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ABSTRACT

This report describes the two and one-half year history of the College Readiness Program (CRP) at the College of San Mateo in California. The program aimed at increasing the number of Third World students in the College and insuring that, once admitted, these students would be given necessary financial, emotional and academic backing to succeed within the College. The crisis for CRP began with a cutback in federal fund allocations to the State of California and the removal of two CRP staff leaders. The administration's refusal to grant the CRP students' demands -- the reinstallment of the staff members, increase in financial aid, and institution of a Third World Program -- was followed by a series of violent incidents, closing of the campus and its reopening with "full police protection." The faculty disclaimed support for the CRP, and although they liberalized grading and made special efforts to help students catch up, attrition rose to 55 per cent by Spring of 1969. (KG)

The Study of
Collegiate Compensatory Programs
For Minority Group Youth

# THE COLLEGE READINESS PROGRAM

## A Program for Third World Students at the College of San Mateo, California

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November 1969

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# The College Readiness Program: A Program for Third World Students at the College of San Mateo, California

In its heyday between 1966 and 1968, the College Readiness Program received the acclamation of being the finest program for students of color anywhere in the country. Through its active recruitment efforts, the minority enrollment on campus had jumped from 80 to nearly 800 within a two-and-a-half year period; counseling, tutoring, and a strong Program Center had reduced the dropout rate among "risk" students from 90 to 15 percent; leadership as well as student effort had created a sense of loyalty and a degree of morale rarely achieved in any facet of academic life. Yet, by the end of the fall 1968 semester, police had been called on campus, the directors of the College Readiness Program had been removed from their posts, and over half of the minority students in the Program had either been expelled or had themselves withdrawn from the college.

While it is impossible in any historical account to vouch for information gathered after the event, the many participants and observers in the San Mateo story tend to contradict each other less than simply to see what happened from different vantage points and thus give their attention and approval or disapproval to different issues. Community members, trustees, administration, faculty and students both in and outside the Program acknowledge its dramatic if frightening success, the inability of the college to incorporate it into the mainstream of academic life, the tightening of financial and political controls, and the resulting dissolution of the project and its replacement by a more containable program of compensatory education.

## The Background

To understand what happened at the College of San Mateo, and what may happen in other junior colleges throughout the country as they attempt to provide programs for Third World students, it is necessary to place the college in the context of higher education, and in particular, of higher education in the State of California.

In the past twenty-five years, we in the United States have witnessed the dramatic growth of higher education. Education, and defense, have become the two most rapidly expanding industries in our

country. The Council of Economic Advisors notes that education spending has been increasing ten and a half percent a year for the last decade while the total economic growth has been less than four percent a year.[1] According to Clark Kerr, "The production, distribution, and consumption of 'knowledge' in all its forms is said to account for 29 percent of the gross national product. . .and knowledge production is growing at about twice the rate of the rest of the economy."[2]

From most viewpoints, this dramatic growth has been considered a positive element in our nation's history. Since universal education has traditionally been linked with the possibility of a democracy, the chance for increased higher education for a greater number of individuals has been regarded as an opportunity to train more citizens for playing a vital role in American life. However, this disproportionate growth has not merely been the result of an idealism on the part of those in power which seeks to involve more individuals in the nation's wealth and decision-making. Rather, it has been a product of a change-over in our economy from one requiring large numbers of untrained workers to one demanding proportionately fewer workers, many of whom must now have technical-scientific training. It is estimated that by 1970, ninety percent of all workers will have a high school education,[3] and a significant proportion will be in jobs requiring advanced training. Whether or not this increased education is merely the result of more complicated job tasks is open to argument. A strong case can be made for the position that increased educational requirements serve the more important function of keeping youth out of an ever-constricting labor market and that in many jobs employees with less training perform equally well or better than their colleagues with more education.[4] Be that as it may, American colleges, and especially junior colleges, have increasingly taken on the role, not only of providing the liberal arts background necessary for "free choice", but, subsidized by public taxes, of relieving corporations of the need to train their own labor force while absorbing surplus manpower.

California, having one of the most inclusive publicly-supported higher education systems, provides an excellent case study for the political and social ramifications of higher education's new role as a tax-supported training ground for entrance into political and economic life in the United States. Prior to 1959, California state colleges were supposedly prepared to accommodate any student in the top seventy percent of his graduating class; various campuses of the University of California were to accommodate the top 33 percent. However, financing for the state educational institutions was, and still is,

provided by a tax system in which business and industry bear only twenty percent of the burden while household units through property and sales tax bear eighty percent. As a result of this inability to tap the real sources of wealth in the state, 1959 found higher education in California suffering from a financial crisis. And, in the period between 1960 and 1975 full-time enrollment in the state institutions was expected to triple. In an attempt to solve the problem, the state legislators authorized the University of California Board of Regents and the State Board of Education to draw up a Master Plan for higher education. Under the direction of Clark Kerr, this group arrived at a plan which focused on eliminating "duplication of efforts" in the state colleges and the university. Unfortunately, however, this was done through quantitatively eliminating enrollments by raising academic standards in the four-year institutions and channeling those not qualified into two-year junior colleges to be financed chiefly by local rather than state taxes. (This, of course, meant an additional tax, decided on by the communities.) Admission to the University of California was now restricted to the top twelve percent of the high school graduating class, while admission to state colleges was narrowed to the top 33 percent. Junior colleges were theoretically open to any high school graduate or anyone over 18. Hence, the reputation that California's educational system was more inclusive than ever.[5] And the junior colleges did grow by leaps and bounds. However, the Master Plan was followed by a drop in minority enrollment on most public campuses. At San Francisco State, for example, which is in a city whose public schools are nearly seventy percent students of color, the implementation of the Master Plan was followed by a decline in black enrollment from 17 to 4 percent.

If a racial bias seems to be reflected in the Master Plan, a class bias is even more obvious. Shapiro and Barlow, in an article which reviews the relationship between education, on the one hand, and race and class, on the other, report:

> Nearly two thirds of the students in the junior colleges have parents whose yearly income is less than $10,000. For the state college, the figure is precisely one half. And for the University of California, two thirds of the students come from family income brackets of over $10,000 a year, and for a majority, the figure is closer to $12,000. But income brackets under $10,000 pay over half the state's taxes; at least half of these taxpayers are thirdworld, among them 3 1/2 million chicanos, 1 1/2 million blacks, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos,

> and American Indians. Yet the state spends twice as much money on the average university student as on the average state college student, and three times as much on the average state college student as on the average junior college student.[6]

Although junior colleges are supposed to specialize in lower division education and to be equipped with facilities for salvaging "late bloomers," the state colleges receive more money both for teaching salaries and total instructional expenditure in their own lower divisions. Faculty workload, salaries, and fringe benefits all show a clear differential between junior colleges, state colleges, and the state university. State colleges and universities have considerably more money for financial aid than do the junior colleges.

San Mateo County, an upper-middle-class suburban area about ten miles outside of San Francisco, has had a junior college since 1922 when one opened in the city of San Mateo to serve thirty-five students. The present site of the College of San Mateo on top of a hill overlooking the county and the nearby bay was secured in 1958, and through a $5.9 million bond issue the complex of spacious modern white one-story buildings surrounded by parking lots was completed in 1963 to accommodate 5,000 students. Since the advent of the Master Plan, an additional $12.8 million bond issue has been voted to provide two more junior college campuses in San Mateo County, each accommodating 8,000 students, and to expand the College of San Mateo to serve the same number. Because of a shortage of funds for completing the two campuses, a third bond was voted on last year, but this time turned down by the voters. (Some attribute this rejection to the community's resistance to supporting what they considered the growing activism on campus; others simply regard it as the logical result of over-taxation.)

Until 1966, when the College Readiness Program brought in a sudden influx of students of color from East Palo Alto and other nearby ghettos, the College of San Mateo served a maximum of 80 non-white students in any one year. Thus, even the large numbers of technical jobs available in the county were closed to non-whites, as were, of course, the more prestigious and highly trained occupations. Equally important during the recent years of high draft rates, while college attendance kept large numbers of white males out of the service, black and Mexican American males had no such sanctuary to protect them from military service.

## The College Readiness Program

Because the College Readiness Program was one of the earlier compensatory programs aimed at students of color, and because it sought to deviate even from those guidelines which had been established in the scattered projects already in existence, its leaders had little sense of the areas in which a program such as they envisioned would challenge the structure of the junior college, or how soon its goals would be considered threatening by the college administration. Seen from the viewpoint of more progressive members of the community, the story of the College Readiness Program is that of the struggle of a number of dedicated, dynamic personalities against a traditionalist system.

In the fall of 1965, the president of the College of San Mateo, Julio Bortolazzi, delivered an opening address in which he asked that the faculty work towards recruiting more students of color into the college. Out of 300 faculty members, Jean Wirth, an English teacher, was the only volunteer. Miss Wirth had just returned from a leave of absence after six years of teaching at the college. During her leave she had worked with Mills College girls who were practicing teaching in Oakland. Having seen the kinds of experiences which black students had in the school system had made her acutely aware that in most cases students had simply been turned off of formal education and so, of course, did not respond to the new "opportunities" provided by the junior colleges.

During the 1965-66 school year, Miss Wirth worked with a Stanford project aimed at raising the achievement of disadvantaged college students. Through this program she became acquainted with the residents of East Palo Alto, the "target" black community, and an area which logically might also have fed into the College of San Mateo. Concurrently, she established a tutorial program in her own office in the English Department for the eighty black students who were at the college. At the time almost all of these students were in non-academic programs.

The College Readiness Program, with enthusiastic support from President Bortolazzi and a boost of $10,000 from the trustees, was officially begun in the summer of 1966. Because the East Palo Alto community, where most of the recruiting was done, had long ago decided that the College of San Mateo was a "white" institution, it was not easy to recruit students. Young people were approached in high schools, on street corners, in pool halls, and any other place a prospect might be

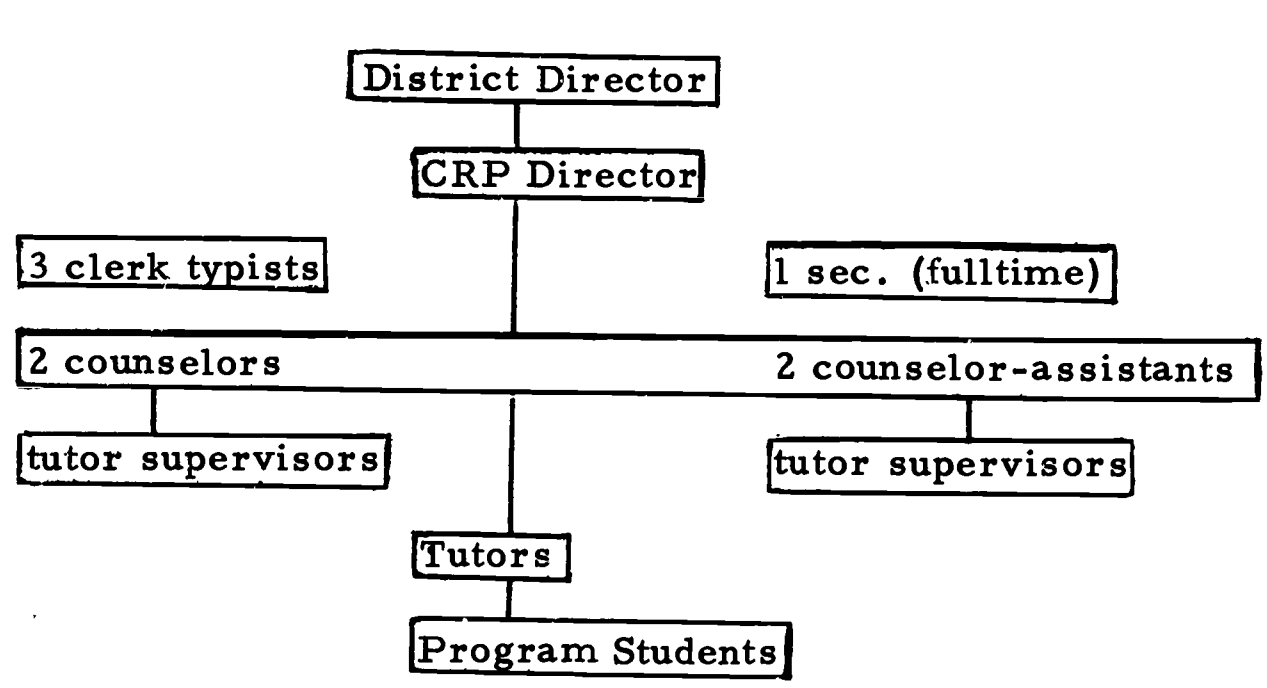
found. Out of 150 interviewees, 39 young people – all but three of whom were black – finally agreed to come. Qualifications for admission into the program were unique: the candidate had to 1) be a person of color; 2) be poor; 3) have a high school grade average below C; 4) test badly; and 5) say in the first interview that he was not interested in going to college! The point of these qualifications was to reach those people who were always passed up in the traditional "compensatory education" programs, at times because they were considered "too high a risk," at other times because they lived beyond the vision of recruitment officers. As one might predict, most of these students had police records, and most were unemployed (and thus found the work-study pay of $1.50 an hour which the Program offered an adequately attractive incentive), although few expected to receive more than a summer's pay or a weird experience from the project.

It was the conviction of those organizing the program that the success of the students in it would depend on intensive personal relationships and an environment accepting of their past and present ways of living. The heart of the Program was the CRP Center, where Program students got together and relaxed from the tensions of acting "right" (or white) in the regular college classes. The Center was decorated by the students and contained posters of such men as Malcolm X, and Mao Tse-tung; listings of community activities were continually posted as were news items and activities involving Program students and their community. Inside the Center, students were encouraged to iron out complaints against teachers, administrators, or other officials; hold political discussions questioning any and all assumptions about the existing order of society; and, in general, work out their hostilities against the white, established world. Some have described the College Readiness Program as a "halfway house." This is apt in the sense that, while students were expected to conform to the behavior expected of them while on the college campus, inside the Center they were encouraged to live freely and express their preferred tastes and habits. However, the term also leads to the misconception that the world of the college was considered as an ideal, and "health" the total adjustment to it.

Educators speak glibly of raising the self-esteem of people of color. The College Readiness Program did not articulate this as a goal, since even the articulation of such a goal tends to imply condescension. Rather, students were considered – and consider themselves – worthwhile human beings who had been deprived of some of the necessary skills and deserved opportunities. The fact that a CRP student might only read at a fifth-grade level was not seen as a reason for limiting his educational or occupational goals; it was only viewed as a cause for acknowledging that hard work would have to follow.

From the start, Program students were given control over almost all phases of the College Readiness Program. This included recruitment, student and faculty selection, and retention, tutoring, counseling and general program policy-making.

Perhaps the only "non-negotiable" structure of the Program was the system of classes and tutoring which Program students had to follow for one semester, or until their grades reached a C average. Each student was given a tutor; there were two students per tutor. This ratio changed only once, during the second summer when the ratio was one-to-one. Beginning with the second year, tutors were divided into groups under the direction of tutor-supervisors, who in turn were responsible to counselors. Counselors assisted students in program planning, budgeting, and any of the many other problems which they might encounter. During the first summer a large proportion of the tutors and counselors were white activist students from the College of San Mateo, but this changed in successive semesters as CRP black and brown students moved up into these positions. As of the fall of 1968, the structure of the College Readiness Program looked as follows:




Each day during the summer, Program students attended one-and-a-half hours of a three-point academic course of their choosing (usually a subject in one of the social sciences, such as history, sociology, psychology or philosophy), a one-hour English class, one hour of counseling, an hour lunch break, and in the afternoon three hours of work for work study. After returning home at six for an hour dinner break, they were picked up again for three hours of tutoring.

Transportation to the College of San Mateo was a major problem. Most regular students, whether they live in the county or elsewhere, have their own cars. Public transportation to the college from East Palo Alto costs one dollar a day, takes more than an hour each way, and is extremely irregular. Thus, in order to make college attendance a viable alternative, a special bus had to be chartered to pick up Program students in East Palo Alto and surrounding neighborhoods and drive them to the college, returning them home again in the evening. For the first week of the summer 1966 program's existence, whenever a student had been negligent about meeting the bus in the morning, tutors went out in cars to pick them up. Once enrolled students realized they would end up at the college in any case, they made the buses and attendance was excellent throughout the summer. Although transportation is still not optimal, it continues to be taken care of through this daily bus system.

Before the summer session, and again before each of the following semesters, tutors and counselors were given a four-day in-training session at a retreat in the Napa Valley during which they were taught tutorial skills and helped to gain a general receptivity to the cultures of those students they would teach. In addition, tutors met every Monday afternoon throughout the summer from 1-5 and for one full day each weekend. They were also given readings and asked to attend various community activities. The training was extensive and a great deal of effort was also expended in ensuring that the tutors knew and trusted each other and solidified as a group. Thus, cohesiveness was reinforced at all levels in the College Readiness Program.

In contrast to the predicted high dropout rate, 36 of the 39 students completed the summer project. In the fall 34 returned as regular college students, although they were still part of the College Readiness Program. More surprising even than this high rate of return is that almost all of these 34 students arrived at registration with one or more friends. By the end of registration it was clear that 150 students of color had bought the idea of the College Readiness Program and wanted to enter Junior College at San Mateo.

From the fall of 1966 to the fall of 1968, the College Readiness Program remained basically the same in its philosophy and goals, although at times its unexpected growth put strains on existing staff, decreased the number of staff meetings, and lowered counselor-student or tutor-student ratios. By the fall of 1967, the program had expanded to include 256 students receiving tutorial and counseling help, 87 tutors (some of whom were also receiving such assistance), and another 200 students who,

although not officially registered with the Program, were actively involved in CRP activities. An additional number of students of color had entered the College of San Mateo because of its new reputation of being receptive to them, but had not become involved in the College Readiness Program.[7]

This number had again increased significantly by the fall semester of 1968. At this time there were 400 students directly associated with the College Readiness Program and 298 indirectly associated with it. This included 395 students, 277 tutors, and 26 tutor supervisors. An additional 308 students, not registered at the college during the fall, had been enrolled in the Program at some time in the past.

Although the College Readiness Program had begun with a primarily black student body, it had expanded to serve a significant number of other students of color during the intervening two years. In the fall of 1968, 229 white students were in the Program, 90% of whom were serving as tutors. There were 85 brown students in the Program, most of whom were directly related to it. There were also 29 oriental students, half of whom were indirectly related to the Program, 8 American Indians, and 26 other non-white students in the College Readiness Program. However, black students numbered 302 and comprised 45% of all students in the Program; they also represented the largest proportion of students using program services on a drop-in basis and not assigned to counselors.

Sex and age ratios have remained approximately the same throughout the Program's duration. Of the fall 1968 enrollment, sixty percent were men and forty percent women. About four out of five students were single – the proportion being somewhat lower among students directly associated with the Program. Nearly 75 percent of all students associated with the Program were under 21 years of age. Financial assistance needs were most prevalent among the 200 students in the 21-or-older age group.

In the fall of 1967, a year and a half after the Program's inception, an "Intergroup Relations Specialist," Robert Hoover, was hired to spend part time counseling, part time in relations with the minority community, and part time as assistant to the president. The events leading up to Hoover's appointment illustrate the ambivalence of the president, the college administration, and trustees to the goals of the Program. Miss Wirth had asked from the start for an Afro-American to serve as

director of the Program, and her request had been supported by CRP students. The appointment of a white, middle-class woman must have seemed safer to college officials. The long-awaited decision to hire an Afro-American, when it came in the form of "Intergroup Relations Specialist," placed Robert Hoover second in title and pay to Miss Wirth. And even then, approval of Hoover, who had been endorsed by both Jean Wirth and Program students, was preceded by a request for a pool of 25 interviewees for the position, not an easy task but one which was rapidly fulfilled. However, despite the formal title, Hoover was unofficially considered the director by everyone in the College Readiness Program. When this position was finally made official in the fall of 1968, it was only because the new president, Dr. Ewigleben, wanted one person to be in charge; Hoover and Wirth would agree to a co-directorship but not to having only Miss Wirth in charge.

The background of Robert Hoover suggests all too easily that it was not lack of credentials nor extreme militance which had caused this reluctance to have him as head of the College Readiness Program. Hoover had received his degree from Pennsylvania State University and his teaching credentials from San Jose State College. At the time of his appointment to the College of San Mateo, Hoover was a trustee of the Ravenswood Elementary School District of Menlo Park and East Palo Alto and principal of the East Palo Alto Day School, a community-organized school which was providing supplementary elementary and secondary education on Wednesday evenings and Saturday mornings to students in the community. If Hoover was considered a threat by the College of San Mateo, he was viewed as a man of reason in his own community. One of his main reasons for even coming to the College of San Mateo was to help to educate his own people for leadership in their communities. Hoover was set on reversing the traditional route of black B.A.'s and Ph.D.'s out of their community.

To combat this outward flow of talent and resources, Hoover felt that it was essential to keep students in constant touch with their neighborhoods all the time they attended college. One of the more notable projects established under Robert Hoover while he was director of the College Readiness Program was one called the "Teen Project." This project ran in both the summer of 1967 and the summer of 1968 and consisted of a scheme whereby thirty College Readiness students tutored three hundred and fifty East Palo Alto high school students in the morning, who, in turn, taught preschoolers in the afternoon.

Program students were also kept active in community issues. Their role as recruiters for the College Readiness Program gave them the additional link with high school age youth. Thus attendance at the College of San Mateo became for CRP students a well-integrated life of standard academic instruction, special cultural orientation programs, and community work. It was this combination which made the Program increasingly successful, from one point of view, but which seems to have made it frightening to the college and helped to make its position increasingly tenuous on campus.

## The Academic Success of CRP Students

Projects such as the College Readiness Program have by definition two goals: 1) to increase the number of Third World students in the college, and 2) to ensure that, once admitted, these students will be given the necessary financial, emotional, and academic backing to succeed within the general framework of the college. While compensatory education programs have recently helped to highlight the need for changes in curriculum throughout the university, including a breakdown of the walls between the university and the surrounding community, most programs have run on the assumption that except for remedial courses their students would have to accept and succeed in the standard college curriculum. In fact, students have generally been wary of receiving non-standard curricula, and in such projects as SEEK, the lack of regular college credits for classes attended has led to protest by students. At the College of San Mateo, with the exception of reading labs and a number of "non-transferable" English courses used also by many non-academic students (and generally shunned by CRP students) the school did not offer any compensatory courses for this new group of students. Thus, though one may evaluate the Program using perhaps even more significant criteria such as increased political and social awareness or the development of the self, a review of the number of students who remained in the college and the grades they received is a good indicator of their success as judged by the more traditional college standards.

Although most educators within and outside the college have been openly enthusiastic about the academic achievement of CRP students, only one comprehensive study exists which documents college achievement by Program students. Completed in the fall of 1968 by Frank Pearce, Director of Research and the present Dean of Instruction at the College

of San Mateo, the study covers the period of summer 1966 through the fall of 1967. The investigation was updated in greatly abbreviated form in December, 1968 to include the 1967-68 year; wherever possible, this more recent data is also included in the following summary. It should be kept in mind that the trend of the Program's results was upward, and that none of the data reported below takes into account the summer of 1968, or fall 1968 of the Program.

According to Pearce, by the fall 1967 semester, there had been a total of 256 students in the College Readiness Program, of whom 35 percent were no longer attending the day school at the time. Of those students who had withdrawn, fifteen had completed 60 credits (received the A.A. degree) or transferred to a four-year college, sixteen were attending the night school and so were no longer regular participants in the College Readiness Program, which consisted largely of day-time activities, and only 59 students or 23 percent of the total had dropped out of the Program and the college without having come to a normal academic termination. This percentage of actual dropouts is in sharp contrast to a rate of nearly ninety percent among non-white students before the onset of the Program[8] and an attrition rate of 75 percent among low achieving students in most junior colleges in California[9] and an (unofficial) attrition rate of 50 percent among regular students at the College of San Mateo.

Extensive case histories were kept of all CRP students, and a review of them indicates that even this attrition rate does not reflect academic difficulties of the students. Out of the 59 (i.e. 23 percent) who can be considered "dropouts," over one fourth left to go to work because of serious financial problems, nearly a fifth left because of "family problems" or "personal difficulties," eight percent were called into the armed forces, and 20 percent or only 15 students gave academic difficulties as their reasons for leaving. (The reasons for withdrawal of the remainder are not known). Pearce notes in his report that ". . .it would appear that the withdrawal rate could be reduced 23 to 17 percent simply by increasing the financial support for students."[10]

The College Readiness Program has made a point of seeking out those students who have been excluded from most college programs because of the exitless tunnel of the tracking system. Although under the directorship of Hoover and Wirth it was antithetical to the philosophy of the Program to select students on the basis of proven academic capabilities, Pearce looked at high school grades and standardized test scores to see if, ex post facto, these traditional indicators could be said to have

any predictive value in determining which students would do well in the college. A review of the SCAT scores of the 256 students showed that approximately three-fourths had scored at or below the 25th percentile, and that their quantitative subtest scores tended to be higher than quantitative ones. Ten percent of the Program students scored in the 50th percentile or above on the SCAT. However, the Standard Deviation on the total SCAT for College Readiness students was 21.1, as compared with 12.1 for all College of San Mateo students. Pearce concludes that "the variance is so great that the reliability of the SCAT for Program students is practically non-existent."

Of the 87 tutors who had been part of the Program and were drawn largely from the same group of students, 57 percent made a total score at or above the 50th percentile, with 76 percent receiving at or above the 50th percentile on the verbal subtest and 39 percent making similar scores on the quantitative section.[12]

Comparing College Readiness students' SCAT scores with grade point averages in college, Pearce found that for those who scored at or above the 10th percentile on the SCAT verbal subtest, there was an 80 percent probability that they would earn less than a 2.0 grade point average. However, predictions were not made for other groups.[13]

Another common predictor of college achievement is high school grade averages. College Readiness students had earned a mean of 1.9 grade points on a 4-point scale in high school (some had not completed the full number of years); two-thirds had earned a high school GPA between 1.4 and 2.4. This is in comparison to a mean of 2.4 among those CRP students who had become tutors, and a similar mean grade point average among College of San Mateo students not in the Program. The cumulative grade-point average for College Readiness students at the College of San Mateo in 1967 was 1.6, measured on a 4-point system. The mean GPA for student tutors was 2.3.[14] In the fall of 1968 the median for CRP students was 1.99 and for tutors 2.44.[15]

A comparison of high school and college grades of Program students in the fall of 1967 showed a low correlation coefficient of .36. Among students with a 1.0 to 1.9 high school GPA, approximately one-half maintained the same average in college, one-fourth dropped and one-fourth increased their GPA. Forty-two percent of the students who had maintained a C average or above in high school were able to do the same in college, and 29 percent of the students who had earned less than a C average were able to earn a C average or better in college.[16]

Again, however, high school GPA's were more predictive of tutors' college achievement than they were for other Program students. "Among tutors with 1.0 to 1.9 GPA, it was found that approximately one-third showed no increase, while two-thirds advanced one cumulative grade point. Two-thirds of the tutors with 2.0 to 2.9 high school grade point average maintained the same college GPA, while 16% went down one cumulative grade point and 16% went up one cumulative grade point."[17]

More Program students reached the minimum "acceptable" level of C or better in the fall 1967 semester than in the summer 1967 semester. However, this was accompanied by a drop in the "good to outstanding" levels of B or better.

> . . . the grades of program students during both summers were approximately one-third A and B grades, 40% C grades during the first summer and 23% C grades during the second summer, and about 15-20% of the grades were F and W. During the subsequent fall semester, the proportion of A and B grades decreased by one-half, and the C and D grades tended to remain constant, but the number of F and W grades declined substantially during the following spring semester. During the subsequent fall semester 1967, the proportion of D or better grades tended to remain constant, the F grades increased, and the number of W grades decreased somewhat.[18]

Because of the large number of English classes, the small enrollment per class, and the fact that 95 percent of the College Readiness students took one form of English or another, Pearce isolated the grades earned by Program students in the various English classes offered by the college. Students scoring below the 25th percentile on the verbal subtest of the SCAT were usually placed in English 50A (a remedial course entitled "Fundamentals of Reading and Writing"); those who scored between the 26th and the 50th percentile were generally placed in English A (a remedial course entitled "Preparatory Composition"); and those who scored between the 51st and 75th percentile were placed in either the non-credit English A or in 1A ("Reading and Composition," a course offering transferable credits); and those scoring above the 75th percentile were placed in English 1A.

In general, CRP students received fewer A and B grades than the proportion of A and B grades earned by all College of San Mateo students. However, "the differences between Program students and all students in the percentage of C grades for classes in English A and 50A were insignificant."[19] Students serving as tutors received much

higher English grades, irrespective of the classes they took. Fifteen percent had taken 50A, 49 percent English A, and 35 percent English 1A; combining grades received in these classes, approximately 70 percent of the tutors had received C grades or better in English.[20] Moreover, even tutors who scored in the low percentiles on the SCAT verbal subtest were as likely to receive an A grade as they were a B or C.[21] This may indicate the benefits to the tutors of having to instruct other students in English.

Until a special Reading Laboratory was organized in the summer of 1968 by two CRP-involved teachers, the regular Reading Laboratory was avoided by all but 20 percent of the CRP students. Of the small proportion taking the regular Reading Lab, results were insignificant in terms of total GPA earned. "The proportion of students who earned under 1.0 GPA and had taken the Reading Lab was three to ten times lower than the proportion of students who did not have the Reading Lab or failed to complete it." However, ". . .the Reading Laboratory experience clearly helps the student who is earning less than a 1.5 GPA to move closer to the 2.0 average, but the grade point averages of students who earned above 1.5 average cannot be clearly related to their participation in the Reading Laboratory."[22] Forty percent of those whose vocabulary and/or reading comprehension was less than an eighth grade level when they began the lab finished at the same level, and 60 percent advanced approximately one grade level.[23] Although there is no data on the results of the Program-organized Reading Laboratory, students were enthusiastic about it, claiming that they did learn how to read.

Pearce notes, as have others commenting on students in contemporary education programs, that CRP students tended to select social science majors. Almost all CRP students entered the liberal arts program. In 1967, less than three percent were in the vocational-technical areas, even if they had started there before entering the College Readiness Program. This percentage was slightly higher at the time of the December 1968 survey, however; at the time over six percent of the students had selected vocational-technical programs.[24]

This increase in the percentage of students entering non-academic programs, even though slight, indicates one of the main areas of tension surrounding the College Readiness Program. It may be that the few extra students choosing vocation-technical fields did so because of a clear sense of their abilities. On the other hand, there is a sense of increasing pressure from the college administration to channel College

Readiness students into these non-academic areas. Whether this is partially due to a levelling philosophy which views no one group as deserving "better" than the other, or whether it is due to real pressures from outside groups such as the State Board of Education, which in turn is responding to industry, is hard to say. Certainly, it is true that as the junior colleges now stand one of their main functions is to provide the training grounds for industry. And, despite the Master Plan's promise of unlimited access to higher education, junior colleges cannot afford to become totally academic institutions. While it would not seem disastrous to the American economy to allow 500 or so students of color in a single college to enter academic fields, and might, in fact, even help to keep the labor supply in check, there has been a growing tendency to channel CRP students away from academic programs at the College of San Mateo. Many students expect that in the future CRP students will be actively counselled to choose one of the many vocational-technical areas of study.

## Financial Resources and Financial Aid

Junior colleges in California, as elsewhere, operate under a tighter budget than any other state institution of higher education. The College of San Mateo, which maintains the highest salary schedule of any junior college in the state, had an operating cost of $13,401,409 (not including capital gains expenditures) in 1968. Approximately 12,000 day and evening students were served by 295 equivalent full-time day teachers and 368 evening college faculty. The annual cost per unit of average daily attendance for 1967-68, without transportation or financial aid, was estimated at $634.67. Most of the college's financial resources come from district-raised funds, which support not only the College of San Mateo but also Canada Junior College and the still unopened Skyline Junior College.

The College Readiness Program at San Mateo is considered one of the least expensive remedial programs for Third World students anywhere in the country. However, the cost of the Program has nearly doubled each year and has consistently gone over even increased budgets. Full-year budgets have been mainly for staff and for the district's share of work-study programs. In 1966-67, $10,000 was budgeted and $29,851 spent for the Program. In 1967-68, the cost of the College Readiness Program was $53,300, as opposed to a budget of $33,430. In 1968-69, the expenditure was $103,638; and the budget request for 1969-70 is

approximately $180,000. Budgets are based on a predicted cost of approximately $500 per Program student per year. Despite administrative resistance to the Program, administrative staff and trustees are adamant in stating that its operation has not been a financial drain on the college. This is because amounts over the budget seem to have been raised by the Program itself, and district sources have never had to be tapped.

Financial aid above and beyond work-study monies provided by the state comes through federal funds: National Defense Student Loans (NDSL), Federal Insured Student Loans (FISL), and Economic Opportunity Grants (EOG). Since EOG is a matching program, however, additional financial assistance is needed from the college's private resources.

In the summer of 1968, federal financial aid allocations in the state of California were cut by forty percent. When $150,000 of EOG matching monies were promised the College of San Mateo to be used for the 1968-69 academic year, CRP staff and students were anxious to start a fund-raising campaign. The trustees' delay in appointing a citizens' committee needed to seek private contributions — probably due partially to their desire not to have any fund-raising project compete with the bond issue needed for Cañada and Skyline Colleges, and perhaps partially to their general antipathy to the Program* — placed the financial aid resources of the college in serious trouble. By December of 1968, when a citizens' committee was finally appointed, some 500 students had received $352,451 in financial aid (an average of less than $700), but 130 had been turned away for lack of funds and another 500 had had to drop out of school altogether because of financial difficulties. This 500 was, of course, made up almost totally of Third World students directly counselled by or affiliated with the College Readiness Program.

One of the most pronounced areas of contention between college administration and Program members has been the financial aid office. Both CRP personnel and administration have been increasingly mistrustful and dissatisfied about the manner in which existing financial resources have been allocated and used. With the rapid growth of the

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*The official reason given by the trustees for their delay was that they first had to conduct an audit into why funds had been used up during the summer. However, the audit, once completed, revealed no "misfeasance or malfeasance". At the same time, several changes were suggested in the emergency loan fund, and in order to keep closer track of funds a proposal called for all CRP mail to go through the Dean of Student Personnel's office, "checks removed and mail forwarded."

College Readiness Program, the financial aid office had become understaffed in addition to being underfunded. During the past year, there have been three changeovers in financial aid officers, only the last of whom is a person of color. Interestingly, the present officer, the first non-white to hold this position, is a Mexican-American who was hired on a trial basis during the summer of 1968 to complete a tripartite directorship with Robert Hoover and Jean Wirth, and who was given the job of financial aid officer after he did not "work out" with the students. Each changeover in financial aid staff has been accompanied by the perennial question of where and how the money has gone, at the same time as College Readiness students have felt increasingly that their financial needs have not been met.

It should be remembered that CRP students come from low income families, most are not being supported by the families, and a number – both married and unmarried – have families of their own to maintain. Part or full-time work on the side is difficult to find. Not only is work scarce in surrounding communities, particularly for non-whites, but the college is isolated from commerical and industrial centers, with public transportation undependable and expensive. Thus work-study grants, which simultaneously require a full credit load of 12 1/2 units, scholarships and, to a lesser extent, loans, provide the only realistic means of enabling many of these students to attend college. The present financial aids officer estimates that as much as $2,400 may be needed to get one student through a year of college; this is in contrast to top assistance for white students, which has usually come to no more than $1,200.

Given these very real needs, it is still common opinion among the administration and trustees as well as the more conservative segment of the college community that College Readiness students have been out to drain the college's resources and have been quite adept at gaining far more than is their "rightful share." Unfortunately, this area of discussion is tinged with class values and racial prejudices which are fueled by a variety of situations. For example, in the past financial allotments were often given in the form of "emergency grants," which meant that a student could not expect a certain amount during the course of the academic year, but rather was left to his own resourcefulness in getting as much as possible out of the financial aid office. Under this system it is rumored that one or two students managed to accumulate as much as $5,000 in a year. This "emergency grants" system also helped to perpetuate the traditional generalization of the middle-class that low-income people cannot budget. The financial office staff spent much energy wondering how they might teach these students to use their money "wisely" so that they would not have to come continually for funds.

The Protestant Ethic also seems to have played an important part in the attitudes of the more conservative members of the college community toward the use of financial aid by Program students. A small number of black students had expensive cars, which, for those interested in finding fault, were parked conspicuously behind the CRP student center. It is said that a few students had been so blatant as to come openly to the financial aid officer for money for car payments. (It is an ironic truth that the College of San Mateo is surrounded by huge parking lots filled with all kinds of cars, from old Chevrolets to extravagant sports models, but, of course, these cars are not owned by "indigent" students.)

A discussion between the author and the president of the board of trustees of the college, Francis W. Pearson, revealed the following solution to the financial problems of College Readiness students. According to Mr. Pearson, who is an accountant, these students should attend the College of San Mateo for a few months, long enough to get vocational training. Then once they had a full-time job, if they still wanted to go to college for an academic degree, they could attend the night school. It was Mr. Pearson's contention, however, that academic and professional training were unrealistic expectations for these students. The unspoken correlate, one suspects, was that after a brief try at this fancy stuff they would realize where they belong.

Because of the obvious difficulties of the "emergency fund" system, and the assumption of the president and his colleagues that the most militant students were receiving the most financial aid, a new program of financial aids management has been instituted. According to the new system, all students needing financial aid and living away from home will receive $150 a month, while all students needing financial aid and living at home will receive $100 a month. While this system is more equitable from the disperser's point of view, it will probably result in serious difficulties among those receiving the funds. It is also questionable whether such a means of dispersing financial aid does not violate the individual "need" basis under which federal grants for financial assistance are supposed to be allocated.

## The College Readiness Program and the College

Before going on to an historical account of the particular events which led up to and were included in the dissolution of the original College Readiness Program, it should be useful to analyze the various sources of tension which existed between the Program and the College. One can attribute the violence on campus and the dissolution of the College Readiness Program as it was known to a number of causes, some structural, some economic, and some having to do with individual personalities. An examination of these causes is particularly interesting as it reveals that what may appear as "weak spots" in retrospect can also be sources of strength during a program's development. Generalizations and possible implications can be drawn from what happened at San Mateo and transferred to other college situations. Hopefully, they will be useful in preventing similar disasters.

1. For the College Readiness Program to have been what it was, it needed the loyalty and hard work of staff, students, and community members. Within the context of the college, however, three people can be said to have been the pivotal points in the Program: Jean Wirth, Robert Hoover, and Julio Bortolazzi. Jean Wirth acted as the "nutrient" of the Program; both before and after Hoover was made director, she gave the program a totality of her professional and personal self rarely found in academic circles. Her home was always open to students, a large proportion of her salary went to posting bail, paying legal fees, and paying for whatever else the students needed in order to stay in school. Robert Hoover brought to the Program an identifiable sense of purpose. Coming from their community, he linked students at each point to the goals and needs of their own people. President Bortolazzi provided the Program with a strong administrative backing. Although he was often ambivalent about the Program's goals, there was a sense of trust between him and Program individuals, and Robert Hoover and Jean Wirth felt that they could count on his support at crucial moments. With the dedication of these three extraordinarily strong individuals, the College Readiness Program maintained its dynamic growth despite apathy and even resistance on the part of more conservative members of the college and its community.

On the negative side, concentration of responsibility in the hands of these three people implied two possible sources of difficulty: 1) that without them at the helm the Program would probably not be able to continue, at least along the lines set by them; and 2) that significant individuals within the university and community were not as involved in the Program as they might have been with less dynamic leaders, and would therefore be less likely to offer support in times of need.

2. One important group not involved in the College Readiness Program was the faculty senate. Although the faculty at the College of San Mateo remained out of touch with CRP activities, this was not due to its being a group inactive in decision-making. Rather, faculty participation at the College is effected through a strict committee system organized along such divisions as the Committee on Instruction, the Committee on Personnel, etc. Because the College Readiness Program did not fit into the spheres of any of the existing faculty committees (and no move was made by the president or CRP staff to introduce it into any one committee), the Program functioned outside of these democratic channels. This had the result of giving the Program far more freedom than it might have had had it been accountable to a faculty committee. On the other hand, it also resulted in the alienation of CSM faculty from the operation of the Program.

With the exception of a half dozen faculty members who were involved in tutoring or other activities, and two members of the administration who were sympathetic to and remained in close contact with the Program, there was virtually no communication between the College Readiness Program and the college at large.

3. Orientations and values within the College Readiness Program were at times antithetical to those of the college at large. This can be seen most clearly through two issues: the type of course work chosen by CRP students, and the socio-political orientation of the Program. Because many Program students had suffered from the tracking system and had had their fill of trade and industrial courses, they were justifiably suspicious of any such training offered by the college. Common experience with hiring policies of such industries as the airline companies in the area had convinced students that even aeronautic training did not lead to open-ended jobs. Courses which led to no jobs were in machine shops, tool and dye-making and drafting. But even worse than this failure to lead to jobs, vocational-technical departments at the College of San Mateo had long been known for their resistance to training students of color. Most resistant to accepting non-white students were the health-related courses — dental assisting and the 2-year nursing programs. It was said that instructors didn't like the students' appearance or language. The entrance requirements were always prohibitive, and if a student qualified through IQ or grades, she was often eliminated for "having the wrong attitude." Thus, in a college in which large numbers of middle-class white students focused on vocational-technical training, low-income minority students avoided such courses, and threw their energies to subjects leading towards transfer to another college and a B.A. degree.

The socio-political orientation of the College Readiness Program apparently did not cause any overt difficulty with non-Program individuals in and around the college until the fall of 1968. However, as student demands, sit-ins, and a strike set these students apart as a source of disruption, the attitude toward them as "revolutionaries" was extended to the community work they had been doing. At this time, such phrases as "revolution or education" (a common phrase of the president) became prominent, and it was felt by the more conservative members of the college and surrounding communities that Program students, particularly because of their poorer academic backgrounds, should not dilute their energies through "community action."

4. The lack of financial resources has been a threat to the Program from its inception, although it did not cause a crisis until last fall. The cutback in federal financial aid allocations in the state of California, on the one hand, and the failure of the two bond elections, on the other, put funds for the College Readiness Program in competition with other priorities of the district. Moreover, defeat of the second bond issue was partially blamed on the College Readiness Program by such groups as the board of trustees, who felt that these students had both "actively campaigned against the second bond," (supposedly because they objected to the building priorities to be given the money) and had made passage of the bill next to impossible simply through the "activist" reputation which they had given the college. Home owners in San Mateo county are taxed at a rate of 35¢ on every $100 of their owned property. Understandably, most feel strained by this tax and are particularly resistant to the idea of paying taxes to support any group which might pose a threat to their social and financial security.

5. A problem which has probably influenced all others is that of culture conflict, or, from another point of view, racism. The first sign of difficulty appeared quite early in the Program's history. In the fall of 1966, the College Readiness Program had been given temporary headquarters in the bomb shelter under the administration building. While the CRP Center was thus centrally located on campus, it was also next to the offices of building and grounds personnel and had the character – with its lively posters and informal atmosphere – of being an intruder amidst the more serious business of atomic protection and maintenance. Moreover, building and grounds personnel had to walk through the Center to get to their offices, which provided a continuing source of tension for both groups.

Around exam time of the first semester this tension reached a crisis. One of the secretaries had been in the habit of talking loudly about her fear of being raped each time before she entered the Center on her way to her own office, after which, according to Program people, she would walk provocatively past the group of CRP staff and students and then lock herself in her office. When a visitor came to see her boss one day, she would not open the door, believing the knock to be that of a CRP student. Finally, a student made a lewd remark about what she was doing inside. Hearing this, the girl opened the door in outrage. In the next few days a petition was circulated among secretaries of all departments in the college asking for the removal of the Program. According to CRP staff, signatures of the secretaries were largely consonant with the overt or covert views of their bosses. Equally interesting, however, is the fact that secretaries – an occupational group which very rarely organizes even for increased salaries – had gotten together on the issue of the College Readiness Program.

The result of this petition was the immediate transfer of the CRP Center from the administration building to much better quarters in the Student Center. A large section of the cafeteria was walled off with two small offices created for the directors. However, the need for more space became clear later in the year when the Program had grown tremendously and there was hope of adding to the staff. In the fall of 1968, the Center was once again transferred, this time to the Horticulture Building on the outskirts of the campus. However, even here the Center and Program students were not entirely free from the critical eyes of the college, nor was their isolation conducive to the goal of integration verbalized by the college at a later period. There was much covert criticism of the decor, which was finally destroyed by policemen during their stay on campus. Student cars were watched with an eye to conspicuous consumption among black students. The view of the new president, Robert Ewigleben, that the Center was "hostile territory," is probably not unique to him, although he has never shown support for the Program. Considering that the Center had been relegated to this lonely outpost on campus and that a strong attempt had been made by participants to develop cohesiveness and dignity in the face of increasing adversity, this hostility may have existed – particularly in relation to official administrators. Most college students not involved in the Program as tutors, tutor-supervisors or counselors simply never entered the area. It was said that before the crisis few non-Program students knew more than that the College Readiness Program existed. This lack of communication between College Readiness and general students cannot be seen as due only to the Program's philosophy of developing a unity within itself.

Students at the College of San Mateo, like those in most junior colleges, have tended to be apolitical; few have used the college for more than the expediency of gaining their trade or the credits necessary for transfer to a four-year college.

It was these, and perhaps other less identifiable, tensions between the College Readiness Program and the College of San Mateo which put the Program on shaky ground when the new president assumed his duties in the fall of 1968. However, these tensions in themselves might never have led to a crisis if a number of other coincidences had not intervened.

## Dissolution and Reorganization

The events of the fall of 1968 can be briefly summarized as: 1) the presentation of demands by Program students, 2) failure by the administration to act on any of the demands, 3) a series of violences perpetrated by students on and off campus, 4) the closing of the campus followed by its reopening under "full police protection," 5) the "reassignment" of Robert Hoover and Jean Wirth to other duties, off campus, and 6) the general deterioration and dissolution of the College Readiness Program as it had existed for two and a half years. However, even these events occurred after a series of other unfortunate incidents had taken place.

The first marked change in the status of the College Readiness Program occurred with the changeover of the presidency at the onset of the school year. It is not clear to what extent President Julio Bortolazzi's acceptance of the post of District Superintendent and President of San Joaquin Delta Junior College was motivated by a simple desire for a new setting. Bortolazzi had been president of San Mateo for twelve years, a substantial period for a president to stay at any one college, and it has been said that he did not realize that the Program would not be able to continue without him. On the other hand, the choice of the new president (made by the trustees and ratified by the faculty), indicates that an extremely different kind of president may have been wanted. This leads one to wonder to what extent President Bortolazzi's resignation from the College of San Mateo was prompted by the changing climate of the college community.

Whether or not one can regard Bortolazzi's withdrawal from the college scene as merely an unfortunate coincidence, the new president brought to the office a distinctly new manner of dealing with situations both on and off campus. President Ewigleben himself describes Bortolazzi as "the last of a dying breed," and sees himself as a "democrat," responsive to those around him, and also able to delegate power. It is important to note that there are a number of similarities in the philosophy and behavior of President Ewigleben and other college presidents who have assumed posts during the last two years of student activism.

To College Readiness staff and students, one of the first signs of change was the difficulty they encountered in trying to see the new president. President Bortolazzi's door had always been open to faculty and students; President Ewigleben often could not be reached, and scheduled meetings between him and Program staff or students were delayed numerous times before they occurred. Equally discouraging to communication, it was felt that, once in the meeting, the president could not be pinned down on any issue. Whereas President Bortolazzi had often said "no" but then had changed his mind, President Ewigleben remained aloof from all discussion or commitment. (This difficulty in receiving a direct statement of a position from the president has apparently not been restricted to Program individuals, but has been experienced by other student groups on campus, as well as community organizations.)

The lack of communication between the new president and CRP participants was exacerbated by a political change which occurred at the same time as he assumed office. Because of the opening of the Canada campus and the prospective opening of Skyline College, a new position of San Mateo Junior College District Superintendent, separate from that of the college president, was created. This separation of the presidency from the office of superintendent put a new distance between the college and the board of trustees. More important, although a superintendent had been elected, he was not able to assume the new post until December. In the meantime the three college presidents maintained the position on a rotating basis. Thus a good deal of President Ewigleben's energies during the first weeks of his new office and the new school year were consumed by district-level activities and problems. Finally, the expansion of the San Mateo Junior College system was accomplished through the use of several College of San Mateo faculty and administration members who had been relatively supportive to the College Readiness Program. Their removal from the scene left disastrous breaks in the lines of communication from CRP members to administration and the board of trustees.

Amidst this dispersion of administrative leadership, the Program was suffering from a particularly serious crisis in staffing and funds. Four counselors had been requested to take care of the nearly 800 students now involved in the Program. These had been hired, but with the students' rejection of one of them (the man who became Financial Aids Director), and the president's refusal to replace him with someone more acceptable to them, two were left. Jean Wirth and Bob Hoover were given the task of helping with the counseling, training tutors, and teaching a course in guidance. In addition they had to run in-service training for faculty, meet daily with the administration on racial issues, give frequent talks in the community, and serve on a state-wide committee on the disadvantaged. Finally, while Hoover was to play a major role in the Urban Coalition, Miss Wirth was to make periodic trips to Washington and serve as consultant to other schools.

The cut in federal allocations to California meant drastic reductions in work-study payments and student loans. And the financial aids officer of the preceding year had been one of the College of San Mateo staff members to take a post in another college, so that CRP students were confronted by a new officer who knew little more than the fact that the college was short of funds. (Throughout the first months the trustees continued to delay appointing a Citizen's Committee to raise matching funds for the $150,000 from Washington.)

It was difficulties such as these which helped to give rise to the series of demands which Program students presented to the administration on October 11, 1968. And it was these same factors, centering largely around the changes in the lines of power in the San Mateo Junior College District, which continued to exacerbate tensions throughout the fall semester.

The most obvious additional impetus was the situation at San Francisco State. The two colleges lie some twenty miles apart, and there has been regular communication between Third World students in them since the beginning of the trouble at San Francisco State in 1967. The eleven demands presented at the College of San Mateo largely duplicate those presented at San Francisco. Although such a duplication can be attributed to similar pre-conditions equally well as to the simple fact of communication between students, the latter interpretation is the more popular among the large numbers of subscribers to the "conspiracy" or "outside agitator" theory.

Not surprisingly, College Readiness student demands centered around the three following issues: changes in the composition of the financial aids office and in the allocation of financial assistance; increased funds for tutors and counselors in the College Readiness Program; and a specific Third World curriculum open to Program as well as general students. These demands were reviewed by the administration as well as the faculty senate on October 16-18. However, despite senate recommendations to act on a number of the demands, nothing was done toward this end. Two months later, after the college had "blown up," the board of trustees emphasized to public sources that some of the demands would have involved infractions of state rules had they been met, others could not be met simply because of inadequate funds, while still others — such as the demand for a new area of studies — could not be decided on without approval from the State Board of Education. However, these objections were not expressed at the time.

The next overt move by the administration (backed by the board of trustees) was the suspension of Robert Hoover from his position as CRP director on November 1. The ostensible reason for this action was the fact that Hoover, in permitting an activist counselor to remain in the Program, had defied the order of the president, who had wanted the young man removed and had asked to be informed should this counselor "appear on campus." It should be remembered in this context that CRP guidelines gave Program staff and students total control over the hiring and firing of personnel. Moreover, the counselor was a volunteer, so that the hiring and firing was in no way part of the jurisdiction of the college. Hoover's response to the president had been that while he would not stand in the way of any action that the college might take, the counselor was serving the Program with dedication and that he could not remove him until Program members became dissatisfied with his services. The president's suspension of Hoover was rescinded three days later, largely due to a request by the governing council of the academic senate.

Relations between the administration, the trustees, and the College Readiness Program representatives continued to worsen throughout November as students dropped out because of the lack of financial aid. On November 28, someone set off a small bomb outside President Ewigleben's office, and a number of small fights broke out. Several students were suspended, a number expelled, and criminal charges brought against a few during the next weeks. The college existed in a state of high tension.

On December 11, the board of trustees ruled that out-of-district students would no longer be eligible for the College Readiness Program. This ruling in effect eliminated a group of Mexican-American students from San Francisco and oriental students from Oakland which the Program had planned to bring in. Funding for twenty native American students already recruited had been pretty much guaranteed from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other groups. The new ruling meant that these students could not come, no matter what funding was provided. No one in the College Readiness Program had known about there being such a proposal or that it would go before the Board. Since Program members considered recruitment of minority students one of the main goals of the College Readiness Program, and were attempting to increase the number of students of two poorly represented minority groups through the move, they felt that it was their right to be consulted on such changes. On the other hand, the trustees responded that decisions regarding geographical boundaries to be served by the college were not in the domain of students and that they had had no obligation to inform the College Readiness Program of the change.

On December 12, a strike was called in support of the still unmet eleven demands and to protest the president's suspension and expulsion of over thirty students of color during the preceding weeks of tension. On the 13th a rally was called at noon by a CRP student and leader of the Black Student Union. Over 1,000 College of San Mateo students attended this rally, which ended in 150 students marching through the campus, breaking a number of windows in select buildings and injuring eight students and four faculty members. (Although the march made its way through the entire campus, the only buildings where damage occurred were those housing the vocational-technical sciences. In the vocational-technical buildings, occupants attempted to stop the marchers by force, while in the other buildings faculty and students made way for them to pass peacefully through.)

Not surprisingly, it has been said by individuals of all attitudes that the violence on the campus was instigated by outside agitators, largely from San Francisco State, who came to the rally armed with metal pipes and wooden canes. Out of some 500 activists on campus during the rally, police reports identify only ten College of San Mateo students in the actual scenes of violence. However, the point seems almost irrelevant in the light of the reprisals taken. Within half an hour, police had been called on campus and the college was shut down for the day. On the following Monday when it reopened, it was under the occupation of 300 police officers. Moreover, both Jean Wirth and Robert Hoover

had been removed from their positions in the College Readiness Program and prohibited from entering the college campus. (Miss Wirth was later "reassigned" to a full-time job as an English teacher, which she refused. Hoover was given the job of Assistant District Planner of Minority Programs, a position which he recognized had only nominal power, but which he assumed for several months while waiting to enter his present post as full-time employee of Nairobe College.)

The occupation of the College of San Mateo by the police seems to have done more to destroy the College Readiness Program than any other type of "security" measure might have done. First, police established check points at the entrance to the college, and, although they did not bother white students, made searches of all cars carrying students of color. In this way, a number of arrests were made on the basis of old warrants which had never been served. Unpaid traffic violations, charges of possessing narcotics, or resisting arrests — these are part of the records of most young adults in urban ghettos, and the College of San Mateo had been aware of the arrest records of these students since the beginning of the College Readiness Program. However, on the recommendation of the CRP directors most students stayed away from campus. The fact that the remaining rooms of the Horticulture Building were given over for police headquarters, so that police were in and out of the Center all day, had also discouraged many from going to the college. In the next weeks the Dean of Student Services, a man with notable sympathy for the Program amidst an increasingly unsympathetic group of colleagues, was given the role of temporary director. But he maintained his directorship over only an occasional white tutor who came around to see what was happening. Without the leadership of Wirth and Hoover, morale was so low that it looked to all concerned as if there would never again be a College Readiness Program.

On the Friday before Christmas vacation, a general faculty convocation was called. At this meeting a motion was made and passed unanimously to the effect that the action taken by the president was necessary in view of the circumstances and that he was supported in his attempt to protect the campus. This motion was probably, at least in part, an emotional response to the three injured teachers attending the meeting and to the fourth who was still in the hospital with a scalp injury. But, despite unanimous support given to the president on the subject of police protection, the faculty stood divided in their attitudes toward the College Readiness Program. At most, a dozen faculty members had been involved in the Program in any manner during the two and a half years of its existence. Another 25-30 had been and continued to be sympathetic to its goals,

while an equal number were violently against it. Amidst jeering and shouting, motions to support the Program were made, amended and rejected. Eventually one was passed stating that the faculty "support College Readiness Students." Thus, by omission, faculty disclaimed any support for the goals of the Program or for its leaders.

Fortunately, feeling for the students alone was strong enough to bring about a general liberalization of academic standards in the next months. Already during Christmas vacation, a number of faculty members began to attempt to assist students in recouping the academic losses caused by their absence from school. Make-up lectures and laboratory sessions were organized and tutorial help given. Students were personally called by their teachers and urged to take finals. Finally, in January, the faculty senate voted that the traditional attendance regulation be set aside and that, whenever possible, students be given credit for work completed before the middle of December. The college also extended the deadline on withdrawals from a class, in the attempt to eliminate F's which CRP students might otherwise have received.

Despite this liberalization of grading, hundreds of College Readiness students did not complete the fall semester or register for the spring term. In April of 1969, there were 130 students in the Program, and only a small number of students of color in the college at large. After the initial wave of dropouts by students who could not attend college without financial aid, attrition among CRP students did not let up, but continued to increase throughout the semester, reaching approximately 55 percent by the end of the term. The most obvious reason for this mass dropout was the conviction among the students that the College Readiness Program was dead. They felt that the college's desire to eliminate the Program as they knew it was made evident through the removal of the two directors who had encompassed its ideals and gave it their charismatic leadership. The attrition was furthered by the presence of police on campus and by the legal charges brought against the most prominent CRP student leaders.

If one can accuse the College Readiness Program of having been a radicalizing experience for its participants, one must also understand the degree to which the College of San Mateo has acted as a radicalizing agent. The College Readiness Program was established as part of an institution of higher education, and its leaders worked actively to keep students in the system. At times they were quite conscious that movement in this direction meant giving a shake to the parent institution; and within the course of the two years they began to feel that too great a proportion

of their time was devoted toward educating the college, as opposed to their own students. However, it was the college, and not the Program leadership, which effectively removed students and staff from the confines of the established academic world. A number of CRP graduates are now active members of black student unions or brown student organizations on other campuses. But a still greater number, particularly among those students who had been in the Program less than a year, have retreated back into the uncontainable world of the ghetto where real revolutionaries are made. Having observed for themselves that a white college was not ready to accept them, they have moved one step further from believing in the ability of the United States to deliver the American dream.

## Epilogue

In the spring of 1969, Dr. Frank Pearce, author of the study of academic achievement among CRP students, presented a plan to the faculty for revising the College Readiness Program. Known as the Pearce Plan, its main thrust is the integration of the Program into the general college life of San Mateo. Tutorial help is to be given to students of <u>all</u> colors, irrespective of ethnic identity, and an effort will be made to recruit white students into the Program. There is to be greater emphasis on the vocational-technical fields of study. The ethnic component of the Program is to be redirected into a new Ethnic Studies Division, which will include courses in Afro-American, Mexican-American, and Oriental-American histories open to all students in the college. Whether this pacific plan can be achieved as outlined is questionable. Despite the removal or withdrawal of most activist students of color from the campus, it is unlikely that the college can retreat to a position which permits education only within the traditional framework. Probably much will depend on what happens in other colleges all over the country, and particularly on the degree of opposition to change encountered by students.

In the meantime, the idea of a college program directed toward the needs of Third World students is very much alive. During the police occupation and in the weeks following the "reassignment" of Wirth and Hoover, a number of community groups such as the East Palo Alto Mothers for Equal Opportunity, MAPA (The Mexican-American Political Association), the Mid-Peninsula Human Relations Commission, the Palo Alto-Stanford Democratic Club, and the Redwood Citizens Against Racism appeared at the college to protest the removal of Jean Wirth and Robert Hoover and to support the College Readiness Program. These groups, as groups, were

never acknowledged by the administration and apparently had little effect on policy-making. But they have continued to support Hoover and Wirth outside the college. In the last few months they have worked together with Wirth, Hoover, and a number of College Readiness students and ex-students in planning a private college based on the principles of autonomy and liberation for people of color. The college, to be known as Nairobe, will be situated in East Palo Alto. Because of a shortage of funds, classes will be held in empty churches, schoolrooms and storefronts, and volunteer teachers will be drawn largely from Stanford, San Francisco State, and other nearby universities. The community itself will provide a training ground as well as teachers for the new college.

Nairobe will be open to any student who demonstrates his interest in being trained for leadership in minority and/or poor communities. It will extend the idea of student participation from recruitment, student and faculty selection and retention, tutoring and counselling, to curriculum development and overall policy-making for the functioning of the college within the community it is to serve. Perhaps the most striking form of student participation at Nairobe will be their service on the board of trustees. The board will consist of one-third community members, one-third faculty, and one-third students. Each of these three groups will have equal representation of black, brown, and yellow members.

Such an enterprise runs high risks. There are the problems of finances, of accreditation, of administrative know-how. Those involved in the new college are well aware of these problems. And they are also aware of the difficulties which any project centered around ethnic minorities will encounter. But the vision which enabled the College Readiness Program to grow as it did has been reinvested in this new project. One might now question whether any organization run on the boldness and dedication of two or three individuals can long survive; on the other hand, one might equally well ask whether an organization without such leadership is even worth undertaking.

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## FOOTNOTES

1. John Rowntree and Margaret Rowntree, "Youth as Class: The Political Economy of Youth," Our Generation Magazine, Summer 1968.

2. Ibid.

3. Ernest H. Berg and Dayton Axtell, Programs for Disadvantaged Students in the California Community Colleges, Peralta Junior College District, 1968.

4. Ivar Berg, "Rich Man's Qualifications for Poor Man's Jobs," Transaction, 6 (March 1969), 45-50.

5. Bill Shapiro and Bill Barlow, "San Francisco State," Leviathan, 1 (1) (April 1969), 4-11.

6. Robert Sommerskill, Speech made while President at San Francisco State, 1967.

7. Shapiro and Barlow, Op. cit. 6.

8. These and the following statistics are drawn from two reports: Frank C. Pearce, "A Study of Academic Success of College Readiness Students at the College of San Mateo," Office of Research, San Mateo Junior College District, 1968; and Frank C. Pearce, "A Profile of Students in the College Readiness Program at the College of San Mateo," Office of Research, San Mateo Junior College District, 1968-69.

9. Berg and Axtell, Op. cit. p.33.

10. John E. Roueche, Salvage, Redirection, or Custody: Remedial Education in the Community Junior College, ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior College Information, American Association of Junior Colleges Monograph Series, 1968, p.2.

11. Pearce, Op. cit. 1968, p.8.

12. Ibid, pp. 10-11.

13. Ibid, p. 11.

14. Ibid, p. 15.

15. Ibid, p. 12.

16. Pearce, Op. cit. 1968-69, p. 7.

17. Pearce, Op. cit. 1968, p. 14.

18. Ibid, p. 15.

19. Ibid, p. 21.

20. Ibid, p. 24.

21. Ibid, p. 25.

22. Ibid, p. 26.

23. Ibid, p. 28.

24. Ibid, p. 28.

25. Pearce, Op. cit. 1968-69, p. 5.