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Abstract

Programs conducted by the City University of New York (CUNY) for helping disadvantaged youth prepare for and succeed in college are described. An Urban Center program runs several projects, notably a College Adapter Program which helps high school students who are not qualified for college admission. The community colleges provide 2-year terminal courses with occupational specializations, and Search for Education, Evaluation and Knowledge (SEEK) offers counseling, remedial, and tutorial service and stipends for students of high native ability. The primary goals of the College Discovery and Developmental Program (CDDP) are (1) to identify ninth-grade students whose potential is suitable for higher education but whose school records indicate achievements too low for college competition, and (2) to increase academic motivation through a 3-year high school program. A CDDP bibliography is included. [Not available in hard copy due to the marginal legibility of original document.] (KG)

"ADVANTAGES FOR THE DISADVANTAGED: NEW PROGRAMS"

Presented by

Lawrence Brody

at

CONVENTION OF THE

AMERICAN COLLEGE PERSONNEL ASSOCIATION

and

AMERICAN PERSONNEL AND GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION

Las Vegas, Nevada

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The City University of New York includes six community colleges, eight senior colleges, a College of Criminal Justice and a College of Medicine. Its total enrollment in 1968 was more than 160,000 students; most of these students were enrolled in tuition-free degree-bearing courses. For over one hundred years the colleges of the City University have been the primary means through which the children of poor families were able to achieve higher education and entrée to the learned professions. Although there have been few formal studies of the relationships between previous waves of immigration and its services to the children of these immigrants, the City University has been justifiably proud of its past achievements. Its graduates include leaders in every area of public life and service, many of whom came from impoverished immigrant families. But it has been painfully evident to the faculty and to some of the public for the past decade that a disproportionately small share of the University's services are utilized by Black and Puerto Rican young people.

This is a reprehensible and painful state of affairs: more than half the total public school population of New York City are now of Black or Puerto Rican ethnic origin yet the vast majority of the publicly supported University's students are of other ethnicity. Some critics have alleged that this is by design, a conspiracy to defraud "minority" people of their moral right. Others have noted that competition for academic places in all colleges is keen and that budgetary limitations sharply limit the number of students for whom CUNY can provide; CUNY's miniscule minority enrollment seem to these people to result from unsatisfactory prior learning which is in itself said to be an artifact of poverty and culture conflicts. To others, the inability

of Black and Puerto Rican students to gain admission to the University is a consequence of failure of the lower schools to educate them and some claim that this too is a racist plot. But regardless of ascribed sources, causes and blame, or of academic admissions standards, Black and Puerto Rican students are far more rare than they ought to be in City University. It is clear that the causes of this disparity, their sources, their relative importances and the means of modifying them are extremely complex. It is equally clear that attempts at solutions must predate research based answers to questions not yet defined; we cannot afford, financially, politically or in terms of society's needs, to waste the talents of our "disadvantaged" population while living with the social pathology which results from that "disadvantage".

The Spectrum of CUNY Programs

City University has been seeking solutions to these problems of student demography in a number of ways. In the context of our interest today, financial aid to students, one must view most City University programs as financial aid programs: almost all CUNY programs are tuition free to fully matriculated students. Some graduate programs are an exception; however, even here, the fees assessed are far less than those for comparable programs in other institutions. Thus, the broad spectrum of kinds of higher educational programs of the University (to be described below), and their very low cost, comprise a very important package of financial aid for higher education.

The City University has a number of these efforts underway to increase its services to the City's most recent "immigrants" without sacrificing its standards of quality education. Perhaps the most important of these efforts to meet the needs of as large a segment of

the potential New York City population as possible lies in the spectrum of offerings available in the University. A number of post-secondary educational programs now exist in CUNY. These include, at traditional levels, doctoral, professional certification, masters and baccalaureate programs. Since the number of places budgetarily available in baccalaureate programs in four-year liberal arts colleges is much smaller than needed, our community colleges conduct two-year liberal arts transfer programs: these provide first and second year courses for full credit with transfer to the junior year of a senior college upon completion of sophomore year.

> It may be of more than passing interest to note that, over the country as a whole, college graduating classes are very much smaller than freshman classes. That is, although we select as carefully as we can and by whatever standards and processes we use, we still admit many students who do not succeed in college; our selection rationales suggested that they were more likely to succeed than those whom we rejected, but somehow they did not. We at CUNY share this puzzle with other colleges but are under added pressure. One of our problems is that a very large proportion of our New York City high school students from minority backgrounds are not eligible for college admission at all by usual criteria. That is to say, perhaps, that our traditionally, institutionalized selection processes lead to the conclusion that these students will not be able to complete a college program. But, we are forced to admit, that a significant portion of those who are acceptable as freshmen are not able to complete college; thus, in the junior year of our senior colleges we have room to accept transfer students from both our community colleges and from other colleges as well; at least in part, this is a result of the drop-out of students whom we earlier had accepted as potentially competent liberal arts freshmen. Furthermore, there is at least one study which seemed to indicate that factors other than those usually examined in college selection may be of very great weight in determining which students complete degree programs. In this study a large number of students were found places as freshmen through a counselling service after rejection on all initial applications. Their college careers were compared with an equivalent group who had been initially accepted. As I recall the results, about twice as many "rejectees" earned baccalaureate degrees as "acceptees". One of the implications here is that determination not to be beaten by "the system" may have been of at least as much weight as former academic record.

A more recent development in the spectrum of University programs, conducted by the State University and City University, is called the Urban Center Program. Two such centers, in Brooklyn and Manhattan, provide a variety of specialized programs. One of these, the College Adapter Program seeks to prepare students whose prior achievement levels did not permit college entry, to qualify for matriculation. A majority of its students do go on to degree programs after completing this program.

The community colleges also include two-year terminal courses, with occupational specializations. A considerable number of students from minority groups use these programs for training for job entry with success: graduates of most of these programs are in demand in local industry and commerce. Some of these students then continue their education; to facilitate this kind of opportunity, the first year of terminal and transfer programs have been made very similar. This makes it possible for students to change their educational plans without severe credit loss a year later.

Special Programs for the Disadvantaged

SEEK

A major effort to enroll and serve the needs of additional students from impoverished and culturally different backgrounds involves the SEEK and College Discovery Programs. SEEK is an acronym for Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge. SEEK accepts into the four-year senior colleges mature applicants..."of high native ability which is not adequately indicated by their high school achievement".* SEEK in

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*Master Plan of the Board of Higher Education for the City University of New York, N. Y., July 1, 1968, p. 190

1967 enrolled 1256 students; by 1971 it expects to enroll 6400 and by 1975, 9800. It provides counselling, remedial and tutorial services and stipends: to date its students' retention rates and grades are not very different from those of other CUNY students.

COLLEGE DISCOVERY

College Discovery is a similar program in many ways. It too accepts students whose high school achievement has not indicated their native ability, but enrolls these students in community colleges. It provides essentially the same features as SEEK and, although to date fewer students are involved than in SEEK (in 1968, 700 new students were enrolled), in general it too shows good retention and academic progress rates.

COLLEGE DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT

The program for which I hold responsibility is a second kind of "discovery" program named the College Discovery and Development Program. The College Discovery and Development Program was jointly initiated in September 1965 by the City University of New York and the Board of Education of the City of New York. It is a unique program in that it is jointly planned and implemented by the City's two public education agencies. It is more unique, perhaps, in that neither agency defends all its practices by laying the total responsibility on the other for failure of impoverished students to achieve.

The College Discovery and Development Program seeks to identify economically impoverished ninth grade students who are not achieving well enough for normal progress into college but who have the potential to do satisfactory academic work. It accepts responsibility for seeking to reverse this pattern of inadequate achievement, and to

overcome the deficiencies of the students whom it is able to serve within its available budget while they are in high school in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades. Two successive annual classes will have completed their high school studies by June 1969, with indications that this effort to prevent tragic waste of human resources is successful beyond reasonable expectation. Of the 550 tenth graders enrolled in September 1965, 328 (59.4%) entered degree programs in the fall of 1968 and the majority remain in good standing.* Seventy-one of those College Discovery and Development graduates were accepted by colleges outside the City University; for many of these youngsters, the financial assistance available in these colleges was not adequate in the light of their limited family resources. However, this had been anticipated in the Program's planning and City University acceptance was guaranteed at the time students were enrolled in the tenth grade, with the proviso that they must complete twelfth grade successfully.

This guarantee of admission is a qualified guarantee: selection criteria are applied which provide for differentiation among CDDP high school graduates into the four kinds of college programs mentioned above. Students whose high school course distributions, grades and counselor recommendations concur in a prognosis of ability to successfully hold their own with college peers are accepted into four-year baccalaureate programs.

Students for whom there is a more doubtful prognosis of success in baccalaureate competition are accepted into two-year liberal arts

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*Twenty-eight additional students of this first class have completed 12th grade since June 1968 and have entered degree programs: this brings total degree matriculants as of this date to 64% of the original group.

transfer programs. These transfer programs, which are located on community college campuses, provide counselling, tutorial, remedial and financial assistance. They also anticipate that the student may require longer than two-years to complete his freshman and sophmore liberal arts courses: no prejudice attaches to such need in these courses. Successful completion of sophomore year leads to automatic transfer to the junior year of the senior colleges.

Graduates of CDDP high school programs whose achievement and prognosis are below competitive levels for liberal arts acceptance are accepted into two-year Associate in Arts or Sciences programs. (A number of other students have elected these courses, although eligible for and offered acceptance to liberal arts programs; these choices are usually based upon the student's desire and need for employment and income as soon as possible.) The graduates of many of these two-year career programs are in high demand in industry and a significant portion of these technical graduates ultimately earn a baccalaureate degree.

Each year the Program has a small number of students who at the end of the twelfth grade do not seem ready to compete successfully in college: for such students the initial selection process may have erred in that they may not, in fact, possess the necessary intellectual potential. Or, it may be that the three-year high school process was not adequate to develop their own ability to use their talents. Such students (25 in 1968) were offered placement in the College Adapter Course of the Urban Skills Centers (conducted by the City University of New York and for New York State Education Department). Of the 25 so placed in 1968, all except four have now entered degree programs.

The institutions which sponsor the College Discovery and Development Program believe that it provides opportunity to deserving students, and that it is achieving its goals by serving them well, without sacrifice of legitimate academic standards. We would add that this is equally true of the five high schools which have, under frequently difficult conditions, developed and maintained the five College Discovery and Development Centers; the students have followed the normal academic curriculum required for the New York Academic Diploma. Perhaps this point should be emphasized since the purposes and procedures of the College Discovery and Development Program have occasionally been misinterpreted.*

Students in College Discovery and Development Program take the regular sequence of academic high school subjects; the scope, sequence, content and New York State Regents examinations in these subjects are those used in all New York high schools. Secondly, College Discovery and Development students, as a categorical group, do not have reading problems: their median ninth grade reading score on standardized achievement tests is 10.5; the anomaly of above grade reading scores and low subject matter grades is one of several means used to identify underachieving high potential students.

At the risk of redundancy it must be noted that the primary goal of CDDP is to identify ninth grade students whose potential is suitable for higher education but whose school records indicate achievement too low for college competition.

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*For detailed discussion of CDDP purposes see Daniel Tanner and Genaro Lachica. Discovering and Developing the College Potential of Disadvantage Youth. CUNY, New York. January 1967, pp. 1-15

The second purpose of CDDP is to improve the motivation of these students for school work. The Program's third goal is to develop academic achievement levels commensurate with the potential of each of its students in the regular academic high school program. The remaining goals of CDDP are the development of students' expectations for their own college entrance and improvement of their chances for college success.

Practices and Procedures in CDDP

To accomplish these goals the College Discovery and Development Program has instituted two general kinds of modifications. For discussion purposes, these can be categorized as organizational rearrangements and motivational manipulations, although in practice they are often too interdependent for separation.

Organizational Rearrangements

In each of five New York City high schools a College Discovery and Development Center has been established. This Center is planned as a "school within a school"; it is staffed by a Coordinator, two Guidance Counselors, and a secretary; by agreement with the principal of the high school and his department chairmen, special classes have been arranged for CDDP students and faculty assigned to these classes. The Coordinator and Counselors in each of the CDD Centers have considerable autonomy in some respects although this varies from Center to Center and in all cases they are members of the high school staff under the principal's jurisdiction. In general, however, a number of modified practices have been introduced into the Centers, utilizing the additional personnel and material resources provided under Title I of the Elementary and

Secondary Education Act.

In summary these include: small classes (15-20); double periods (in a student's difficult subjects); modified teaching practices and materials (but with "standard" course content requirements); tutoring, by paid college students; and intensive group and individual counselling (counselor-student ratio ± 1:115). The teachers of CDD classes are regularly licensed high school teachers; however, all are volunteers for these special classes.

The City University provides a staff of fifteen professors, each of whom is expert in a given curriculum field; these specialists are released part-time from college teaching for regularly scheduled "curriculum consultation" service to the high school faculty. On an individual basis these consultants encourage experimentation with atypical materials, learning activities and group instruction. They provide teachers with materials not ordinarily available through regular school channels. They provide information to teachers about teaching innovations which have been tried elsewhere; they often suggest adaptation or adoption of innovative practices from other settings; demonstrate techniques of diagnosing and meeting student needs. These consultants also participate in special Curriculum workshops with faculty groups several times each school year. The most important outcome to date has been extensive modification of teaching materials and practices, with considerable student success in learning, but without diminution of expectations for scope, sequence, content or standards of achievement.

Motivational Manipulations

If the students selected to participate in this program have, in fact, been of high potential and low achievement on intake, then a major aspect of the task of converting their failure to success might be expected to involve strengthening of their self confidence. An important aspect of this would seem to involve developing students' acceptance of their actual potential, rather than that implied by their previous achievement.

A number of the organizational modifications summarized above might well be expected to have such effects. It can be argued that these organizational changes improve the student's skills and increase his learning efficiency. To the degree that they actually do so, the student has a real basis for seeing himself more positively. It may be, as surmised by some, that improvement in self view is fundamental and a necessary prerequisite for improved academic functioning. Or, improvement in self concepts and increased learning productivity may alternately reinforce each other, in somewhat the same way as certain contrapuntal themes in Bach's music. The investigation of such relationships would seem to be fascinating and of great potential value to educators, counselors and therapists. But to the degree that organizational changes in the program demonstrate the CDD students competence to himself, they improve his chances for greater future success.

The program's organizational modifications provide motivational support for its students in another sense. It is clear to faculty and students alike that these special arrangements are expensive and

not generally available to all students. Their provision, and their availability to the CDD student, is interpreted as clear evidence that he <u>is</u> ... "a student with high potential whose school work, up to this point, does not adequately reflect that potential."* (First, his junior high school teacher, counselor and principal selected and referred him to the program. Second, the CUNY "professors" recommended him from among the applicants, many of whom were not accepted. Third, the high school accepted him from among those referred, some of whom were rejected. Finally, he finds these expensive "goodies" available to him in CDD although they are not available to the non-CDD students in his host high school; this large scale investment in his interest must represent real belief in his value by the professional staff of the program.)

Another motivational device in the College Discovery and Development Program has been a guarantee of admission to the City University. This guarantee is given to the CDDP student upon his acceptance at ninth grade level; it also reinforces the student's view that he must be important, special and valuable. For, in fact, other students do not receive such guarantee. (It is not for some time after enrollment and as a result of intensive guidance experience that the CDDP student comes to really understand and to accept that; there are a variety of programs in CUNY; there are differentials among these programs in socially ascribed value; admission requirements vary for these different programs; his own ultimate freshman acceptance will depend upon the level of his high

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*from CDDP recruiting letter to social agencies

school achievement.)

Halo Effects

It has been suggested by some that the interactional effects of these organizational modifications and motivational manipulations produce a "halo" effect which accounts for the observed reduction in anticipated dropout, the increased retention of students in academic (rather than vocational) programs and the increased proportion of high school diplomas and college acceptances earned.

It may be true that these positive results do reflect "halo": if so, it would be my own conclusion that we really ought to learn how to initiate, reinforce, and prolong such halos, especially for our kind of student. It might well be that real understanding of the composition, native strengths and directions of the forces that interact to produce such halos, could lead us to the ability to predict and perhaps to direct such halo phenomena.

If such competences were not, in fact, a good technology of instruction they might be an excellent interim substitute, while we search further for a better one.

Similarly, one or two sincere analysts have suggested that the positive results to date represent "Rosenthal" effects, the realization by students of the expectations their teachers hold for them. This too may be true. If so, however, our contention would be that this obligates us to find out how to develop and maintain such expectations by teachers. (If by so doing we might eradicate the fearful waste of human resources which the failure of our "disadvantaged" student represents and the consequences for our social system, we would gladly accept the intellectual consequences.)

Results of CDDP

To what extent has CDDP been able to achieve its purposes? Up to this time it has been able to recruit and identify five successive ninth grade populations of ± 500 per year*; four of these groups have been involved in the high school program, the fifth has now been selected for enrollment in tenth grade in September 1969. Analysis of data on the first four classes shows that it is indeed possible to select a population fairly homogeneous for:

1. poverty, (median income ± $17.90 per family member per week)
2. age, (median: 15 years, 3 months)
3. potential (median reading level 10.28 when in grade 9.8; low task 65th percentile)
4. achievement (9th grade average 75.61%, 9th grade failures, 35% failed one or more major subjects)
5. ethnicity (47% Black, 24% Puerto Rican, 2.3% Oriental. There has been no substantial variation in these ratios since 1965 although no ethnicity information is included in application, referral, or school record forms, or in selection processes. These numbers may represent the facts of urban life in New York at this time in educational history).

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*Class III was limited by funding problems to 300

It had been the opinion of the planners of this program in 1965 that without its intervention about 90% of such students would drop out of high school. This was based in part upon general experience in New York City but also upon application of a modified Life Chances Scale.* Our experience with Class I, enrolled in CDDP in the tenth grade in September 1965 is interesting in this regard.

In the Spring of 1965, CDDP invited 579 ninth graders to enroll in its five centers as Tenth grade students in Class I, September 1965. On October 1, 1965, Class I included 550 students thus enrolled. To date 146 of these students have left the program for all causes, with almost 50% of the dropouts lost through family mobility out of New York City. Of the 404 remaining Class I students, 355 completed high school essentially on schedule (328 in June 1968, 27 in August 1968 - 49 others were behind schedule and were graduated in January 1969). Of the 355 students who were graduated on time, 236 (or 66.5%) earned academic (college entrance) diplomas, 1 earned a commercial diploma and 118 earned the general diploma (the general diploma is awarded to students who passed and completed all courses but failed one or more New York State Regents examinations).

The post secondary educational activities of these Class I students who have completed high school are summarized in the table on the next page.

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*Robert A. Dentler and Lawrence J. Monroe. "The Family and Early Adolescent Conformity", Marriage and Family Living, XXIII. 3:241-47, August, 1961.

College Admissions of CDD I Graduates*

as of August 1968

Program	N	Per Cent of Graduated (base 335)	Per Cent of Original Population (base 550)
4 Year CUNY Liberal Arts	43	12.1	7.8
2 Year CUNY Transfer	81	23.0	14.7
2 Year Career Program	48	13.5	8.7
2 Year Prong I	92	26.2	16.7
Urban Skills Centers	16	4.3	2.9
State University of New York	25	7.0	4.6
Private Colleges or Universities	47	13.2	8.6
Other	3	0.7	0.6
All Programs	355	100.0	64.6

*Lawrence Brody, Beatrice Harris, and Genaro Lachica, Discovering and Developing the College Potential of Disadvantaged High School Youth: A Report of the Third Year of a Longitudinal Study on the College Discovery and Development Program, Office of Research and Evaluation, City University of New York, in press.

The students in Class II who entered the tenth grade in CDDP in September 1966 are now completing the twelfth grade. As far as can be seen at present, their record of graduating, diplomas earned and college acceptances will not differ appreciably from that of Class I.

It appears that the opportunities for scholarship and other financial aids are somewhat better for Class II than was true last year. This does not seem to us, however, to reflect higher academic competence or achievement for this second group. It seems instead to reflect increased resources made available in colleges outside City University. We hope that as many of our graduates as possible will be able to study outside New York City; there are great opportunities for student discovery of a whole non-New York world with tremendous personal meanings to each of our students. But as realists, we will continue to make available and to hold until the last needed moment, a freshman seat in the CUNY program most appropriate to each of our graduate's needs and level of competitive adequacy. And with it, we will waive fees and supply the minimal stipend necessary, to enable college study for our CDD students.

CDDP - Available Materials*

1. Daniel Tanner and Genaro Lachica, DISCOVERING AND DEVELOPING THE COLLEGE POTENTIAL OF DISADVANTAGED HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH, A Report of the First Year of a Longitudinal Study. (1967), 142 pp.

2. Lawrence Brody, Beatrice Harris, Genaro Lachica, DISCOVERING AND DEVELOPING THE COLLEGE POTENTIAL OF DISADVANTAGED HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH, A Report of the Second Year of a Longitudinal Study. (1968), 185 pp.

3. Lawrence Brody, Beatrice Harris, Genaro Lachica, DISCOVERING AND DEVELOPING THE COLLEGE POTENTIAL OF DISADVANTAGED HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH, A Report of the Third Year of a Longitudinal Study. (1969), 134 pp.

4. A.J. Harris, Lawrence Brody, A BRIEF INTERIM REPORT ON THE COLLEGE DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (College Discovery, Prong II). (1966), 7 pp.

5. Lawrence Brody, Beatrice Harris, A BRIEF PROGRESS REPORT ON THE COLLEGE DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (College Discovery, Prong II). (December 1967), 9 pp.

6. Dr. Genaro Marin, THE IMPLEMENTATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF A GROUP COUNSELING APPROACH WITH CDD STUDENTS. (June 1968), 22 pp.

7. Lawrence Brody, Genaro Marin, WHY DO TEENAGERS GO TO COLLEGE? (July 1968), 19 pp.

8. Thurlow R. Wilson, Lawrence T. Alexander, Lawrence Brody, COMPRESSED SURVEY FEEDBACK AS A METHOD FOR CONDUCTING AN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. (Jan. 1968), 67 pp. plus appendices.

9. G. Marin, THE COUNSELING PROCESS: A SHARED COMMITMENT. (1967).

10. G. Marin, THE SELF-IMAGE OF THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED. (1967).

11. C. Steinhoff, IMPACT OF RESEARCH FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS IN URBAN SCHOOL DISTRICTS: A CASE STUDY. (1968), 10 pp.

12. Florence B. Freedman, Ruth R. Adams, THE THEMES THEY CHOSE: DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS TAKE A COMPOSITION TEST. (1969), 67 pp. plus appendices.

13. Ruth R. Adams, Lawrence Brody, AN EVALUATION OF THE WRITTEN COMPOSITION OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN FIVE COLLEGE DISCOVERY CENTERS IN NEW YORK CITY. (April 1968), 16 pp.

14. Lawrence Brody, "Who Is The Disadvantaged Child?", in Pathways in Child Guidance, Vol. IX, #2-4, June 67, Bureau of Child Guidance, Board of Education of the City of New York, pp. 1, 3-4, 11-14.

* Numbers 1-13 are Research Reports of the Office of Research and Evaluation, Division of Teacher Education, City University of New York.