & Holdsworth, 2004; Keppel, 1997; Perna & Swail, 2002; Thelin, 2004; Zumeta, 2004).

Most of the studies relating to increasing higher education access for low-income students were limited to consideration of the Higher Education Act and its reauthorizations. Many of the studies provided a chronological, historical overview of the law; however, they considered only the HEA once it was enacted in 1965. For example, Fitzgerald and Delaney (2002) traced the federal role in higher education from colonial times through the present century

but discussion after 1965 was limited to the HEA. Some studies focused on specific reauthorizations of the HEA. Keppel (1997) compared the original HEA to the reauthorization in 1986 while Gladieux and Wolanin (1976) focused on the 1972 amendments and Hannah (1996) looked only at the 1992 reauthorization. Other studies were limited to consideration of certain programs under the HEA. For instance, Groutt (2003) and Perna and Swail (2002) focused on only TRIO programs.

This study broadly examines the federal role in assisting low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college. It differs from most prior studies because it does not assume that Congress only addresses the issue through the HEA; instead, the study casts a wide net by searching all federal laws enacted between 1964 and 1993 but includes as germane only laws specifically related to the federal role in assisting low-income students.

Only two chapters located during this study (Gladieux, Hauptman, & Knapp, 1997; St. John, 2003) mentioned that laws other than the Higher Education Act address the income-based disparities in access to higher education. Neither study provided a list of other laws nor a compilation of the primary program vehicles enacted under other laws.

The study seeks to fill that gap by describing the landscape of federal attention to primary program vehicles designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. This study provides both a database of federal laws directed at this issue and an enumeration of the vehicles enacted under those laws. In this way, the study provides a more complete description of the actions that Congress has taken in its attempts to address the gap. This contribution both advances research in higher education policy in its own right and provides future researchers with fertile ground for further exploring the federal role in assisting low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD OF STUDY

This study used an historical evolutionary approach to trace the evolution of the federal government's role in developing policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. The study also explored the ways in which policy objectives, target populations, delivery systems, and primary program vehicles combined to explain the evolution of federal policy over time.

Specifically, the study analyzed public laws to trace the evolution in policy development beginning in 1964 and extending thirty years to 1993. The study begins in 1964 because the first federal policy designed to assist low-income students specifically was enacted in 1964. Extending the study through 1993 provides three decades of federal action for analysis but allows examination of federal policies at a level of detail sufficient to enable a review of the changes in the primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems.

This chapter begins with the research question for the study. Next, the chapter presents an explanation of data collection, data refining, and data analysis. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the overall direction of the study.

Research Question

My research question is as follows: How did the primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college evolve between 1964 and 1993?

Data Collection

Data collection for the study included public laws enacted by Congress, specifically public laws related to policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. To collect data on the public laws, searches were conducted in the United States Statutes at Large in Hein Online. Hein Online is an online, comprehensive database containing legal periodicals and documents. Hein Online contains legal journals, United States Supreme Court documents, and legislative documents. Relevant to this study, Hein Online contains the United States Statutes at Large from 1789 through 2010. The Statutes at Large contain every law passed by Congress published in the order of enactment.

For each year from 1964 through 1993, searches were conducted in the United States Statutes at Large in Hein Online for public laws designed to assist low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college. To obtain relevant results, the following keywords were searched for each year: higher education, postsecondary education, college, university, low-income students, low-income, economically-disadvantaged students, economically-disadvantaged, low socio-economic status students, low socio-economic status, low SES students, low SES, poor, federal aid, direct aid, grant program, support services, opportunity grants, basic education opportunity grants, basic educational opportunity grants, supplemental education opportunity grants, supplemental educational opportunity grants, Pell grants, TRIO, Talent Search, and Upward Bound.

I trained a research assistant to conduct searches in Hein Online, and I also provided the research assistant with a set of instructions for conducting searches. The research assistant first conducted searches using master search terms. Next, the research assistant conducted cross-searches using master search terms and subsidiary search terms. The following are master search

terms: (1) higher education, (2) postsecondary education, (3) college, and (4) university. The following are subsidiary search terms: (1) low-income students, (2) low-income, (3) economically-disadvantaged students, (4) economically-disadvantaged, (5) low socio-economic status students, (6) low socio-economic status, (7) low SES students, (8) low SES, (9) poor, (10) federal aid, (11) direct aid, (12) grant program, (13) support services, (14) opportunity grants, (15) basic education opportunity grants, (16) basic educational opportunity grants, (17) supplemental education opportunity grants, (18) supplemental educational opportunity grants, (19) Pell grants, (20) TRIO, (21) Talent Search, and (22) Upward Bound.

The research assistant received the following printed instructions. Begin by conducting master searches for the following terms: (1) higher education, (2) postsecondary education, (3) college, and (4) university searches by clicking the “Search” button. Print each master search results list. Next, conduct cross searches using the search terms listed below. The easiest way to conduct cross searches is to change the search by master word. For instance, the first search would be “higher education” and “low-income students”; the second search would be “postsecondary education” and “low-income students”; the third search would be “college” and “low-income students”; and the fourth search would be “university” and “low-income students.” Print each cross search results list.

Each search resulted in a printed list of public laws that were potentially related to federal policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. Using the printed lists provided by the research assistant, I created a chronological table of potentially relevant public laws showing the title, the public law number, the date of passage, and the subject (i.e., the search terms). I assigned a chronological tracking number using the year of publication followed by a sequential number, e.g., 1964-1, 1964-2, etc.

This data collection process resulted in a universe of 523 public laws enacted by Congress between 1964 and 1993. These laws were potentially related to federal policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college; however, I conducted a data refining process to ensure that the public laws were germane.

Data Refining

To refine the data collected, I began by creating decision rules to determine which of the 523 public laws were in fact related to federal policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. First, any result that was not a public law but was a ceremonial joint resolution or presidential proclamation would be excluded. Second, any public law that did not contain one of the master search terms (higher education, postsecondary education, college or university) would be excluded. Third, any result that did not contain a subsidiary search term related to low-income students would be excluded. Fourth, any result that was not related to the research question would be excluded.

Next, I retrieved each public law. To retrieve the full text of each public law, I searched by public law number in Pro Quest Legislative Insight. Pro Quest Legislative Insight is an online, comprehensive database containing legislative history documents. Pro Quest Legislative Insight contains the full text of public laws, related bills, Congressional Record excerpts, committee hearings, and presidential signing statements. Relevant to this study, Pro Quest Legislative Insight contains fully searchable PDFs of public laws enacted by Congress between 1929 and 2012.

Once I retrieved the public law, I applied the decision rules outlined above. Of the universe of 523 potentially germane public laws enacted between 1964 and 1993, I determined that one result was not a public law based on the first decision rule. This result was a ceremonial

joint resolution to designate December 11, 1986, as “National SEEK and College Discovery Day” (P.L. 99-512).

Next, I reviewed the remaining 522 potentially germane public laws for search terms using the second and third decision rules. To conduct this review, I reviewed the full text version of each public law for the list of search terms entered into the “subject” column of the spreadsheet created during data collection. I found that 47 of the public laws did not contain a master search term. Of the remaining 475 potentially germane public laws, 198 did not contain a subsidiary search term related to low-income students.

For the remaining 277 public laws, I applied the fourth decision rule. I read the text surrounding the search terms to determine if the public law related to the research question – i.e., did the text address federal policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college? I excluded 204 results that were not related to the research question. For instance, the Independent Offices Appropriation Act of 1965 (P.L. 88-507) contained both “college” and “low-income,” but the text was not germane to the research question. “College” appeared in text related to housing loans for educational institutions, but these loans were not for low-income students. “Low-income” appeared in text dealing with low-income housing demonstration projects, but the housing was not for college students.

After applying the four decision rules to the 523 public laws, I found that seventy-three were germane to the research question. These public laws comprised the majority of my data set.

Three laws were added to the universe of germane public laws during data analysis. The Public Health Service Act Amendments of 1975 (PL 94-63) was originally excluded because it did not contain a master search term. The Nurse Education Act Amendments of 1985 (PL 99-92) was originally excluded because it did not contain a subsidiary search term related to low-

income students. The Preventive Health Amendments of 1992 contained both a master search term and a subsidiary search; however, it was originally deemed not to be germane (PL 102-531). Each of these laws related to the repeal of a primary program vehicle. These laws were determined to be germane when I reviewed all of the primary program vehicles in the 1994 version of the United States Code to ensure that the vehicle was still in effect at the end of the period covered by the study. With the addition of these three public laws, the total universe of germane public laws was seventy-six.

Table 3.1 below shows the list of the seventy-six public laws designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. The table contains the following information: (1) the tracking number assigned during data collection, (2) the title of the public law, (3) the reference information (i.e., the public law number and the statutes at large reference), (4) the date of passage, and (5) the subject expressed as numeric codes indicating which of the search terms appear in the public law.

Table 3.1
Public Laws

Number	Title	Public Law No.	Date	Subject
1964-2	Economic Opportunity Act of 1964	PL 88-452 (78 Stat. 508)	August 20, 1964	1, 6
1965-8	Higher Education Act of 1965	PL 89-329 (79 Stat. 1219)	November 8, 1965	1, 3, 4, 6, 13
1966-8	Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act of 1966	PL 89-751 (80 Stat. 1222)	November 3, 1966	1, 3, 4, 6, 13
1966-10	Department of Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1967	PL 89-787 (80 Stat. 1378)	November 7, 1966	1, 3, 4, 13
1966-11	Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1966	PL 89-794 (80 Stat. 1451)	November 8, 1966	1, 6, 9

Table 3.1 – continued

Number	Title	Public Law No.	Date	Subject
1967-5	Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1968	PL 90-132 (81 Stat. 386)	November 8, 1967	1, 3, 4, 13
1967-6	Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967	PL 90-222 (81 Stat. 672)	December 23, 1967	1, 6, 9, 21
1968-7	Health Manpower Act of 1968	PL 90-490 (82 Stat. 773)	August 16, 1968	3, 4, 6
1968-9	Department of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriation Act 1969	PL 90-557 (82 Stat. 969)	October 11, 1968	1, 3, 4, 13
1968-11	Higher Education Amendments of 1968	PL 90-575 (82 Stat. 1014)	October 16, 1968	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 20, 21
1970-2	Departments of Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1970	PL 91-204 (84 Stat. 23)	March 5, 1970	1, 3, 4, 13
1970-4	Elementary and secondary education assistance programs, extension	PL 91-230 (84 Stat. 121)	April 13, 1970	1, 3, 6
1970-8	Office of Education Appropriation Act, 1971	PL 91-380 (84 Stat. 800)	August 18, 1970	1, 4, 13
1971-3	Office of Education and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1972	PL 92-48 (85 Stat. 103)	July 9, 1971	1, 3, 4, 13
1971-11	Nurse Training Act of 1971	PL 92-158 (85 Stat. 465)	November 18, 1971	2, 6
1972-3	Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1972	PL 92-306 (86 Stat. 163)	May 27, 1972	1, 3, 4, 10, 13
1972-4	Education Amendments of 1972	PL 92-318 (86 Stat. 235)	June 23, 1972	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 16, 17
1973-5	Amend the Education Amendments of 1972	PL 93-35 (87 Stat. 72)	May 16, 1973	1, 2, 13
1973-13	Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1974	PL 93-192 (87 Stat. 746)	December 18, 1973	1, 3, 4, 13
1974-3	Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1974	PL 93-305 (88 Stat. 195)	June 8, 1974	1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 13

Table 3.1 – continued

Number	Title	Public Law No.	Date	Subject
1974-11	Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1975	PL 93-517 (88 Stat. 1634)	December 7, 1974	1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 17
1975-6	Continuing Appropriations, 1976	PL 94-41 (89 Stat. 225)	June 27, 1975	1, 13
1975-8	Emergency Technical Provisions Act	PL 94-43 (89 Stat. 233)	June 28, 1975	1, 3, 13, 15
1975-10	Education Division and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1976	PL 94-94 (89 Stat. 468)	September 10, 1975	1, 3, 4, 13, 17
1975-19	Public Health Service Act Amendments of 1975	PL 94-63 (89 Stat. 304)	July 29, 1975	6, 10, 12
1976-2	Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1976	PL 94-303 (90 Stat. 597)	June 1, 1976	1, 3, 4, 10, 13, 15, 12
1976-17	Education Amendments of 1976	PL 94-482 (90 Stat. 2081)	October 12, 1976	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 12, 15, 20, 17
1977-1	Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1977	PL 95-26 (91 Stat. 61)	May 4, 1977	1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 13, 12, 15
1978-15	Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriations Act, 1979	PL 95-480 (92 Stat. 1567)	October 18, 1978	1, 3, 4, 13, 15
1978-18	Education Amendments of 1978	PL 95-561 (92 Stat. 2143)	November 1, 1978	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
1978-20	Middle Income Student Assistance Act	PL 95-566 (92 Stat. 2402)	November 1, 1978	1, 13, 15
1980-5	Supplemental Appropriations and Recission Act, 1980	PL 96-304 (94 Stat. 857)	July 8, 1980	1, 4, 6, 10, 12
1980-8	Continuing appropriations, FY 1981	PL 96-369 (94 Stat. 1351)	October 1, 1980	1, 6
1980-9	Education Amendments of 1980	PL 96-374 (94 Stat. 1367)	October 3, 1980	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 12, 18, 20, 21, 17
1980-22	Further Continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1981	PL 96-536 (94 Stat. 3166)	December 16, 1980	1, 6
1981-1	Supplemental Appropriations and Recission Act, 1981	PL 97-12 (95 Stat. 14)	June 5, 1981	1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 13, 12, 18
1981-3	Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981	PL 97-35 (95 Stat. 357)	August 13, 1981	1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

Table 3.1 – continued

Number	Title	Public Law No.	Date	Subject
1981-5	Further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1982	PL 97-92 (95 Stat. 1183)	December 15, 1981	1, 3, 4, 6, 12, 18
1982-1	Urgent Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1982	PL 97-216 (96 Stat. 180)	July 18, 1982	1, 4, 6, 10
1982-6	Student Financial Assistance Technical Amendments	PL 97-301 (96 Stat. 1400)	October 13, 1982	1, 3, 18
1982-11	Continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1983	PL 97-377 (96 Stat. 1830)	December 21, 1982	1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 18
1983-6	Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1983	PL 98-63 (97 Stat. 301)	July 30, 1983	1, 6, 10, 12
1983-8	Student Loan Consolidation and Technical Amendments Act of 1983	PL 98-79 (97 Stat. 476)	August 15, 1983	1, 18
1983-10	Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1984	PL 98-139 (97 Stat. 871)	October 31, 1983	1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 18
1984-16	Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1985	PL 98-619 (98 Stat. 3305)	November 8, 1984	1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 13, 18, 17
1985-2	Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1985	PL 99-88 (99 Stat. 293)	August 15, 1985	1, 4, 6, 11, 12
1985-6	Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1986	PL 99-178 (99 Stat. 1102)	December 12, 1985	1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 13, 18, 17
1985-10	Nurse Education Amendments Act of 1985	PL 99-92 (99 Stat. 393)	August 16, 1985	3, 4
1986-4	Urgent Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1986	PL 99-349 (100 Stat. 710)	July 2, 1986	1, 4, 6, 10
1986-6	Higher Education Act Amendments of 1986	PL 99-498 (100 Stat. 1268)	October 17, 1986	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 12, 15, 18, 20, 21, 17
1987-3	Higher Education Technical Amendments of 1987	PL 100-50 (101 Stat. 335)	June 3, 1987	1, 3, 4, 6, 13, 12, 18, 17
1987-6	Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987	PL 100-71 (101 Stat. 391)	July 11, 1987	1, 4, 6, 10, 11

Table 3.1 – continued

Number	Title	Public Law No.	Date	Subject
1987-13	Joint Resolution. Continuing Appropriations 1988	PL 100-202 (101 Stat. 1329)	December 22, 1987	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12
1988-2	Augustus F. Hawkins- Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments of 1988	PL 100-297 (102 Stat. 130)	April 28, 1988	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12
1988-9	Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1989	PL 100-436 (102 Stat. 1680)	September 20, 1988	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 12
1988-18	Health Omnibus Programs Extension of 1988	PL 100-607 (102 Stat. 3048)	November 4, 1988	4, 6, 11, 12
1989-10	Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990	PL 101-164 (103 Stat. 1069)	November 21, 1989	1, 4, 6, 10
1989-11	Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1990	PL 101-166 (103 Stat. 1159)	November 21, 1989	1, 3, 4, 6, 11
1990-25	Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1991	PL 101-517 (104 Stat. 2190)	November 5, 1990	1, 3, 4, 6, 11
1990-28	Disadvantaged Minority Health Improvement Act of 1990	PL 101-527 (104 Stat. 2311)	November 6, 1990	1, 6
1991-2	Higher Education Technical Amendments of 1991	PL 102-26 (105 Stat. 123)	April 9, 1991	1, 2, 4, 18
1991-5	National Literacy Act of 1991	PL 102-73 (105 Stat. 333)	July 25, 1991	1, 6, 11, 19
1991-18	Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992	PL 102-170 (105 Stat. 1107)	November 26, 1991	1, 3, 4, 6

Table 3.1 – continued

Number	Title	Public Law No.	Date	Subject
1992-5	Higher Education Amendments of 1992	PL 102-325 (106 Stat. 448)	July 23, 1992	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21, 17
1992-9	Job Training Reform Amendments of 1992	PL 102-367 (106 Stat. 1021)	September 7, 1992	1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12
1992-10	Dire Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1992	PL 102-368 (106 Stat. 1117)	September 23, 1992	1, 4, 6
1992-20	Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1993	PL 102-394 (106 Stat. 1792)	October 6, 1992	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 12, 19
1992-24	Health Professions Education Extension Amendments of 1992	PL 102-408 (106 Stat. 1992)	October 13, 1992	1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 12
1992-27	National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993	PL 102-484 (106 Stat. 2315)	October 23, 1992	1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 21
1992-28	Energy Policy Act of 1992	PL 102-486 (106 Stat. 2776)	October 24, 1992	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11
1992-31	Preventive Health Amendments of 1992	PL 102-531 (106 Stat. 3469)	October 27, 1992	1, 6, 12
1993-1	National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act of 1993	PL 103-43 (107 Stat. 122)	June 10, 1993	1, 3, 4, 6, 12
1993-4	Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1993	PL 103-50 (107 Stat. 241)	July 2, 1993	1, 6
1993-7	Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Relief From the Major Widespread Flooding in the Midwest Act of 1993	PL 103-75 (107 Stat. 739)	August 12, 1993	1, 6, 10
1993-10	Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1994	PL 103-112 (107 Stat. 1082)	October 21, 1993	1, 3, 4, 6, 11
1993-19	Higher Education Technical Amendments of 1993	PL 103-208 (107 Stat. 2457)	December 20, 1993	1, 2, 3, 6, 18

Table 3.1 – continued

Legend	Subject Title
1	higher education
2	postsecondary education
3	college
4	university
5	low-income students
6	low-income
7	economically-disadvantaged students
8	economically-disadvantaged
9	poor
10	federal aid
11	grant program
12	support services
13	opportunity grants
14	basic education opportunity grants
15	basic educational opportunity grants
16	supplemental education opportunity grants
17	supplemental educational opportunity grants
18	Pell grants
19	TRIO
20	talent search
21	upward bound

Data Analysis

Following Cohen-Vogel's (2005) approach, I conducted a content analysis of the seventy-six public laws specifically addressing federal efforts to assist low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college. I analyzed the text of the public laws using the following policy aspects utilized by Hearn (2001): (1) policy objective, (2) target population, (3) delivery system, and (4) primary program vehicle. Policy objectives are the goals of the program, whether stated or implied in the federal law. Target populations are the individuals to whom the programs are directed. Delivery systems are the entities given responsibility for providing assistance to the target populations. Primary program vehicles are the programs designed to accomplish the objectives. Hearn (2001) also analyzed Congressional status, interest-group

status, federal/state/institution relationships, and spending growth, but data on these four policy aspects were not available because the sources for data collection were limited to public laws.

I began coding for each aspect following Hearn's (2001) approach, but I added codes as they emerged. For instance, I began coding the policy objective as access or choice but included other codes that emerged. I used the same approach for coding target population. I began coding by following Hearn's approach using low-income students and middle-income students, but I added codes as they emerged. I also began coding the delivery system based on Hearn's approach. I coded the delivery system as campus-oriented or student-oriented, then I added codes as they emerged.

I diverged from Hearn's (2001) coding of the primary program vehicle. Hearn coded primary program vehicle as either grants or loans. As explained earlier, this study will not include loans because loans are not exclusively directed to low-income students. Instead, the primary program vehicle types were coded as the programs designed to assist low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college. These primary program vehicles emerged through the analysis of the public laws and are described in depth in chapter 4.

After coding the seventy-six laws, I created a table outlining the primary program vehicles and their aspects. This table did not contain every law in the universe of germane laws; instead, it only included public laws under which a primary program vehicle was enacted or under which changes to one of the aspects were made. The table was organized by primary program vehicle and included the following information: (1) the name of the primary program vehicle, (2) the tracking number for the public law under which the vehicle was originally enacted as well as its reference information (the public law number and the statutes at large reference), (3) the public law title under which the vehicle was originally enacted, (4) the

tracking number for any public law containing amendments to the vehicle along with its reference information, (5) the public law title where the amendments were found, (6) the policy objective, (7) the target population, and (8) the delivery system. Creating this table enabled me to determine the public laws under which the primary program vehicles were enacted and to establish groupings of primary program vehicles for presenting my findings in chapter 4.

Next, I created a separate table for policy objectives, for target populations, and for delivery systems. Each table showed the changes in that aspect by primary program vehicle. Each table included a column for each year between 1964 and 1993 and a row for each primary program vehicle. The cells showed the aspect (e.g. the policy objectives) for the primary program vehicle in each year. If there were multiple codes for an aspect of the primary program vehicle in a single year, then the row for that vehicle would be sub-divided. For example, the cells for 1964 and work-study in the policy objectives table showed three policy objectives – opportunity, access, and cost.

After I completed each table, I created a list of the codes found for that aspect. Creating this list allowed me to see whether I had used similar codes as I was doing my initial analysis. In certain cases, I was able to group several codes together into an overall category. For example, I combined three codes that included low-income students but were not limited to low-income students to make the overall category called “low-income plus other students” for target populations. The following three codes were included in the overall category: (1) low-income plus others, (2) low-income or first-generation, and (3) physically handicapped or low-income first generation. I considered including the code “low-income first-generation” with this group, but I ultimately decided to leave the code as its own category because that category is not an addition to low-income but is a limitation on which low-income students qualify.

At the end of this process, there were a total of ten codes for the policy objective. The policy objectives were access, choice, community service, completion, cost, information, opportunity, preparation, program improvement, and success. I found the following ten codes for target population: all students including need, disadvantaged students, low-income first-generation college students, low-income institutions or communities, low-income students, low-income students plus others, members of the armed forces, middle-income students, need based on estimated family contribution (EFC), or recipients of need programs. I found the following seven codes for delivery system: campus-oriented; federal, state, or private programs; partnerships with public and private organizations; secondary schools; service delivery areas; states; or student-oriented.

After I created coding groups for each aspect, I then highlighted each code using a different color. For instance, the policy objectives table showed opportunity as pink, access as yellow, cost as green, etc. I could then determine the frequency with which each code appeared in the whole time period. The frequency with which a code appeared was used as an indication of Congressional interest in and attention to a particular code.

To trace the evolution of the aspects over time, I divided each of the aspects into time periods. I created a table for each of the aspects with the following information: (1) the time period, (2) the codes for the aspect appearing during that time period, (3) the frequency of the codes for the aspect appearing during that time period, and (4) the primary program vehicles for which the code for the aspect applies during that time period.

I also used the information in the table dividing each of the aspects into time periods to identify shifts. For the purposes of this study, a shift simply means a change. A shift may occur when there is an increase in attention paid to a particular code for an aspect. For instance, a shift

may occur when there is an increase in the number of the primary program vehicles taken as a whole for which a particular target population applies. A shift may also occur when one set of delivery systems for a single primary program vehicle is replaced by another set of delivery systems for that vehicle. Finally, a shift may occur when attention to a policy objective is not consistent over time.

Overall Direction in the Current Study

The method for the study followed an historical evolutionary approach to trace a thirty-year period during the evolution of federal policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. I traced the evolution of the policies by reviewing and analyzing seventy-six public laws enacted beginning in 1964 with the enactment of the first federal policy designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college and extending thirty years to 1993.

Choosing the time frame for the study was based on the complexity of the methodological approach. As described earlier in this chapter, the thirty years of Congressional action covered by this study allowed for an examination of federal law at a level of detail sufficient to analyze changes in the primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations and delivery systems. This approach allowed me to conduct a focused, detailed analysis of an expansive set of federal laws.

Arriving at the final list of 76 public laws required an extensive data collection process resulting in a universe of 523 potentially germane laws followed by a comprehensive data refining process. The data analysis process involved detailed review of the 76 public laws and revealed 30 primary program vehicles, 10 policy objectives, 10 target populations, and 7 delivery systems.

The ending date of 1993 was not chosen because a particular event occurred during that year. I did, however, discover that there was a confluence of legislative action in this area at the end of the period covered by the study. Three laws of importance to the evolution of federal policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college were enacted between 1992 and 1993. As discussed further in chapter 5, conducting future research on federal laws enacted after 1993 would enable researchers to determine whether this period was the beginning of a new wave in the evolution of federal policy in this area.

Conducting an analysis of thirty years of federal laws using Hearn's (2001) aspects enabled me to create a richly detailed database of federal laws as well as an enumeration of the primary program vehicles enacted under those laws. Ending the study in 1993 provided an extensive data set but still allowed for a focused, detailed analysis of the changes occurring during this period of the evolution of federal policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college.

This study considered only federal programs designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college and specifically excluded loan programs. Although the various federal student loan programs undeniably assist low-income students to enroll in college, this study did not include loan programs because they are not designed specifically to benefit low-income students. Including loan programs would have confused the analysis because the goals of loan programs have always focused on middle-income students. Stated differently, the population for this study was federal programs directed exclusively at low-income students. Including loan programs would have required expanding the population of the study to include federal programs directed at middle-income and potentially upper-income students.

Following Cohen-Vogel's (2005) approach, I conducted a content analysis of the universe of public laws specifically addressing federal efforts to assist low-income students. I analyzed the text of the public laws using the following policy aspects utilized by Hearn (2001): (1) policy objective, (2) target population, (3) delivery system, and (4) primary program vehicle. I established groupings of primary program vehicles, tracked Congressional interest using the frequency of codes, and traced the evolution of the four aspects over time. Specific findings are presented in chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This dissertation analyzes public laws designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. The study traces the evolution in policy development beginning in 1964 with the enactment of the first federal policy on the issue and covered a period of thirty years ending in 1993. My research question is as follows: How did the primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college evolve between 1964 and 1993?

In this chapter, I first identify the primary program vehicles embedded in the seventy-six public laws in my sample. Next, I describe the original policy objective, target population, and delivery system for each primary program vehicle and detail any changes in these aspects. Finally, I discuss both the frequency with which the policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems appear as well as the evolution of each aspect.

Primary Program Vehicles

In this section, I identify the primary program vehicles embedded in the seventy-six public laws in my sample. I organize the discussion of the vehicles by the public laws under which the vehicles were enacted and discuss the vehicles in order of enactment. I also describe the original policy objective, target population, and delivery system for each primary program vehicle and detail any changes in these aspects.

I analyzed seventy-six laws enacted between 1964 and 1993 that addressed ways to assist low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college. I found that Congress developed 30 primary program vehicles.

New primary program vehicles were enacted under 6 public laws: (1) Higher Education Act, (2) Public Health Service Act, (3) Economic Opportunity Act, (4) Elementary and Secondary Education Act, (5) Job Training Partnership Act, and (6) Energy Policy Act. More than half of the new vehicles (16 or 53.33%) were added as part of the Higher Education Act, and almost a quarter (7 or 23.33%) were added as part of the Public Health Service Act amendments. These two acts account for more than 75% of the new vehicles. One-tenth (3 or 10.00%) were added by the Economic Opportunity Act. The remaining new vehicles (4 or 13.33%) were added by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1 or 3.33%), the Job Training Partnership Act (2 or 6.67%), and the Energy Policy Act (1 or 3.33%).

Primary program vehicles enacted under the Higher Education Act.

The first of the six public laws under which primary program vehicles were enacted was the Higher Education Act (HEA). In this section, I will identify the primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. I will first describe the vehicle, including information about changes to the vehicle's name where applicable. Then, I will provide the original policy objective, target population, and delivery system for each primary program vehicle and detail any changes in these aspects.

More than half of the new vehicles (16 or 53.33%) were added as part of the Higher Education Act. Table 4.1 below shows the primary program vehicles added under the Higher Education Act. Each primary program vehicle added under the Higher Education Act is described in the following sections.

Educational opportunity grants.

The educational opportunity grants program was the first of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted under the Higher Education Act of 1965. The purpose

Table 4.1
 Primary Program Vehicles Enacted under the Higher Education Act

Name of Primary Program Vehicle	Year Enacted	Public Law Title	Re-named	Repealed
1. Educational opportunity grants	1965	Higher Education Act of 1965, P.L. 89-329	Supplemental educational opportunity grants (1972) Federal supplemental educational opportunity grants (1992)	
2. Educational talent	1965	Higher Education Act of 1965, P.L. 89-329	Talent search (1968)	
3. Special services for disadvantaged students	1968	Higher Education Amendment of 1968, P.L. 90-575	Student support service (1986)	
4. Basic educational opportunity grants	1972	Education Amendments of 1972, P.L. 92-318	Pell grants (1980) Federal Pell grants (1992)	
5. State student incentive grants	1972	Education Amendments of 1972, P.L. 92-318		
6. Educational opportunity centers	1972	Education Amendments of 1972, P.L. 92-318		
7. Cost-of-education payments	1972	Education Amendments of 1972, P.L. 92-318		Higher Education Amendments of 1992
8. Service learning centers	1976	Education Amendments of 1976, P.L. 94-482		Education Amendments of 1980
9. Educational information centers	1976	Education Amendments of 1976, P.L. 94-482		Education Amendments of 1980
10. Staff development activities	1980	Education Amendments of 1980, P.L. 96-374		
11. Special child care services for disadvantaged college students	1986	Higher Education Act Amendments of 1986, P.L. 99-498		

Table 4.1 – continued

Name of Primary Program Vehicle	Year Enacted	Public Law Title	Re-named	Repealed
12. School, college, and university partnerships	1992	Higher Education Amendments of 1992, P.L. 102-325		
13. Evaluation for project improvement	1992	Higher Education Amendments of 1992, P.L. 102-325		
14. National early intervention scholarship and partnership program	1992	Higher Education Amendments of 1992, P.L. 102-325		
15. Presidential access scholarships	1992	Higher Education Amendments of 1992, P.L. 102-325		
16. Early awareness information program	1992	Higher Education Amendments of 1992, P.L. 102-325		

was to provide grants through institutions of higher education to qualified high school graduates of exceptional financial need to enable the students to take advantage of the benefits of higher education. Institutions were required to make vigorous efforts to identify qualified youths of exceptional financial need and to encourage them to continue education beyond high school. The maximum grant was the lesser of \$800 or one-half of the student's total financial aid excluding work-study. A student could receive assistance for the period required to obtain an undergraduate degree, but the period could not exceed four years (P.L. 89-329).

In 1972, the program was renamed the supplemental educational opportunity grants (SEOG) program. The purpose was to make the benefits of postsecondary education available to qualified students by providing supplemental grants to such students through institutions of higher education. For a student to receive a supplemental grant, the student was required to be of exceptional financial need and to be financially unable to pursue a course of study at the institution without the grant. The maximum grant in 1972 was \$1,500 or one-half of the student's

total financial aid from the institution (P.L. 92-318). The program was renamed federal supplemental educational opportunity grants in 1992 (P.L. 102-325).

Policy objectives for educational opportunity grants.

When the program was enacted in 1965, the policy objectives were access, cost, and completion (P.L. 89-329). When the program was re-named SEOG in 1972, the policy objectives remained access, cost, and completion (P.L. 92-318). The language related to cost was removed from the section addressing the supplemental grant program in 1980, so the policy objectives became access and completion (P.L. 96-374). No changes to the policy objective of the program were found between 1980 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Target populations for educational opportunity grants.

The target population when the program was enacted in 1965 was low-income (P.L. 89-329). When the program was renamed as SEOG in 1972, the target population remained low-income (P.L. 92-318). Low-income remained one of the target populations in 1980; however, students were also required to demonstrate financial need. Based on these changes, the two target populations in 1980 were low-income and need based on estimated family contribution (P.L. 96-374).

The target populations remained the same until 1992 when middle-income was added as a target population. Students whose adjusted gross income was \$50,000 or less were allowed in 1992 to have their eligibility based on a simplified needs test (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the target population of the program were found between 1992 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Delivery systems for educational opportunity grants.

The delivery system in 1965 was campus-oriented (P.L. 89-329). When the program was renamed SEOG in 1972, the delivery system remained campus-oriented (P.L. 92-318). No changes to the delivery system of the program were found.

Educational talent.

The educational talent program was the second of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted as part of the Higher Education Act of 1965. The purpose was to identify qualified youths of exceptional financial need and encourage them to complete secondary school and undertake postsecondary training. Educational talent programs were required to publicize existing forms of student financial aid. Finally, the programs had to encourage secondary school or college dropouts with demonstrated aptitude to return to school (P.L. 89-329).

The program was re-named as talent search in 1968, but the purpose remained essentially unchanged (P.L. 90-575). Participants in the talent search program were required to have a minimum amount of education (6 years of elementary) and be within a specified age range (12-27 years of age) for the first time in 1986 (P.L. 99-498).

The 1992 amendments included a list of permissible services for talent search. These services include academic advice and assistance in secondary school and college course selection, assistance completing college admission and financial aid applications, assistance preparing for college entrance exams, guidance on secondary school reentry or GED entry, personal and career counseling, tutorial services, exposure to college campuses as well as cultural events, workshops and counseling for parents, and mentoring. In addition, the 1992 amendments made two changes related to the participants: (1) reduced the required number of

years of education for participants from six years of elementary school to five years and (2) broadened the age range to include participants beginning at age 11 instead of 12 but retained the upper age limit for participants at 27 years of age (P.L. 102-325).

Policy objectives for educational talent.

When the educational talent program was enacted in 1965, the policy objectives were access and information (P.L. 89-329). The policy objectives of the talent search program in 1972 changed to access, preparation, and information (P.L. 92-318). No changes to the policy objectives of the program were found between 1972 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Target populations for educational talent.

The target population in 1965 was low-income (P.L. 89-329). As part of the Education Amendments of 1976, the Commissioner of Education was permitted to allow students whose families were not low-income to participate in the talent search program as long as the number of students from families who were not low-income did not exceed one-third of the total number of students served. In 1976, the target population for the talent search program became low-income plus one-third other than low-income (P.L. 94-482).

The target population changed again in 1980 when amendments required that talent search serve qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds. In addition, the eligibility requirements for the talent search program no longer focused on only the income of the participants; instead, the amendments specified that not less than two-thirds of the participants must be low-income first-generation college students. A “low-income individual” was defined as an individual from a family whose taxable income did not exceed 150 percent of the federal poverty level. Moreover, these amendments provided that a student’s financial need for financial

assistance for most Title IV programs (including talent search) would be determined by using a schedule of expected financial contributions. Based on these changes, the three target populations for the talent search program in 1980 were as follows: (1) qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) not less than two-thirds for low-income first-generation, and (3) need based on estimated financial contribution (P.L. 96-374).

Low-income was added to the target populations for talent search in 1986 via the simplified needs test for determining the expected family contribution for families with an adjusted gross income of \$15,000 or less. The target populations for the program were as follows: (1) qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) not less than two-thirds for low-income first-generation, and (3) low-income (P.L. 99-498).

In 1992, the target population expanded to include middle-income when the maximum adjusted gross income for eligibility based on the simplified needs test increased to \$50,000 or less (P.L. 102-325). After this addition, the target populations for talent search were the following: (1) qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) not less than two-thirds for low-income first generation college students, and (3) middle-income (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the target population were found between 1992 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Delivery systems for educational talent.

When the program was enacted in 1965, the delivery system was partnerships of state and local educational agencies, public and non-profit organizations and institutions (P.L. 89-329). The delivery systems expanded in 1968 to campus-oriented as well as public and private nonprofit agencies and organizations (P.L. 90-575). Beginning in 1972, secondary schools were allowed to provide talent search services in exceptional cases. Therefore, there were three

delivery systems as of 1972: (1) campus-oriented, (2) public and private nonprofit agencies and organizations, and (3) in exceptional cases, secondary schools (P.L. 92-318). No changes to the delivery system of the program were found between 1972 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Special services for disadvantaged students.

The special services for disadvantaged students program was the third of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted under Education Amendments of 1968. The purpose was to provide remedial and other special services to students with academic potential who have been accepted for enrollment or are enrolled at an institution for higher education and who need such services due to deprived educational, cultural, or economic background or physical handicap to initiate, continue, or resume postsecondary education. Grants for the programs were provided to institutions of higher education (P.L. 90-575).

In 1986, the program was renamed as the student support services program. For the first time in 1986, the law specified permissible services for the program. These services included instruction in basic subjects, personal counseling, academic advice for high school, tutorial service, exposure to cultural events, on-campus remedial programs, and activities designed to assist students enrolled in two-year institutions with securing admission and financial assistance in a four-year program. The 1986 amendments also specified that students participating in the student support services program must receive sufficient financial assistance to meet the student's full financial need (P.L. 99-498).

Mentoring was added to the permissible services for student support services in 1992. The law also included increasing college retention and graduation rates, increasing transfer rates, and fostering an institutional climate supportive of the success of low-income, first-generation,

and individuals with disabilities as purposes of the student support services program (P.L. 102-325).

Policy objectives for special services for disadvantaged students.

When the program was enacted in 1968, the policy objectives were access and preparation (P.L. 90-575). In 1980, success and cost were added to the existing policy objectives of access and preparation (P.L. 96-374). No changes to the policy objective of the program were found between 1980 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Target populations for special services for disadvantaged students.

The target population for the program in 1968 was low-income (P.L. 90-575). The target population remained the same until 1980 when the program no longer focused on only low-income students; instead, grantees were required to ensure that not less than two-thirds of the participants were physically handicapped or low-income first-generation college students. The target populations in 1980 were as follows: (1) qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) not less than two-thirds for physically handicapped or low-income first-generation college students, (3) the rest for low-income, first-generation or physically handicapped students, and (4) need based on estimated family contribution (P.L. 96-374).

As with other Title IV programs, low-income was added to the target populations in 1986 via a simplified needs test for determining the expected family contribution for families with an adjusted gross income of \$15,000 or less. After this addition, the target populations for the program in 1986 were as follows: (1) qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) not less than two-thirds for physically handicapped or low-income first generation, (3) the rest for either low-income, first-generation, or physically handicapped, and (4) low-income (P.L. 99-498).

There were two changes to the target population in 1992. First, the amendments added a requirement that not less than one-third of the individuals with disabilities must be low-income. This requirement means that more of the participants are likely to be low-income. Second, the target population for the student support services program expanded to include middle-income when the adjusted gross income threshold for determining eligibility based on the simplified needs test increased to \$50,000 or less. With these changes, the following four target populations were included in 1992: (1) qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) not less than two-thirds for individuals with disabilities or low-income first-generation college students, (3) the rest for low-income, first-generation or individuals with disabilities, and (4) middle-income (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the target population of the program were found between 1992 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Delivery systems for special services for disadvantaged students.

When the program was enacted in 1968, the delivery system was campus-oriented (P.L. 90-575). The delivery systems expanded in 1972 when program grants became available not only to institutions of higher education but also to public and private organizations and to secondary schools in exceptional cases. As of 1972, there were three delivery systems: (1) campus-oriented, (2) partnerships with institutions and public and private organizations, and (3) in exceptional circumstances, secondary schools (P.L. 92-318). No changes affecting the delivery system were found between 1972 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Basic educational opportunity grants.

The basic educational opportunity grants program was the fourth of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted under the Education Amendments of 1972. The

purpose of the basic educational opportunity grants program was to make the benefits of postsecondary education available to all qualified students by providing basic grants to all eligible students. The grant was provided directly to the student (P.L. 92-318).

In 1980, the name of the program changed from basic educational opportunity grants to Pell grants. The purpose of the Pell grants program in 1980 was to cover 70% of a student's cost of attendance for the academic year 1985-1986 and to cover 75% of the student's cost of attendance when combined with the family contribution and benefits from the supplemental educational opportunity grant (SEOG) program and the state student incentive grants (SSIG) program (P.L. 96-374).

In 1992, the program was re-named as federal Pell grants. The 1992 amendments provided that a federal Pell grant was expected to cover at least 75% of the cost of attendance when combined with parents' and student's contribution plus the amount of awards for SEOG and SSIG. Previously, a Pell grant was expected to cover 60% of the cost of attendance alone (P.L. 102-325). The focus shifted in 1992 to covering the cost with a combination of sources not just Pell alone.

Policy objectives for basic educational opportunity grants.

When the program was enacted in 1972, choice, access and completion were the policy objectives (P.L. 92-318). In 1980, access, choice, and completion remained as policy objectives; cost and preparation were added as two new policy objectives (P.L. 96-374). No changes were found to the policy objectives for Pell between 1980 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Target populations for basic educational opportunity grants.

The target population for program in 1972 was low-income (P.L. 92-318). The target population remained low-income until 1978 when the Middle Income Student Assistance Act added middle-income as a target population. Because the Middle Income Student Assistance Act provided that only 10.5% of discretionary income would be considered in determining the expected family contribution, middle-income families could qualify for the basic educational opportunity grants program because almost all of the family's discretionary income was excluded from consideration of need (P.L. 95-566).

Congress did not abandon its focus on low-income students. The law provided a graduated system of awarding grants if funds were not sufficient to cover all students who were eligible. Specifically, a student entitled to a grant in excess of \$1,600 would receive 100% of the grant while a student entitled to a grant between \$1,200 and \$1,600 would only receive 90% of the grant and a student entitled to a grant between \$1,000 and \$1,200 would only receive 75% of the grant (P.L. 95-566). Because low-income students are more likely to receive larger grants, these changes benefitted low-income students.

In 1980, low-income remained a target population, and need based on estimated family contribution (EFC) was added as a target population. The 1980 amendments specified that a student with a lower student eligibility index would receive a greater percentage of the student's entitlement if there are insufficient funds to provide all eligible students with 100% of the entitled grant amount. The student eligibility index is the index of need of a student based on the family contribution schedule established by the Secretary of Education (P.L. 96-374).

However, changes to the calculation for estimated family contribution in the 1980 amendments may have allowed middle-income students to qualify for Pell grants. Specifically,

the law provided exclusions from assets, allowed consideration of expenses such as private elementary or secondary school costs, and allowed the Secretary to set assessment rates for families with annual adjusted incomes over \$25,000 while capping the assessment rate at 14% of discretionary income for families below \$25,000. Assets specifically excluded the primary residence, \$10,000 for income reserve, and \$50,000 of any farm or business assets (P.L. 96-374).

The Higher Education Act Amendments of 1986 based a student's need for Pell grants on a maximum grant less the estimated family contribution using a student aid eligibility index. Calculating EFC first required determining whether the student was dependent, independent with dependents, or independent without dependents. Each of the three categories had a separate EFC calculation. The effective income and the assets of the student were included in all calculations; the parents' effective income and assets were used for dependent students (P.L. 99-498).

The target populations for the Pell grants program in 1986 were as follows: (1) all eligible students using need based on EFC and (2) low-income. Because eligibility for Pell grants in 1986 was based on estimated family contribution (as it was in 1980), some middle-income students may still qualify. The 1986 amendments, however, specifically included an expectation of a parental contribution as well as values for certain assets (e.g., the net value of the primary residence over \$30,000) indicating that Congress was paying attention to income and may have been focusing more on eligibility for low-income students (P.L. 99-498).

In fact, low-income was added to the target population for all Title IV programs under the 1986 amendments via a simplified needs test for determining the expected family contribution for families with an adjusted gross income of \$15,000 or less. For programs under Subpart 4 of Part A of Title IV, "low-income" was defined as a family whose taxable income did not exceed 150% of the federal poverty level (P.L. 99-498).

However, additional changes in 1992 expanded the target population for the federal Pell grants program to include middle-income. Eligibility for the program in 1992 (as with many other programs) was determined by calculating a student's need; a student's need, in turn, was determined by calculating the student's cost of attendance and subtracting the student's estimated financial contribution and financial assistance. Students whose adjusted gross income was \$50,000 or less were allowed in 1992 to have their eligibility based on a simplified needs test (P.L. 102-325).

Based on these changes, the target populations for the federal Pell grants program in 1992 were as follows: (1) all eligible students using need based on EFC and (2) middle-income (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the target population of the program were found between 1992 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Delivery systems for basic educational opportunity grants.

The delivery system in 1972 was student-oriented (P.L. 92-318). No changes to the delivery system of the program were found between 1972 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

State student incentive grants.

The state student incentive grants program was the fifth of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted under Education Amendments of 1972. The purpose of the program was to provide incentives to states for the states to provide financial grants to students (P.L. 92-318).

The Higher Education Act Amendments of 1986 added a new state-based community service work learning study program as a component of state student incentive grants. The program provided services designed to improve the quality of life for residents, particularly low-

income individuals, or to solve community problems related to areas including but not limited to health care, child care, education, public safety and community improvement. Students with substantial financial need were eligible for campus-based community service work learning study programs. The maximum grant amount for either program for 1986 was \$2,500 (P.L. 99-498).

Policy objectives for state student incentive grants.

The policy objective in 1972 for the program was access (P.L. 92-318). The policy objective remained the same until 1986 when the community service component was added to program. The policy objectives for the program in 1986 included both access and community service (P.L. 99-498). No changes to the policy objective of the program were found between 1986 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Target populations for state student incentive grants.

The target population for the program in 1972 was low-income (P.L. 92-318). The target population did not change until students were required to demonstrate substantial financial need to qualify for the community service component. Based on this condition, the target populations expanded in 1986 to low-income and financial need (P.L. 99-498). No changes to the target population of the program were found between 1986 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Delivery systems for state student incentive grants.

The delivery system for the program in 1972 was the state (P.L. 92-318). When the community service work learning study program was added in 1986, states still received the funding for the incentive grants; however, students received the funding for the community service work learning study program. Based on this change, the two delivery systems in 1986

were states and student-oriented (P.L. 99-498). No changes to the delivery system of the program were found between 1986 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Educational opportunity centers.

The educational opportunity centers program was the sixth of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted under Education Amendments of 1972. The centers served areas with major concentrations of low-income populations and provided information about financial and academic assistance as well as assistance applying for admission (P.L. 92-318). For the first time in 1986, the provisions specified a minimum age for participation (19 years of age) in the education opportunity centers program (P.L. 99-498).

Policy objectives for educational opportunity centers.

The policy objectives for the program in 1972 were access, preparation, and information (P.L. 92-318). No changes to the policy objectives of the program were found.

Target populations for educational opportunity centers.

The target population for the centers in 1972 was low-income (P.L. 92-318). The target population remained the same until 1980 when the program no longer focused on only low-income students; instead, the centers were required to ensure that not less than two-thirds of the participants were low-income first-generation college students. The target populations for the centers in 1980 were as follows: (1) qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) not less than two-thirds for low-income first-generation, and (3) need based on estimated family contribution (P.L. 96-374).

As with other Title IV programs, low-income was added to the target populations for the program in 1986 via a simplified needs test for determining the expected family contribution for families with an adjusted gross income of \$15,000 or less. After this addition, the target

populations were as follows: (1) qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) not less than two-thirds for low-income first-generation, and (3) low-income (P.L. 99-498).

In 1992, the target population expanded to include middle-income when the adjusted gross income for the simplified needs test increased to \$50,000 or less (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the target population of the program were found between 1992 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Delivery systems for educational opportunity centers.

There were three delivery systems for the program in 1972: (1) campus-oriented, (2) partnerships with institutions and public and private organizations, and (3) in exceptional cases, secondary schools (P.L. 92-318). No changes to the delivery system of the program were found.

Cost-of-education payments.

The cost-of-education payments program was the seventh of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted under Education Amendments of 1972. The program provided funding to institutions based on the number of students who received basic educational opportunity grants, supplemental educational opportunity grants, work-study, and loans (P.L. 92-318).

The Higher Education Act Amendments of 1986 specified that no cost-of-education payments be made to institutions of higher education unless appropriations for Pell grants equaled at least 50% of the amount necessary to satisfy all entitlements under Pell. The law specifically authorized no appropriations for the cost-of-education payments program for fiscal year 1987 (P.L. 99-498). The program was repealed in 1992 (P.L. 102-325).

Policy objectives for cost-of-education payments.

The policy objectives in 1972 for the program were cost and access (P.L. 92-318). There were no changes to the policy objective before its repeal in 1992.

Target populations for cost-of-education payments.

The target population in 1972 was students who receive basic educational opportunity grants, supplemental educational opportunity grants, work-study, and loans (P.L. 92-318). There were no changes to the target population before its repeal in 1992.

Delivery systems for cost-of-education payments.

The delivery system in 1972 was campus-oriented (P.L. 92-318). There were no changes to the delivery system before its repeal in 1992.

Service learning centers.

The service learning centers program was the eighth of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted under the Education Amendments of 1976. The purpose was to provide remedial and other specialized services for students accepted for enrollment or enrolled at institutions serving a substantial number of disadvantaged students (P.L. 94-482). During the 1980 revision to the Higher Education Act, the portion of the law containing the service learning centers program was omitted.

Policy objectives for service learning centers.

When the program was established in 1976, the policy objectives were access and preparation (P.L. 94-482). No changes to the policy objective were found.

Target populations for service learning centers.

The target population in 1976 was low-income plus one-third other than low-income (P.L. 94-482). No changes to the target population were found.

Delivery systems for service learning centers.

The delivery system in 1976 was campus-oriented (P.L. 94-482). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Educational information centers.

The educational information centers program was the ninth of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted under the Education Amendments of 1976. The purpose was to provide educational information, guidance counseling and referral services to all individuals. The centers were required to seek out and encourage persons who have financial or cultural barriers, physical handicaps, deficiencies in secondary education or lack of information about postsecondary education as well as to encourage such persons to participate in postsecondary education (P.L. 94-482). The program was repealed in 1980 (P.L. 96-374).

Policy objectives for educational information centers.

When the program was established in 1976, the policy objectives were access and information (P.L. 94-482). No changes to the policy objective were found.

Target populations for educational information centers.

The target population in 1976 was all incomes with special attention to low-income (P.L. 94-482). No changes to the target population were found.

Delivery systems for educational information centers.

The delivery system in 1976 was states (P.L. 94-482). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Staff development activities.

The staff development activities program was the tenth of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted under the Education Amendments of 1980. The purpose

was to improve the operation of the TRIO programs by providing training to staff who worked with those programs (P.L. 96-374).

Policy objectives for staff development activities.

When the program was enacted in 1980, its three policy objectives were access, preparation, and program improvement (P.L. 96-374). Access and preparation were policy objectives for all TRIO programs. No changes to the policy objectives were found between the program's enactment in 1980 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Target populations for staff development activities.

The two target populations (as with other TRIO programs) were qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds and need based on estimated family contribution (P.L. 96-374). No changes to the target population of the program were found.

Delivery systems for staff development activities.

The three delivery systems (as with other TRIO programs) in 1980 were as follows: (1) campus-oriented, (2) partnerships with institutions and public and private organizations, and (3) in exceptional circumstances, secondary schools (P.L. 96-374). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Special child care services for disadvantaged college students.

The special child care services for disadvantaged college students program was the eleventh of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted as part of the Higher Education Act Amendments of 1986. The purpose was to provide child care services either directly, through contracts, or through vouchers to disadvantaged students. The program was required to assure that no less than two-thirds of the participants were low-income and

allowed the remaining participants to be low-income. The program required that institutions meet the student's full financial need for child care services (P.L. 99-498).

Policy objectives for special child care services for disadvantaged college students.

The policy objectives for the program in 1986 were access and cost (P.L. 99-498). No changes to the policy objectives were found.

Target populations for special child care services for disadvantaged college students.

There were two specified target populations in 1986: (1) disadvantaged students and (2) low-income (P.L. 99-498). The 1987 amendments clarified that the target population for the program was two-thirds low-income (P.L. 100-50).

In 1992, the target populations expanded to include middle-income when the adjusted gross income for qualifying for the simplified needs test increased to \$50,000 or less (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the target population were found between 1992 and the end of the period covered by the study.

Delivery systems for special child care services for disadvantaged college students.

The delivery system in 1986 was campus-oriented (P.L. 99-498). No changes to the delivery system were found.

School, college, and university partnerships.

The school, college, and university partnerships program was the twelfth of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted as part of the Higher Education Amendments of 1992. The program was designed to encourage partnerships between higher education and secondary schools that serve low-income and disadvantaged students. The partnerships were required to support programs to improve retention and graduation rates in the secondary schools, to improve the academic skills of secondary students, to increase the

opportunities of such students to continue education after secondary school, and to improve the students' employment prospects (P.L. 102-325).

Policy objectives for school, college, and university partnerships.

The two policy objectives for the program were preparation and access (P.L. 102-325). The program was enacted in 1992 – only one year prior to the end of the period covered by the study. No changes to the policy objectives of the program were found.

Target populations for school, college, and university partnerships.

The target population was low-income and disadvantaged students (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the target population were found.

Delivery systems for school, college, and university partnerships.

There were two delivery systems in 1992: (1) partnerships of higher education and secondary schools and (2) partnerships including other public and private organizations such as businesses, labor organizations, professional associations, community-based organizations, public television stations, and other telecommunications entities (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Evaluation for project improvement.

The evaluation for project improvement program was the thirtieth of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted as part of the Higher Education Amendments of 1992. The program provided funding for evaluations of the effectiveness of the TRIO programs. The evaluations were required to identify institutional, community, and program practices particularly effective in increasing access for low-income and first-generation college students, preparing such students for postsecondary education, and ensuring their success in postsecondary education. The results of the evaluation were required to be disseminated by the Secretary of

Education to similar programs and to individuals interested in postsecondary access and retention of low-income and first-generation college students (P.L. 102-325).

Policy objectives for evaluation for project improvement.

The policy objectives for the program were access, preparation, program improvement, and success (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the policy objectives were found.

Target populations for evaluation for project improvement.

The target populations for the program were qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds and low-income and first-generation college students (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the target populations were found.

Delivery systems for evaluation for project improvement.

There were three delivery systems for the program: (1) campus-oriented, (2) partnerships with institutions and public and private organizations, and (3) in exceptional circumstances, secondary schools (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the delivery systems were found.

National early intervention scholarship and partnership program.

The national early intervention scholarship and partnership program (NEISP) was the fourteenth of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted as part of the Higher Education Amendments of 1992. NEISP provided early intervention services and scholarships to low-income students. The funds were provided to states or to states in partnerships with local educational agencies, institutions of higher education, community organizations, and businesses. States were required to provide one-half of the cost of the program (P.L. 102-325).

The early intervention services were provided to students in pre-school through 12th grade. Priority was given to students who were recipients of other services for low-income

families, specifically chapter 1 of the Elementary and Secondary School Act, the free and reduced lunch program, or the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program (P.L. 102-325).

Early intervention services included mentoring and support services (after school and summer tutoring, assistance with summer jobs, career mentoring, and academic counseling). Recipients provided activities to ensure high school completion and college enrollment of at-risk students and pre-freshman summer programs. Students were required to achieve certain academic milestones in exchange for tuition assistance. States were required to conduct biannual evaluations of the early intervention component and to provide the results to the Secretary of Education for the Secretary's biannual report to Congress (P.L. 102-325).

The scholarship component was available to students who participated in the early intervention program who received a high school diploma (or equivalent), were under the age of 22, and had been accepted to college. The maximum scholarship was the lesser of the maximum Pell grant or 75% of the average cost of attendance for an in-state student at a public four-year institution in the state. Priority for the scholarships was given to Pell grant recipients (P.L. 102-325).

Policy objectives for national early intervention scholarship and partnership program.

NEISP had five policy objectives in 1992: (1) access, (2) cost, (3) preparation, (4) information, and (5) choice (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the policy objectives were found.

Target populations for national early intervention scholarship and partnership program.

There were three target populations for NEISP. Both the early intervention program and the scholarship program targeted low-income. For the early intervention program, the target

population was recipients of other need programs. The target population for the scholarship was recipients of Pell grants. No changes to the target populations were found.

Delivery systems for national early intervention scholarship and partnership program.

The delivery systems were states and partnerships of states with local education agencies, institutions of higher education, community organizations, and businesses (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the delivery systems were found.

Presidential access scholarship.

The Presidential access scholarship program was the fifteenth of 16 primary program vehicles enacted under the HEA. It was enacted as part of the Higher Education Amendments of 1992. The scholarships were provided to students who were eligible for Pell grants, had participated in a college preparatory program, and had demonstrated academic achievement. The amount of the scholarship was the greater of \$400 or 25% of the recipient's Pell grant for the year. Appropriations for the Presidential access scholarship were contingent on appropriations for Pell Grants increasing over the prior fiscal year (P.L. 102-325).

To be eligible for an initial award, a student must have participated in an early intervention program for 36 months or have ranked in the top 10% of the student's graduating class. Qualifying early intervention programs included talent search, upward bound, educational opportunity centers, and NEISP (P.L. 102-325).

To demonstrate academic achievement, the student must have maintained a 2.5 GPA on a 4.0 scale for the final two years of high school. In addition, the student must have taken college preparatory level coursework in high school in the following areas: four years of English, three years of science, three years of math, either three years of history or two years of history plus one

year of social studies, and either two years of foreign language or one year of foreign language plus one year of computer science (P.L. 102-325).

Policy objectives for Presidential access scholarship.

The policy objectives in 1992 were access, choice, and information (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the policy objective were found.

Target populations for Presidential access scholarship.

The target population was Pell grant recipients who had been enrolled in a college preparatory program and demonstrated academic achievement (P.L. 102-325). No changes to target population were found.

Delivery systems for Presidential access scholarship.

The delivery system for the program was student-oriented (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the delivery system were found before the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Early awareness information.

The early awareness information program was the last primary program vehicle enacted under the HEA. It was enacted as part of the Higher Education Amendments of 1992. The program was designed to broaden the early awareness of postsecondary educational opportunities as well as to encourage economically disadvantaged, minority or at-risk individuals to seek higher education. The program also encouraged public schools and libraries to provide higher education and financial assistance counseling to economically disadvantaged, minority or at-risk individuals. The Secretary of Education was required to keep Congress informed about the program and to make recommendations about additional legislation needed to achieve the purposes of the program (P.L. 102-325).

Policy objectives for early awareness information program.

The policy objectives for the program in 1992 were access and information (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the policy objectives were found.

Target populations for early awareness information program.

The target population was economically disadvantaged, minority, or at-risk individuals (P.L. 102-325). No changes to target population were found.

Delivery systems for early awareness information program.

The delivery system was public agencies, nonprofit private organizations, and institutions of higher education (P.L. 102-325). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Primary program vehicles enacted under the Public Health Service Act.

The second of the six public laws under which primary program vehicles were enacted was the Public Health Service Act (PHSA). In this section, I will identify the primary program vehicles enacted under the PHSA. I will first describe the vehicle, including information about changes to the vehicle's name where applicable. Then, I will provide the original policy objective, target population, and delivery system for each primary program vehicle and detail any changes in these aspects.

Almost one-quarter of the new vehicles (7 or 23.33%) were added as part of the Public Health Service Act amendments. Table 4.2 below shows the primary program vehicles added under the Public Health Service Act. Each primary program vehicle added under the Public Health Service Act is described in the following sections.

Nursing educational opportunity grants.

The nursing educational opportunity grants program was the first of 7 primary program vehicles enacted under the PHSA. It was enacted as part of the Allied Health Professions

Table 4.2
 Primary Program Vehicles Enacted under the Public Health Service Act

Name of Primary Program Vehicle	Year Enacted	Public Law Title	Re-named	Repealed
1. Nursing educational opportunity grants	1966	Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act of 1966, P.L. 89-751	Scholarship grants for schools of nursing (1968)	Nurse Education Act Amendments of 1985
2. Nursing education opportunities for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds	1975	Public Health Service Act Amendments, P.L. 94-63		
3. Special projects for schools of public health	1988	Health Omnibus Programs Extension of 1988, P.L. 100-607		
4. Allied health project grants and contracts	1988	Health Omnibus Programs Extension of 1988, P.L. 100-607		
5. Undergraduate education of professional nurses	1988	Health Omnibus Programs Extension of 1988, P.L. 100-607		Preventive Health Amendments of 1992
6. Grants to health professions schools for scholarships	1990	Disadvantaged Minority Health Improvement Act of 1990, P.L. 101-527		
7. Undergraduate scholarship program regarding professions needed by national research institutes	1993	National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act of 1993, P.L. 103-43		

Personnel Training Act of 1966. The purpose was to make the benefits of nursing education available to qualified high school graduates of exceptional financial need who would otherwise be unable to obtain benefits due to lack of financial means. The program provided funding to schools of nursing. The maximum grant per student was the lesser of \$800 or one-half of the

total amount of financial assistance provided to the student (excluding work-study). Students were eligible for the grants for a maximum of four years (P.L. 89-751).

The Health Manpower Act of 1968 replaced nursing educational opportunity grants with scholarship grants for schools of nursing. The purpose of the scholarship grants program was to provide scholarships to students of exceptional financial need who require such financial assistance to pursue a course of study at the school. The scholarship was designed to cover the student's tuition, fees, books, equipment and living expenses, and the maximum award was \$1,500 (P.L. 90-490). The program was repealed in 1985 (P.L. 99-92).

Policy objectives for nursing educational opportunity grants.

When the program was enacted in 1966, the policy objectives were access and completion (P.L. 89-751). Completion was not included as a policy objective in 1968, but access remained as a policy objective (P.L. 90-490). No changes to the policy objective were found between 1968 and the program's repeal in 1985.

Target populations for nursing educational opportunity grants.

The target population in 1966 was low-income (P.L. 89-751). No changes to the target population were found.

Delivery systems for nursing educational opportunity grants.

The delivery system in 1966 was campus-oriented (P.L. 89-751). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Nursing education opportunities for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds.

The nursing education opportunities for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds program was the second of 7 primary program vehicles enacted under the PHSA. It originated in the Public Health Service Act Amendments of 1975. The program provided grants to schools of

nursing for special projects to increase nursing education opportunities for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds. Specifically, the grants were used for the following purposes: (1) to identify, recruit, and select individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) to facilitate the entry of such individuals into schools of nursing, (3) to provide counseling or other services to assist the individuals in the completion of nursing education, (4) to provide needed education prior to entry into the school of nursing, (5) to pay stipends to the individuals during nursing education, and (6) to publicize available sources of financial aid (P.L. 94-63).

Policy objectives for nursing education opportunities for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds.

There were five policy objectives for the program in 1975: (1) access, (2) completion, (3) preparation, (4) cost, and (5) information (P.L. 94-63). There were no changes to the policy objectives for the program through the end of the period covered by the study.

Target populations for nursing education opportunities for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds.

The target population was individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds (P.L. 94-63). There were no changes to the target population.

Delivery systems for nursing education opportunities for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds.

There were two delivery systems in 1975: (1) campus-oriented, specifically schools of nursing and (2) public or nonprofit private entities (P.L. 94-63). There were no changes to the delivery system.

Special projects for schools of public health.

The special projects for schools of public health program was the third of 7 primary program vehicles enacted under the PHSA. It was enacted as part of Health Omnibus Programs Extension of 1988. The program provided grants to schools of public health for four types of projects: (1) preventative medicine, (2) health promotion and disease prevention, (3) increasing enrollments of individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, and (4) improving access and quality in health care (P.L. 100-607).

Policy objectives for special projects for schools of public health.

The policy objective for the program was access (P.L. 100-607). No changes to the policy objective were found.

Target populations for special projects for schools of public health.

The target population for the program was individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds (P.L. 100-607). No changes to the target population were found.

Delivery systems for special projects for schools of public health.

When the program was enacted, the delivery system was campus-oriented, specifically schools of public health (P.L. 100-607). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Allied health project grants and contracts.

The allied health project grants and contracts program the fourth of 7 primary program vehicles enacted under the PHSA. It originated in 1976 but did not provide assistance to students covered by this study until 1988. The Health Omnibus Programs Extension of 1988 allowed grants to be awarded to schools of public health for the purposes of identifying and recruiting minority and disadvantaged students into the allied health professions. Specifically,

grantees were allowed to provide remedial and tutorial services, work-study programs for secondary students, and recruitment activities for primary school students (P.L. 100-607).

Policy objectives for allied health project grants and contracts.

The two policy objectives for the program in 1988 were access and preparation (P.L. 100-607). No changes to the policy objectives were found.

Target populations for allied health project grants and contracts.

The target population in 1988 was minority and disadvantaged students (P.L. 100-607). No changes to the target population were found.

Delivery systems for allied health project grants and contracts.

There were two delivery systems in 1988: (1) campus-oriented, specifically schools, universities, or other educational entities and (2) public or private nonprofits (P.L. 100-607). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Undergraduate education of professional nurses.

The undergraduate education of professional nurses program was the fifth of 7 primary program vehicles enacted under the PHSA. It was enacted as part of Health Omnibus Programs Extension of 1988. The program provided grants to schools to train professional nurses by providing scholarships to students in financial need. In awarding scholarships, schools were required to give preference to individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds (P.L. 100-607). The program was repealed in 1992 (P.L. 102-531).

Policy objectives for undergraduate education of professional nurses.

The policy objectives for the program in 1988 were access and cost (P.L. 100-607). No changes to the policy objectives were found between 1988 and the program's repeal in 1992.

Target populations for undergraduate education of professional nurses.

The target population in 1988 was students in financial need with preference to individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds (P.L. 100-607). No changes to the target population were found.

Delivery systems for undergraduate education of professional nurses.

The delivery system in 1988 was campus-oriented, specifically public and nonprofit private schools (P.L. 100-607). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Grants to health professions schools for scholarships.

The grants to health professions schools for scholarships program was the sixth of the 7 primary program vehicles enacted under the PHSA. It was enacted as part of the Disadvantaged Minority Health Improvement Act of 1990. The program provided grants to health professions schools (which include baccalaureate degree programs in nursing, public health, and allied health) to provide scholarships for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds. In awarding the scholarships, the health professions schools were required to provide preference to students from disadvantaged backgrounds and students for whom cost would have been a severe financial hardship. The schools also had to undertake programs to prepare disadvantaged students to enter the health professions by assisting such students with academic preparation and by providing mentoring programs for such students (P.L. 101-527).

Policy objectives for grants to health professions schools for scholarships.

There were three policy objectives for the program in 1990: (1) cost, (2) completion, and (3) preparation (P.L. 101-527). No changes to the policy objectives were found.

Target populations for grants to health professions schools for scholarships.

The target populations were individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds and students for whom cost would be a severe financial hardship (P.L. 101-527). No changes to the target populations were found.

Delivery systems for grants to health professions schools for scholarships.

The delivery system in 1990 was campus-oriented, specifically health professions schools (P.L. 101-527). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Undergraduate scholarship program regarding professions needed by national research institutes.

The undergraduate scholarship program regarding professions needed by national research institutes was the final primary program vehicle enacted under the PHSA. It was enacted as part of the National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act of 1993. The program provided scholarships to individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds. In exchange the individuals agreed to work for the National Institutes of Health during the summer while enrolled and after graduation. The maximum amount of the scholarship was \$20,000 per academic year (P.L. 103-43).

Policy objectives for undergraduate scholarship program regarding professions needed by national research institutes.

The policy objective for the program was access (P.L. 103-43). The program was enacted in the final year of the study. No changes to the policy objective were found.

Target populations for undergraduate scholarship program regarding professions needed by national research institutes.

The target population was individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds (P.L. 103-43). No changes to the target population were found.

Delivery systems for undergraduate scholarship program regarding professions needed by national research institutes.

The delivery system was student-oriented (P.L. 103-43). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Primary program vehicles enacted under the Economic Opportunity Act.

The third of the six public laws under which primary program vehicles were enacted was the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA). In this section, I will identify the primary program vehicles enacted under the EOA. I will first describe the vehicle, including information about changes to the vehicle's name where applicable. Then, I will provide the original policy objective, target population, and delivery system for each primary program vehicle and detail any changes in these aspects.

One-tenth of the new vehicles (3 or 10.00%) were added by the Economic Opportunity Act. Table 4.3 below shows the primary program vehicles added under the Economic Opportunity Act. Each primary program vehicle added under the Economic Opportunity Act is described in the following sections.

Work-study.

The work-study program was the first of 3 primary program vehicles enacted under the EOA. It was enacted as part of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The overall purpose of the law was to eliminate poverty by opening opportunity to education, training, and work to

Table 4.3
 Primary Program Vehicles Enacted under the Economic Opportunity Act

Name of Primary Program Vehicle	Year Enacted	Public Law Title	Re-named	Repealed
1. Work-study	1964	Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, P.L. 88-452	College work-study (1965) Federal work-study (1992)	
2. General community action programs	1964	Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, P.L. 88-452		Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967
3. Upward bound	1967	Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967, P.L. 90-222		

everyone. The specific purpose of the work-study program was to provide funding to institutions of higher education to promote part-time employment for low-income students who needed earnings to pursue higher education. Institutions were required to provide work-study employment to low-income students and to make equivalent employment reasonably available to all eligible students in need. Students could work at the institution or for another organization provided that the work was related to the student's educational objective or was in the public interest. Students were limited to working 15 hours per week while school was in session (P.L. 88-452).

The Higher Education Act of 1965 re-named the program as college work-study (P.L. 89-329). In 1968, the college work-study program provisions moved from the Economic Opportunity Act to the Higher Education Act (P.L. 90-575). In 1992, the program was re-named as federal work-study (P.L. 102-325).

Policy objectives for work-study.

The policy objectives for the program in 1964 were opportunity, access, and cost (P.L. 88-452). When the program moved from the Economic Opportunity Act in 1968, the purpose no longer related to eliminating poverty by opening opportunity to education, training, and work to everyone. After this move, the policy objectives were access and cost (P.L. 90-575).

In 1972, a community service learning program was added to the college work-study program. The purpose of the community service learning program was to enable students in need of additional financial support to earn extra money through employment that offered both effective service to the community and enhanced educational development for the student. After the addition of a community service component in 1972, the policy objectives for the program were access, cost, and community service (P.L. 92-318).

In 1976, the section outlining the community service work learning program was replaced with a provision relating to job location and development programs. Therefore, the policy objectives for the program in 1976 were access and cost (P.L. 94-482). The community service-learning component was re-instated in 1980, and the purpose of the program was to involve eligible students in projects designed to develop, improve, or expand services for low-income people (P.L. 96-374). Based on this addition, the policy objectives for the program in 1980 once again were access, cost, and community service (P.L. 96-374). There were no further changes to the policy objectives before the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Target populations for work-study.

When the program was enacted in 1964, institutions were required to provide work-study employment to low-income students and to make equivalent employment reasonably available to

all eligible students in need. Therefore, the target populations were low-income and equivalent employment available to all eligible students in need (P.L. 88-452).

The target populations changed in 1965 when amendments specified that the program was required to promote the part-time employment of students, particularly students from low-income families, who are in need of earnings to pursue higher education. While work-study could be awarded to all students, institutions were required to give preference to low-income students. Institutions were still required to make equivalent employment reasonably available to all eligible students in need. The target populations for the program in 1965 were all students, particularly low-income students and equivalent employment available to all eligible students in need (P.L. 89-329).

In 1972, the target populations changed again when the program was required to promote the part-time employment of students, particularly students with great financial need, who are in need of earnings to pursue higher education. Institutions were required to give preference to students with the greatest financial need and were still required to make equivalent employment reasonably available to all eligible students in need. The target populations in 1972 were all students, particularly students with great financial need and equivalent employment available to all eligible students in need (P.L. 92-318).

The target populations for work-study changed again in 1976 when institutions were required to make employment reasonably available (to the extent of available funds) to all eligible students in need of employment and make equivalent employment offered or arranged by the institution reasonably available to all students who desire such employment. The three target populations for the program in 1976 were as follows: (1) all students, particularly students

with great financial need, (2) all eligible students in need, and (3) equivalent employment to all students who desire it (P.L. 94-482).

In 1978, the Middle Income Student Assistance Act specified that any determination of need for the college work-study program must include a consideration of the educational expenses of other dependent children in the family. This change further expanded the target population of the college work-study program to cover more students (including middle- and upper-income students) by taking into consideration additional expenses when determining need. Based on these changes, the target population for the college work-study program in 1978 was all incomes (P.L. 95-566).

The 1980 amendments once again changed the target populations. The program was required to promote the part-time employment of students, particularly students who are in need of earnings from employment to pursue higher education. The provisions re-iterated the requirement that institutions make employment reasonably available (to the extent of available funds) to all eligible students in need of employment and make equivalent employment offered or arranged by the institution reasonably available to all students who desire such employment (P.L. 96-374).

In addition, changes in the 1980 amendments specified that only students who demonstrate financial need would be eligible for assistance. Changes to the calculation for estimated family contribution may have allowed middle- and upper-income students to qualify for the program by providing exclusions from assets, allowing consideration of expenses such as private elementary or secondary school costs, and directing the Secretary to set assessment rates for families with annual adjusted incomes over \$25,000 while capping the assessment rate at 14% of discretionary income for families below \$25,000. Based on these changes, the target

populations for the college work-study program in 1980 were as follows: (1) all eligible students, particularly students in need of earnings, (2) need based on EFC, and (3) equivalent employment to all students who desire it (P.L. 96-374).

Under the 1986 amendments, low-income was added to the target population for all Title IV programs including the college work-study program via a simplified needs test for determining the expected family contribution for families with an adjusted gross income of \$15,000 or less. After this addition, the target populations for the program in 1986 were as follows: (1) all eligible students, particularly students in need of earnings, (2) need based on EFC, (3) equivalent employment to all students who desire it, and (4) low-income (P.L. 99-498).

In 1992, the target population for the federal work-study program expanded to include middle-income when the adjusted gross income for using the simplified needs test increased to \$50,000 or less. Based on these changes, middle-income was added to the three existing target populations: (1) all eligible students, particularly students in need of earnings, (2) equivalent employment to all students who desire it, and (3) need based on EFC (P.L. 102-325). There were no further changes to the target population of the program between 1992 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Delivery systems for work-study.

The delivery system in 1964 was campus-oriented (P.L. 88-452). There were no changes to the delivery system.

General community action programs.

The general community action programs were the second of 3 primary program vehicles enacted under the EOA. The vehicle was enacted as part of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The overall purpose of the law was to eliminate poverty by opening the opportunity to

education, training, and work to everyone. The specific purpose of the general community action programs was to combat poverty in urban and rural communities. Of concern to this study was a provision authorizing grants to institutions of higher education to conduct research, training, and demonstration projects to combat poverty. No more than 15% of appropriations could be awarded to institutions of higher education for the research, training, and demonstration projects (P.L. 88-452).

The Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1966 reduced the amount of funding that could be provided to institutions of higher education for research, training, and demonstration projects to 5%. Institutions of higher education were also required to provide specific objectives and priorities for such projects as well as to consult with any agency providing similar services (P.L. 89-794).

During the 1967 revisions, the portion of the law containing the general community action programs was substantially revised. The provision dealing with the research, training, and demonstration projects for institutions of higher education was omitted (P.L. 90-222).

Policy objectives for general community action programs.

The policy objectives for the program in 1964 were opportunity and access (P.L. 88-452). No changes to the policy objectives were found.

Target populations for general community action programs.

The target population in 1964 was low-income (P.L. 88-452). No changes to the target population were found.

Delivery systems for general community action programs.

The delivery system was in 1964 campus-oriented (P.L. 88-452). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Upward bound.

The upward bound program was the final primary program vehicle enacted under the EOA. It was enacted as part of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967. The purpose was to generate the skills and motivation necessary for success in higher education among young people from low-income backgrounds and with inadequate secondary school preparation. The program required cooperation between institutions of higher education and secondary schools. Upward bound activities were required to be closely coordinated with activities of the community action agencies and activities under the Higher Education Act of 1965 (P.L. 90-222).

The Higher Education Amendments of 1968 moved the upward bound program from the Economic Opportunity Act to the Higher Education Act. The purpose was to provide a program for students from low-income backgrounds with inadequate secondary school preparation that would generate the skills and motivation necessary for success in higher education. The program continued to require cooperation between institutions of higher education and secondary schools (P.L. 90-575).

For the first time in 1986, the provisions specified permissible services for upward bound. These services included instruction in basic subjects, personal counseling, academic advice for high school, tutorial service, exposure to cultural events, and on-campus remedial programs (P.L. 99-498).

The 1992 amendments added mentoring to the permissible services for upward bound. The amendments also required programs in existence for at least two years to provide instruction in math through pre-calculus, lab science, and foreign language, composition, and literature (P.L. 102-325).

The National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993 contained a provision related to the participation of discharged military personnel in upward bound programs. The law required that services be provided to members who were on active duty as of September 30, 1992 and who were discharged within 5 years of that date (P.L. 102-484).

Policy objectives for upward bound.

When the program was enacted in 1967, the policy objective was success (P.L. 90-222). As of 1972, the policy objectives for all TRIO programs became access, preparation, and success (P.L. 92-318). No changes to the policy objectives were found between 1972 and the end of period covered by the study in 1993.

Target populations for upward bound.

The original target population for the program was low-income (P.L. 90-222). The target population remained unchanged until 1980 when the upward bound program no longer focused on only the income of the participants; instead, the 1980 amendments specified that not less than two-thirds of the participants must be low-income first-generation college students. A “low-income individual” was defined as an individual from a family whose taxable income did not exceed 150 percent of the federal poverty level. In addition, all of the Subpart 4 programs were required to serve qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds and a student’s financial need for financial assistance for most Title IV programs (including upward bound) was determined by using a schedule of expected financial contributions. Based on these changes, the four target populations for the upward bound program in 1980 were as follows: (1) qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) not less than two-thirds for low-income first generation, (3) remaining either low-income or first-generation, and (4) need based on estimated financial contribution (P.L. 96-374).

Under the 1986 amendments, low-income was added to the target population for all Title IV programs via a simplified needs test for determining the expected family contribution for families with an adjusted gross income of \$15,000 or less. After this addition, the target populations for the program in 1986 were as follows: (1) qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) not less than two-thirds for low-income first-generation college students, (3) the remaining either low-income or first-generation college students, and (4) low-income (P.L. 99-498).

As with many other programs, the target population expanded in 1992 to include middle-income when the adjusted gross income for using the simplified needs test increased to \$50,000 or less (P.L. 102-325). Another target population in 1992 (based on the provisions of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993 described above) was members of the armed forces (P.L. 102-484). Based on these changes, the target populations for the upward bound program in 1992 were as follows: (1) qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) not less than two-thirds for low-income first-generation college students (3) the remaining either low-income or first-generation, (4) middle-income, and (5) members of the armed forces. No changes to the target populations of the program were found between 1992 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Delivery systems for upward bound.

The delivery system was campus-oriented when the program was first enacted (P.L. 90-222). In 1968, the delivery systems expanded to campus-oriented and in exceptional cases, partnerships of secondary schools and postsecondary schools (P.L. 90-575). In 1972, the delivery systems expanded again and were campus-oriented, partnerships with institutions and public and private organizations, and in exceptional cases, secondary schools (P.L. 92-318).

No changes to the delivery system were made until 1992 when members of the armed forces could receive benefits directly. Therefore, the delivery systems in 1992 included both student-oriented and campus-oriented (P.L. 102-484). No further changes to the delivery systems were found between 1992 and the end of the period covered by the study in 1993.

Primary program vehicles enacted under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Job Training Partnership Act and the Energy Policy Act.

The final three of the six public laws under which primary program vehicles were enacted were the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), and the Energy Policy Act (EPA). In this section, I will identify the primary program vehicles enacted under the ESEA, JTPA, and EPA. I will first describe the vehicle, including information about changes to the vehicle's name where applicable. Then, I will provide the original policy objective, target population, and delivery system for each primary program vehicle and detail any changes in these aspects.

The remaining new vehicles (4 or 13.33%) were added by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1 or 3.33%), the Job Training Partnership Act (2 or 6.67%), and the Energy Policy Act (1 or 3.33%). Table 4.4 below shows the primary program vehicles added under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Job Training Partnership Act, and the Energy Policy Act. Each primary program vehicle added under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Job Training Partnership Act, and the Energy Policy Act is described in the following sections.

Bio-medical sciences program for economically disadvantaged students.

The bio-medical sciences program for economically disadvantaged students was the only primary program vehicle enacted under the ESEA. It was enacted in 1978 as part of the

Table 4.4
 Primary Program Vehicles Enacted under the Elementary and Secondary Education, the Job Training Partnership, and the Energy Policy Acts

Name of Primary Program Vehicle	Year Enacted	Public Law Title	Repealed
1. Bio-medical sciences program for economically disadvantaged students	1978	Education Amendments of 1978, P.L. 95-561	Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments of 1988
2. Youth training program	1992	Job Training Reform Amendments of 1992, P.L. 102-367	
3. Youth fair chance program	1992	Job Training Reform Amendments of 1992, P.L. 102-367	
4. Math and science education programs	1992	Energy Policy Act of 1992, P.L. 102-486	

amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The purpose of the program was to encourage secondary students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds to pursue training at the undergraduate level in bio-medical sciences. Specific purposes included motivating such students to pursue careers in bio-medical sciences, developing the students' academic skills, and enabling the students to successfully undertake bio-medical sciences courses at an institution of higher education. Programs were required to provide counseling to participants about opportunities in the bio-medical sciences field upon completion of college and the financial requirements for pursuing such opportunities (P.L. 95-561).

In 1981, the program was consolidated under a block grant with a number of other programs (P.L. 97-35). The bio-medical sciences program was repealed in 1988 (P.L. 100-297).

Policy objectives for bio-medical sciences program for economically disadvantaged students.

When the program was enacted in 1978, the policy objectives were preparation, success, access, cost, and information (P.L. 95-561). After the program was consolidated into a block grant in 1981, the policy objectives changed to program improvement and preparation (P.L. 97-35). No changes to the policy objectives were found between 1981 and the program's repeal.

Target populations for bio-medical sciences program for economically disadvantaged students.

The target population was low-income when the program was enacted in 1978 (P.L. 95-561). No changes to the target population were found.

Delivery systems for bio-medical sciences program for economically disadvantaged students.

The delivery systems for the program when it was enacted in 1978 were campus-oriented and partnerships with public or private nonprofit secondary school systems (P.L. 95-561). When the program was consolidated into a block grant in 1981, the delivery systems changed to the following: (1) the state, (2) state and local educational agencies, and (3) partnerships of state and local educational agencies with institutions of higher education and other public and private organizations (P.L. 97-35). No changes to the delivery systems were found between 1981 and the program's repeal in 1988.

Youth training program.

The youth training program was the first of 2 primary program vehicles enacted under the JTPA. It was enacted as part of the 1992 amendments to the Job Training Partnership Act. The purposes of the program were (1) to improve the long-term employability of youth, (2) to

enhance the educational, occupational, and citizenship skills of youth, (3) to encourage school completion or enrollment in alternative school programs, (4) to increase the employment and earnings of youth, (5) to reduce welfare dependency, and (6) to assist youth in addressing the problems that impair the ability to make successful transitions from school to work, apprenticeship, the military or postsecondary education and training. The law provided performance standards for certain provisions, and the performance standards included enrollment in postsecondary education (P.L. 102-367).

Policy objectives for youth training program.

When the program was enacted in 1992, the policy objective was preparation (P.L. 102-367). No changes to the policy objective were found.

Target populations for youth training program.

In 1992, three groups were eligible for services. The first group was in-school youth between the ages of 16 and 21 (14 and 21 if provided in the job training plan) who were either economically disadvantaged, covered by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, or eligible for free lunch. The second group was out-of-school youth between the ages of 16 and 21 who were economically disadvantaged. No more than 10% of the participants could fall outside of these two groups as long as the participant faced serious barriers to employment. The third group was students enrolled in low-income schools – public schools located in a poverty area served by Title I where 70% of students were hard-to-reach individuals. Based on these provisions, the program had three target populations in 1992: (1) economically disadvantaged individuals, (2) not more than 10% of the recipients may be non-economically disadvantaged individuals who face serious barriers to employment, and (3) low-income schools (P.L. 102-367). No changes to the target population were found.

Delivery systems for youth training program.

When the program was enacted in 1992, there were four delivery systems: (1) states, (2) service delivery areas, (3) student-oriented, and (4) campus oriented (P.L. 102-367). No changes to the delivery systems were found.

Youth fair chance program.

The youth fair chance program was final primary program vehicle enacted under the JTPA. It was enacted under the 1992 amendments to the Job Training Partnership Act. The purposes were (1) to ensure access to education and job training assistance for youth residing in high poverty areas, (2) to provide a comprehensive range of education, training, and employment services to disadvantaged youth, (3) to enable communities with high concentrations of poverty to establish and meet goals for improving opportunities available to youth, and (4) to facilitate the coordination of comprehensive services to serve youth in such communities. A “high poverty area” was defined as having a poverty rate of 30% or more (P.L. 102-367).

Recipients of the youth fair chance program were service delivery areas on behalf of participating communities, and priority was given to participating communities with the highest poverty rates. Funds were required to be used to support education, training, and supportive activities for youth ages 14 to 21 at the time of enrollment in the program (P.L. 102-367).

Each applicant was required to set forth measurable goals which could include increasing the proportion of youth entering postsecondary institutions, apprenticeships or other advanced training programs. The Secretary of Education was required to evaluate the program and include an assessment of the impact on the youth residing in the target area including enrollment in advanced education or training (P.L. 102-367).

Policy objectives for youth fair chance program.

The policy objective for the program when it was enacted in 1992 was access (P.L. 102-367). No changes to the policy objective were found.

Target populations for youth fair chance program.

The program had two target populations in 1992: (1) low-income and (2) communities with highest poverty rates (P.L. 102-325). Although the target population remained the same through the end of the period covered by the study in 1993, Congress changed the age range for participants from 14-21 years old to 14-30 years old in 1993 (P.L. 103-50).

Delivery systems for youth fair chance program.

The delivery system was the service delivery area on behalf of participating communities (P.L. 102-367). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Math and science education program.

The math and science education program was the only primary program vehicle enacted under the EPA. It was enacted under the Energy Policy Act of 1992. The law primarily dealt with issues such as energy efficiency and various types of energy production (natural gas, alternative fuels, uranium, etc.). One title of the law, however, contained several programs affecting higher education, including the math and science education program which was specifically designed to supplement the Special Programs for Students from Disadvantaged Backgrounds programs under the Higher Education Act (P.L. 102-486).

The purpose was to support federal, state, and private programs that promote the participation of low-income and first-generation college students in post-secondary science and mathematics education. Permissible activities included the development of educational materials, training of teachers and counselors, establishment of student internships, development of

seminars on math and science, tutoring in math and science, academic counseling, development of opportunities for research, and other activities that promoted the participation of low-income and first-generation college students in post-secondary math and science education (P.L. 102-486).

Entities receiving funds under the math and science education program were required to submit an annual report to the Secretary of Energy, the Secretary of Education, and Congress on progress made to promote the participation of low-income and first-generation college students in post-secondary math and science education by the qualified entities, other math and science education programs of the Department of Energy, and the Special Programs for Students from Disadvantaged Backgrounds programs of the Department of Education. The report was also required to make recommendations for additional action to promote the participation of low-income and first-generation college students in post-secondary math and science education (P.L. 102-486).

Policy objectives for math and science education program.

The original policy objective for the program was access (P.L. 102-486). No changes to the policy objective were found.

Target populations for math and science education program.

There were two target populations when the program was enacted in 1992: (1) low-income and first-generation college students and (2) institutions that benefit low-income students. These institutions included institutions of higher education, public and private organizations, and elementary and secondary schools (P.L. 102-486). No changes to the target populations were found.

Delivery systems for math and science education program.

There were two delivery systems in 1992: (1) non-profit corporations, associations and institutions and (2) federal, state, and private programs (P.L. 102-486). No changes to the delivery system were found.

Frequency and Evolution of Aspects

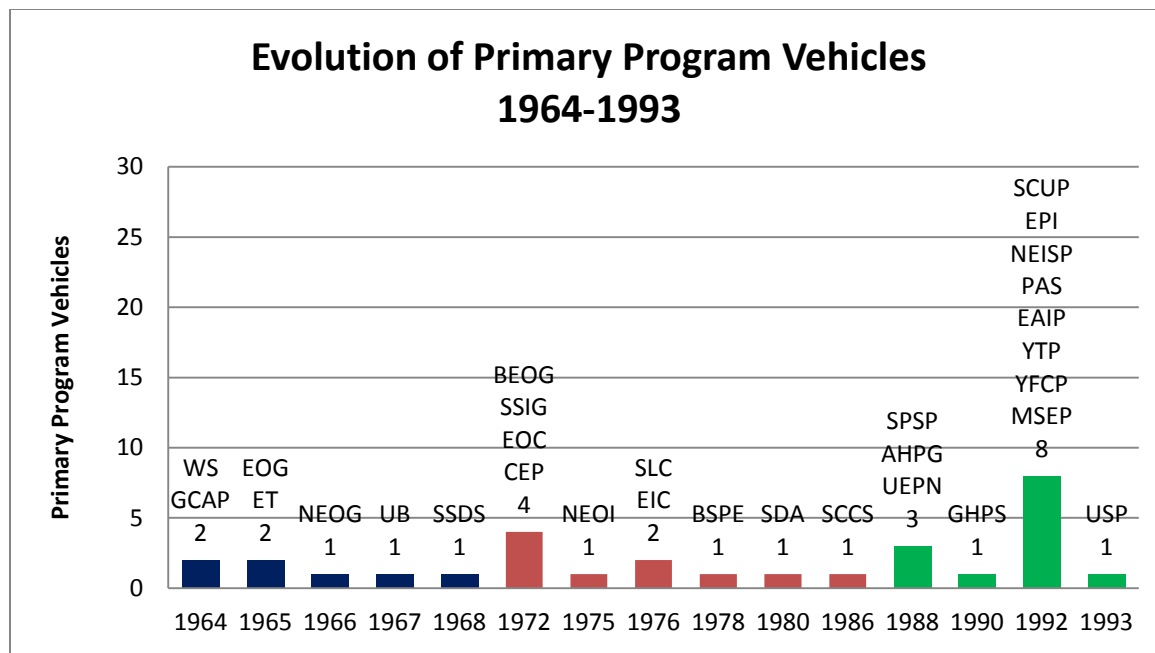
In the prior sections of this chapter, I identified the 30 primary program vehicles. I described the original policy objective, target population, and delivery system for each primary program vehicle and detailed any changes in these aspects.

In the following sections, I will first discuss the evolution of the primary program vehicles between 1964 and 1993. Next, I will discuss both the frequency with which the policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems appear between 1964 and 1993 as well as the evolution over time of each aspect.

Evolution of primary program vehicles.

As described earlier in this chapter, Congress enacted 30 primary program vehicles designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college between 1964 and 1993. Figure 4.1 below illustrates how many primary program vehicles were added each year and identifies waves of evolution of federal attention in the enactment of the vehicles. The evolution of federal attention is divided into the following waves: (1) 1964-1971, (2) 1972-1987, and (3) 1988-1993.

Examining the evolution of the vehicles over time shows increased Congressional attention at the end of the period covered by the study. In the final five-year period between 1988 and 1993, 13 of the 30 (43.33%) primary program vehicles were added. During the seven-year period between 1964 and 1971 at the beginning of federal interest in the issue, seven of the 30



Abbreviation	Primary Program Vehicle
AHPG	Allied Health Project Grants and Contracts
BEOG	Basic Educational Opportunity Grants
BSPE	Bio-medical Sciences Program for Economically Disadvantaged Students
CEP	Cost-of-Education Payment
EAIP	Early Awareness Information Program
EIC	Educational Information Centers
EOC	Educational Opportunity Centers
EOG	Educational Opportunity Grants
EPI	Evaluation for Project Improvement
ET	Educational Talent
GCAP	General Community Action Programs
GHPS	Grants to Health Professions Schools for Scholarships
MSEP	Math and Science Education Programs
NEISP	National Early Intervention Scholarship and Partnership Program
NEOG	Nursing Educational Opportunity Grants
NEOI	Nursing Education Opportunities for Individuals from Disadvantaged Backgrounds
PAS	Presidential Access Scholarships
SCCS	Special Child Care Services for Disadvantaged College Students
SCUP	School, College, and University Partnerships
SDA	Staff Development Activities
SLC	Service Learning Centers
SPSP	Special Projects for Schools of Public Health
SSDS	Special Services for Disadvantaged Students
SSIG	State Student Incentive Grants
UB	Upward Bound
UEPN	Undergraduate Education of Professional Nurses
USP	Undergraduate Scholarship Program Regarding Professions Needed by National Research Institutes
WS	Work-Study
YFCP	Youth Fair Chance Program
YTP	Youth Training Program

Figure 4.1:
Evolution of Primary Program Vehicles, 1964-1993

(23.33%) new primary program vehicles were added. Ten of the 30 (33.33%) new vehicles were added during the fifteen-year period between 1972 and 1987. In other words, adding the first 17 primary program vehicles took considerably longer indicating a period with somewhat slow or steady growth while the remaining 13 vehicles were added during a burst of activity in a relatively short period of time indicating a period of increased attention by Congress.

Some years saw limited or no growth in new primary program vehicles. In fact, no new program vehicles were added in 15 of 30 (50%) years of the study. One new primary program vehicle was added in each of the following nine years – 1966, 1967, 1968, 1975, 1978, 1980, 1986, 1990, and 1993. Two new vehicles were added in 1964, 1965, and 1976.

By comparison, Congress enacted more primary program vehicles during certain years in the study. The top three years based on the number of primary program vehicles added were 1988, 1972, and 1992. Three new primary program vehicles were added in 1988 while four new primary program vehicles were added in 1972. The highest number of new primary program vehicles – eight – was added in 1992.

Frequency of policy objectives.

In the following section, I describe the frequency with which various policy objectives appeared in the primary program vehicles. Ten codes for policy objectives were found between 1964 and 1993. Figure 4.2 below shows the frequency with which each of the ten policy objectives appeared in the thirty primary program vehicles between 1964 and 1993.

As shown in Figure 4.2, two codes – access and preparation – appeared in half or more of the primary program vehicles. Another two codes – cost and information – appeared in more than one-quarter but less than half of the primary program vehicles. Six codes appeared in less than one-quarter but still in multiple – between two and five – primary program vehicles.

This analysis shows which policy objectives seemed most prevalent – meaning which objectives Congress felt were most important. As seen in Figure 4.2, access was clearly the most important policy objective. Access was a policy objective for 28 of 30 (93.33%) primary program vehicles.

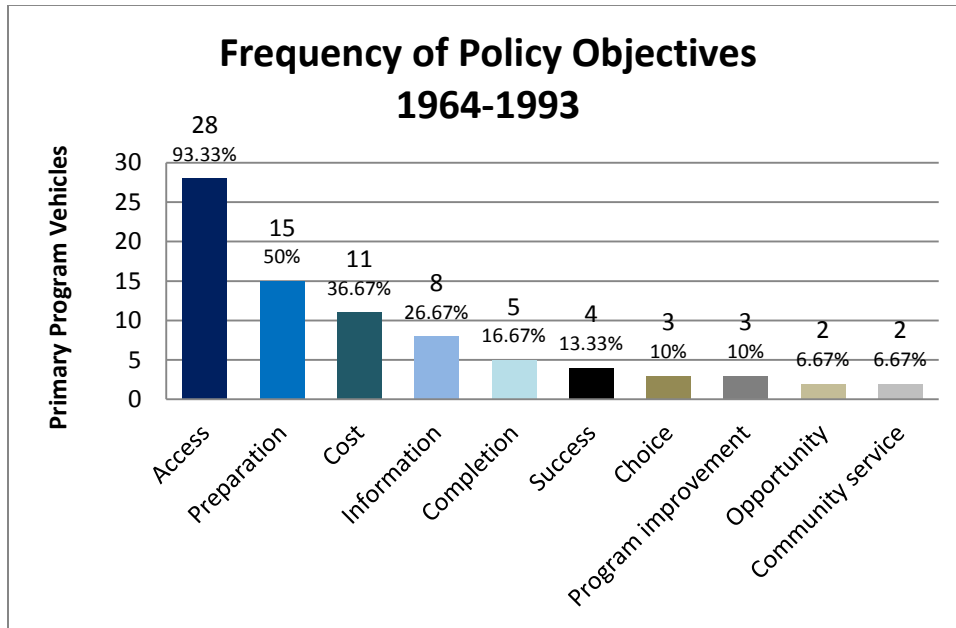


Figure 4.2:
Frequency of Policy Objectives, 1964-1993

Congress focused on preparation, cost, and information as well, but these policy objectives received less attention. Preparation was a policy objective for 15 of 30 (50%) primary program vehicles while cost was a policy objective for 11 of 30 (36.67%) vehicles. Information was a policy objective for 8 of 30 (26.67%) vehicles.

As seen in Figure 4.2, Congress also focused somewhat on completion, success, choice, program improvement, opportunity, and community service as policy objectives. Completion was a policy objective for 5 of 30 (16.67%) primary program vehicles, and success was a policy objective for 4 of 30 (13.33%) vehicles. Choice was among the policy objectives for 3 of 30

(10%) primary program vehicles. Program improvement was among the policy objectives for 3 of 30 (10%) vehicles. Congress did not place much emphasis on either opportunity or community service — each appeared as a policy objective for 2 of 30 (6.67%) primary program vehicles.

Evolution of policy objectives.

In this section, I describe the waves in evolution of federal attention to policy objectives over time. Table 4.5 below shows the evolution of federal attention to policy objectives over the following four waves: (1) 1964-1971, (2) 1972-1987, (3) 1988-1991, and (4) 1992-1993. Table 4.5 also lists the number of primary program vehicles in which the policy objective appears in each time period and the associated list of primary program vehicles.

Table 4.5
Evolution and Frequency of Policy Objectives

Time Period	Policy Objectives	Frequency	Primary Program Vehicles
1964-1971	Access	6	EOG, ET, GCAP, NEOG, SSDS, WS
	Opportunity	2	GCAP, WS
	Cost	2	EOG, WS
	Completion	2	EOG, NEOG
	Information	1	ET
	Success	1	UB
	Preparation	1	SSDS
	1972-1987	Access	16
Preparation		9	BEOG, BSPE, EOC, ET, NEOI, SDA, SLC, SSDS, UB
Cost		8	BEOG, BPSE, CEP, EOG, NEOI, SCCS, SSDS, WS
Information		5	BSPE, EIC, EOC, ET, NEOI
Success		3	BSPE, SSDS, UB
Completion		3	BEOG, EOG, NEOI
Community service		2	SSIG, WS
Program improvement		2	BSPE, SDA
Choice		1	BEOG

Table 4.5 – continued

Time Period	Policy Objectives	Frequency	Primary Program Vehicles
1988-1991	Access	15	AHPG, BEOG, CEP, EOC, EOG, ET, NEOI, SCCS, SDA, SPSP, SSDS, SSIG, UB, UEPN, WS
	Preparation	9	AHPG, BEOG, EOC, ET, GHPS, NEOI, SDA, SSDS, UB
	Cost	8	BEOG, CEP, GHPS, NEOI, SCCS, SSDS, UEPN, WS
	Completion	4	BEOG, EOG, GHPS, NEOI
	Information	3	EOC, ET, NEOI
	Success	2	SSDS, UB
	Community service	2	SSIG, WS
	Choice	1	BEOG
	Program improvement	1	SDA
1992-1993	Access	21	AHPG, BEOG, EAIP, EOC, EOG, EPI, ET, MSEP, NEISP, NEOI, PAS, SCCS, SCUP, SDA, SPSP, SSDS, SSIG, UB, USP, WS, YFCP
	Preparation	13	AHPG, BEOG, EOC, EPI, ET, GHPS, NEISP, NEOI, SCUP, SDA, SSDS, UB, YTP
	Cost	7	BEOG, GHPS, NEISP, NEOI, SCCS, SSDS, WS
	Information	6	EAIP, EOC, ET, NEISP, NEOI, PAS
	Completion	4	BEOG, EOG, GHPS, NEOI
	Choice	3	BEOG, NEISP, PAS
	Success	3	EPI, SSDS, UB
	Community service	2	SSIG, WS
	Program improvement	2	EPI, SDA
	Abbreviation	Primary Program Vehicle	
AHPG	Allied Health Project Grants and Contracts		
BEOG	Basic Educational Opportunity Grants		
BSPE	Bio-medical Sciences Program for Economically Disadvantaged Students		
CEP	Cost-of-Education Payment		
EAIP	Early Awareness Information Program		
EIC	Educational Information Centers		
EOC	Educational Opportunity Centers		
EOG	Educational Opportunity Grants		
EPI	Evaluation for Project Improvement		
ET	Educational Talent		
GCAP	General Community Action Programs		
GHPS	Grants to Health Professions Schools for Scholarships		
MSEP	Math and Science Education Programs		
NEISP	National Early Intervention Scholarship and Partnership Program		
NEOG	Nursing Educational Opportunity Grants		
NEOI	Nursing Education Opportunities for Individuals from Disadvantaged Backgrounds		
PAS	Presidential Access Scholarships		
SCCS	Special Child Care Services for Disadvantaged College Students		
SCUP	School, College, and University Partnerships		

Table 4.5 – continued

Abbreviation	Primary Program Vehicle
SDA	Staff Development Activities
SLC	Service Learning Centers
SPSP	Special Projects for Schools of Public Health
SSDS	Special Services for Disadvantaged Students
SSIG	State Student Incentive Grants
UB	Upward Bound
UEPN	Undergraduate Education of Professional Nurses
USP	Undergraduate Scholarship Program Regarding Professions Needed by National Research Institutes
WS	Work-Study
YFCP	Youth Fair Chance Program
YTP	Youth Training Program

Evolution of policy objectives, 1964-1971.

As seen in Table 4.5, Congress clearly stressed providing access to higher education. Access appeared as an objective in 1964 – the first year of the study. Between 1964 and 1971, access was an objective for six of the seven primary program vehicles.

During this wave in the evolution of federal attention, Congress introduced opportunity, cost, completion, information, success, and preparation as policy objectives. Opportunity was a short-lived objective and disappeared as a focus by 1968.

Evolution of policy objectives, 1972-1987.

While access remained a focus between 1972 and 1987, Congress placed great importance on preparation and cost. During this wave in the evolution of federal attention, access was a policy objective for all sixteen vehicles in existence.

Congressional attention to preparation ratcheted up considerably between 1972 and 1987. Preparation was a policy objective for nine of the sixteen vehicles in existence during this wave. A spike in attention to preparation as a policy objective occurred in 1972. Preparation was only a policy objective for one primary program vehicle in 1971 but was included as a policy objective for four vehicles – two new and two existing – in 1972.

Attention to preparation between 1972 and 1987 followed this pattern. As new primary program vehicles were added, preparation was typically included as a policy objective. This attention was steady with preparation appearing as a policy objective for new vehicles in five years (1972, 1975, 1976, 1978, and 1980) during the fifteen-year period. Congress also added preparation as a policy objective to an existing vehicle in 1980.

Between 1972 and 1987, Congress at times indicated that cost was an important policy objective. For instance, cost was included as a policy objective for five new primary program vehicles when the vehicle was enacted. However, the focus on cost was not consistent.

One clear example of the fluctuating attention to cost can be seen with the educational opportunity grant (EOG)/supplemental educational opportunity grant (SEOG) and basic educational opportunity grant (BEOG) programs. Cost was included as a policy objective for the EOG when it was re-named SEOG in 1972. Cost was not as a policy objective when the BEOG was enacted in 1972; however, cost became a policy objective in 1980 for BEOG (when it was re-named as the Pell grant program). Cost was removed as an objective for SEOG at the same time in 1980. Congress did not seem to be able to decide when cost should be a policy objective for these programs.

Moreover, cost was added as a policy objective when the bio-medical sciences program was enacted in 1978. When the program became part of a large federal block grant in 1981, cost was not a policy objective. A similar pattern of shifting attention to low-income students will be presented as part of the target population discussion below.

Between 1972 and 1987, Congress introduced program improvement, community service, and choice as policy objectives. Program improvement first appeared as a policy

objective in 1980 and was added as a policy objective to an existing program in 1981 when it was merged into a large federal block grant.

Community service was not a consistent focus of Congressional attention. Community service first appeared as a policy objective for the work-study program in 1972. Congress did not include the community service component as part of work-study in 1976; however, the community service component of the program was revived in 1980 and remained until the end of the period covered by the study. A community service component was added to the state student incentive grant program in 1986 and also remained until the end of the period covered by the study.

One of the most remarkable additions to policy objectives occurred when the BEOG program was enacted in 1972 and included choice as a policy objective. Congress wanted to provide students with the ability to take federal funding to the institution of the student's choice, so Congress provided funding for BEOG directly to the student. However, Congress did not want institutions to retreat from focusing on providing access to low-income students, so it kept the EOG program (renamed as the SEOG program) to provide incentives for institutions. Now institutions had two incentives to provide access to low-income students.

Evolution of policy objectives, 1988-1991.

Between 1988 and 1991, Congress continued to focus on access, preparation, and cost. Access was added as a policy objective for four new vehicles in 1988. During this wave in the evolution of federal attention, access was a policy objective for fifteen of the sixteen vehicles in existence.

The attention to preparation remained steady between 1988 and 1991. Preparation was added as a policy objective to three new vehicles during this wave and was a policy objective for nine of the sixteen vehicles in existence.

The attention to cost seemed to stabilize between 1988 and 1991. Cost was a policy objective for eight of the sixteen vehicles in existence. Cost remained a policy objective for five vehicles and was added as an objective to three new vehicles.

Evolution of policy objectives, 1992-1993.

Between 1992 and 1993, Congress remained focused on access, preparation, and cost. Access was added as a policy objective for eight new vehicles during this wave and was a policy objective for twenty-one of the twenty-three vehicles in existence. Congress sustained its attention to preparation – adding preparation to four new vehicles and including it as a policy objective for thirteen of the twenty-three vehicles. The attention to cost declined during this wave. Although cost was added as an objective to one new vehicle, it was only a policy objective for seven of the twenty-three vehicles.

Information emerged as a focus of Congressional attention between 1992 and 1993, and choice saw renewed interest as well. The number of vehicles for which information was a policy objective doubled between 1991 and 1992 when three new vehicles included information as a policy objective. Although choice had been included in 1972 as a policy objective of the BEOG program, Congress waited twenty years before adding choice as a policy objective for another vehicle. In 1992, choice was one of the policy objectives for two new primary program vehicles.

Frequency of target populations.

In this section, I discuss the frequency with which various target populations appeared in the primary program vehicles. Ten codes for target populations were found between 1964 and

1993. Figure 4.3 below shows the frequency with which each of the ten target populations appeared in the thirty primary program vehicles between 1964 and 1993.

As shown in Figure 4.3, only one of the codes – disadvantaged students – appeared in at least half of the primary program vehicles. Four codes (low-income, middle-income, low-income plus others, and need based on EFC) appeared in more than one-quarter but less than half of the primary program vehicles. Four codes appeared in less than one-quarter but still in multiple – between two and five – primary program vehicles. One code appeared in only one primary program vehicle.

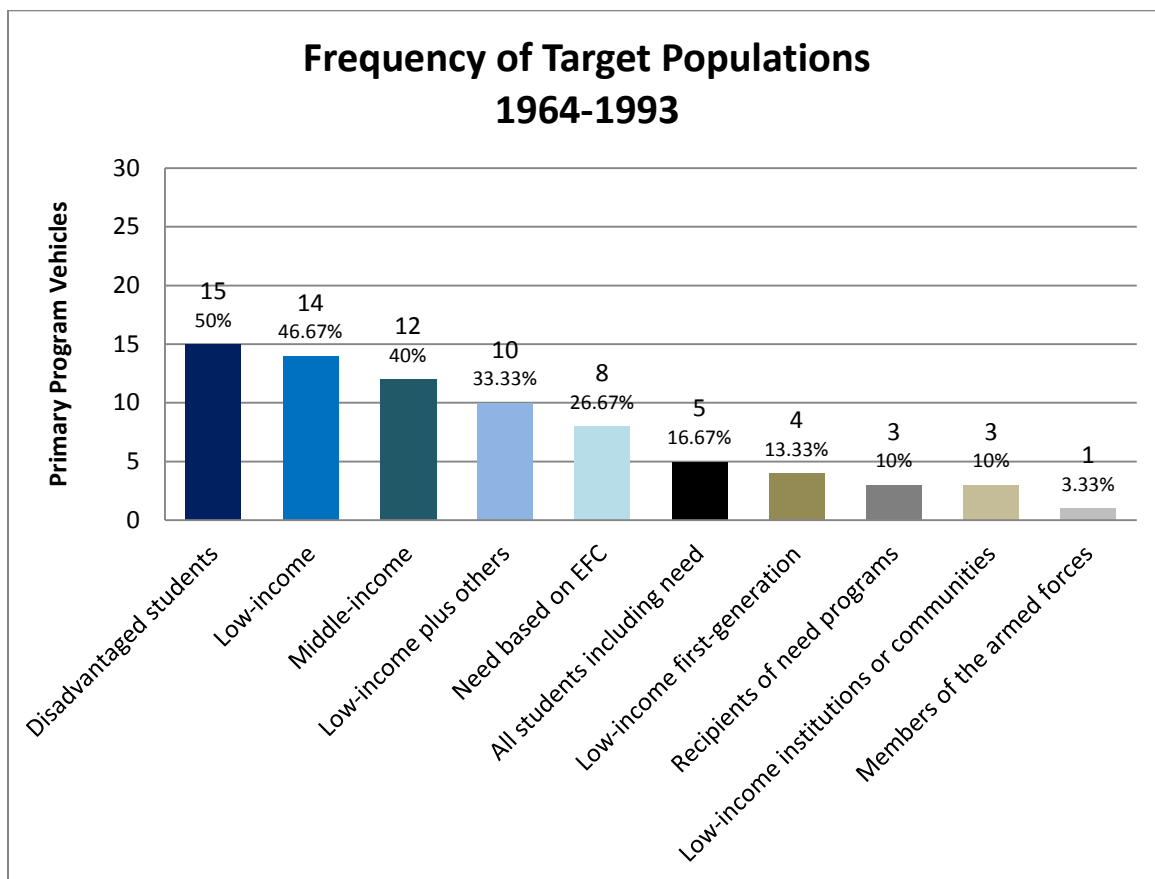


Figure 4.3:
Frequency of Target Populations, 1964-1993

This analysis shows which target populations were most prevalent – meaning which populations Congress felt were most important. As seen in Figure 4.3, disadvantaged students, low-income, and middle-income were the most important target populations. Disadvantaged students was a target population for 15 of 30 (50%) primary program vehicles. Low-income was a target population for 14 of 30 (46.67%) vehicles, and middle-income was a target population for 12 of 30 (40%) vehicles.

Congress focused on both low-income plus others and need based on EFC as well, but these target populations received less attention. Low-income plus others was a target population for 10 of 30 (33.33%) primary program vehicles, and need based on EFC was a target population for 8 of 30 (26.67%) vehicles.

As seen in Figure 4.3, Congress also focused somewhat on five other target populations. All students including need was a target population for 5 of 30 (16.67%) primary program vehicles. Low-income first-generation was a target population for 4 of 30 (13.33%) vehicles. Recipients of need programs and low-income institutions or communities each appeared as a target population of 3 of 30 (10%) vehicles. Congress did not place much emphasis on members of the armed forces as a target population because it only appeared in 1 of 30 (3.33%) primary program vehicles.

Evolution of target populations.

In this section, I describe the waves in evolution of federal attention to target populations over time. Table 4.6 below shows the evolution of federal attention to target populations over the following four waves: (1) 1964-1971, (2) 1972-1977, (3) 1978-1991, and (4) 1992-1993. Table 4.6 also lists the number of primary program vehicles in which the target population appears in each time period and the associated list of primary program vehicles.

Table 4.6
Evolution of Target Populations

Time Period	Target Populations	Frequency	Primary Program Vehicles	
1964-1971	Low-income	7	EOG, ET, GCAP, NEOG, SSDS, UB, WS	
	All students including need	1	WS	
	Low-income plus others	1	WS	
1972-1977	Low-income	8	BEOG, EOC, EOG, ET, NEOG, SSDS, SSIG, UB	
	Low-income plus others	3	EIC, ET, SLC	
	All students including need	1	WS	
	Recipients of need programs	1	CEP	
	Disadvantaged students	1	NEOI	
	Low-income	11	BEOG, BSPE, EOC, EOG, ET, NEOG, SCCS, SSDS, SSIG, UB, WS	
1978-1991	Disadvantaged students	11	AHPG, EOC, ET, GHPS, NEOI, SCCS, SDA, SPSP, SSDS, UB, UEPN	
	Need based on EFC	8	BEOG, EOC, EOG, ET, SDA, SSDS, UB, WS	
	Low-income plus others	6	EIC, ET, SCCS, SLC, SSDS, UB	
	All students including need	4	GHPS, SSIG, UEPN, WS	
	Low-income first-generation	4	EOC, ET, SSDS, UB	
	Recipients of need programs	1	CEP	
	Middle-income	1	BEOG	
	1992-1993	Disadvantaged students	13	AHPG, EAIP, EOC, EPI, ET, GHPS, NEOI, SDA, SPSP, SSDS, UB, USP, YTP
		Middle-income	12	BEOG, EAIP, EOC, EOG, EPI, ET, NEISP, PAS, SCCS, SSDS, UB, WS
		Need based on EFC	8	BEOG, EOC, EOG, ET, SDA, SSDS, UB, WS
Low-income plus others		6	EPI, MSEP, SCCS, SCUP, SSDS, UB	
All students including need		4	GHPS, SSIG, WS, YTP	
Low-income first-generation		4	EOC, ET, SSDS, UB	
Low-income		3	NEISP, SSIG, YFCP	
Low-income institutions or communities		3	MSEP, YFCP, YTP	
Recipients of need programs	2	NEISP, PAS		
Members of the armed forces	1	UB		
Abbreviation	Primary Program Vehicle			
AHPG	Allied Health Project Grants and Contracts			
BEOG	Basic Educational Opportunity Grants			
BSPE	Bio-medical Sciences Program for Economically Disadvantaged Students			
CEP	Cost-of-Education Payment			

Table 4.6 – continued

Abbreviation	Primary Program Vehicle
EAIP	Early Awareness Information Program
EIC	Educational Information Centers
EOC	Educational Opportunity Centers
EOG	Educational Opportunity Grants
EPI	Evaluation for Project Improvement
ET	Educational Talent
GCAP	General Community Action Programs
GHPS	Grants to Health Professions Schools for Scholarships
MSEP	Math and Science Education Programs
NEISP	National Early Intervention Scholarship and Partnership Program
NEOG	Nursing Educational Opportunity Grants
NEOI	Nursing Education Opportunities for Individuals from Disadvantaged Backgrounds
PAS	Presidential Access Scholarships
SCCS	Special Child Care Services for Disadvantaged College Students
SCUP	School, College, and University Partnerships
SDA	Staff Development Activities
SLC	Service Learning Centers
SPSP	Special Projects for Schools of Public Health
SSDS	Special Services for Disadvantaged Students
SSIG	State Student Incentive Grants
UB	Upward Bound
UEPN	Undergraduate Education of Professional Nurses
USP	Undergraduate Scholarship Program Regarding Professions Needed by National Research Institutes
WS	Work-Study
YFCP	Youth Fair Chance Program
YTP	Youth Training Program

Evolution of target populations, 1964-1971.

Between 1964 and 1971, low-income was the main target population. In fact, all seven primary program vehicles in existence during this wave in the evolution of federal attention included low-income as a target population. Six vehicles exclusively focused on low-income students. The only vehicle that did not target only low-income students at this time was work-study.

Between 1964 and 1971, Congress introduced two additional target populations through the work-study program. First, Congress focused on all students including need in 1964 when work-study was required to provide equivalent employment to all eligible students in need (P.L. 88-452). Second, Congress targeted low-income plus other students in 1965 when the program expanded to cover all students, particularly low-income students (P.L. 89-329).

Evolution of target populations, 1972-1977.

Between 1972 and 1977, low-income remained the main target population for almost all of the primary program vehicles. Of the 14 primary program vehicles in existence, eight included low-income students among the target populations.

However, the focus on low-income students was primarily at the beginning of this period. As time progressed, Congress began to target other students. One example of this shift is seen in the target populations for new primary program vehicles. Congress added low-income as a target population for three new vehicles in 1972 but did not include low-income among the target populations for the three new vehicles enacted between 1975 and 1976. Two of these new vehicles allowed one-third of the recipients to be students who were not low-income while the remaining vehicle provided services to students from all income brackets but were directed to pay special attention to low-income students.

Congress also introduced recipients of need programs and disadvantaged students as target populations during this period. Although these programs focused on students with financial need, they did not focus exclusively on low-income students.

Evolution of target populations, 1978-1991.

The period between 1978 and 1991 was quite chaotic in terms of target populations. Congress continued to target low-income students, but the focus of Congressional attention at this time was on disadvantaged students and need based on estimated family contribution (EFC). Other target populations during this time included low-income plus other students, all students including need, low-income first-generation students, recipients of need programs, and middle-income students.

Between 1978 and 1991, low-income was included as a target population for 11 of 20 primary program vehicles in existence. However, low-income was only the exclusive target population for two vehicles, and both were repealed in the mid-1980s. In addition, low-income was removed as a policy objective for three vehicles in 1980.

During the 1980s, Congressional attention to low-income students fluctuated. At times, Congress seemed to stress other target populations, but its focus would return to low-income students in certain years. For instance, a spike in attention to low-income students occurred in 1986 when Congress added a simplified needs test for determining the EFC for families with adjusted gross incomes of \$15,000 or less (P.L. 99-498). The number of primary program vehicles that included low-income as a target population increased from four in 1985 to ten in 1986.

However, Congress was clearly unsure about which students should be its focus. A shift in attention away from low-income students began to occur in 1978 when the target population for the BEOG program included middle-income students. The shift became more pronounced in 1980 when eight primary program vehicles used a formula to determine need based on EFC, six vehicles targeted disadvantaged students, and four vehicles focused on low-income first-generation college students.

This shift signaled Congressional interest in providing assistance to middle-income students by allowing such students to qualify for financial aid in 1980 based on the way that the EFC was calculated under the need analysis provisions. In 1986, Congress began to limit the number of middle-income students who were eligible for assistance based on EFC. For example, Congress added an expectation of a parental contribution for Pell grants as well as mandatory

self-help contributions of \$700 for first-year undergraduate students or \$900 for other students for other Title IV programs (P.L. 99-498).

As seen in Table 4.6, disadvantaged students and need based on EFC ultimately emerged as the primary target populations between 1978 and 1991. During this wave in the evolution of federal attention, the number of primary program vehicles which included disadvantaged students as a target population increased from one to eleven. The number of vehicles using need based on EFC as a target population skyrocketed from zero to eight.

Evolution of target populations, 1992-1993.

Between 1992 and 1993, Congressional attention remained on disadvantaged students and need based on EFC; however, middle-income emerged and replaced the focus on low-income. During this wave in the evolution of federal attention, disadvantaged students was included as a target population for 13 of the 23 primary program vehicles in existence. Congress included disadvantaged students as a target population for four new vehicles.

The attention to need based on EFC remained stable during this wave. Need based on EFC was a target population for the same eight primary program vehicles.

In 1992, Congress clearly targeted middle-income students by increasing the threshold for using the simplified needs test from an adjusted gross income of \$15,000 to \$50,000 or less (P.L. 102-325). The number of primary program vehicles for which middle-income was a target population catapulted from one in 1991 to 12 in 1992.

Congress also added two new target populations between 1992 and 1993. Low-income institutions or communities was added as a target population for three new primary program vehicles while members of the armed forces was added to an existing vehicle as a target population.

Frequency of delivery systems.

In this section, I discuss the frequency with which various delivery systems appeared in the primary program vehicles. Seven codes for delivery systems were found between 1964 and 1993. Figure 4.4 below shows the frequency with which each of the seven delivery systems appeared in the thirty primary program vehicles between 1964 and 1993.

As shown in Figure 4.4, only campus-oriented appeared as a delivery system in more than half of the primary program vehicles. Two codes – partnerships with public and private organizations as well as secondary schools – appeared in more than one-quarter but less than half of the primary program vehicles. Student-oriented appeared in one-fifth of the primary program vehicles. Two codes appeared in multiple – between two and five – primary program vehicles. One code appeared in only one primary program vehicle.

This analysis shows which delivery systems were most prevalent – meaning which systems Congress felt were most important. As seen in Figure 4.4, campus-oriented was the most important delivery system and appeared in 21 of 30 (70%) primary program vehicles.

Congress focused on both partnerships with public and private organizations and secondary schools, but these delivery systems received less attention. Partnerships with public and private organizations was a delivery system for 12 of 30 (40%) vehicles, and secondary schools (directly or in partnership) was a delivery system for 9 of 30 (30%) vehicles.

Congress placed some importance on student-oriented delivery systems. Student-oriented was a delivery system for 6 of 30 (20%) primary program vehicles.

As seen in Figure 4.4, Congress also focused somewhat on the three additional delivery systems. States was a delivery system for 5 of 30 (16.67%) primary program vehicles. Congress did not place much emphasis on either service delivery areas or federal, state or private programs

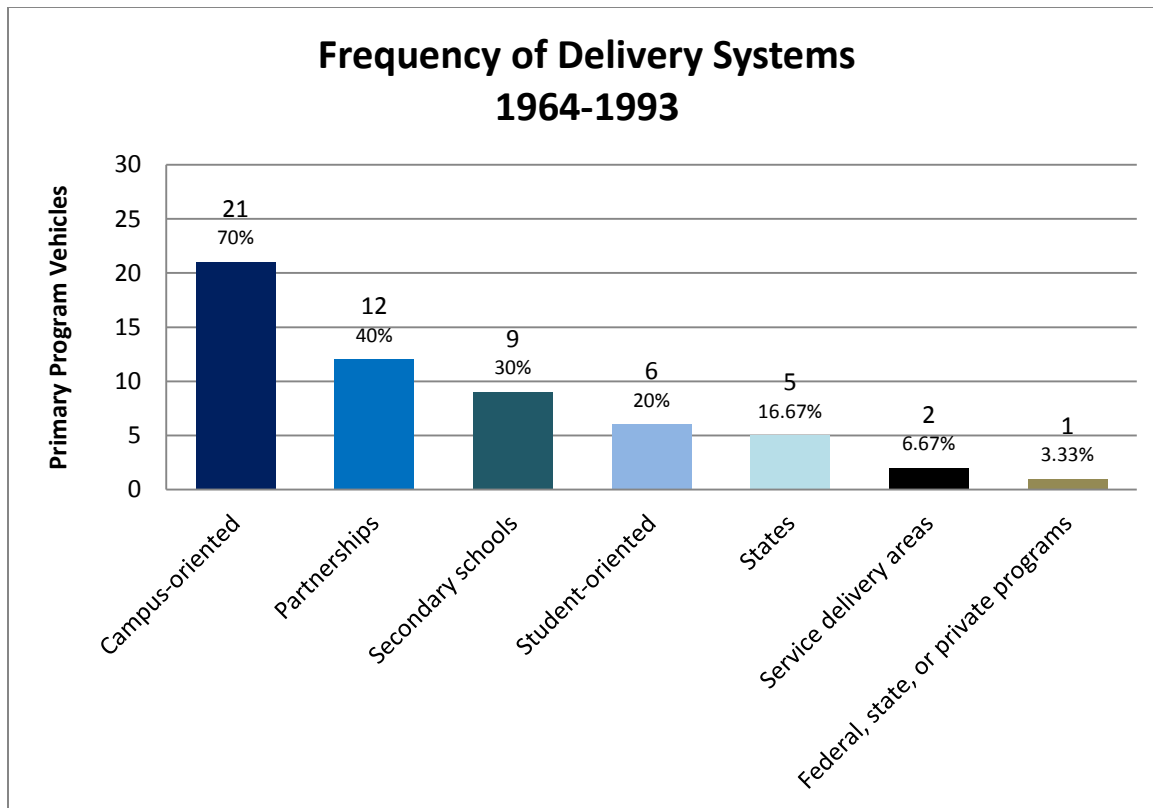


Figure 4.4:
Frequency of Delivery Systems, 1964-1993

as delivery systems. Service delivery areas was only a delivery system for 2 of 30 (6.67%) primary program vehicles. Federal, state or private programs was only a delivery system for 1 of 30 (3.33%) primary program vehicles.

Evolution of delivery systems.

In this section, I describe the waves in the evolution of federal attention to delivery systems over time. Table 4.7 below shows the evolution of federal attention to the delivery systems over the following three waves: (1) 1964-1971, (2) 1972-1991, and (3) 1992-1993.

Table 4.7 also lists the number of primary program vehicles in which the delivery system appears in each time period and the associated list of primary program vehicles.

Table 4.7
Evolution of Delivery Systems

Time Period	Delivery Systems	Frequency	Primary Program Vehicles
1964-1971	Campus-oriented	7	EOG, ET, GCAP, NEOG, SSDS, UB, WS
	Partnerships with public and private organizations	1	ET
	Secondary schools	1	UB
1972-1991	Campus-oriented	17	AHPG, BSPE, CEP, EOC, EOG, ET, GHPS, NEOG, NEOI, SCCS, SDA, SLC, SPSP, SSDS, UB, UEPN, WS
	Partnerships with public and private organizations	8	AHPG, BSPE, EOC, ET, NEOI, SDA, SSDS, UB
	Secondary schools	6	BSPE, EOC, ET, SDA, SSDS, UB
	States	3	BSPE, EIC, SSIG
	Student-oriented	2	BEOG, SSIG
1992-1993	Campus-oriented	14	AHPG, EOC, EOG, EPI, ET, GHPS, NEOI, SCCS, SDA, SPSP, SSDS, UB, WS, YTP
	Partnerships with public and private organizations	11	AHPG, EAIP, EOC, EPI, ET, MSEP, NEOI, SCUP, SDA, SSDS, UB
	Secondary schools	8	EOC, EPI, ET, NEISP, SCUP, SDA, SSDS, UB
	Student-oriented	6	BEOG, PAS, SSIG, UB, USP, YTP
	States	3	NEISP, SSIG, YTP
	Service delivery areas	2	YFCP, YTP
	Federal, state, or private programs	1	MSEP

Abbreviation	Primary Program Vehicle
AHPG	Allied Health Project Grants and Contracts
BEOG	Basic Educational Opportunity Grants
BSPE	Bio-medical Sciences Program for Economically Disadvantaged Students
CEP	Cost-of-Education Payment
EAIP	Early Awareness Information Program
EIC	Educational Information Centers
EOC	Educational Opportunity Centers
EOG	Educational Opportunity Grants
EPI	Evaluation for Project Improvement
ET	Educational Talent
GCAP	General Community Action Programs
GHPS	Grants to Health Professions Schools for Scholarships
MSEP	Math and Science Education Programs
NEISP	National Early Intervention Scholarship and Partnership Program
NEOG	Nursing Educational Opportunity Grants
NEOI	Nursing Education Opportunities for Individuals from Disadvantaged Backgrounds
PAS	Presidential Access Scholarships

Table 4.7 continued

Abbreviation	Primary Program Vehicle
SCCS	Special Child Care Services for Disadvantaged College Students
SCUP	School, College, and University Partnerships
SDA	Staff Development Activities
SLC	Service Learning Centers
SPSP	Special Projects for Schools of Public Health
SSDS	Special Services for Disadvantaged Students
SSIG	State Student Incentive Grants
UB	Upward Bound
UEPN	Undergraduate Education of Professional Nurses
USP	Undergraduate Scholarship Program Regarding Professions Needed by National Research Institutes
WS	Work-Study
YFCP	Youth Fair Chance Program
YTP	Youth Training Program

Evolution of delivery systems, 1964-1971.

Between 1964 and 1971, campus-oriented was the primary delivery system. In fact, Congress included campus-oriented as a delivery system in all seven primary program vehicles in existence.

There were two other delivery systems during this period. Congress introduced partnerships with public and private organizations as a delivery system in 1965. Secondary schools was also added as a delivery system in 1968.

Evolution of delivery systems, 1972-1991.

Between 1972 and 1991, campus-oriented remained as the primary delivery system. Of the 20 vehicles in existence during this wave in the evolution of federal attention, Congress included campus-oriented as a delivery system for 17 vehicles.

As shown in Table 4.7, partnerships with public and private organizations as well as secondary schools emerged as the focus of Congressional attention between 1972 and 1991. Congress added partnerships with public and private organizations as a delivery system to three existing primary program vehicles during this time. In addition, partnerships with public and private organizations was included as a delivery system for three new vehicles at the time the vehicle was enacted. In a similar vein, Congress added secondary schools as a delivery system

to two existing vehicles and included secondary schools as an original delivery system for three new primary program vehicles.

Between 1972 and 1991, Congress introduced States and student-oriented as delivery systems. States were included as a delivery system for three of the 20 primary program vehicles in existence, and student-oriented appeared in two of the vehicles.

After 1972, little activity occurred during this period in the delivery systems. Typically, the delivery systems remained stable – meaning that the delivery systems stayed the same as when the vehicle was introduced.

One exception was a change to the delivery systems of the bio-medical sciences program for economically disadvantaged students. When the program was introduced in 1978, the delivery systems were campus-oriented and partnerships with public or private secondary schools. In 1981, the program became part of a large block grant, and the delivery systems shifted to states, partnerships with public and private organizations, and secondary schools. In essence, funding was transferred from the campus to the state as part of the switch to a block grant program.

Another change occurred in 1986 when student-oriented was added as a delivery system for the state student incentive grants program. This addition occurred when a new component – the community service work learning study program – was added to the state student incentive grants program. Funding for the new campus-based community service work learning study component went to students. States continued to receive funding for the incentive grants (P.L. 99-498).

The most important addition to delivery systems occurred when the basic educational opportunity grant program was enacted in 1972, and its delivery system was student-oriented.

This addition coincided with educational opportunity grants (EOG) program being re-named as the supplemental educational opportunity grants (SEOG) program. Awards under the BEOG program went directly to the student, and the student could use the grant at any institution of higher education. The SEOG program took on the prior role of the educational opportunity grants program as a conduit for funds, meaning that the federal government provided funds to institutions and those institutions in turn provided funds to students.

Evolution of delivery systems, 1992-1993.

Although campus-oriented was the most frequently included delivery system between 1992 and 1993, it was less prevalent during this period. Congress exhibited an increasing lack of trust in institutions and only added campus-oriented as a delivery system to two new vehicles during this wave in the evolution of federal attention.

Comparatively, Congress directed more attention to other delivery systems. For instance, partnerships with public and private organizations was added as a delivery system to four new vehicles while secondary schools was added to three new vehicles during the same period.

Congress also showed a renewed focus on student-oriented as a delivery system including it as a delivery system for three new vehicles between 1992 and 1993. Student-oriented was also added as a delivery system to an existing program during this wave when members of the armed forces were provided funds directly to the student (P.L. 102-484).

Two new delivery systems were introduced between 1992 and 1993. Service delivery areas appeared as a delivery system in two primary program vehicles while federal, state, and private programs appeared in only one vehicle.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The study traces the evolution of policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college by analyzing public laws at the federal level in the United States. The period for the study begins in 1964 with the enactment of the first federal policy on the issue and extends for a period of thirty years ending in 1993. The study describes the landscape of federal policies by applying Hearn's (2001) framework of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems. This landscape includes a myriad of federal laws, and this study contributes a database of those laws.

In this chapter, I first outline the significance of the study. Then, I summarize the findings. Next, I discuss implications of the findings before suggesting potential avenues for future research.

Significance of the Study

This study contributes to the field of higher education research in two ways. First, the study uses an historical evolutionary approach to describe the landscape of federal programs designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college. To do so, the study looks at the ways in which Hearn's (2001) framework of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems combine to explain the evolution of federal policy in this area over time. Second, this study fills the gap in attention that has been paid to whether Congress used laws other than the HEA to address the income-based disparities in access to higher education. Specifically, this study provides a more complete description of the actions that Congress has taken in its attempts to address the gap and contributes a database of federal laws directed at this issue. Each of these contributions is discussed below.

The landscape of federal attention to increasing low-income college access.

As discussed in chapter 2, prior research applied an historical evolutionary approach in the field of education policy studies in early childhood education (Kalifeh, Cohen-Vogel & Grass, 2011), K-12 (Cohen-Vogel, 2005; Stein, 2004), and higher education (Hearn, 2001; St. John, 2003). Both Hearn (2001) and St. John (2003) include various federal loan vehicles among the programs analyzed and focus primarily on the relationship between these federal loan vehicles and select federal grant programs. However, Hearn's (2001) study includes only generally-available student aid programs, meaning funds available for students that are not targeted to a special population such as veterans. While St. John's (2003) study includes both generally-available and specially-directed aid programs, it does not provide a description of the specially-directed programs or consider aspects other than the financial impact of total aid. None of the prior studies apply an historical evolutionary approach to federal programs designed to assist low-income students exclusively.

This study contributes to the field of higher education policy research by using an historical evolutionary approach to describe the landscape of federal programs in a new area: federal programs designed to assist low-income students exclusively to prepare for and enroll in college. No prior study utilized Hearn's (2001) aspects of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems to describe the landscape of federal attention in this area.

This study extends the higher education policy literature related to federal financial aid by analyzing a different set of federal programs than Hearn (2001) or St. John (2003). More specifically this study focuses on federal programs designed to benefit low-income students exclusively. Unlike Hearn (2001) and St. John (2003), this study does not include loan programs

because such programs target middle-income as well as low-income students. This study supplements Hearn (2001) because it includes both generally-available and specially-directed aid programs, and it supplements St. John (2003) because it considers aspects beyond funding, specifically primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems.

To describe the landscape of federal attention to the issue, this study analyzes the ways in which Hearn's (2001) framework of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems combine to explain the evolution of federal policies in this area over time. The following section discusses how these aspects combined over the period covered by the study. A discussion of the waves in evolution of federal attention to each aspect individually is found later in this chapter in the section summarizing the findings. In addition, Chapter 4 contains an extensive discussion of the findings.

As shown in chapter 4, Congress focused on assisting low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college by enacting 30 primary program vehicles between 1964 and 1993. These vehicles were principally designed to provide access to higher education. In fact, expanding access could be viewed as the overarching policy objective for the actions of Congress in higher education.

In addition to expanding access, Congress placed great importance on preparation, information, and cost as policy objectives. By addressing these objectives, Congress focused on the barriers – academic, social, and financial – that low-income students face in accessing higher education. Prior research suggests that these three major factors contribute to the disparate attendance rates based on income. Low-income students face academic barriers such as unequal levels of academic preparation in high school, social barriers to college enrollment, and financial

barriers such as inadequate resources to pay for college (Advisory Committee on Student Financial Assistance [ACSFA], 2001; Pathways to College Network, 2004; St. John, 2003; U.S. Department of Education [USDOE], 2006; Wolanin, 2003).

Congress addressed the academic barriers by focusing on the preparation of low-income students for college. Once added, preparation remained as a policy objective until the primary program vehicle was repealed or until the end of the period covered by the study. This analysis shows that Congress consistently focused on preparation as a policy objective through the period covered by the study. Congress addressed the social barriers by focusing on providing information about higher education to low-income students and their families. Although information first appeared as a policy objective in 1965, Congressional attention to ameliorating social barriers did not take off until 1992. Congress addressed the financial barriers by focusing on the cost of college. Attention to cost was not consistent, however.

In addition, there was a marked shift in the target populations during the thirty years covered by the study. From the mid-1960s into the 1970s, low-income students were the main target population. By the late-1970s, Congressional attention shifted to include some students who were not low-income. 1980 saw a splintering of target populations. Rather than targeting low-income students exclusively, many primary program vehicles began to target qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds and used a formula to determine need for financial assistance based on an estimated family contribution to allow middle-income students to qualify for aid. By the end of the period covered by the study, the focus was clearly on middle-income students. This finding confirms what other researchers have concluded, specifically that, in the 1980s and 1990s, Congress became concerned about affordability for middle-income families

(Gladieux, Hauptman, & Knapp, 1997; Hearn, 2001; Hearn & Holdsworth, 2004; St. John, 2003; St. John, Duan-Barnett, & Moronski-Chapman, 2013; Thelin, 2004; Zumeta, 2004).

One area of relative stability was delivery systems. Three of the seven delivery systems used during the 30 years covered by the study were in existence by 1968, only four years into period covered by the study. Two additional delivery systems were added four years later. No additions were made to those five delivery systems for two decades. However, the year before the end of the period covered by the study, two new delivery systems were added.

Applying Hearn's (2001) analytical framework reveals that Congress attended to access by enacting 30 primary program vehicles to address the gap in attendance rates for low-income students between 1964 and 1993. Congress did not, however, maintain its commitment to assist low-income students exclusively; instead, its attention gradually shifted to middle-income students. Combining analysis of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems shows that Congress failed to focus enough on low-income students to close the higher education access gap for low-income students.

Implications of the landscape for the college access gap for low-income students.

The prior section describes the landscape of federal attention to programs designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college by explaining the ways in which primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems combine to explain the evolution of federal policies in this area over time. The following section provides a discussion of the implications for the college access gap for low-income students based on the landscape of federal attention to the issue.

As previously described, federal policymakers were clearly focused on expanding access between 1964 and 1993. During the period covered by this study, federal policymakers wanted to

expand access to higher education for low-income students. If federal policymakers were focused on access, why does the income-based gap between low-income students and their higher-income counterparts in college attendance persist?

One factor could be that the focus on access has not been consistently directed towards low-income students. Instead, the focus has been unpredictable as evidenced by inconsistent attention to cost as a policy objective and the marked shift in the target populations from low-income to middle-income. While an initial focus on expanding access has remained consistent over time, the target population has shifted to middle-income students, arguably reducing the impact of the primary program vehicles on the attendance rates of low-income students.

A second factor contributing to the persistent gap in college attendance for low-income students could be the proliferation of the primary program vehicles which was detailed in chapter 4. The proliferation of vehicles with overlapping services may result in competition for funding, duplication of effort on campuses, and dilution of impact. Given this proliferation, it is little wonder that the overall impact on closing the gap for low-income students has been diluted. Future research should examine the impact of this proliferation. One possible question is: Would the results for closing the attendance gap for low-income students be better if there were fewer vehicles that received more funding?

A third factor in the continuing income-based access gap in higher education may be the number of primary program vehicles that limit the choices that low-income students have in terms of majors. Limiting the choices that low-income students have in terms of major could exacerbate the gap if low-income students decide not to enroll in college because so much assistance is directed only to those low-income students who have an interest in and aptitude for certain majors.

A database of federal laws addressing low-income college access.

As outlined in chapter 2, research exists both on the federal role in providing access to all students (Eaton, 1997; St. John, Duan-Barnett, & Moronski-Chapman, 2013) and the federal role in increasing access to low-income students (Fitzgerald & Delaney, 2002; Gladieux, 2002; Gladieux, Hauptman, & Knapp, 1997; Gladieux & Wolanin, 1976; Groutt, 2003; Hannah, 1996; Hearn & Holdsworth, 2004; Keppel, 1997; Perna & Swail, 2002; Thelin, 2004; Zumeta, 2004). Only two chapters located during this study (Gladieux, Hauptman, & Knapp, 1997; St. John, 2003) mention that laws other than the Higher Education Act address the income-based disparities in access to higher education. Neither study provides a list of other laws nor a compilation of the primary program vehicles enacted under other laws.

This study's second contribution to the field of higher education policy research is filling that gap in scholarly attention by outlining laws other than the Higher Education Act that Congress has used to address the income-based disparities in access to higher education. In doing so, this study provides a more complete description of the actions that Congress has taken in its attempts to address the gap and contributes a database of federal laws directed at this issue (see Table 3.1 in chapter 3).

This study broadly examines the federal role in assisting low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college. It differs from most prior studies because it does not assume that Congress only addresses the issue through the HEA; instead, the study casts a wide net by searching all federal laws enacted between 1964 and 1993 but includes as germane only laws specifically related to the federal role in assisting low-income students.

This study provides both a database of federal laws directed at this issue (Table 3.1) and an enumeration of the vehicles enacted under those laws (see Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 in

chapter 4). In this way, the study provides a more complete description of the actions that Congress has taken in its attempts to address the gap. This contribution both advances research in higher education policy in its own right and provides future researchers, evaluators, advocacy groups, and policymakers with fertile ground for further exploring the federal role in assisting low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college.

For future researchers, the database provides a beginning point for additional studies of the laws designed to assist low-income students. Many of the laws included in database (Table 3.1) have not been examined in higher education policy research. As an example, future research on issues such as competition for funding, duplication of effort on campuses, and dilution of impact caused by proliferation of primary program vehicles should include the vehicles enacted under laws beyond the Higher Education Act. The database would provide a starting point for that research. In addition, the database could be combined with data sources such as media articles and Congressional hearing records for studies trying to explain why Congress took certain action or failed to take action at certain times. Such studies are discussed further in the section on future research at the end of this chapter.

Evaluators, advocacy groups, and policymakers may also find the database of laws useful in their work with low-income access issues. Evaluators, for example, could use the database to gather information on the kinds of goals and outcomes that Congress viewed as desirable in federal programs designed to assist low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college – and perhaps in a broader array of educational programs designed to assist low-income students progress through the educational pipeline. This information could be used, for instance, to develop appropriate success measures for programs under evaluation, evaluations to answer whether the goals of Congress were in fact met.

Advocacy groups could use the database to determine how to direct their lobbying efforts. For instance, advocacy groups could follow action on the laws included in the database to determine which members of Congress may be receptive to introducing future bills for low-income access. Similarly, policymakers could use the database to find avenues for advancing bills for low-income access. Policymakers may be unaware of the various laws that address college access for low-income students. By looking at the laws in the database, policymakers could identify areas for streamlining primary program vehicles and areas where additional vehicles may be needed.

The following sections first provide a summary of the findings based on the evolution of the individual aspects: primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems. A detailed account of the findings is included in chapter 4. Then, implications of the evolution for each aspect are discussed.

Summary of Findings

Using the framework of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems to trace the evolution of federal involvement reveals policy changes not outlined in previous research. As discussed earlier in the chapter, describing the landscape of federal attention is one of this study's most significant contributions. Taken as a whole, federal involvement in this issue during the thirty years examined demonstrates both change and stability. Changes took the form of expansions and shifts. The primary program vehicles substantially expanded – increasing from two in 1964 to twenty-three by 1993 (seven vehicles enacted after 1964 had been repealed by 1993). Over the period covered by the study, some policy objectives remained stable and others shifted. Only the delivery systems remained stable.

Evolution of primary program vehicles.

As shown in chapter 4, Congress enacted 30 primary program vehicles designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college between 1964 and 1993. Half of the years in the study saw no additions to the primary program vehicles. In nine of the years covered by the study, Congress only enacted one vehicle while Congress enacted two vehicles in three of the years covered by the study. Congress only enacted more than two primary program vehicles during three years in the study: 1972, 1988, and 1992.

These high points in Congressional activity were used to establish time periods for the waves of evolution in federal attention to primary program vehicles. Congressional attention to primary program vehicles occurred during the following waves: (1) 1964-1971, (2) 1972-1987, and (3) 1988-1993. Seven primary program vehicles were added between 1964 and 1971 while ten were added between 1972 and 1987. In contrast, thirteen vehicles were added between 1988 and 1993.

Looking at the waves of evolution in federal attention to primary program vehicles reveals increased Congressional attention at the end of the period covered by the study. This finding was unexpected because you might assume that the highest period of interest would occur at the beginning of federal interest in the issue. Instead, Congress enacted the first 17 primary program vehicles over a relatively long period indicating somewhat slow or steady growth while the remaining 13 vehicles were added during a burst of activity in a comparatively short time indicating a period of increased attention by Congress.

Evolution of policy objectives.

Attention to the policy objectives fell into the following waves of evolution: (1) 1964-1971, (2) 1972-1987, (3) 1988-1991, and (4) 1992-1993. At the beginning of federal interest

between 1964 and 1971, Congress stressed access. Between 1972 and 1987, access remained a primary focus, but Congress also developed an interest in both preparation and cost as policy objectives. However, the focus on cost was not consistent, and examples of fluctuating attention to cost are found throughout this wave.

From 1988 to 1991, Congress continued to focus on access, preparation, and cost. In fact, attention to cost seemed to stabilize during this wave of evolution in federal attention. Between 1992 and 1993, Congress remained focused on access, preparation, and cost; however, the attention to cost declined. Information emerged as a focus of Congressional attention during this wave, and choice also saw an increase in importance.

Evolution of target populations.

The evolution of target populations was divided into the following waves of federal attention: (1) 1964-1971, (2) 1972-1977, (3) 1978-1991, and (4) 1992-1993. In the first wave, Congressional attention was firmly and almost exclusively on low-income students. During the second wave, Congress gradually began to target other students while continuing to keep its eye on low-income students. Between 1972 and 1977, the main target population was low-income plus other students.

In the third wave of evolution, Congressional attention to other students caught up to the attention to low-income students. Congress placed equal attention on disadvantaged students and low-income students between 1978 and 1991. The addition of need based on estimated family contribution (EFC) during this wave indicated an interest in assisting middle-income students. During the final wave, Congressional attention to low-income students was at its low point while attention to middle-income students reached its high point. Disadvantaged students

and need based on EFC remained important target populations in the final wave of evolution; in fact, disadvantaged students was the most frequently occurring target population.

Evolution of delivery systems.

This study found that the evolution of the delivery systems fell into the following waves: (1) 1964-1971, (2) 1972-1991, and (3) 1992-1993. Between 1964 and 1971, campus-oriented was the primary delivery system. Campus-oriented remained the primary delivery system between 1972 and 1991; however, partnerships with public and private organizations as well as secondary schools emerged as the focus of Congressional attention during this wave in the evolution of federal attention. This wave was characterized by stability for the delivery systems – meaning that the delivery systems typically stayed the same as when the vehicle was introduced.

Between 1992 and 1993, Congress exhibited an increasing lack of trust in institutions despite campus-oriented being the most frequently included delivery system. During this wave in the evolution, Congressional attention was directed to partnerships with public and private organizations. Congress also showed a renewed focus on student-oriented delivery systems.

Discussion

The following sections discuss the implications of the study. The implications are described as they relate to each aspect – primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems.

Implications based on evolution of primary program vehicles.

As described in detail in chapter 4, Congress enacted the thirty different primary program vehicles in fits and starts. This pattern suggests that Congress was not methodically enacting vehicles in response to evaluations indicating that a new primary program vehicle was needed to address a specific deficiency in the current array of vehicles. Instead, Congress may have been

responding to the “issue of the moment” or addressing the concerns of the most vocal advocacy group.

The end result is a proliferation of primary program vehicles offering overlapping services. For example, the Student Support Services program, the Talent Search program, and the Upward Bound program provide similar services. All three programs provide academic advice, tutorial services, and mentoring programs as well as exposure to academic programs and cultural events not usually available to disadvantaged students. Both Student Support Services and Upward Bound provide instruction in reading, writing, study skills, mathematics, and other subjects necessary for success beyond secondary school. Both Talent Search and Upward Bound provide advice and assistance in selecting high school classes while Talent Search and Student Support Services provide advice and assistance in selecting college courses (P.L. 102-325).

These three programs do have some distinctive components. Services provided only by Talent Search include visits to college campuses as well as assistance preparing for college entrance examinations and completing college admissions and financial aid applications. Services unique to Upward Bound are on-campus residential programs and stipends. Services offered only by Student Support Services are assistance with transferring from a two-year to a four-year institution (P.L. 102-325).

This research has implications for the way that policymakers and researchers approach the issue of assisting low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college. Both policymakers and researchers need to be aware of the proliferation of vehicles as they craft potential solutions to the issue and conduct research in this area.

For policymakers, the primary concern about the proliferation of vehicles is likely efficiency. Policymakers may wonder whether any individual vehicle has the intended effect

when the vehicle is surrounded by numerous similar and overlapping vehicles. Because the various vehicles must compete for limited federal funding, certain vehicles could be perpetually underfunded. Moreover, the impact of any particular vehicle may be diluted because of funding limitations. However, the proliferation has consequences beyond mere inefficiency. Efforts to assist low-income students may be duplicated in certain areas. For instance, a single institution of higher education may offer multiple vehicles. If these vehicles include overlapping services, a student may have a difficult time determining which program is best suited to the student's needs. The student may become overwhelmed and ultimately decide not to pursue assistance.

For researchers, recognizing the importance of the numerous vehicles may lead to more complete studies. Often researchers do not include every primary program vehicle in their studies, considering some vehicles as too small or too directed to a certain target population (Hearn, 2001; Cohen-Vogel, 2005, citing Earley & Schneider, 1996). This study indicates that paying attention to such vehicles may be more important than previously thought. Even if a single vehicle does not require a massive federal outlay, the cumulative effect may be much larger. The total amount of funding for the thirty vehicles found in this study could be significant. Moreover, maintaining staff for thirty vehicles requires considerable effort. Most concerning might be the effect on the students: navigating the maze of programs must be incredibly difficult for students and families, especially for low-income families who do not have as much experience with higher education as higher-income families do.

One of the most important findings from this study is that Congress attempted to address the gap in attendance rates by low-income students through a myriad of laws. Policy activity is not chiefly clustered around the Higher Education Act and its reauthorizations; in fact, much of the policy activity occurs outside the anticipated arena. As detailed in chapter 4, almost half of

the new primary program vehicles were enacted under other laws including the Public Health Service Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Job Training Partnership Act, and the Energy Policy Act. Rather than assuming that all Congressional attention related to efforts to assist low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college is contained in the Higher Education Act, researchers in the area should expand their studies to include these other laws.

The analysis clearly shows one strand of primary program vehicles that provide assistance to students regardless of field of study while assistance under another strand of vehicles is available only if the student chose a field of study in science, in particular nursing. In addition to the seven primary program vehicles enacted under the Public Health Service Act amendments, the bio-medical sciences program for economically disadvantaged students and the math and science education program directed students into science fields. Although addressing national workforce needs is an important policy objective and one to which Congress must attend, the question arises as to whether the most effective approach for achieving the objective is channeling low-income students into specific fields of study, specifically into science.

Implications based on evolution of policy objectives.

Congress took a fragmented approach to policy objectives. Although Congress clearly and consistently focused on access between 1964 and 1993, this study reveals that the focus on access was supplemented by a focus on preparation, cost, information, and choice. Congress consistently attended to preparation as its second policy objective, but attention to the other policy objectives was much less constant.

As with the primary program vehicles, Congress seemed to respond to the hot button issue of the day. At the beginning of federal interest in the 1960s, Congress followed the

objectives of the War on Poverty by concentrating on access. When the focus in education policy turned to the lack of academic preparation in the 1980s with the publication of reports such as *A Nation at Risk*, Congress targeted policies related to low-income students to preparation. By the 1990s, Congress appeared to respond to different pressures by focusing on objectives such as information and choice. The overall impression from this analysis is that Congress did not seem satisfied with focusing only on access but also did not have a clear alternative.

Crucial to the problem addressed by this study is the observation that the focus on access has not been consistently directed towards low-income students. A pattern of inconsistent attention to cost appears even among vehicles designed specifically to assist low-income students. While Congress included cost as a policy objective at certain times, the attention to cost for low-income students was never as clear or as consistent as the attention to access for all students. Congress vacillated about whether to include cost as a policy objective for certain programs and did not maintain cost as high priority throughout the thirty years observed. In the final analysis, the inconsistent attention to cost diluted low-income students' access to higher education despite consistent attention to access for all students.

Implications based on evolution of target populations.

Unlike the fragmented approach that Congress took with policy objectives, Congress seemed to chart a clear – if somewhat puzzling – path with target populations. The waves in the evolution of federal attention to target populations reveal that Congressional attention slowly shifted away from low-income students between 1964 and 1993. While the initial focus was on low-income students, the target population expanded over time to include disabled students, first-generation students and middle-income students, among others. By the end of the period covered

by the study, Congressional focus had shifted so far that middle-income students were of more concern than low-income students. A question arises about how serious Congress truly is about assisting low-income students when its focus on low-income students as a target population continues to decline.

Even though the vehicles included in this study were supposed to focus on helping low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college, the focus slowly shifted to using the vehicles to target middle-income students. This shift is puzzling considering that the supposed purpose of the vehicles was to assist low-income not middle-income students to prepare for and enroll in college. The shift to a focus on middle-income students could be seen as operating to the detriment of the original target population of low-income students.

Several possible explanations exist for this shift away from the original target population. Congress may have been courting middle-income voters or responding to multiple advocacy groups with different objectives. Another possibility is that the political agenda may have changed as the members of Congress changed. Alternatively, federal policymakers may simply have been reacting to changing times by targeting low-income students when the gaze of the nation was trained on overcoming poverty while concentrating on middle-income students when the country was no longer intent on assisting the poor. No matter what the explanation, the shift seems puzzling given that the original goal of these vehicles was to assist low-income students exclusively.

Implications based on evolution of delivery systems.

Although the waves in evolution of federal attention to delivery systems were relatively stable, the type of delivery systems that Congress focused on has important implications for assisting low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college. This study reveals that

Congress primarily provided assistance through campus-oriented vehicles rather than through student-oriented vehicles.

Directing assistance to institutions rather than to low-income students means that such students have less choice in where to attend college. The approach to delivery systems for programs of interest to this study differs from the approach that Congress has taken with loans. Typically, loan programs are student-oriented meaning that the student can take the loan to almost any institution of higher education.

Further restricting the choices for low-income students are the number of primary program vehicles that limit the choice of major. These vehicles do not merely limit the delivery system to a particular institution of higher education but identify a specific department within the institution.

The most dramatic change in delivery systems occurred with the addition in 1972 of a primary program vehicle that had a student-oriented delivery system. This change coincided with the addition of choice as a policy objective. As discussed in chapter 4, Congress wanted to provide students with the ability to take federal funding to the institution of the student's choice; therefore, federal policymakers provided funding directly to the student. At the same time, Congress continued to incentivize institutions of higher education by providing assistance directly to the institutions through other primary program vehicles.

The addition of a student-oriented delivery system for one vehicle did not, however, introduce a trend of providing assistance directing to students through multiple vehicles. In fact, Congress did not include a student-oriented system among the delivery systems for another twenty years. However, Congress showed a renewed interest in student-oriented delivery systems in the early 1990s.

On the whole, the approach taken by Congress to the delivery systems in this area is best characterized as restrictive because most are directed to campuses rather than to students. Ultimately, this restrictive approach limits the choices that low-income students have because they must attend institutions which offer the primary program vehicles and may even have to attend an institution with a specific department if they want to maximize the amount of assistance for which they are eligible.

Future Research

Although the study contributes to the understanding of the evolution of federal programs designed to assist low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college by describing the ways in which primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems combine to explain their evolution over time, the study does not explain why we see changes in the trajectory of federal policy in this area over time. For instance, the study does not explain why Congress enacted specific primary program vehicles, why it enacted so many primary program vehicles, or why it attempted to use those vehicles to direct low-income students into certain fields. The study also does not explain why Congress has not been more focused in its attempts to address the gap for low-income students.

To answer such questions, application of a conceptual approach like one of the synthetic theories would be useful because such theories provide a helpful framework for explaining the reasons behind actions taken. Cohen-Vogel and McLendon (2009) encourage educational researchers to look at “the factors that spur and dampen educational policy reform by federal officials” (p. 735) by utilizing conceptual models from the synthetic school such as multiple streams and punctuated equilibrium theory to examine federal policy. The synthetic school views policymaking as both static and dynamic at once. Cohen-Vogel and McLendon (2009)

say that the synthetic school can explain both periods of policy stability and policy reform by looking closely at the transition between stability and reform.

The sections below will first briefly review the multiple streams approach, explain how that lens might apply to the issue of federal attention to low-income access to higher education, and provide some guiding questions for future research utilizing this approach. Following that portion is a similar discussion for punctuated equilibrium theory.

The multiple streams approach contends that federal policymaking occurs in three streams – a problem stream, a policy stream, and a politics stream. These streams generally operate independently; however, policymakers take actions to address social issues only when the three separate streams of activity converge. At this point, a window of opportunity opens, providing a brief period of time when the policy stream may attach a solution to the problem stream (Kingdon, 1995).

This study may point to a couple of possible windows of opportunity. For instance, the beginning of federal interest in programs assisting low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college coincided with the War on Poverty. Similarly, the period around the 1992 reauthorization of the Higher Education Act coincided with amendments to the Job Training Partnership Act and the passage of the Energy Policy Act.

Future researchers could explore questions such as: What were the problem streams, the policy streams, and the politics streams in the early 1960s that may explain the direction higher education policy took around the problem of inequitable access? What societal factors may have led to the opening of possible windows of opportunity during this time? Did a window of opportunity open around the War on Poverty? Similar questions could be asked for the period around 1992 including the following: What were the problem streams, the policy streams, and

the politics streams? Did the confluence of federal policymaking constitute a window of opportunity?

Additional data would be necessary to help answer those questions. Data such as congressional hearing transcripts, presidential statements, newspaper articles, and perhaps even interviews would help answer some of these questions.

The punctuated equilibrium theory framework posits that “the interaction of beliefs and values concerning a particular policy, which we term the policy image, with the existing set of political institutions – the venues of policy action” can explain both periods of extreme stability and short bursts of rapid change (Baumgartner and Jones, 1991, pp. 1044-1045). Key constructs in punctuated equilibrium theory include equilibrium, disequilibrium, policy monopoly, policy image, and policy venue. Equilibrium is a period of stability or status quo in policy development. Disequilibrium is a sudden change in the policies or a break from the stability or status quo. A policy monopoly is an established system of policy actors and issue experts. A policy image is how a policy is understood and discussed. A policy venue is the group or institution with the authority to make a decision on a policy issue (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993/2009).

Based on the analysis conducted in this dissertation on the evolution of federal involvement in this issue, punctuations seem to have occurred in 1972, 1988, and 1992 – the years in which the greatest numbers of primary program vehicles were enacted. In the span from 1988 to 1993, almost half of the primary program vehicles were added. By comparison, enacting the remaining primary program vehicles took considerably longer. This pattern may indicate a period of equilibrium followed by a burst of activity indicating disequilibrium and a possible punctuation.

Questions that a punctuated equilibrium framework could help answer include: What were the periods of stability resulting in policy equilibrium and the periods of change resulting in policy disequilibrium between 1964 and 1993? Who were the policy actors and issue experts involved in the federal discussions about assisting low-income students? Did changes in policy image and venue occur? Were there bursts of activity that led to punctuations? Did any of the changes in policy image and venue explain the reasons behind the punctuations? Alternately, researchers could look at whether punctuated equilibrium fails to explain policy evolution by asking questions such as whether these changes could be described in terms of gradual shifts rather than sudden changes.

To test for punctuations and the reasons for them, future research could include evaluation of media articles and Congressional hearing transcripts to help understand changes in policy image and venue. Media articles are available in databases such as the *New York Times*. Congressional hearing transcripts are available in *Pro Quest Legislative Insight*.

Media articles would allow researchers to assess whether a social problem has moved onto the governmental agenda as a policy issue that requires federal attention as well as to help ferret out the tone of attention to the issue.

Congressional hearing transcripts would allow researchers to trace the policy image and venues for the issue. Researchers could see, for instance, which committees and sub-committees in Congress had responsibility for the issue and who the policy entrepreneurs testifying at the hearings were. These transcripts would allow researchers to track an issue through various venues as well as enabling them to understand the policy image presented by the public and policy insiders. Researchers could determine the level of attention by using the number of hearings to indicate the degree of congressional interest.

Limitations of the Current Study

This section describes limitations of the current study. Limitations based on data and on methodology are covered.

The current study is limited by the data examined. For instance, the study does not include interviews. Conducting interviews with policymakers who were involved with the development of federal policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college could provide a fuller, richer picture of the evolution of such policies. Another source of data that this study does not analyze is Congressional hearing transcripts. Examining these transcripts could help explain why Congress enacted specific primary program vehicles or why certain policy objectives were chosen during the evolution of policy development in this area. Reviewing Congressional transcripts may also provide a list of advocates who testified about particular issues such as the role of early intervention programs in ameliorating the social barriers that low-income students face in accessing higher education. Other sources of data that could contribute to understanding this area are media articles, white papers and other advocacy pieces, presidential statements, and court decisions.

The current study is also limited by its methodology. First, this study uses a limited set of search terms. The specific terms chosen determines the results obtained. The terms chosen for this study may have excluded germane laws. In addition, terminology changes frequently; therefore, using the same search terms over an extended period of time may further limit the federal laws that were returned during searches in Hein Online.

One example of how changing language may have affected this study is seen in the terminology used to describe the target populations. For instance, one of the target populations found in this study is “disadvantaged students,” but the public laws analyzed do not necessarily

define “disadvantaged students” – meaning that the term could potentially encompass many types of disadvantage. Given the changing social and political climates during the time period covered by this study, it is possible that “disadvantaged students” encompassed income, gender, and race. During the 1960s and 1970s, the American public was concerned not only with the War on Poverty but they were also concerned about Civil Rights and Women’s Rights. It is likely that policymakers were attending to the disadvantage that may come as a result of being poor in America but also to the disadvantage that may have accrued to African Americans based on years of slavery, school segregation, Jim Crow laws, and other institutional forms of racism.

In fact, evidence exists in this study to suggest that Congress was paying attention to both low-income students and minority students under the umbrella of “disadvantaged students.” At least two vehicles (EAIP and YTP) included “economically disadvantaged” students specifically, and one of those vehicles (EAIP) also included “minority or at-risk students.” Based on the data analyzed in this study, there was no way to determine the percentage of “disadvantaged students” under that vehicle (EAIP) who were economically disadvantaged versus the percentage who were minority or at-risk students.

Studies such as the one undertaken in this dissertation contain inherent complexities. Eaton (1997) discussed the complexities involved in determining precisely what providing “access” to higher education means and pointed out that the analysis differs based on the focus at a particular time; moreover, she noted that the question “sometimes has been answered in financial terms, sometimes in academic terms, sometimes in race and gender terms” (p. 237).

Moreover, such studies are complex because they attempt to trace the shifts in aspects such as target populations at the same time that the language used to describe or define those aspects are changing. As a result of these complexities, this study did not delineate the

“disadvantaged students” code by whether the students were low-income, minority or some other definition of disadvantage.

This limitation has important implications considering that the “disadvantaged students” code was the most frequently included code by the end of the time period covered by the study. Future research could look at whether the inclusion of a “disadvantaged students” category and its increase in emphasis represents a shift away from focusing on low-income students. Such research could utilize different terminology – terminology taking into account that low-income students may be included among other codes such as “disadvantaged students.” One possible result is that such studies may conclude that Congress was paying more attention to low-income students than the findings of this study suggest.

Second, the current study may be limited by using the aspects of primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems. Including other constructs may be useful in fully understanding the federal role in this area. For instance, including federal funding as a construct could provide important information. How Congress allocates limited federal dollars provides clues about what federal policymakers feel is important. Moreover, including a construct like federal funding would allow researchers to track changes in appropriations to the various primary program vehicles. In this way, researchers could determine whether certain vehicles fell in and out of favor with federal policymakers.

Moreover, future researchers might use aspects other than primary program vehicles, policy objectives, target populations, and delivery systems to measure shifts (or changes) over time. For instance, future researchers could use political discourse analysis to examine the emphasis placed on the different primary program vehicles by federal policymakers. Future researchers might evaluate the shifts (or changes) in the waves of evolution of federal attention

over time by examining the number of students affected by each primary program vehicle or by comparing the funding allocated to the different programs. This study placed equal weight on each primary program vehicle and did not consider additional factors such as the impact of the amount of federal funding on Congressional attention. By looking at funding allocated to the different programs, future researchers might be able to determine whether Congress placed greater emphasis on certain primary programs vehicles such as the federal Pell grant program than it placed on other primary program vehicles.

Conducting such research might help answer questions about whether certain vehicles have a greater influence on the other aspects. If such research found that Congress provided substantially more funding for the federal Pell grant program than it provided for other primary program vehicles, that result could help researchers further evaluate whether Congress placed more emphasis on student-oriented delivery systems than this study found. Such research could perhaps conclude that student-oriented delivery systems were the focus on Congress beginning in 1972 when the federal Pell grant program was enacted.

Additional data would be required for such research. Such data may not be easy to locate for all programs. For instance, funding for all primary program vehicles that are part of the federal TRIO programs are often lumped together. Future researchers would need to locate appropriate data sources for such studies.

The current study is also limited by the time frame chosen for investigation. Analyzing the evolution of federal laws between 1964 and 1993 only shows a portion of the evolution in this area. The time period could be expanded either forward to the present or backward. Most likely, expanding the time frame would identify additional laws to be included in the database.

Extending the time frame may reveal additional primary program vehicles, more policy objectives, different shifts in target populations, or changes in delivery systems.

One specific limitation based on the time frame chosen for the study concerns whether the period from 1992 to 1993 may be seen as a shift from targeting low-income students to targeting middle-income students. As explained in chapter 3, this study defines a shift as a change. Based on the analysis conducted in this study, this period appears to signal a change and may be the start of a wave in the evolution of federal attention to focusing on middle-income students as a target population. However, a period of two years may be too short to make such a conclusion, and future research analyzing federal laws enacted after 1993 would be necessary to test this observation.

Though systematic study is clearly warranted, a few policies have been adopted by Congress since 1993 suggesting that 1992 may indeed have marked the beginning of a new wave of federal attention to middle-income students. The Hope Scholarship and Lifetime Learning Tax Credits enacted in 1997, for example, have been described as “essentially middle-class programs” (St. John, 2003, p. 129). As of 2015, the federal role appears to continue to focus on providing access to higher education to all students rather than on providing access specifically for low-income students. In fact, the White House unveiled America’s College Promise in early 2015 to provide two years of community college education free of charge to all “responsible students” who could “earn” tuition for the first two years of an undergraduate degree by maintaining a minimum GPA, enrolling half-time, and progressing toward a degree (The White House, 2015). President Obama referred to the proposal in his 2015 State of the Union address as one of the components of “middle-class economics” (Obama, 2015). As of June 2015, Congress has not passed a bill providing funding for two years of community college. However,

this proposal shows that federal policymakers in 2015 are discussing access for all students rather than low-income students in particular.

The type of primary program vehicle examined may also be a limitation. This study excludes some federal primary program vehicles that also assist low-income students to access higher education such as the various federal loan vehicles. Including data related to federal loan vehicles in the analysis could help to provide information to explain why Congress shifted its attention from low-income to middle-income students.

Another limitation of this study is that the data analyzed do not provide explanations for why the shifts described occurred. The data do not provide any indication of the possible political or socio-cultural factors that may account for these shifts. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, federal policymakers may simply have been reacting to changing socio-cultural factors by targeting low-income students in the 1960s during the War on Poverty while concentrating on middle-income students in the latter period when the country was preoccupied with economic issues following the oil crises in the 1970s and the economic issues of the 1980s. Future research would need to be conducted to test this hypothesis.

Another possible explanation also mentioned earlier in this chapter for the marked shift from targeting low-income students exclusively in 1964 to focusing on middle-income students by 1993 may relate to changes that occurred in the political agenda as the members of Congress changed. Interestingly, the U.S. House of Representatives remained in the control of the same political party – the Democrats – over the entire period covered by this study (U.S. House of Representatives, 2015) while the U.S. Senate was controlled by the Democratic party except for the period between 1981 and 1987 (U.S. Senate, 2015). Therefore, it appears that the explanation is more complicated than simple party control; instead, the shift may possibly be

related to changes that occurred in priorities of the party that controlled legislative decisions over the time period covered by the study. Again, future research would be needed to test this hypothesis.

Looking at Congressional attention to the issue of federal policies designed to assist low-income students prepare for and enroll in college may not provide enough data to unpack the reasons behind the shifts found in this study. As mentioned in chapter 1, Presidents Truman, Kennedy and Johnson all arguably played a role in the first federal involvement in this issue. President Nixon was in office when the first student-oriented primary program vehicle was enacted, and President Carter was presiding when the shift to focusing on middle-income students began. Given the influence of the president on federal policies, it is hard to imagine that the president was not involved in shaping the federal role in this area. Future research should include evaluation of the priorities of the president in this issue.

Theories of policy change including synthetic theories such as multiple streams and punctuated equilibrium theory acknowledge that policy shifts and political shifts often go hand in hand. Crucial to the multiple streams approach is the assertion that the problem, policy, and politics streams must be “joined. A pressing problem demands attention, for instance, and a policy proposal is coupled to the problem as its solution. Or an event in the political stream, such as a change of administration, calls for different directions. At that point, proposals that fit with that political event, such as initiatives that fit with a new administration’s philosophy, come to the fore and are coupled with the ripe political climate. Similarly, problems that fit are highlighted, and others are neglected” (Kingdon, 1995, p. 110). Under punctuated equilibrium theory, one of the most effective ways to advance an issue is to expand the discussion about an issue beyond the existing venue of action, including reaching out to the macropolitical level by

appealing to policy actors such as the president (Baumgartner & Jones, 1991). It is the hope of this author that future researchers will heed Cohen-Vogel and McLendon's (2009) call to look at federal policy through the lens of conceptual models from the synthetic school including multiple streams and punctuated equilibrium theory. While this study could not explore the reasons behind the shifts in the aspects using such models, this chapter provided some guiding questions for future research utilizing the multiple streams approach and punctuated equilibrium theory.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ms. Monoka L. Venters joined Florida State University's doctoral program in higher education during the fall of 2007. Ms. Venters worked at the State University System of Florida Board of Governors from the fall of 2007 until the fall of 2014. During her time at the Board of Governors, she held the following roles: Hardee Fellow/Research Associate in the Division of Academic and Student Affairs, Research Associate to the General Counsel, Educational Policy Analyst in the Division of Academic and Student Affairs, and Corporate Secretary to the Board.

Prior to enrolling in the doctoral program at Florida State University, Ms. Venters practiced law for more than a decade in Georgia. She primarily practiced poverty law with the Georgia Legal Services Program and Atlanta Legal Aid Society; however, she also taught courses in poverty law and supervised a clinical program at John Marshall Law School.

Ms. Venters holds a Juris Doctorate from Washington & Lee University School of Law and is licensed to practice law in Georgia. She also holds a Bachelor of Arts in English from Furman University.