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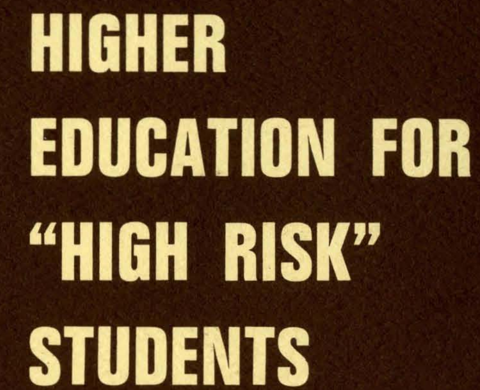

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR "HIGH RISK" STUDENTS

by

John Egerton

Southern Education Reporting Service

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PREPARED FOR THE

Southern Education Foundation

ATLANTA, GEORGIA · APRIL, 1968

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JOHN EGERTON

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Prepared for

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION

811 Cypress Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30308

April, 1968

PREFACE

The Southern Education Foundation has a continuing interest in higher education opportunities available to Negro students in the South; it has made a part of its resources available over the years to institutions and programs which are expanding those opportunities.

The Negro colleges have waged of course the major effort, both for those who would have had access to a broad range of colleges were it not for their race, and for those whose income and previous schooling added to their burdens. Some other institutions have come recently to take an interest in selected Negro students, whose qualifications seemed compatible with their own needs. But a question which we wished to explore more deeply was whether and how the majority of American colleges are now undertaking a share of the responsibility for overcoming discriminatory history in education.

The Foundation therefore engaged Southern Education Reporting Service of Nashville, Tenn., and John Egerton, one of its staff writers to conduct a national survey of colleges and universities. The Reporting Service is a fact-finding agency established in 1954 by a group of Southern newspaper editors and educators. Its major function is to gather information on school desegregation and education of the disadvantaged. We were delighted to have the cooperation of the Service and its Director, Robert F. Campbell, in this project. Parts of the study were published in the March and April (1968) issues of *Southern Education Report*, the monthly publication of the Reporting Service.

In the words of Mr. Egerton, the basic purpose of the study "was to discover what some of the predominantly white, four-year colleges and universities are doing to make higher education available to low-income and minority group students who lack the credentials — but not the qualities — to succeed in college."

The issues raised in this report are of critical importance not only to professional educators, but to all of our troubled society

as it seeks to become more representative, more democratic, and more truly expressive of individual freedom and opportunity. We are therefore publishing it and making it available to all who would read and make use of it. It is a brief report, and doubtless leaves out some institutions, some programs, and some relevant questions. But it illuminates with accuracy and insight perhaps the major problem facing American higher education.

Until recently the Negro colleges have carried almost alone the responsibility for educating one-tenth of this country's population. The rest of our national system of higher education has hardly begun to share that responsibility. It is more than a matter of educating a racial minority, or educating the poor. It is a fundamental question whether institutions designed to serve a favored group can so renew themselves that they learn to serve all the young people of the nation.

Mr. Egerton brought to this assignment his considerable skill as a writer and educational analyst. His report provides some important current information and some thoughtful conclusions. The discussion must expand and continue.

John A. Griffin

Executive Director
Southern Education Foundation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

I. **Introduction** ... 5

II. **The Survey** ... 7

III. **Some General Observations** ... 11

IV. **Programs in Public Institutions** ... 17

- Southern Illinois University
- University of Wisconsin
- University of California (Berkeley and Los Angeles)
- University of Oregon
- Western Washington State College
- Temple University
- University of Michigan
- Virginia Polytechnic Institute
- The City University of New York
- Michigan State University
- University of Connecticut

V. **Programs in Private Institutions** ... 39

- Antioch College
- Wesleyan University
- Harvard University
- Mercer University
- Cornell University
- New York University
- Northeastern University

VI. **Conclusions** ... 49

INTRODUCTION

It is recommended that each senior college and university adopt a "high risk" quota for the admission of disadvantaged students and provide remedial and compensatory programs as necessary to raise these students to standard levels of academic performance.

So reads a paragraph on page 36 of *The Negro and Higher Education in the South*, the much-discussed report issued in August, 1967, by a special commission of the Southern Regional Education Board. The report attracted considerable attention, but none of the debate and controversy surrounding it has touched on the complex question of high risk quotas.

Just how complex the question is can be quickly discovered by even the most casual exploration. Terms like "high risk", "quota" and "disadvantaged" are relative, meaning different things to different people. The effectiveness and value of remedial and compensatory programs are unproved and under dispute. Standardized tests to measure aptitude, achievement, ability or intelligence are both praised and condemned in heated arguments. And underlying all of this is an unexplored no-man's land which separates the prevailing culture of the American college — white, middle class and reasonably well-schooled — from the masses of citizens whose race and/or social class and prior schooling identify them as "different".

Higher education in the United States has traditionally served an elite minority. In the beginning, when it was all private, its major function was to prepare men for the professions — law, medicine, theology. The Land-Grant College Act 100 years ago created public higher education on a broad scale and opened the doors to greater numbers of people, but even now only about half of all high school graduates go to college, and most of them are products of the middle and upper classes of society — affluent rather than poor, white rather than black, well-schooled, tested and selected. According to the standards established by

and for the dominant American culture, they are the fittest, and they have survived. College is for them.

Now, racial and ethnic minorities — and the poor generally — present the American college with a challenge. The customary standards of admission — money, prior preparation, test scores — have effectively excluded most of them from a chance at college, and even the ones who have made it in have often succumbed to the prevailing climate they faced there.

Entering college — even for the kid with a bankroll, a 1,200 SAT and a high school transcript that shows chemistry, physics, trigonometry and French — is a bewildering experience.

It begins with the Scholastic Aptitude Test or the American College Test, for which there is a fee. Then comes the four-page application form, and another fee. After acceptance there is tuition to pay, and room and board, and fees for registration, activities, laboratories, late registration, change of schedule, parking, post office box, infirmary.

Registration means mass confusion — finding an adviser, choosing courses and getting into them, waiting in long lines. There are prerequisites, minimum requirements from high school, mandatory courses. The calendar warns of drop-add deadlines and examination schedules. There are semester hours, credits, grade-point averages, majors and minors, credit loads, course number codes, dormitory rules, punch cards, more fees, fines.

Numbers, masses, groups, cliques, classes; advisers with 50 advisees, courses with 500 students, catalogs with 900 pages. There is Withdrew Passing, and Withdrew Failing, Incomplete Satisfactory and Incomplete Unsatisfactory; there is the dean's list and academic probation, selective retention and failure.

For all students it is a different world, with its own language, its own standards, its own expectations and pressures. The casualty rate is high. The demands for adjustment and conformity are heavy.

For the student with little or no money and a so-so record from an inferior high school, the odds against survival are high. And if, in addition, the student's skin is black, or red, or if his native tongue is Spanish, the high hurdles of higher education are almost insurmountable.

THE SURVEY

"High risk" students are those whose lack of money, low standardized test scores, erratic high school records and race/class/cultural characteristics, taken together, place them at a disadvantage in competition with the preponderant mass of students in the colleges they wish to enter. They are students who are seen as long-shot prospects for success, but who demonstrate some indefinable and unmeasurable quality — motivation, creativity, resilience, leadership, personality or whatever — which an admissions office might interpret as a sign of strength offsetting the customary indicators of probable success.

To find out where such students are getting into college and what is happening to them after they enter, this three-month inquiry was undertaken.

One major definition of the study needs to be emphasized. Its basic purpose was to discover what some of the predominantly white, four-year colleges and universities are doing to make higher education available to low-income and minority-group students who lack the credentials — but not the qualities — to succeed in college. For this reason, information was not gathered from Negro colleges, or from junior colleges.

The Negro institutions, most of which are in the South, have always taken large numbers of high risk students, to the extent that lack of money, low standardized test scores and poor high school preparation define a high risk. In terms of race and class and culture, of course, these students have not been "different" in the setting of these colleges.

Junior colleges, as open-admission, non-degree-granting institutions, have the potential to make higher education considerably more inclusive than it now is, and some of them are demonstrating flexibility and strength along these lines.

Clearly many of these institutions have lessons of value to teach the rest of higher education about expanding opportunity for low-income and minority-group students. In this study, how-

ever, attention is focused on predominantly white, four-year colleges and universities.

More than 25 organizations and individuals with some expertise in the field were consulted, questionnaires were sent to 215 selected colleges and universities, visits were made to a dozen campuses from Massachusetts to California, and telephone interviews were conducted with officials at 10 other institutions.

The 215 colleges and universities to which the questionnaires were mailed represent roughly 13 per cent of all the nation's four-year institutions. They include large and small, public and private, urban and non-urban, prestigious and obscure institutions which a preliminary inquiry indicated were among the ones most likely to be involved in high risk programs. The questionnaire asked whether or not they have "an organized program of higher education for disadvantaged students whose cultural, economic and educational handicaps (in comparison with the regular student body) classify them as 'high risk' enrollees." Those having such programs were then asked several questions designed to indicate the nature and extent of the programs.

The list of 215 is selective, not comprehensive. It undoubtedly excludes some institutions which are making an effort to seek and admit high risk students. Furthermore, among the 53 colleges and universities not responding to the questionnaire were some whose efforts in this field are known to be substantial. The questionnaire itself was brief and limited, a poor substitute for a personal visit, and the information which it yielded was diverse, partly subjective and sometimes incomplete, making statistical tabulation difficult. For these reasons, no attempt is made in this report to summarize the findings in charts and tables. Nonetheless, the high percentage of returns and the additional information gathered from observations, interviews, telephone conversations and written reports are at least sufficient to provide a sampling of trends and opinions.

In brief outline, 162 institutions (75.3 per cent) responded to the questionnaire. Eighty-six (53.1 per cent of those responding) reported some measure of involvement in what could be considered high risk activity, while the other seventy-six reported no involvement at all. Among the colleges responding affirmatively, it is difficult in some cases to ascertain how big a risk they are taking and what they are doing to make it pay off.

Of the total, however, it appears that no more than 20 or 25 have drawn extensively from the array of possible resources at their command to make college more accessible for a more heterogeneous group of students.

A few of these institutions — less than 10 — are beginning to explore the outer limits of higher education, in areas where American colleges have never dared to venture. They are, in effect, beginning to ask themselves how far they can reach before their resources and skills prove insufficient to transmit higher education of acceptable quality. This kind of experimentation is entered into with boldness by some and with fear and trembling by others, and it is variously viewed as admirable sacrifice, misguided idealism or outrageous tinkering. It is producing some failures on the part of both colleges and students, and some successes that can fairly be called spectacular. But perhaps most important of all, it is providing new information about some of the most perplexing mysteries of the education process.

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Before examining in detail some of the specific programs, some general observations should be made that arise from responses to the questionnaire and from interviews:

- On campuses where debate about higher education for high risks has begun, it often centers not on how to do it, but on whether it should be done at all. Many educators contend that the progressive effects of race and class discrimination are irredeemable by the time a youngster reaches college age, and others say that even if colleges could help they should not be expected to make up for the deficiencies of prior education.
- In spite of the federal government's sizable outlays of scholarship, loan and work-study funds for students, there is ample statistical evidence that rising costs and rising admissions standards make college progressively less accessible to the low-income student. Colleges appear likely to become more stratified along class lines, and possibly along race lines as well.
- No major foundation has entered the high risk field with the intent of discovering the limits of a college's capability to reach and teach disadvantaged students, and with the exception of a venture by the Office of Economic Opportunity, neither has the federal government. The Rockefeller Foundation has helped several colleges finance recruitment of minority-group and low-income students, but the emphasis has been on high achievers, not high risks. Some foundations are supporting college-preparatory programs, and there are also two federal programs which are aimed at leading large numbers of disadvantaged students up to the college doors. One is Upward Bound, OEO's college-prep program; in the fall of 1967, over 4,500 Upward Bound "graduates" were enrolled in college. The other program, known as Contracts to Encourage Full Utilization of Educational Talent, is operated by the U. S. Office of Education. It is essentially a co-operative

talent search project in which colleges and non-profit corporations seek out, counsel and help to place disadvantaged students in higher education.

- There are a number of agencies and organizations which are contributing to the broadening of opportunities in higher education for disadvantaged students; some of them are listed in an appendix of this report. There are also some educational agencies and organizations which do not appear to be active in this field. Among the latter group are the American Council on Education, the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, most of the regional accrediting associations, the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, and most of the major church bodies.

- A majority of the students classified as high risk by the colleges in the survey are Negroes, but poor whites, Puerto Ricans, American Indians and Mexican Americans are also included in sizable numbers.

- The most daring high risk programs seem to have resulted more from the concern of a single individual than from any other factor. Key people with persuasion, flexibility, latitude and leverage — and with the support of faculty, administration and students — are the ones who have the most noteworthy programs. Most of them have developed these programs without detailed knowledge of what is being tried elsewhere in the country.

- By and large, the people who direct the more noteworthy high risk programs are not academicians. Admissions officers, social workers, administrators and counselors are more in evidence than professors. In fact, it seems generally true that neither the academic disciplines nor individual faculty members have shown a high degree of interest in high risk programs. There is fairly broad acceptance of the notion that public schools are a legitimate instrument of social change in this country, that part of their responsibility is to help improve opportunities for minorities and the poor; that same idea seems not to be as generally felt or shared by higher education institutions.

- Approximately half of the questionnaires were sent to private or church-related institutions (by chance, not design), and the

other half went to state or municipal institutions. If the list of 215 had not included at least one major public university in each state, the South would have been grossly underrepresented; only seven institutions in the entire region were mentioned to the surveyors by anyone as having, or likely to have, any involvement in high risk activity.

- Response to the questionnaire almost precisely matches the sample list itself: half public, half private. But 60 per cent of the responding public institutions said they have no high risk programs of any sort, while two-thirds of the private ones reported some involvement. Responses from about 50 major public universities, most of them land-grant institutions, show that almost three-fourths of them have no high risk activity. In the 17 Southern and border states, 18 of the 20 senior state universities in the survey returned questionnaires, but only two of them — West Virginia University and Virginia Polytechnic Institute — reported anything resembling a program for high risk students.

- Most major universities, particularly the state-supported ones, have been flexible enough to make exceptions to their standards when it has been in their interest to do so, and they have done it with considerable success. The popularity and profitability of intercollegiate athletics have prompted hundreds of colleges and universities to admit some students whose academic and economic credentials placed them outside the winner's circle, and great effort has been expended to assure their success. Post-war foreign aid programs have financed higher education in this country for thousands of young people from overseas who brought with them differences of race, class, culture, language and academic preparation that sometimes required colleges to demonstrate considerable flexibility and adaptability in order to serve them. And the many thousands of GI's who flooded the college campuses after World War II were, as a group, academically less prepared (though ultimately more successful) than the students most colleges had been accustomed to serving.

- Interest in disadvantaged students who are below an institution's safety margin, however, is in conflict with a welter of seemingly immutable hallmarks of most colleges. Admissions standards are on the rise; undergraduates diminish in importance as graduate programs and research grow more at-

tractive; schools with selective admissions policies take the best students — and keep them — while non-selective ones have high enrollments, high attrition, and increasingly less time for even the middle-class students who get off to a slow start. And high risk students have neither the money, the prestige, the political pull nor the probability of success to make them attractive prospects for most colleges.

- The reasons for having high risk programs most frequently mentioned on the questionnaire were these: a tradition of public service, a sense of social responsibility, the historic mission of state universities and land-grant colleges, and the desire to have a diversity of races, classes, cultures and abilities in the student body.

- The reasons most often given for limited involvement, or no involvement at all, were: lack of funds, enrollment pressures, political worries, conflict with the institutional mission, fear of lowering institutional standards, lack of faculty support, inflexibility of the institution's system, and priority commitment to regular students.

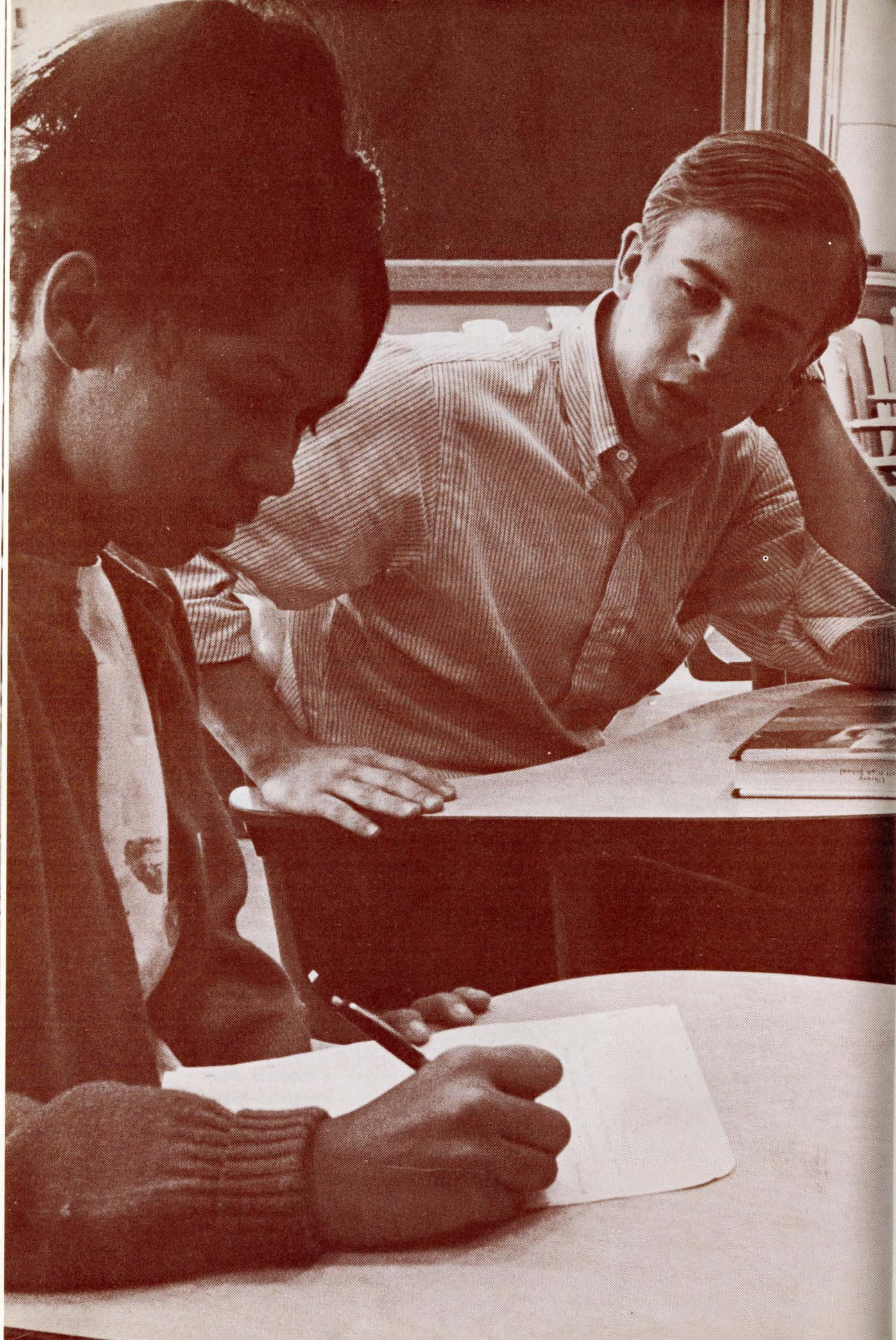
- The biggest question facing institutions helping high risk students seems to be whether they should be accorded special attention or treated in the same manner as all other students. Some say high risk students have enough problems to overcome without the stigma of identification as a risk, and institutions which subscribe to this point of view make every effort to keep the students' academic and economic handicaps concealed, sometimes even from the students themselves. The opposite argument holds that students who are genuine risks must be given support that is bound to be visible — lighter class loads, special courses, extensive tutoring and the like — or their chances for success will be greatly reduced. The risk students themselves understandably have mixed emotions about the question, expressing at times both resentment and appreciation for either approach.

- Standardized tests, principally the Scholastic Aptitude Test of the College Entrance Examination Board (called SAT, or College Boards), were frequently cited by respondents to the questionnaire as being "inadequate" or "incomplete" or "biased" measurements of probable success for high risks. The tests are a live issue among educators. The Winter 1968

issue of *College Board Review*, quarterly journal of CEEB, is entirely devoted to matters concerning the test and the disadvantaged student. The SAT is actually two tests — verbal and mathematical — each scored on a scale of 200 to 800. Scores on the two tests are often quoted in combined form, e.g., 1,000. The widely-used tests are taken during the senior year of high school. The national average for those who take the exam is about 1,000; if all high school seniors took it, it is estimated that the average would be about 750.

- A risk at Harvard, where the median SAT score is about 1,300, would be a prize catch for many an institution which accepts any high school graduate. Not every youngster could succeed at Harvard, nor could Harvard succeed with every youngster — without surrendering its position (based in some measure on SAT scores) as the foremost institution in the nation. Discovering how "different" it can permit some of its students to be, how many such students it can take and how much it can do to assure their success are things that Harvard — and every other college and university — can only do on its own.

- For most Negro students admitted to college as high risks, the ideas of Black Power and white help are often in conflict. The Negro student on the campus of a predominantly white college today is sometimes forced to choose between absorption into the prevailing middle class culture and withdrawal into a separate black society. That neither choice is fully acceptable — or fully possible — is reflected in the students' own expressions of ambivalence and frustration. For the high risk student, these competing pressures are particularly agonizing; he is in a position of accepting what amounts to special assistance from whites in order to get his college education, while being warned by black militants that he is being seduced into deserting his own people.



PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

The general observations outlined above summarize some of the incidental findings of the survey. From the questionnaires and interviews, the high risk programs of several public and private colleges and universities stand out. Some of the public institutions will be reviewed first.

When a public university without rigid entrance requirements is faced with the pressure of rising enrollments and has expanded its size to the limit of its resources, it generally must choose one of two courses: raise admissions standards or increase the number of failures. Those with formula budgets based on the number of students enrolled are likely to choose the latter course, and some of these institutions now lose (or drop) as much as half of an entering class by the end of the first year. There are several reasons for this: It costs less to educate freshmen than seniors, or graduate students, so a university can increase its enrollment less expensively by enlarging its freshman class. Operating budgets based on a head count of students thoretically release funds for other purposes whenever students withdraw without completing the school year. And to at least some educators, a high percentage of failures implies an educational program of high quality, one that is "tough" and demanding. For whatever reasons, public colleges and universities often accept a good many students who might be considered risks (though the colleges themselves often deny that the students are risks), but they make little special effort to keep them.

Some of these universities have not only raised the attrition level, but have become more selective in admissions as well, in an effort to become competitive and prestigious and "national" in orientation and stature. Their costs have risen too; a 1967 survey by the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges showed that student charges at its member institutions had increased 15 per cent in just three years. All of this, plus the fact that a significant percentage of disadvantaged students come from racial minority groups, has prompted

little daring or urgency in the universities' approach to the problem.

There are a few state and municipal universities, however, which have begun to make some significant contributions to the education of disadvantaged youngsters. Among the most outstanding are the University of California's Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses, Southern Illinois University and the University of Wisconsin. These four programs will be considered in some detail. Eight others are summarized more briefly.

■ SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

The various efforts to provide higher education for minorities and low income youth reveal a multitude of styles and approaches. None of them is quite like what Southern Illinois University is trying at its branch campus in East St. Louis. In the well-chosen words of one of its staff members, "Man, this is something *else!*"

Under the direction of Dr. Hyman Frankel, a 47-year-old sociologist, SIU has launched the Experiment in Higher Education, a custom-made college program designed to show that failure is more often the fault of colleges themselves than of their students.

The Experiment in Higher Education was started in the fall of 1966 with the objective of developing in 100 low-income, under-achieving youngsters from East St. Louis the necessary academic skills to enable them to successfully complete four years of college. Using a completely re-designed curriculum, a related work-study program, a staff of para-professionals called teacher-counselors and such things as programmed instruction, mimeographed textbooks and video tape, the Experiment in Higher Education (EHE) has gone about its job with a daring that would warm John Dewey's heart.

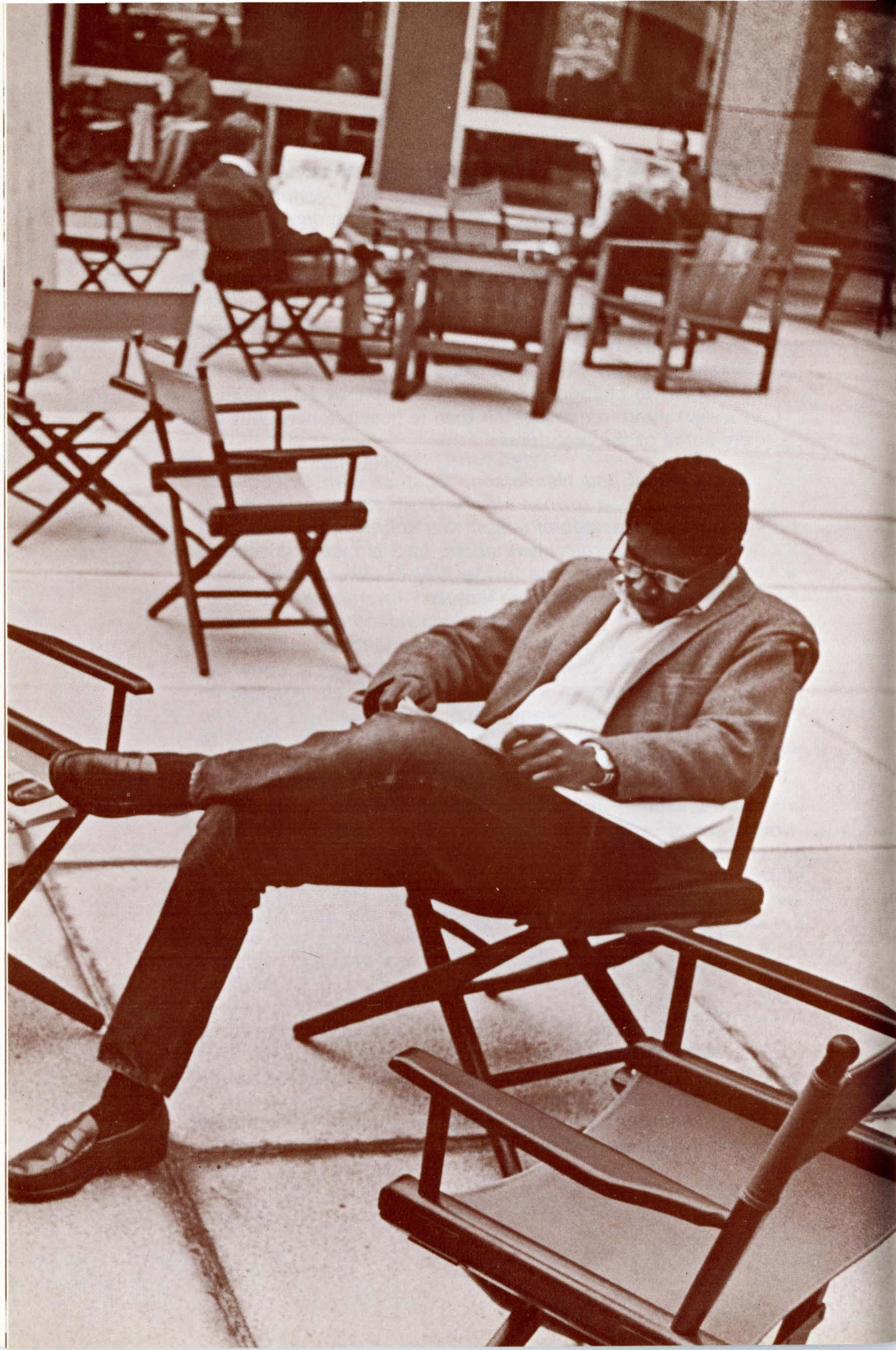
East St. Louis is a city where the scars of poverty run deep, wide and ugly. Statistics on unemployment, welfare, slum housing, illiteracy and family fracture are grim and overpowering. The population was 55 per cent Negro in

1960, and is much higher than that now. Since SIU opened a branch campus in a reconstructed high school there in 1957, about 90 per cent of all the Negro students who have enrolled have dropped out or flunked out.

With a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity and supplemental funds from the State of Illinois and its own resources, SIU recruited Dr. Frankel and Dr. Donald M. Henderson from the United Planning Organization — Washington, D. C.'s antipoverty agency — and gave them a chance to change the pattern. What they have done deserves telling in more detail than is possible here, but these are some of the highlights:

Frankel and Henderson, together with Dr. Edward W. Crosby, a former Akron, Ohio, antipoverty official, form the nucleus of a staff that also includes about 10 teacher-counselors and about 10 SIU faculty members who teach part-time in the project. The former group — seven men and three women — are successful products of the ghetto, people who have "made it on the outside." Six of them are college graduates and three of the other four have had some college experience. Among them are a former policeman, an ex-janitorial supervisor, two former high school teachers and two men who once served time in prison. Their job is to ride herd on 10 students each; they attend lectures with the class, conduct seminars and workshops, handle testing and work-study assignments, counsel on social and personal problems, and serve as a liaison between the project staff and the students.

By searching back through four years' records of high school graduating classes in the East St. Louis area — and by advertising in newspapers and on the air, scouring through pool halls and bars and rounding up kids off the street corners — the EHE staff came up with 166 youngsters who would submit to two of the only three requirements of the program: fill out an application form and take the American College Test (ACT), a battery of aptitude exams similar to the SAT's. Fifty youngsters were chosen to begin the program in October, 1966, and after six of them dropped out the first quarter, 56 more were added in



January, 1967, to bring the class up to 100. All of them were high school graduates (the other requirement), 90 were Negroes, 53 of them were males, almost all of them were poor, and their average score on the ACT was about 13, which compares unfavorably with an average score of over 21 (of a possible 36) for college freshmen nationwide — and at SIU. Based on the statistics, a typical student in the EHE program was an unemployed 19-year-old Negro male with a high school diploma and a 10th grade reading level, one of five children in a broken home where the head of the household was either out of work or occasionally employed at unskilled labor, and where family income, including welfare payments, amounted to $3,500 a year.

The curriculum is built around two major areas — social sciences-humanities and the natural sciences — both of them heavily reinforced and interlaced with individual and small-group instruction in reading, writing and speaking. The school day usually runs from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and includes a common lecture in one or both of the major "subjects," followed by seminars and small discussion groups, colloquia which are often planned and directed by the students, and workshops and skills clinics where remedial and compensatory work is done through the use of programmed instruction materials, video tape replays and tutoring. There are also some more conventional courses available in mathematics, physics, speech, anthropology, sociology and other subjects. A work-study program which is considered an integral part of the curriculum employs the students from 10 to 20 hours a week — mostly on Tuesdays and Thursdays — and pays them $1.05 an hour. Most of the jobs are in the EHE program itself or in local education projects financed by OEO and the U. S. Office of Education. The jobs are chosen and planned to reinforce the students' academic experiences.

The EHE program is set up to run four quarters a year; its intention is to produce, in two calendar years, a group

of students prepared to compete at the junior level on the main campuses of SIU or elsewhere. Grades are dispensed in a block, rather than for individual courses, and Frankel and his staff have the latitude to award A's through F's for from one to 15 quarter hours, depending on how much and how well they think a given student has performed. (The students can also earn quarter-hour credits for whatever individual courses — in math, English and the like — they may take outside the integrated EHE curriculum.)

The EHE program is continuously evaluated by the staff. Several research papers and reports have been compiled, detailing curriculum modification, student progress, the teacher-counselor role and work-study efforts. Curriculum guidelines for 1967-68 reveal how thoroughgoing the reconstruction of conventional academic disciplines has been.

Seventy-four of the 100 students have stuck with the program since they entered it. Eight of the 26 dropouts have been allowed to re-enter, and 25 new students were added last fall. Only two of the 10 white students in the original 100 have dropped out. The students still do not do well on standardized tests, but the grades they have earned in their studies are much better than expected. The ACT exam, on which the original group of 100 had made an average score of 13, was readministered to the 74 survivors at the end of four quarters; they averaged 14 the second time around. On the basis of test scores and high school grade averages, the SIU counseling and testing office predicted at the beginning of the program that the group would make average grades of 2.2 (a very low D on SIU's five-point grading system), that 24 students would fail to make a 2.0 (D) average, and that only one student would achieve a C (3.0) or better. But of the 74 still in the program, 65 have made grade averages above the figure predicted for them. At the end of EHE's first four quarters, 30 were at or above C level, including 10 who averaged 3.5 or better, and two of them averaged 4.0 (B) or higher. Only five were below 2.0.

Frankel expects about 42 of his students to be "graduated" to the junior class at SIU or elsewhere when the second year of EHE concludes next August, with several of the others following in January. After a year and a half of

free-wheeling experimentation with the curriculum, he believes it is now as good as — if not better than — the standard type of beginning courses in most colleges. "The universities say kids like these can't cut it," Hy Frankel asserts. "They say they're dumb, or they aren't motivated. Well, that's bunk. We're much too ready to cop out, to get off the hook, so we screen these kids out, or flunk them. But when you stop putting the blame on the student, when you re-examine the university and the teacher, when you begin with a completely honest commitment to the idea that they want to and can learn and we want to and can teach, then it seems to me that a lot of this human waste we're responsible for can be stopped. We'll never know how many kids we've ruined until we start saving them."

Southern Illinois University has given the Experiment in Higher Education almost complete freedom to prove its thesis, and it has put up about one-fourth of the $400,000-a-year cost of the program. There are indications that the university administration and faculty are sufficiently impressed by the results to give serious consideration to complete funding of an enlarged EHE project — perhaps 300 or 400 students a year — beginning in 1969. In the meantime, OEO is also pleased with its investment, and continuation of the experiment next September is assured.

■ UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

"This is not a pilot project. We're not an experimental group. These kids can *make* it. The big state universities have more of an obligation to help these students — and can do it with less trauma — than the private colleges. This is part of our responsibility."

Mrs. Ruth Doyle was talking about the University of Wisconsin's high risk program, which she has directed since it was started in 1966. In terms of its size (about 60 students a year), it would not be considered a major undertaking for a megaversity as large as Wisconsin, which has 33,000 students on its main campus in Madison — not to mention 22,000 more on 12 other campuses.

But the high risk program on the Madison campus is notable for two reasons. It has a well-organized and highly flexible system of tutors and tutor-supervisors. And it has Ruth Doyle.

Almost any student is bound to be a bit awed by his first encounter with a university as large as Wisconsin. More than 5,000 freshmen enroll on the main campus every fall. Nine out of every 10 of them finished high school in the upper half of their class. The average score for freshmen on the College Board Examinations (verbal and mathematical) is just under 1,150. Yet by the time another September has rolled around, one in every four will be gone.

Since 25 per cent of the freshmen drop out or flunk out in spite of their selectivity — and since all but a tiny minority of the total class is white and middle class — it would seem that any student with weaker academic credentials, particularly if he belongs to the racial or socio-economic minority, would not stand much of a chance. But it is precisely this kind of student the University of Wisconsin program is dealing with, and the results thus far have been good enough to raise some interesting questions about how students are selected and why they succeed or fail.

Although it has a reputation for liberalism in race relations, Wisconsin has only 300 or so Negroes (about 1 per cent) in the student body at Madison. In part to increase their numbers and also to involve itself more directly with the education of minorities and the poor, the university organized its high risk program under the office of the dean of student affairs and chose Mrs. Doyle, a former assistant dean of women, to direct it.

Starting with her own concept of "the university's obligation" — and with not much else to go on — Mrs. Doyle began looking for students and co-ordinating the admissions, financial aid and academic support measures she felt were necessary to produce results. The university's student association already had a program to encourage applications from promising but disadvantaged high school seniors around the country. From this source and from her own contacts with high school counselors, alumni, Upward Bound programs and such places as the East Harlem Protestant Center, Mrs. Doyle came up with about 100 completed applications for the 1966 fall term.

Admission was offered to 37, and 24 of them enrolled. About $49,000 in financial aid, including federal grants and loans, fee remissions and grants from the university president's budget, was made available. A summer program built around jobs and some remedial courses was set up, but only 11 of the 24 students participated, and by Mrs. Doyle's account, it was "not a success from any point of view or in anybody's opinion." In September the students entered the university, with most of them taking a 12-hour class load instead of the usual 15 hours.

They were, by almost every measurement, high risks. All of them were poor, all were Negro, and all had standardized test scores far below the class average (one student scored 275 on the Scholastic Aptitude Test verbal section). Some had relatively good high school grades, but all were rated in the bottom 1 per cent on the university's "predicted success" scale. Mrs. Doyle leaned heavily on letters of recommendation accompanying each application and on personal letters required of each applicant.

Once the students were settled in the residence halls, advised on a program of courses and classes and assisted through the registration process, the tutor system devised by Mrs. Doyle went into operation. Four graduate students with several years of teaching experience were hired (at $75 a month) to train and supervise about 25 honor students who had agreed to serve as volunteer tutors. As the program evolved, each supervisor was assigned six risk students to whom he was responsible for providing counseling and guidance and for assigning tutors from the pool of volunteers. Close association and continuing contact with the risk students became the supervisors' most useful role.

Eighteen of the 24 students are still enrolled in the university (two of the 18 are no longer a part of the program). Of the remaining six, two dropped out for personal reasons but are expected to return and two others who were dropped for low grades have indicated they will apply for readmission. In the fall of 1967, the "survivors" were joined by 63 recruits, and at the end of the first semester all of them

were still enrolled, with four sporting B averages and only 10 considered in serious academic difficulty. Their number included 53 Negroes, four American Indians, two Puerto Ricans and four whites.

There are now seven tutor-supervisors and about 140 tutors working in the program, and a number of modifications have been made. A summer registration program replaced the previous year's work-study session. There is frequent contact between the tutors, the supervisors, Mrs. Doyle's office and the various academic and administrative departments concerned. Although the tutoring program does not generally extend beyond the first year, a few of the second-year students are receiving continuing assistance, and financial aid for all the students continues as long as they are enrolled. Lighter class loads are still encouraged, and the project is now considered a five-year degree program. Only three of the first year's group were from Wisconsin; this year, 15 are, and the emphasis is expected to shift further toward a preference for residents of the state. Financial aid for the program has almost tripled, this year exceeding $138,000.

There has been one other significant change in the program. In an effort not to be too discouraging to the students who entered the program in 1966, Mrs. Doyle did not emphasize the academic handicaps they had in relation to the rest of the freshman class. As a result, some of the students bitterly resented any suggestion that they needed tutorial assistance. Although every effort was made not to identify them as a special group or as individuals receiving special attention, their own realization of their need for help was confusing, embarrassing and even infuriating to some. This year, it was emphasized repeatedly in correspondence and interviews with the second group of students that they would have a decided academic handicap, although they were assured by Mrs. Doyle of her confidence that they could succeed with special academic assistance. "You have to be realistic," she now says. "You can't fool them. They have to know where they stand."

Since the students enroll in regular courses and not in remedial ones, the emphasis in student selection has been on youngsters who show some evidence, in spite of their

formal record, that with a lot of help they can make it. "We don't pretend to do everything for everybody," says Mrs. Doyle. "If we have no confidence we can help, we won't try." That confidence must be based on a student's expressiveness or determination or some other intangible. So far, it has paid off rather well. Incidentally, the student who scored 275 on the SAT-verbals recorded a 0.9 grade-point average the first semester, but raised it to 2.43 (a solid C) the second semester.

The university's present intention is to continue enrolling 60 to 65 new students in the program each year. In a five-year program, this will add up to some 300 students; the university appears committed to this much as a minimum, and Mrs. Doyle believes there is a good possibility it will be enlarged.

Perhaps the most noteworthy thing about the high risk program at Wisconsin is the university's own flexibility in response to it, and that in turn seems to derive in large part from Ruth Doyle herself. Any university as large as Wisconsin must inevitably be somewhat bureaucratic; size alone dictates tight organization and regulations and a certain amount of rigidity. But without lowering its standards, changing its requirements for degrees or even altering the rules for academic probation and dismissal, the university has accepted a group of students who were strangers to the campus culture and poor bets for success, and achieved a better retention record with them than with the freshman class as a whole.

Plenty of problems remain. There is not yet enough evidence to conclude that most of these students will raise and keep their grades above C level and go on to earn degrees. Evaluation of the program thus far has been limited. Lack of money imposes a real restriction on its size. But so far, the university has shown a willingness to give Mrs. Doyle some leverage, and she has shown no reluctance to use it. When decisions on admission, financial aid and class assignments are made, her recommendations have carried plenty of weight; when housing assignments are made, when appeals against probation or dismissal are heard or readmission is being considered, she is listened to. When

tutor-supervisors are hired and tutors are selected and assigned, she carries the big stick.

She is, in short, a special pleader for a group of students in whom she has great confidence. Her doubts are not about them but about her own ability and that of the university to select wisely, discern potential and stimulate success. "The risks taken by the university are small compared to the risks taken by these students," she says. "There was no way to begin a program like this except to proceed. We have been learning as we go."

■ UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The state university system that appears to be "getting with it" more than any other is California's. The Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses of the University of California, in particular, are actively recruiting low income and minority students, assisting them in getting admitted, giving them full financial support and providing them with academic assistance (primarily tutoring) to enhance their chances for success in what is probably the most selective and competitive state university system in the nation.

Under a 1960 master plan for public higher education, the nine campuses of the University of California are required to select their students from among the top 12½ per cent of the state's high school graduates, and the 18 state colleges must choose their students from the top one-third. Each campus is permitted to make exceptions to these rules for 2 per cent of its entering students. The more than 80 junior colleges in the state are open to any person over 18 years of age.

In the past three or four years, there have been several small-scale efforts by faculty and student groups on the California university campuses to recruit low income and minority students. In 1966, UC Berkeley and UCLA organized the Educational Opportunity Program as a formal effort to increase the numbers of these students. A racial survey on the Berkeley campus that year showed that there

were only 236 Negroes, 68 Mexican-Americans and 36 American Indians in the 27,000-student enrollment there, although those minorities make up about 17 per cent of California's population.

Berkeley hired Bill Somerville, a 35-year-old graduate of the university and a doctoral candidate in criminology, to head its EOP venture. In two years, he and his staff have brought in 424 students, 60 per cent of whom were not regularly admissible but were cleared under the 2 per cent exception allowance. The students have been vigorously recruited from high schools in the San Francisco area and elsewhere, from the junior colleges and from other sources. They have received intensive personal and academic counseling, complete financial assistance (from federal and university funds), and on-campus housing, if needed; most of them take a lighter-than-normal academic load in the beginning, and on Saturdays and during the summer they may take special courses in English, reading, foreign languages and study techniques. A corps of some 35 upper-division and graduate students provides tutoring for those who need it.

Of the 424 students to enter the program thus far, 74 (17 per cent) have left, half of them for academic reasons. (Of all freshmen at Berkeley, 25 per cent usually do not continue there beyond the first year.) Records on the 350 who remain show that almost 70 per cent of them are in good academic standing with C-or-better grades. The other 30 per cent or so are on academic probation with below-C grades. University rules allow a student two quarters to get off probation by raising his average to the C minimum; EOP students are sometimes allowed three quarters to do so. On the whole, the 60 per cent of EOP students who were specially admitted to the university have performed as well as the remainder who were regularly admitted.

At UCLA, 395 students are now in the Educational Opportunity Program directed by Kenneth Washington, who formerly was head counselor in a predominantly Negro high school in Compton, Calif. So far, only 13 students have been dismissed for academic reasons. Whereas about 75 percent of Berkeley's EOP students are Negro and most of the rest are Spanish-surname, those at UCLA are 40 per

cent Negro, 30 per cent Spanish-surname, 15 per cent Oriental and 15 per cent white.

Washington asserts that his EOP students are not risks — "Their performance proves it," he says. "But they are youngsters who were being screened out by an admissions policy that is automatic and impersonal." The University of California Board of Regents helps to finance the EOP efforts by matching, on a 5-to-1 basis, whatever money the institutions can raise on their own. UCLA raises about $2,000 a month from payroll deductions volunteered by members of the faculty.

The degree of risk in student selection is considered higher at Berkeley than at UCLA. Even so, the performance record to date indicates that most students in the program were lacking in money, or academic polish, or in a realization of their own potential — not in the basic aptitude and motivation to do college work. To steer more low income and minority students into the university, the Berkeley EOP is offering some scholarship assistance to promising high school and junior college students, and is placing some university students in local high schools as full-time assistants to work with counselors and teachers and to work with small groups of students in the 10th through 12th grades.

Those responsible for the Berkeley and UCLA programs have indicated an intention to double the number of EOP students next fall. A recommendation that the 2 per cent exception rule be raised to 4 per cent has been approved by the California Co-ordinating Council for Higher Education and will probably be put into effect next fall.

Bill Somerville sees the makings of "an academic revolution" in ventures such as the EOP. "A whole segment of our society has not been represented in higher education," he says. "College has been designed for the cream of the crop. But now, people who have been screened out are beginning to get in, and they're succeeding. A lot of people say we're bringing in too many marginal students, they say we're hurting academic standards, they say we've already run out of college-capable slum kids. But we haven't even started yet. We're very weak in measuring human

potential. We have almost unlimited resources if the academic community decides it wants to offer opportunity. Obviously, this can't help but enrich the university."

The EOP is not without its problems. As of next fall, the Scholastic Aptitude and Achievement Tests will be a requirement for entering freshmen, and scores will be used, along with high-school grades, to determine which students are in the top 12½ per cent and thus eligible for admission. The tests cost each student $12.50. Furthermore, undergraduate enrollments at Berkeley and UCLA (especially Berkeley) are dropping as graduate education becomes their major function. These developments seem likely to impose a limit on each institution's involvement with low-income and minority students.

There is also some friction generated by the presence of the Educational Opportunity Program on both campuses, particularly at Berkeley. Faculty and administration agreement on the nature and extent of such programs is far from unanimous; athletics teams, whose benefit the 2 per cent exception rule has long served, now find they have competition for those spaces; and the visibility of the EOP students as "special cases" has caused some mixed emotions and antagonism between and among black militants, Mexican-Americans and the white "establishment." Perhaps in part as a result of all these things, Bill Somerville was notified in late February that he would not be retained as director of the Berkeley EOP.

Although Berkeley and UCLA are the most deeply involved California universities, there are other programs for high risk students on several campuses in the vast state network of higher education institutions. At the university level, the UC at Santa Barbara also has a growing Education Opportunity Program. At the college level — second stage in the three-tiered system — there is some high risk activity at the Los Angeles, San Diego, Chico, San Jose and Long Beach campuses, among others. And at the junior college level, the pacesetting institution is the College of San Mateo. Junior colleges were not a part of this survey; their potential stake in higher education programs for minor-

ities and the poor is considerable, however, and a few of them — like the one at San Mateo — are already demonstrating some valuable skill and strength in this area.

■ **THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON** enrolled 64 Upward Bound graduates in the fall of 1967 — more than any other predominantly white four-year institution in the country — and is making an effort to help these and other high risk students succeed at college. In all, 130 Oregon students (undergraduate enrollment: 10,000) are part of a program that involves recruiting, financial aid, lower admission requirements, extra counseling and guidance, some special courses and other compensations. Approximately equal numbers of whites, Negroes, American Indians and Mexican Americans are in the program, which is under the direction of Dr. Arthur Pearl, a professor of education, who also heads the university's Upward Bound project. The high risk program was started in 1964 with 75 students; about half of the entering group each year drops out or flunks out before the year is over. Dr. Pearl says the program has been "only minimally effective," and he attributes that to the institution's lack of preparation for such students. "Many faculty resent their ['the risk students'] existence," he says. Few of the faculty are trained to work effectively with such youngsters, he adds.

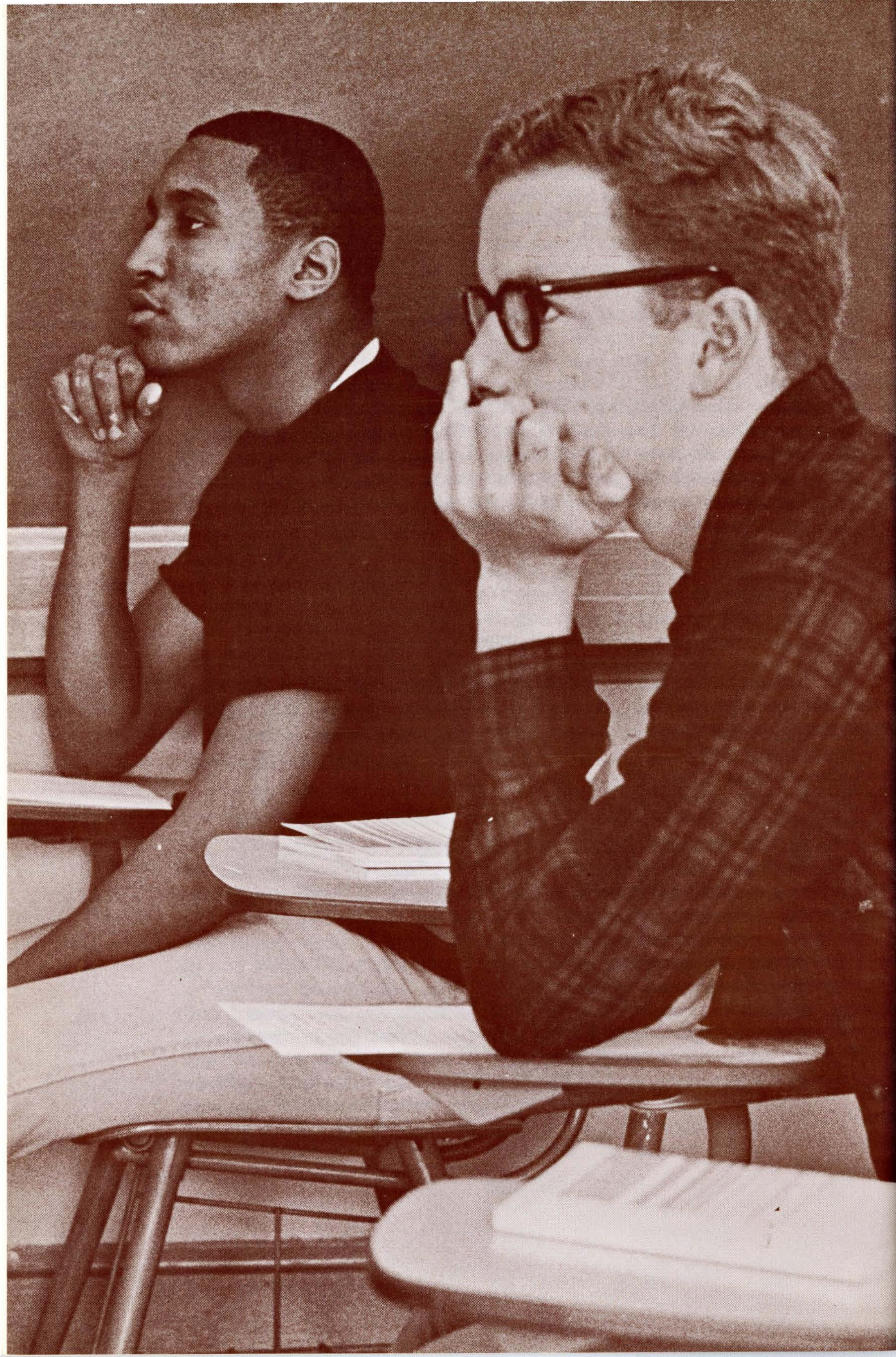
Clashes between directors of high risk programs and the faculty have apparently taken place at several institutions. They underscore a point made earlier: The extent and success of high risk programs are often determined by the degree of faculty co-operation and involvement.

■ **WESTERN WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE** in Bellingham, which has 5,900 undergraduate students, is also drawing heavily on Upward Bound to include 50 high risk students a year in its freshman class. The college waives entrance requirements on the recommendation of Sy E. Schwartz, who oversees the high risk program and directs the college's Upward Bound project. Pre-college summer sessions, specially designed courses and tutoring are among the compensatory practices used.

■ **TEMPLE UNIVERSITY** in Philadelphia, a once-private institution now part of Pennsylvania's state system of higher education, reports 250 high risk students among its 12,800 undergraduates. About 80 per cent of the students are Negroes. The program, under the direction of Assistant Dean of Men J. Otis Smith, includes a variety of compensatory practices, up to but not including specially designed courses.

■ **THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN** has 327 students — about 85 per cent of them Negroes — in an opportunity awards program that involves recruiting, financial aid, and academic and personal counseling and guidance. Robert L. Marion, assistant director of admissions, is in charge of the program. The first-year drop-out/flunk-out rate for students in the program is about 45 per cent, compared to a reported 20 per cent for the freshman class at large. No special courses or classes are offered. One of Michigan's prime motivations in entering the program was to increase the number of minority-group students on campus. The program is limited to Michigan residents. While the recruiting effort is fairly extensive, the risk the university is willing to take is not great; in essence, it is seeking students from disadvantaged backgrounds who have at least a B average high-school record and other indicators of probable success in college.

■ **VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE** in Blacksburg, the only state university in the South reporting a high risk effort of any size, has 49 students (among 8,500 undergraduates) who have been recruited through the university's own Upward Bound program and other sources. About two-thirds of the students are Negroes. Virginia Tech is one of six Southern universities (and the only public one) to receive Rockefeller Foundation funds for recruitment and financial aid to disadvantaged students. The primary forms of assistance offered these students are financial aid and counseling/guidance; admissions requirements are relaxed only slightly, and once admitted, the students take the same classes and course loads as other students. Like Michigan and a number of other universities, Virginia Tech is trying



to broaden the racial and cultural socio-economic makeup of its student body; it is not taking students so ill-prepared for college that they constitute a high risk for the institution.

■ **THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK,** a municipal university with six senior college campuses in the city and about 25,000 undergraduate students, reports (through Dr. Leslie Burger, director of the SEEK program) that it has approximately 1,500 high risk students this year. CUNY is a tuition-free institution for graduates of academic-curriculum programs in the New York City public schools; the SEEK project will accept graduates from non-academic programs and persons with high-school equivalency diplomas. The program, which started in 1966, is open to students whose high school average in academic subjects is 70 or better; normally, an average of 85 is expected of entering students. Compensatory practices supporting the SEEK program include stipends based on need, intensive counseling and guidance, tutoring and smaller classes. Financial support for the program comes from the city and state governments. About 90 per cent of the students are Negro or Puerto Rican.

■ **MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY** announced in the summer of 1967 (just before the Detroit riots) that it was going to recruit high risk students from the inner-city high schools of Detroit. The program, under the direction of Dr. Gordon A. Sabine, vice president for special projects, was started with 66 Negro students. Beginning in the summer of 1968, 25 students will be added to the program each quarter. A Detroit high school principal, Dr. Lloyd Cofer, has been appointed to direct the Detroit Project. No special classes or courses are available for the students, but their financial needs are met and they begin with a lighter load. The major emphasis of the program thus far has been in counseling and guidance; Dr. Gwen Norrell of the university's counseling center fills a key role in this process, and she also has some authority to decide how big a risk the university will take and how long it will stick with the students. Thus far, the risk has been considerable, and while five students made all F's the first quarter and were dropped, 32 are

doing quite well and 27 others are still hanging on (two students dropped out for personal reasons). Faculty involvement in the program has not been extensive; the big factor in the student's favor appears to be Dr. Norrell's counseling, persuasion and encouragement. By the standard predictors of success — test scores, high school record and the like — the students in the Detroit Project rank considerably below their class. They are, by every measurement except motivation, a high risk — and nobody knows how to measure motivation.

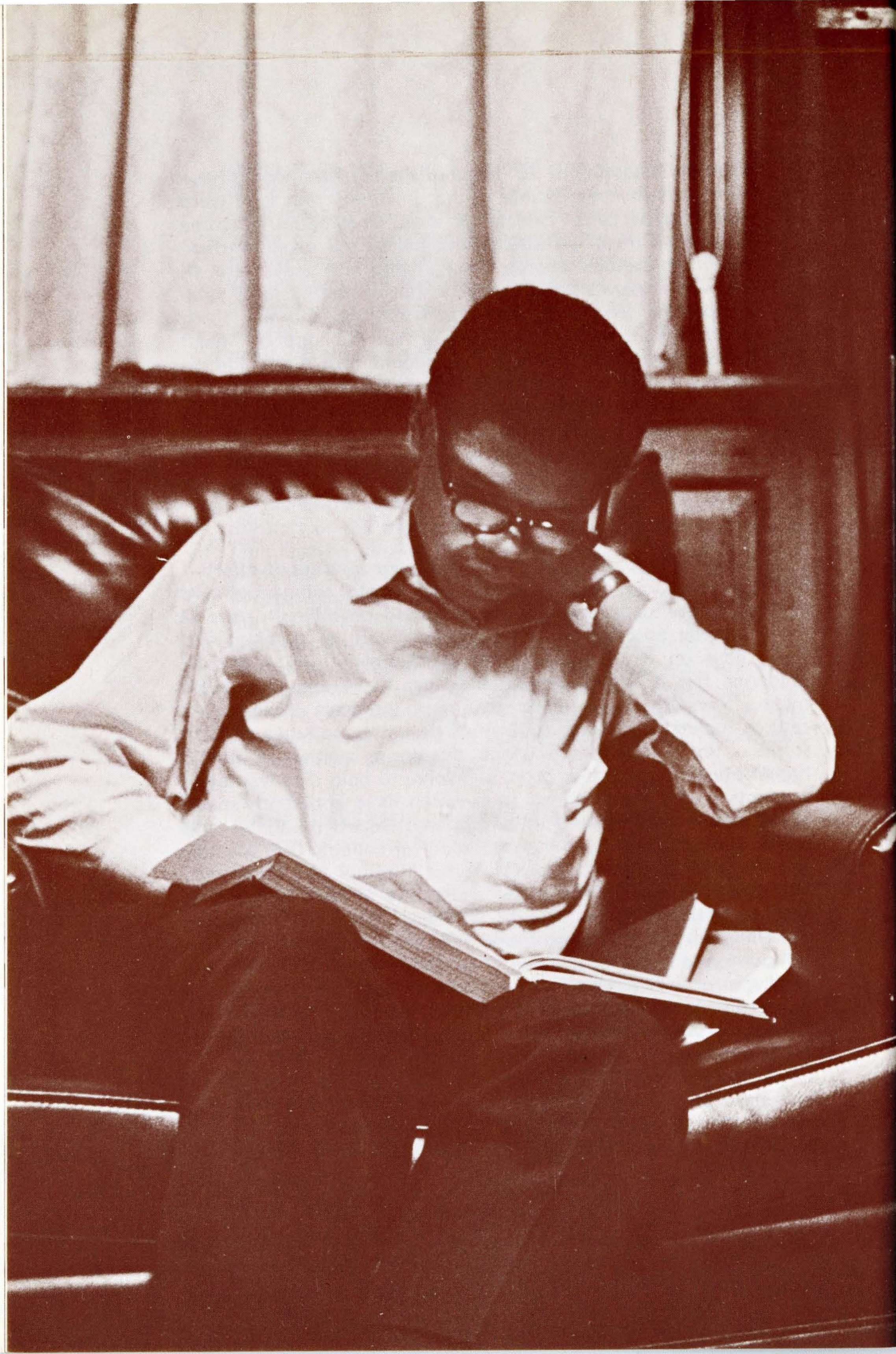
Michigan State has between 600 and 800 Negro students in an enrollment of close to 40,000, and about a dozen Negro faculty members among 1,900 persons with faculty rank. Some of the Negro faculty accuse the university of "massive tokenism," and say there is little commitment on the part of the faculty to solving race and class problems. This feeling carries over to the Detroit Project students, who feel both appreciation for the chance to get a good college education and resentment against their identification as risks. Actually, that identification is slight; the students are scattered instead of clustered in campus housing, classes and the like, and there are few if any compensations they receive which make them stand out as separate from the rest of the student body. Beginning next summer, the university will conduct a pre-college preparatory program in Detroit for students entering the project.

■ **THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT,** with about 7,500 undergraduate students on its main campus, began in 1967 a high risk program for 20 students, most of them Negroes. Concerned about "our responsiiblity as a state university and a land-grant institution," several administrators and faculty members developed a program which started with an intensive six-week summer session and now includes lower admission requirements, complete financial assistance, counseling and guidance, lighter class loads and tutoring. Assistant Director of Admissions William Truehart, Dean of Students Robert Hewes and Dr. Richard Blankenburg, an assistant professor of English, have been the principal organizers of the project. They gathered the names of 200 prospects from throughout Connecticut and leaned heavily on recommendations and personal interviews to

make the selection of 20. None of the students would have been normally admissable to the university, but they were what Truehart calls "calculated risks." They had SAT scores ranging as much as 280 points below the class median, their high school records were erratic and they were all below the financial poverty mark, but on the basis of commendations from their home communities and their own demonstrated desire, they looked like the kind of "risk" the university felt it could and should take. Early indications are that most of them will succeed, and plans are being made to admit another 20 — perhaps more — in the fall of 1968.

* * *

These twelve public institutions represent a range of effort — high risk and low, large numbers and small, substantial and modest institutional commitment. It would be difficult, even if every college and university could be visited, to evaluate and rank them on the basis of their involvement with high risk students, but it seems safe to say that these are among the most active. Others deserving mention on the basis of the survey returns include the state universities and state colleges of California — the only state in which the entire system of public higher education has expressed a resolve to help disadvantaged students — and a few universities which have apparently made some effort to admit and assist Upward Bound graduates and others handicapped by poor preparation for college. On the latter list are Wayne State University, West Virginia University, the University of North Dakota, the University of New Hampshire, the University of South Florida, Portland (Ore.) State College, the University of Washington and Western Kentucky University. In addition to these, a few state institutions known to have some involvement in high risk programs did not respond to the survey questionnaire. They include the State University of New York, the University of Illinois and Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey.



PROGRAMS IN PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

Among the private institutions, Wesleyan University in Connecticut and Antioch College in Ohio stand out, and will be reported on in detail here.

■ ANTIOCH COLLEGE

Ever since Horace Mann founded it in 1852, Antioch College has been something of an anomaly in higher education. Its influence and outreach from the Yellow Springs, Ohio, campus are far more than its size (1,850 students) would suggest. Its students are required to alternate quarters of on-campus study with quarters of off-campus employment, and a normal degree program takes five years. Students are deeply involved in the governance of the college. Antioch's reputation for liberalism, diversity, activism and nonconformity is widespread and long-standing.

But with all that, its student body is selective and somewhat homogeneous. Average scores on the College Board SAT's are around 1,300, half or more of the students ranked in the top 10 per cent of their high school graduating classes, and almost two-thirds of them manage to meet the $3,000-a-year cost of attending there without the benefit of direct financial aid.

Since the fall of 1965, Antioch has recruited and admitted 49 students under what it calls the Program for Interracial Education. Though 44 of the students are Negroes (plus three whites, one Puerto Rican and one Mexican American), the term "Interracial" is a little misleading; Antioch has never been a segregated institution, and it has about 50 other Negro students now who are not a part of the program. The special group is made up of youngsters whose assets are not money (most of them are quite poor)

or past performance (their SAT average is around 850), but such things as courage, imagination, tenacity and toughness.

Dixon Bush, an Antioch staff member for more than 10 years and a former head of its work-study program, is director of the Interracial project. His associate, Mrs. Jewel Graham, is a social worker and the wife of an Antioch alumnus. They and two other staff members run the program out of an old house in the middle of the campus, serving a recruiting-admission-financial aid-counseling-ombudsman function. These are some of the features of the program:

Groups of selectors — community leaders in the ghettos of four Northern cities and in southwest Ohio — were chosen to seek out and nominate able youngsters whose potential was going to waste, casualties of the slums who hadn't given up on life. In general, the five selector groups each nominate five or six students a year, and the college picks about three from each group. The selectors try to help those not chosen by Antioch to enter college elsewhere. The ones who are chosen are invited, at Antioch's expense, to come to the campus for two or three days of test-taking, orientation, interviews and social contact.

When they enroll in the summer or fall quarter (as all beginning Antioch students do), they have access to an array of counseling, tutorial, remedial and corrective services which are an integral part of the college's personalized instructional makeup. Grades, in the conventional sense, are played down; the college catalog does not mention such things as minimum standing or academic probation. The students contribute what they can to the cost of their education, and the college (with some foundation and federal help) makes up the rest. After one quarter on campus, they are assigned to a job, and the rotation between study and employment begins. During the study quarters they live on the campus — but not in a group.

Only three of the 49 students have dropped out of Antioch. The college's flexibility permits a student to

fail courses and repeat them, to spend two consecutive quarters in either work or study, to complete a degree in four years to take six to do it. The expectation is that they meet the course requirements set by the faculty; concessions are made to let them into the college, but not to let them out.

Mr. Bush and Mrs. Graham express enthusiasm, commitment and a healthy skepticism about the program. These are some of their views, put together from reports and articles they have written and from an interview:

"These students might best be described as 'differently prepared.' They *are* different — not inferior, just different. They were willing to come to college to see what things we might mutually and profitably share, and the very fact that they come is a staggering measure of their desperation, of their essential disaffection with where they are. It's a hell of a long way from North Philadelphia to Yellow Springs, and the kid who's willing to make that journey is like Columbus, or like an immigrant from Europe. The level of courage is immense.

"We need a heterogeneous student body that will help dispel the provincialism of the academy, and to get it we must actively recruit the disadvantaged and learn new skills in order to teach them. Lots of colleges are willing to run a cafeteria style of education, but you've got to do more than just lean back and watch the students run the hurdles. Our only limitation is the kid who's given up, who sees no future, no hope; but there are thousands who haven't. When we take a youngster here, we gamble that we can teach him. He gets no ersatz grades or credits, but he gets a lot of reinforcement. We tell him, 'Graduate or die,' and his own knowledge that others have confidence in him is enormously important.

"Faculty and student response to the program has generally been good, although attitudes run the gamut. Since they make up only 2 per cent of the student body, it is possible for the students and faculty to be only peripherally aware of the presence of the Interracial Education students, but the impression one gets is that they have produced an awareness, a ferment, that is greater than would be ex-

pected from the numbers. Antioch is continuously involved in experimentation — there is great tolerance for diversity and individuality here — and this program is part of that tradition. It raises a great many questions, and most of them are yet to be answered. The real test is how much diversity the college can tolerate.

"We are beginning to suspect that long before these students graduate, we will have decided that their experience and point of view are essential to our teaching and learning, and we will seek them energetically as we now seek those with the more usual academic skills."

Antioch's present intention is to continue admitting 15 students a year to the program (a total of about 75 in the undergraduate student body) and to proceed as rapidly as possible with each new group to remove their "special" status and mesh them with the student population as a whole. "We do not ask these students, any more than we ask any students, to forsake their antecedents," says Dixon Bush. "We covet for them the gain of becoming more extensive rather than accomplishing a metamorphosis. We want them to become a part of the richness of our campus environment, teaching us from their experience, and learning from us what is new and useful to them."

The use of selectors in the recruiting process, the work-study program and Antioch's distinctively personal style of education all combine to form a high risk venture that is highly promising. Bush says it can be replicated at any college or university. "There are smart, capable kids in the ghettos of this country who will never realize their potential," he asserts. "You have to go looking for them, and you have to be willing to make the college experience relevant to their needs. This is not a challenge just for private, liberal arts colleges like Antioch. The public universities, for their own good, had better get with it."

■ WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn., is small (1,500 male students) and selective (average SAT score:

about 1,375), and is steeped in the tweed-and-ivy tradition of the great American college. This air of permanence and quality is complemented by a youthful progressivism that the under-30 generation would describe as "with it."

Back in 1964, Wesleyan decided, as a matter of policy, to incorporate racial and economic diversity into its student body. That year, there were only two Negroes among the 350 freshmen who enrolled, and just 12 scholarship awards were made to students from families with annual income under $6,000 — even though the university claims one of the highest per capita scholarship budgets in the nation. By reserving space for "special minority group admissions" — Negro, Puerto Rican, Indian and poor white applicants — the university has raised their proportion in the freshman class from 0.7 per cent in 1964 to 10.9 per cent in 1967, and that level will be maintained by the admission of 35 to 40 such students each year.

About half of the 90 students admitted under this plan in the past three years could not be considered "disadvantaged" or "high risk" even by Wesleyan's high standards. They ranked in or near the top 10 per cent of their high school graduating classes, scored about 1,200 on the SAT examinations, and have for the most part performed admirably at the university. About 15 per cent of them have not even needed financial assistance.

But of the other half, 13 ranked in the lower 50 per cent of their high school classes, 20 scored below 1,000 on the SAT's (three were in the 600-800 range), and virtually all of them have needed complete financial support.

Recruiting vigorously for minority group students, Dean of Admissions and Freshman John C. Hoy and his staff contacted almost 2,000 prospects in 1967; 178 of them applied, 62 were admitted and 39 actually enrolled. Instead of choosing the "best" students according to the customary objective criteria, Hoy went for a mix, relying more on recommendations, interviews and essays by the applicants than on test scores and rank in class. Low family income counted heavily.

Hoy has drawn on the full resources of the university to plan a support program for the risk students. Faculty ad-

visers have been chosen with care, and counseling has been frequent and intensive; tutoring by graduate students and upperclassmen has been continuous; course loads have been reduced; certain aspects of the university's Upward Bound and Master of Arts in Teaching programs have been utilized; a pre-freshman summer term emphasizing language and communication skills and a special course in freshman English which meets five times a week have been instituted. And Wesleyan has used the flexibility and individual attention which characterizes a small, residential campus to maximize each student's chance of success.

Finally, the 1967-68 risk students, unlike those who came earlier, have been given a candid assessment of the gamble which they and the university are taking, and have been assured that, given a good-faith effort on their part, they have at least two years to become fully competitive, unless they are totally unable to handle the curriculum and other adjustments.

So far, all these efforts appear to be producing good results. Eight of the 14 students who enrolled in 1965 are still there, as are 30 of the 33 who started in 1966. In 1967, all 39 new students survived the first semester; five of them are on academic probation, but none of the five was among those originally considered a real high risk and only one of them was in the special freshman English course. Overall, only about 10 per cent of the 90 students admitted thus far have since departed, and half of them left for reasons other than low academic performance.

There is a reluctance at Wesleyan to make optimistic claims for the high risk program, or for the minority group admissions plan as a whole. Professor John Lincoln, who conducts both the special summer session and the freshman English course, says some of what he tried "simply didn't work out," and he sees the need for more adjustments. Some of the more militant black students say Wesleyan is "trying to remove a sense of guilt," but is "still hooked on tokenism and paternalism and the 'quota' system."

For his part, Jack Hoy, who is a 34-year-old alumnus of Wesleyan, says the program is "not anything spectacular." He acknowledges that many of the students are not really

risks, even in a relative sense, and he points out that the ones who are have done well enough "to question the manner in which potential for higher education is traditionally measured. They've taught us the value of paying more attention to the individual differences of all students, and thanks to them, the quality of our total academic program has improved."

Wesleyan's small size limits the number of high risk students it can take, its budget limits the number of poor students it can support, and its high quality limits the degree of absolute risk it can ask of its students or pledge of itself. In terms of enrollment percentages and institutional commitment, however, it is far ahead of most American colleges and universities. Says Dean Hoy: "If we look good, it is only because so many other schools look so bad."

Beyond these two, more than 50 institutions — two-thirds of the private colleges responding to the survey — reported some degree of activity. Some of them are only minimally engaged. But there are about 20 colleges and a dozen universities which have indicated an active interest and at least moderate involvement in the field. Among the colleges in this group are Grinnell (Iowa), Williams (Mass.), Carleton (Minn.), Gustavus Adolphus (Minn.), Barat (Ill.), Luther (Iowa), Oberlin (Ohio), Manhattanville (N. Y.), Scripps (Calif.), Claremont (Calif.), Pomona (Calif.), Mills (Calif.), National College of Education (Ill.), Beaver (Pa.), Earlham (Ind.), Reed (Ore.), Defiance (Ohio), Lakeland (Wis.), Franklin and Marshall (Pa.) and Ithaca (N. Y.).

Among the Universities in this category are Tufts, Detroit, Northwestern, Washington (Mo.), San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Chicago and St. Thomas (Tex.). Considering the small size of many of the colleges and universities named here, their involvement in education for low-income and minority groups is considerable. A few other private colleges and universities need further mention.

■ **HARVARD UNIVERSITY** has had a "risk-gamble" program for 10 years, aimed at building diversity into the undergraduate student body. During that time, some 200 students have come and gone, their disadvantages concealed by

qualities of "toughness, sparkle, resilience, flexibility and energy" — qualities which have borne as much weight with admissions officials as SAT scores or high school records. In an institution where there are more than five applicants for every space in the freshman class — and where acceptance based strictly on test scores would produce an SAT verbal-mathematical average of almost 1,500 — Harvard has been willing to reach at times below the 1,000 mark to take young men who have those elusive qualities quoted above. On the whole, the risk-gamble students have performed almost as well as Harvard's undergraduates as a whole: 80 to 85 per cent have graduated with their class. To be sure, most of Harvard's "gambles" have been on youngsters lacking nothing except the chance to sparkle; they would have been star performers at scores of good, steady liberal arts colleges around the country. What little help and personal attention they have needed has been there for them to take. The significant thing about these students is that, not knowing they ranked 400 or 500 points below many of their classmates, they have generally held their own in competition with them. In short, Harvard's experience seems to indicate that the very best colleges and universities have more latitude in choosing students than most of them have yet been willing to exercise.

■ **MERCER UNIVERSITY** in Macon, Georgia, has had a Rockefeller Foundation grant for the past two years to support recruitment of disadvantaged students. Dean of Men Joseph M. Hendricks recruits mainly from predominantly Negro high schools in Georgia and from the university's Upward Bound program, and now has 48 students who have entered under somewhat relaxed entrance requirements, been given all necessary financial aid, and been provided with extensive assistance through counseling and guidance, remedial courses and tutoring. The attrition rate for the first year of the program was about the same as for the freshman class as a whole — 18 to 20 per cent.

Four other Southern universities — Vanderbilt, Duke, Tulane and Emory — have also had Rockefeller funds for recruiting disadvantaged students. Duke did not respond to the survey; of the other three, Tulane appears to have provided the most compensatory services — though not as much as Mercer. One other Southern university, Miami, will begin a program of tuition waiver, relaxed entrance requirements, counseling and guidance and tutoring for 25 Upward Bound graduates next fall.

■ **CORNELL UNIVERSITY** has admitted about 160 students in the past three years who are considered high risks, "to provide educational opportunities . . . for disadvantaged students and to test the reliability of the usual admissions criteria." Only five of the students have been dropped for academic reasons thus far. Recruitment, financial aid and intensive counseling are the features of the program. About 95 per cent of the students are Negroes. Last fall, the median SAT score for the freshman risk students was about 175 points below the median for all freshmen. The students are obliged to meet all the usual academic requirements of the university, and no special courses are provided.

■ **NEW YORK UNIVERSITY** enrolled 60 high risk students in an experimental program in 1965, under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Only 15 of the students are still at NYU. The program was designed as a separate and intensive effort to structure academic and counseling experiences that would lead in five years to baccalaureate degrees for a group of severely handicapped ghetto youngsters. Such an all-out effort deserves more attention than can be given to it here. Prof. Virgil Clift, who directs the project, reports that NYU's experiment with it "leads us to believe that there is a vast reservoir of untapped potential in the urban slum that is going to waste." The loss of three-fourths of its students half way through the experiment indicates that NYU has not discovered how to tap that potential successfully, but what the university has learned from trying could be of great value to other institutions. Southern Illinois University (where 11 of the NYU dropouts have gone) now has an OEO grant for a similar experiment.

■ **NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY** in Boston has the largest work-study co-operative program in the country; most of the university's regular students alternate one quarter of on-

campus study with one quarter of on-the-job work experience. Into this pattern Northeastern introduced 25 high risk students in 1963, with funds from the Ford Foundation; it has added 25 more each year, and continues to do so, although Ford pulled out after three years. The 25 students get whatever financial assistance they need, admissions requirements are relaxed for them (they average 100 to 150 points below their class on SAT scores), and they attend a summer pre-college session. Counseling, guidance, tutoring, developmental reading and programmed instruction are available to them as they need it. It takes five years to get a degree at Northeastern; of the 25 who entered in 1963, about 13 will graduate with their class this year. Dr. Gilbert C. Garland, dean of admissions, views the program as highly successful, and believes one major reason for the success is the nature of the work-study program. "Within two quarters you can have walking examples of academic and job success," he says. "That means a lot to these youngsters."

CONCLUSIONS

Among all the high risk programs about which some information was gathered in this survey, many merit in-depth reporting. This survey has not attempted such a detailed analysis, but has simply sketched each program in brief outline, and the danger in this approach is that brevity may imply less — or more — involvement in high risk programs than is actually the case. On the basis of this limited inquiry, though, these conclusions emerge:

215 senior colleges and universities widely considered to be the ones most likely to have formal programs for high risk students were queried, but on the basis of a 75 per cent response, almost half of them have no such programs.

The bright and able student who is too poor to afford college — whether he is Negro, white, Indian, Spanish-speaking or whatever — is being sought by a growing number of colleges, but those whose past performance has been blunted by discrimination and poverty represent a risk that very few colleges are willing to take.

A great many things are being tried by a relatively small number of institutions to mine the untapped potential of disadvantaged students, but only a handful of these institutions have marshaled all the resources available to them for this task.

Information on attrition rates is still sketchy, but what there is indicates that even the most prestigious colleges could exercise far more flexibility in choice of students than they now do, without increasing the per cent of failures.

Colleges which do in fact try to exercise flexibility do not do it at the expense of their existing academic standards; concessions are made to get "different" students in, but not to let them out.

Most American colleges and universities are success-oriented — they cater to young people who have mastered 12 years of schooling in preparation for college, who are

solvent, and who have adjusted to the style and the strictures of the prevailing culture. But thousands of potentially able youngsters do not qualify by those standards, and most of the nation's colleges and universities have not yet decided whether they have the responsibility, the resources, the skills or the desire to serve them.

Higher education for high risk students — in spite of the precedents which athletes, foreign students and war veterans established — is still largely an unexplored territory for racial minorities and the poor. Dr. Herman E. Spivey, whose long career as a professor and administrator includes service at the universities of Florida, Kentucky and Tennessee, calls high risk activity "a frontier only beginning to be explored by a negligibly few educational scouts," and he adds, "I don't think enough of our citizens, even our educators, genuinely and sympathetically realize how seriously inadequate and unequal in opportunity our predominantly white colleges are for students from disadvantaged backgrounds, and how much can be done (with resourceful effort and money) to overcome this handicap."

Even the "negligibly few educational scouts" claim no foolproof solutions or panaceas. But they have become sufficiently concerned about the growing exclusiveness of the American college to question whether the standard methods by which students are selected and instructed are the only route to a legitimate college degree. Though they have used widely differing approaches to reach and teach youngsters who previously would not have been admitted, the early experiences of these colleges show that the students they considered high risks have quite frequently performed as well as their regularly-admitted classmates.

Clearly, many of these students lack the money, the test scores or the high school preparation to compete on an equal footing for space in college. There is far less evidence to indicate that they lack the ability, the talent or the desire to succeed at college — even according to the standards by which success in college is so generally determined.

It is these standards of selection and instruction that the boldest high risk programs call to question, not so much because the standards themselves are faulty but because they are felt to be incomplete. Ironically, some of the sharpest criticism of college inactivity in the high risk field has come from officials of the College Entrance Examination Board, whose standardized tests are so widely used as predictors of college aptitude and achievement. Two men in particular — S. A. Kendrick and Benjamin W. McKendall Jr. — have been outspokenly critical of colleges for their over-reliance on test scores and for the inflexibility of their teaching methods. Kendrick told representatives of the member institutions of CEEB last fall that too much emphasis on test scores would perpetuate racial segregation in college, and he challenged them to "design instruction to suit the needs, ability and background" of students who are not products of the white middle class.

McKendall, writing in the magazine *Urban West,* said few colleges have the commitment, flexibility and daring to meet the needs of risk students. "The entire educational system is still deeply hooked on the notion of judging students by their past, regardless of how miserable or hopeless it may have been, rather than on their future and their promise," he wrote. "Countless colleges issue pious statements about their concern for the urban poor, but insist on a rigid grade average or test requirement as if these numerical benchmarks were invested with a sanctity that renders them virtually infallible." McKendall said the experiences of the colleges that have attempted new approaches show that students handicapped by discrimination and poverty can be helped by college, and he suggested that, in the process of seeking and nourishing such talent, "the nature of higher education will improve for all students."

In the days when America's college students were only a small minority of the population, it was important — perhaps even essential — that they be the "best" students, the ones most likely to succeed. But since World War II, college enrollment has risen dramatically. Men and women, young and old, now go to college in ever-increasing numbers to earn degrees, because degrees, for many of them, are a necessary prerequisite to employment and economic security. Colleges and universities, in many respects, have adjusted rather well to the demands imposed by this larger and more diverse student population.

The need for higher education is just as great among racial and ethnic minorities and the poor as it is in the rest of the population, but the colleges and universities have been slow to serve even the most able students in this segment of society.

Some institutions, having succeeded in becoming more inclusive of ages, sexes and even intellectual skills, now are turning their attention to the untapped potential among minorities and the poor. Others continue to reward the same erudition, the same prepped, honed, polished and esoteric elite, because that is what they have always done, and that is what they know how to do. American colleges and universities in general have yet to decide whether they will become routinely accessible to the thousands of able students they are not now serving.

APPENDIX I:

THE QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO 215 COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMS OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS, 1967-68

Name and location of institution ....

Total undergraduate enrollment ....

Does the institution have an organized program of higher education for disadvantaged students whose cultural, economic and educational handicaps (in comparison with your regular student body) classify them as "high-risk" enrollees? Yes .... No ....

Name and title of person in charge of the program ....
....

Does the program include: Recruiting ...., lower admission requirements ...., extra counseling and guidance ...., financial aid ...., specially designed courses ...., extra help (tutoring, smaller classes, lighter academic load, etc.) ...., or any other compensations ....

Please comment on specifics of the program, such as methods of recruitment, extent to which admissions requirements are relaxed, amount and source of financial aid, and what special help is given in counseling and guidance, course offerings, academic load, tutoring and the like. Use back of sheet if necessary.

What year was the program started? ...... How many students were involved? ......

How many students are involved in the program now .... Is the program intended to aid freshmen only, or do you continue compensatory assistance beyond the first year, and if so, how long do you continue it? ....

How many students now in the program are white ......, Negro ...., Puerto Rican ...., American Indian ...., Mexican American ...., other (specify)
....

What percentage of the program's participants do not continue at your institution beyond the first year? .... What percentage of your total freshman class does not continue beyond the first year? ....

Does your institution work with the students in this program (a) as a separate group ...., (b) in the same manner as it does with all other students ...., or (c) in some other way (please specify) ....

Please give your opinion of the effectiveness of the program, its basic objectives, its probable duration, the institution's reasons for undertaking it, and any other comments you care to make. If your institution does not have such a program, please indicate that and return the questionnaire anyway. We would appreciate receiving copies of any printed or duplicated materials relating to your program. Thank you.

Please return questionnaire to Southern Education Reporting Service, P.O. Box 6156, Nashville, Tennessee 37212.

APPENDIX II:

SOME AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS CONTRIBUTING TO THE BROADENING OF OPPORTUNITIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 6 E. 82nd St., New York City, has for 20 years been helping Negroes enter college. Last year it counseled with more than 7,000 students, more than 85 per cent of whom enrolled. NSSFNS has always concentrated on students most in need of its services. In earlier years that meant the very best of Negro students; now that the best are in demand at a great many colleges, youngsters with SAT scores in the 800's and 900's get a lion's share of the agency's attention.

Southern Education Foundation, 811 Cypress St., N.E., Atlanta, has been contributing to the education of Negroes in the South for more than 100 years. A 1967 booklet of the foundation, "Higher Educational Opportunities for Southern Negroes," lists a variety of programs and sources of assistance.

The College Entrance Examination Board, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, published *Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged,* by Edmund W. Gordon and Doxey A. Wilkerson, in 1966. It also publishes *College Board Review,* a quarterly journal which has devoted considerable space (including the entire Winter 1968 issue) to educational problems of the disadvantaged.

The Rockefeller Foundation since 1964 has funded about 20 institutional projects and two co-operative efforts involving 25 additional colleges, all designed to recruit and enroll disadvantaged students in higher education. Some of these institutions have taken considerable risks in selecting their students; most have not. All, however, have added students whose race and class are different from students previously enrolled. The intent, says a foundation official, is "not spectacular slumming, but finding minority kids who can make it."

The University of North Carolina YMCA-YWCA annually publishes a booklet, called "College Opportunities for Southern Negro Students" and distributes it free to counselors at high schools in the South.

The California Co-ordinating Council for Higher Education has a booklet "Increasing Opportunities in Higher Education for Disadvantaged Students," which reports on efforts in the state of California and contains a bibliography and information on financial aid.

The University of Wisconsin Institute of Human Relations issued a booklet in 1964 called "Blueprint for Action," in which the Big Ten Universities, Wayne State University and the University of Chicago pledged themselves

to take an active role in furthering educational opportunities for Negroes and other minorities.

Changing Times magazine has for a number of years published information on how to prepare for college, how to choose a college and where to find colleges with room for more students. Sidney Sulkin, a senior editor of the magazine, has written a book, *Complete Planning for College* (Harper and Row, 1968), which includes chapters on colleges for C students and educational opportunities for Negro students.

The United Presbyterian Church and the United Church of Christ are assisting disadvantaged students. The Presbyterians have an educational counseling service directed by Dr. Samuel H. Johnson of Atlanta and the UCC's Committee for Racial Justice Now, headed by Rev. Charles E. Cobb, is asking 32 colleges related to the church to reserve 10 places in their freshman classes each year for high risk students.

Educational Associates, Inc., 1717 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, is a consulting firm with an OEO contact to help implement college-level activity for Upward Bound graduates.

Institute for Services to Education, another Washington-based consulting firm, is concentrating on curriculum revision that would make college more relevant to the experience and the needs of disadvantaged students.

A Better Chance/Independent Schools Talent Search, 376 Boylston St., Boston, is an effort to seek out, counsel and place minority-group youngsters in better schools. The program is primarily for private secondary schools but in most cases it leads on to college for those who participate.

Federal programs include OEO's Upward Bound and the U. S. Office of Education's Work-Study, National Defense Education Act, and Equal Opportunity Grants programs; the latter provide scholarships, loans and work funds, part of which are ostensibly for disadvantaged students. A spot check in several states leaves doubt that the funds are in fact being used in that way. Another federal program, Contracts to Encourage Full Utilization of Educational Talent, is a co-operative talent search.

The Co-operative Program for Educational Opportunity, 218 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut, is one of the earliest and best examples of a program bringing together a group of colleges and universities to undertake joint recruitment, special services and placement for high risk students.

The New York College Bound Corporation identifies students who have the ability, but not the motivation, for success in college and provides for them, through the city school system, a special program of remedial and enrichment opportunities. The corporation is financed by the New York City Board of Education, the Carnegie Corporation and federal funds, and is similar in

many respects to the federal Talent Search and Upward Bound programs. The College Bound Corporation has an agreement with some 40 New York-area colleges that is expected to guide many of the students into higher education.

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools has operated two programs — Project Opportunity and the College Preparatory Center — aimed at identifying and assisting disadvantaged youngsters with college potential. Project Opportunity, funded by the Ford Foundation, is an Upward Bound-type program involving 16 colleges and 11 high schools in eight Southern states. It seeks to identify students in junior high school who have high potential and to provide them with assistance through high school and on into college. The College Preparatory Center, funded by OEO, involved three small, church-related junior colleges in South Carolina in a program of remedial and financial assistance for prospective students.

APPENDIX III:

The 215 colleges and universities selected for the survey of high risk programs are identified here in three lists: (1) Those which indicated they do have some sort of high risk program, (2) those which indicated they do not have any involvement in the field, and (3) those not responding to the questionnaire.

86 INSTITUTIONS REPORTING SOME INVOLVEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS FOR HIGH RISK STUDENTS

The first section of this list includes those colleges and universities which have been reported on or mentioned earlier in this study.

Alderson-Broaddus College (W. Va.)
Antioch College (Ohio)
Barat College (Ill.)
Beaver College (Pa.)
Bowdoin College (Maine)
Bowling Green State University (Ohio)
Brandeis University (Mass.)
Bryn Mawr College (Pa.)
California State College, Los Angeles
Carleton College (Minn.)
Chico (Calif.) State College
City University of New York
Claremont Men's College (Calif.)
Coe College (Iowa)
Cornell University
Defiance College (Ohio)
Denison University (Ohio)
Earlham College (Ind.)
Emory University
Fairleigh Dickinson University (N.J.)
Franklin and Marshall College (Pa.)
Grinnell College (Iowa)
Gustavus Adolphus College (Minn.)
Harvard University
Hiram College (Ohio)
Ithaca College (N. Y.)
Lakeland College (Wis.)
Lock Haven State College (Pa.)
Luther College (Iowa)
Manhattanville College (N. Y.)
Mercer University (Ga.)
Michigan State University
Mills College (Calif.)
Mount Holyoke College (Mass.)
National College of Education (Ill.)
New York University
Northeastern University
Northwestern University
Oberlin College (Ohio)
Occidental College (Calif.)
Ottawa University (Kan.)
Pomona College (Calif.)
Portland (Ore.) State College
Reed College (Ore.)
Rio Grande College (Ohio)
Sacramento (Calif.) State College
Scripps College (Calif.)
Southern Illinois University
Swarthmore College (Pa.)
Temple University
Tufts University
Tulane University
University of California, Berkeley
University of California, Los Angeles
University of California, Riverside
University of California, San Diego
University of California, Santa Barbara
University of Chicago
University of Cincinnati
University of Connecticut
University of Dayton
University of Detroit

University of Miami (Fla.)
University of Michigan
University of Minnesota
University of New Hampshire
University of North Dakota
University of Northern Iowa
University of Oregon
University of Pittsburgh
University of San Francisco
University of Santa Clara
University of South Florida
University of St. Thomas (Tex.)
University of Washington
University of Wisconsin
Vanderbilt University
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Washington University (Mo.)
Wayne State University
Wesleyan University (Conn.)
West Virginia University
Western Kentucky University
Western Washington State College
Williams College (Mass.)
Wittenberg University (Ohio)

76 INSTITUTIONS REPORTING NO INVOLVEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS FOR HIGH RISK STUDENTS

An asterisk (*) after the name of a college in this list indicates that while the institution said it had no program for risk students, it did present information to indicate that it is planning such programs, or that it welcomes such students, or that it has some involvement in pre-college assistance to disadvantaged students. Yale University, for example, reports no high risk program at the college level, but the university operates four college-prep programs designed to help low-income, minority-group students prepare for college.

Ball State University (Ind.) *
Beloit College (Wis.)
Berea College (Ky.) *
Bethany College (Kan.)
California State College (Pa.)
Central Missouri State College
Dartmouth College *
East Central State College (Okla.)
Eastern New Mexico University
Elmhurst College (Ill.)
Ferris State College (Mich.)
Florida State University
Georgetown University (D. C.)
Georgia State College
Grossmont College (Calif.) *
Hanover College (Ind.) *
Indiana University *
Knox College (Ill.)
La Salle College (Pa.)
Lawrence University (Wis.) *
Louisiana State University
Macalester College (Minn.)
Millikin University (Ill.)
Nebraska Wesleyan University
North Carolina State University
North Dakota State University
Ohio State University
Pennsylvania State University
Princeton University
Purdue University *
Ripon College (Wis.) *
Rocky Mountain College (Mont.)
San Fernando Valley (Calif.) State College *
San Francisco State College *
Southeast Missouri State College
Syracuse University
University of Alabama
University of Alaska
University of Albuquerque
University of Arizona
University of Arkansas

University of Florida
University of Georgia
University of Houston
University of Idaho
University of Iowa
University of Kansas
University of Kentucky
University of Maine
University of Maryland
University of Mississippi
University of Missouri, Columbia
University of Missouri, Kansas City *
University of Montana
University of Nevada
University of North Carolina
University of Oklahoma *
University of Pennsylvania
University of Rhode Island
University of South Carolina
University of Southern California *
University of Tennessee
University of Texas, El Paso
University of Utah
University of Vermont
University of Virginia
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee *
University of Wyoming *
Upper Iowa University *
West Virginia Institute of Technology
Westmar College (Iowa)
Whitworth College (Wash.)
William Penn College (Iowa)
Wisconsin State University, Eau Claire
Wisconsin State University, Whitewater
Yale University *

53 INSTITUTIONS NOT RESPONDING TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Adams State College (Colo.)
Augsburg College (Minn.)
Bluffton College (Ohio)
Brown University
California State College, Fullerton
California State College, Hayward
California State College, Long Beach
Capital University (Ohio)
Carnegie Institute of Technology
Central College (Ia.)
Columbia University
Cornell College (Ia.)
Duke University
Fort Lewis College (Colo.)
Fresno State College (Calif.)
Gannon College (Pa.)
Harris Teachers College (Mo.)
Hofstra University
Humboldt State College (Calif.)
Loyola University (La.)
Lycoming College (Pa.)
Monmouth College (N. J.)
Moorhead State College (Minn.)
Ohio Wesleyan University
Rockford College (Ill.)
Rutgers University
San Diego State College (Calif.)
San Jose State College (Calif.)
Sarah Lawrence College
Simpson College (Ia.)
Southeastern State College (Okla.)
Southwestern State College (Okla.)
St. Louis University
St. Olaf College (Minn.)
Stanford University (Calif.)
State University of New York, Albany
State University of New York, Buffalo
Texas Woman's University
University of California, Davis
University of Colorado
University of Delaware
University of Hawaii
University of Illinois
University of Massachusetts
University of Missouri, St. Louis
University of Nebraska
University of New Mexico
University of South Dakota
University of Texas
University of Toledo
Wake Forest University (N. C.)
Western Michigan University
Whittier College (Calif.)

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