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ABSTRACT

It was recognized during the early 1970's that colleges had a responsibility to the communities in which they existed and that more and more people who were not white, middle class, or 18 were demanding a college education. The career Opportunities Program (COP) was involved in getting colleges and universities to make several kinds of changes in their teacher education programs. One of the changes many institutions made was to establish open admissions or an admission policy in which students lacking normal prerequisites could be accepted on a probationary basis. On-site instruction was another innovation, with professors teaching courses in community schools. Many minority students and older students received bachelors degrees. Most COP students did unexpectedly well both academically and as teachers. Through this program, some teacher aides received degrees, while others received paraprofessional degrees and a concomitant rise in status. Conservative institutions, through association with COP, tended to become a little more progressive, while institutions which were already experimenting with socially relevant programs did so even more. (Descriptions are provided in this bulletin of changes at several of the institutions which were involved with COP.) (CD)

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THE UNLIKELY ALLIANCE: COP AND ACADEME

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THE UNLIKELY ALLIANCE: COP AND ACADEME

One of the beauties of COP is that it blends so comfortably into the environments in which its important work is done -- the school and community. It neither threatens nor poses serious problems for either. Much of COP's credibility, in fact, derives from its readiness to reinforce and to join in larger collective efforts to improve both. In the schools and communities, at least, COP is not unlike Joe Namath or McDonald's "quarter-pounder": criticize it at peril of being declared un-American.

Despite its apparent simplicity and contextual compatibility, COP has two built-in third-party interveners: the minority participant as college student, and the college as dispenser of necessary knowledge to and in the low-income community. The operative word is "college." In whatever guise it appears, it is an external force, technically of the COP project but always physically and often psychologically far removed from it. To many colleges, the questions relating to COP concerned whether to accept collaboration with the project and admit its assumedly "academically questionable" trainees. To the schools, participants, and Washington managers, by contrast, the college performs an important but essentially supporting function. Put another way, the role of the college is seen as more logistical than operational. If it were to become part of a COP team, most of the project-level reasoning went, the college would also have to dismount from a high horse and get into the trenches where the action is.

What is happening at COP's colleges and universities is probably measurable. A finite number of institutions are surely making quantifiable adjustments in tightly defined categories such as admissions policy, sheltered courses, on-site instruction, work-study arrangements, student teaching, credit for "life" or practical experience, and others. Studies in progress will be useful to planners of future COP-styled endeavors, and their findings will have significance throughout American teacher training.

Far less susceptible to methodological examination will be the effect of COP on the personality and purpose of its academic partners, the impact on the unquantifiable traits and characteristics of these institutions. Did they alter their attitudes toward their milieu? Do they have the same view of themselves that they held in 1970? Have they gained a new kind of public consciousness? What about sharing responsibility for the preparation of a community's teachers? Are they willing to maintain and expand the footholds gained by COP in the neighborhoods of the "under classes?" Will they turn well disposed ears to a community's pleas for expert help -- even when the community can't express itself very well and may not know what it needs?

Generalizations in these areas are perilous. There may be no permanent foundation on which to even attempt to construct credible criteria. Can even

the nominally measurable classifications really be tallied? Take the progressively inclined large state university that, with, say, a nudge from five years of Teacher Corps, a dynamic new dean, and a 10-year plan almost ready for inner-city teacher training, was on the verge of doing it all -- on-site instruction, open admissions, and the rest -- the day COP came along. What credit goes to COP? Or the tiny liberal arts college that COP helped to rescue from financial oblivion and which, without compunction, embraced the whole COP design. Even tougher perhaps, what about the tradition-laden "name" school -- there are a few in the COP chain -- that bestirred itself, against all instincts, to admit some COP people who were patently unqualified by its usual standards and expose them, with little help, to the institution's uncompromisingly rigorous standards?

The prototypical COP teacher training institution has yet to be designed. Its present manifestations include the old, oblivious, renamed normal school; the "state university branch campus at" as distinguished from the more established "university of," but it could also be the latter; a heavily supported community college or a tottering, impoverished one; a far out, swinging, competency-based college; a religious institution; a women's college; a men's college -- anything, in fact, but West Point, San Quentin, and Harvard. While it can be said that COP gravitated to the locally oriented, usually unpretentious institution with some sense of what it needed, there are exceptions, possibly totaling 49 percent of the whole, to this generalization.

With these manifold reservations, it is, nonetheless, not hyperbolic to call the colleges and universities COP's "sleepers." One of the highest priorities on USOE's agenda for the Education Professions Development Act was to loosen up the nation's determinedly conservative teacher training institutions. Many were, of course, superbly equipped and socially ready to meet the heavy demands of the early '70s, but all too many others were content to stand pat. In 1967, USOE commissioned the development of nine (later to become 10) elementary teacher training models. The commonalities were astonishing. In their separate styles, all reassessed the state of teacher training and, in their reports of 1969, found it attuned to an America that no longer existed. At best, even granting it many innate strengths, teacher education was, as one model put it, "in transition ... moving from well known past beliefs and practices to teacher preparation programs based on new concepts involving different educational approaches which are more consistent with social and educational change than previous, piecemeal efforts."

At no time did USOE anoint COP's universities as laboratories for the models, whose common content was emphasis on individualization, development of relevant competencies, increased guidance, far better management,

major curricular change, differentiated staff, among others. The thought probably never occurred. Besides, Teacher Corps, with most of its funds headed to the colleges, was willing and better situated to test the models, which it did for the next several years.

Installing teacher education models was far beyond COP's charge. The COP mandate and mind-set were light-years away. The schools and communities knew what they wanted, said COP, and sellers were available in abundance. Logical reasoning but slightly off the mark. In their understandable reverence for credentials and status, community members were shamefully unaware of the unresponsive content of teacher education. To their credit, they created a national ruckus when they found out what the once-respected colleges were feeding them. The schools were only slightly more sensitive. Principals who had received their degrees a generation earlier saw little cause to change what had gotten them by. School boards often didn't know the difference. With due respect, the intrinsic as opposed to paper credentials of new teachers could hardly have concerned them less.

The burden fell to the colleges and universities in the COP system. Their choices were clear: rely on and deviate little from tested practices, make appropriate adjustments to accommodate to the more egregious cases in a COP participant group, or regard the COP group as a collective human change agent within their institutions and respond in kind. To the everlasting credit of COP's universities, and to the COP directors associated with them, few appear to have adopted the first course. Some of those that did had already made important shifts in their "tested practices and values," and COP merely rode an advantageous tide. Most, it is probably safe to say, have displayed a willingness that may have surprised themselves, to test the uncharted waters of the aforementioned USOE models (without, in most instances, knowing that they were doing so) and, in so doing, to commit themselves to far-reaching and fundamental alterations in the ways they would train all kinds of teachers in the years ahead.

The brief accounts that follow spotlight some of the experiences encountered and attitudes developed at a reasonably typical cross-section of COP teacher training institutions. Several procedural practices emerge as the norm: some kind of open admissions policy where none or an unevenly applied one existed before COP; varying degress of on-site instruction; sheltered and core courses; and credit for on-the-job experience. Even these are difficult to assess, principally because of the frustration of determining the capacity of the institutions to do them. Beyond them, the going gets much rougher, for considerations of institutional and personal behavior and assessments as to their possible permanence become paramount. But the observer of the Career Opportunities Program cannot escape the judgment that these behaviors have undergone unexpectedly large change that will leave significant marks wherever COP has been.

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Cumulative Evidence at Purdue-Hammond

One summer day in 1970, Purdue University's Calumet campus at Hammond, Indiana, population 107,800, unconsciously and therefore unceremoniously passed a point of no return. Catering to the educational needs of 5,700 predominantly white, suburban, middle-class students, Purdue-Calumet-Hammond was a conservative commuter institution established in 1951 as one of Purdue's four campuses. Its 500-odd Black students were, in 1970, scattered throughout the departments of the university. Minority faculty representation was, described charitably, trivial; an uncharitable characterization would refer to tokenism. The education department, by no means the branch campus' largest, with approximately 15 percent of the student body enrolled, was then and, despite diminished employment opportunities, probably still is graduating about 120 new teachers a year. Admission standards were and are high, but passage into full student status via the community college route is an accepted practice.

In mid-1975, Purdue-Hammond is not quite the same place. It is better. One of the reasons is COP. Another, to give credit where it belongs, was the capacity of Purdue-Hammond to master and ride with prevailing socio-educational currents. These were changeable and not easily mastered, but Purdue-Hammond did what it had to do -- and willingly. The Career Opportunities Program has been an important catalyst.

The appearance of Black, older, often academically underprepared trainees from the neighboring Gary COP project on the doorstep of the Calumet campus jolted the institution. The top administrative level, which had recently embraced one Black and two Spanish-speaking deans, was receptive from the start; but the education faculty, at least in the project's infancy, was collectively, although not necessarily individually, skeptical of the ability of "nontraditional" students to master complex course materials and to perform creditably as university students and classroom teachers. As happened throughout the COP firmament, skepticism turned to admiration as the earnestness and application of the COP trainees overcame academic rustiness or inexperience.

No single academic characteristic or impact of Gary's 250 COP participants (95 percent Black, 3 percent Spanish-speaking, and 2 percent white) on Purdue-Hammond stands higher than any other. The COP effect is, rather, a cumulative, kind of conglomerate impact. To begin with, the group was extraordinarily large, even for a medium-sized university campus, and its members performed with distinction. Long before the project's scheduled termination, more than half had graduated, and the ultimate total is expected to exceed 165. Overall academic performance, a surprise to all but the participants, was above average with the by-now customary revelation that many are among the institution's

outstanding recent graduates. Predictably again, once-reserved faculty members were calling their experience with COP people "the most enriching" of their professional lives.

The COP effect on Purdue-Hammond is many-sided. The many "firsts" registered by or through COP (and Bennie May Collins, one of the nation's most respected COP directors) are a blend of administrative, academic, and attitudinal impacts that have collectively helped Purdue-Hammond to help itself. This, by most accounts, was a justifiably self-satisfied establishment the day before COP came. It had remarkably tough admissions policy and rigorous but largely inflexible course requirements and structures. Also, it levied surprisingly high tuition charges for a state university branch campus. And it had had only moderate experience with the crazy-quilt world of federal funding.

Some of Calumet's givens remain as they were, untouched by the outside world. But others have been shaken, redefined, or even reshaped. Together, in fact, they may constitute something like institutionalization or organizational renewal or whatever the current word is for changing things around. Supporting evidence is abundant.

Open enrollment, previously an unimplemented paper policy, has become institutional reality. Many of the COP participants were enrolled in the community college division (a spinoff from Purdue-Hammond's Department of General Studies), "remediated through supportive services," and permitted to transfer credits earned to the university proper. The policy now applies permanently to the larger, non-COP world, and the community college has thereby gotten itself into community affairs.

The Department of Education developed whole new courses. It combined and offered theory and methods from the first day of the COP trainees' academic experience, and, in an important departure from local practice, got faculty members into aides' classrooms as early as the first year. In less obvious ways, other important shifts occurred, even outside the department. One was the practice of breaking -- or at least bending -- rigid course requirements by adjusting internal content. An American history course, for example, thus respected stated content but weighted presentation to emphasize Black history. Similarly, despite the absence of titled courses in urban studies, regular offerings in sociology and psychology were redesigned to focus on urban issues.

Never noted for adherence to faddish norms, Purdue-Hammond nevertheless shattered several time-encrusted local traditions. To accommodate the COP aides, it adopted unconventional scheduling practices to the extent of combining the normal three-class-a-week cycle into single time blocks. It permitted COP to develop performance-based, one-credit workshops on such topics as assessing the child, food and nutrition, and transactional analysis. These are now available to all students and some have even become academic requirements. In a

pronounced departure from well established practice, Purdue-Hammond offered half of the COP course load at the site, and, whether the practice becomes permanent or not (legal technicalities may be inhibiting for a while), the habit is now ingrained. And student teaching, the COP-wide bugaboo, has undergone extensive change. As is the case with other enlightened, but initially reluctant, teacher training institutions, new ways of approaching this knotty issue have been developed. The Purdue-Hammond contribution, formulated with and for Gary COP, was to spread practice teaching out over several months and integrate it with course and classwork.

* * * *

Gannon on the Move

Before COP, Gannon College in Erie, Pennsylvania, was a middle-class Catholic men's college with an enrollment of around 2,000. It had a strong engineering department and required all students to take four semesters of theology. In 1975, Gannon is coeducational, has dropped all admission requirements, and is deeply committed to an urban education program. Along the way, it became a self-styled "open university," permitting and even encouraging students whose jobs kept them from class to register, pick up course materials, and return at the end of the semester for final examinations.

Did COP do this? The COP Erie and Gannon answer: "It sure helped. The college needed that final shove. COP provided it."

Some interesting facets of COP Erie:

--it never had more than 30 participants,
--the last 10 to enter the program were selected from 600 applicants (and were, therefore, among the smartest aides in the country), and,
--Gannon College had already gotten into the urban educational mainstream of the late 1960s with an Upward Bound project, a scholarship program for students from the embattled Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto in Brooklyn, and an outstanding evening program.

Cause and effect are not always as chronologically consistent as they were at Gannon. When COP arrived in 1970 with 20, then 10 more, mostly Black female participants, the college was becoming urban- and community-oriented. It had begun to develop an adult education program at the nearby prison. Relations with the school system were improving, but they had not yet become genuinely collaborative. Within the college, courses were still lecturehall exercises and, although Gannon was not yet 25 years old, its academic procedures were solidly and apparently firmly developed.

The COP "shove" was not immediately evident. There was racial confrontation in the air, and not all faculty members were sold on creating degree-holding teachers of low-income community members. Predictably, of course, it was the collective performance of the COP paraprofessionals that converted the nonbelievers and, some people from Erie believe, convinced Gannon to identify itself, fully and creatively, with the urban climate in which it existed.

Credit for Gannon's open admissions policy is freely given to COP. After one year, the college was sold on the potential of COP-type students, and the policy was adopted. The usual COP "practicum seminar" has been incorporated into the regular education curriculum. Student teaching became an integrated experience, performed as early as the second year and refined later in the COP participant's cycle. And for the first time, there are few barriers between school and college, a situation created through the applied efforts of the entire COP team. The ultimate evidence of Gannon's liberation: a COP participant commuted to Gannon throughout a 90-day prison sentence. If it didn't bother the prison, it didn't bother Gannon. And, to complete the short Erie COP story, there is, of course, a 4.0 grade point average-achiever. She is 50 years old.

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Going Native in Alaska

The only two universities in the state -- the University of Alaska and Alaska Methodist, which is scheduled to close in 1976, to be partially absorbed by its "competitor"* -- serve the nation's widely dispersed northernmost COP project, the combined COP-Teacher Corps enterprise known as the Alaska Rural Teacher Training Corps (ARTTC). Geography and logistics were such dominant factors in the creation of a federally funded teacher training enterprise in Alaska that two programs, Teacher Corps and COP, joined forces to create a single administrative unit. The combined project has revolutionized teacher training in Alaska.

The university goes to the participants (called interns, after the Teacher Corps' label), who are largely concentrated in 10 villages as distant as 1,500 miles from the Fairbanks campus. The usual COP model has been reversed; participants spend the bulk of their time in sorely needed academic work with but three hours or less spent daily in the village schools.

*It will, therefore, not be discussed beyond mention that it is responsive to COP's needs though it is small and does not feature teacher training.

Of 44 graduates of the program, 33 are Native American, either Eskimo or Indian, and 36 are teaching in Alaska's rural school system. The 32 undergraduates in the joint program in spring 1975 are working in 20 villages. First memorable statistic: the 44 ARTTC graduates represent one-fourth of all the Native American graduates of the University of Alaska at Fairbanks (the main campus) since 1930. Second memorable statistic: there were seven Native American teachers in all of Alaska in 1971, but 30 Native American ARTTC graduates entered the system in 1974 alone.

Together, ARTTC and the university developed a new, alternative interdisciplinary teacher education curriculum leading to a B.A. in cross-cultural education. Emphasizing Native American studies in an anthropological context, the program is field-based, with instruction offered by six highly qualified, specially hired faculty members who develop their own courses. The six were not hired, however, until they received the approval of local community representatives. The design has attracted state-level attention, and $2 million may be made available for it after ARTTC ends.

These are quantum leaps for the University of Alaska. They are political, sociological, and educational. They might have been made, at great cost, without ARTTC. But probably not. Their political impact, in particular, may prove to be immense. Teachers mean much to Alaskan society. Good ones are crucial. Excellent Eskimo or Indian ones are pure gold. The University of Alaska, with a pivotally important assist from ARTTC, is mining that gold.

* * * *

Pasadena City College: Trainer of Paraprofessionals

Large, established, and unpretentious, Pasadena City College has a 19,000-member student body which, to quote President Armen Sarafian, is "a cross-section of America, representing all ages, incomes, abilities, and ethnic groups." It is a pioneer in the two-year community college movement, having been established in 1924, long before two-year colleges were to become part of the national educational landscape. Like the others, it offers paraprofessional-level associate degrees in arts and sciences with such specialties as nursing, electronics, law enforcement, and business, among dozens of others. Although aspiring teachers of all ages have begun their college training there before moving on to four-year institutions, PCC had never devoted particular attention to education of paraprofessionals. Now it does.

The Pasadena COP project numbers 170 aides, of whom roughly 115 are Mexican-American teacher aides. The average age is over 40. Unlike most COP groups, many, possibly most, of the Pasadena contingent are not headed for four-year degrees and licensing as teachers. Like many in the Martinsburg, West

Virginia, project, for example, their interests are in becoming better teacher aides and improving their position in the schools. The project is distinctive in having identified itself with these purposes, and Pasadena City College helped to provide both the organizational impetus and academic content necessary to achieve them.

The regularization of paraprofessional-level preparation in Pasadena has been a two-stage process. Faced with the prospect of permanent second-class status in the schools, where they were often treated as menials or mother's helpers, the COP participants welcomed the opportunity for professional and self-improvement proferred by their COP college experience. They resented being left out of the processes of school governance, and their exclusion from such basic perquisites as the use of the teachers' lounges was galling to many. Most realized, though, that their lot was bound to remain static until they could achieve a respectable degree of professional integrity. This, they reasoned, required clearly defined job criteria which could be developed through a well formulated progression of training experiences.

Enter COP and Pasadena City College. Already closely tied to the theory and practice of paraprofessionalism in many fields, PCC welcomed COP as a vehicle through which it could put together a comprehensive effort for public school teacher aides. It created an "intermediate certificate" level attainable after 20 to 28 PCC credits, eight earned by on-site work and the remainder in class. It worked with COP and the Pasadena system to design and install a career ladder. Both to underline its commitment and because the actions made sense, PCC went several steps further, with an active campaign to recruit and register likely candidates off-campus, COP-generated site-based classes open to COP participants and community residents and anyone else interested in the subject, and extensive revisions of the outdated teacher aide curriculum. In the process, COP almost literally forced a new level of interdisciplinary cooperation on the college. Expanding far beyond the social science department, which had borne the brunt of instructional responsibility for teacher aides, COP quickly drafted the English, art, and communications departments into the new game and persuaded the language faculty to create a course in Spanish for non-Spanish-speaking COP aides. It was quickly oversubscribed. En route to these locally remarkable milestones, the COP director became a PCC lecturer and, to the surprise of no one involved, relations between school and college solidified. Each developed new respect for the other, and the working linkages that have been created are destined to last.

The COP Pasadena model, as it has evolved, is highly unusual. In probably no other project did so few participants -- possibly no more than 5 percent -- go on to four-year degrees. While not many may emulate Pasadena COP, its effects may have triggered important changes with national implications. And the two-year college, widely underrated throughout the COP network, demonstrated in Pasadena COP that it could run a credible program, and influence large systems. Far from least, it showed that it could help improve the state of educational paraprofessionalism.

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A New Deal at Pikeville

It would be neat to describe COP at Pikeville College, Pikeville, Kentucky, in one sentence: The COP coordinator became president of the college. The fact is an indisputable first. It may belong in the Guinness Book of Records. But the temptation to rest the case there must be resisted, for the Pikeville story deserves more than one outstanding sentence.

When COP began in 1970, Pikeville College was a quiet 71-year-old, church-affiliated (United Presbyterian) college in Kentucky's easternmost tip. With its 600 full-time and 200 part-time students, over half of them destined to teach in nearby schools, it was and is a significant social and economic force in the affairs of Pikeville (population 6,000) and the surrounding Pike County (population 70,000). The state's per capita income of $2,847 in 1969 was positively luxurious when placed next to Pikeville's $1,770. But the town and county had the moral toughness of its Appalachian setting, and the little college was not about to lower standards that had survived other rough times. At $1,000, its tuition was high for the area, and the year before Pikeville COP began, enrollment was limited to students graduating in the top 25 percent of their high school class. Then along came COP, a challenge to any higher education institution but a particularly stiff one to innocent Pikeville College.

By 1975, Pikeville COP's 200 participants have left their mark. Honorable but outdated traditions have been replaced by new, equally virtuous ones. The project put straight propositions to the community's only -- and therefore natural -- teacher training institution. After a gulp or two, the college decided to buy in. Once committed, it ran the whole race. And, in running it, Pikeville College simply came to accept as normal new ways of doing old things that only a few years earlier would have been unthinkable. And all of this happened in the early years of the project.

Items:

--A traditional teacher training program became an innovative one, complete with individually tailored programs, unconventional sequences, the beginnings of competency-based instruction, early classroom experience for trainees, and, possibly hardest to digest, credit for practical experience.
--The project got the state student teaching requirement waivered, and COP aides received one credit per semester for four years for the classroom work they were doing most of the day.
--The Pikeville faculty moved into the community, relating theory to practice by teaching on-site courses. Skeptical of the "new breed," they were gradually converted into believers by the

tenacity and competence of the paraprofessionals (for example, a mother of five, herself one of 21 children, registered a 4.0 grade point average).

With relatively minor trimming and shaping, these were the ideal stuff of which a COP college role was formed. But receptiveness varies among institutions. What may be a piece of cake to one is indigestible hardtack to another. It is hard to imagine Pikeville College as it was before COP, and this is not pejorative. Whether it was willing or ready for what has ensued there between 1970 and 1975, it has made a careful decision, based on weighty evidence, to stick with it. The result is a heavy commitment to new clients, new forms, and, without compromising its bedrock virtue and good academic reputation, new educational values. The ripples may be felt far beyond Pike County.

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Brigham Young Measures Up

To spend a day at Brigham Young University in Blanding, Utah, in the mid-1970s is to be transported to another era: a time when students were forbidden to smoke, drink, or dance; dress and hair codes were only slightly less restrictive than those of West Point; and moral values were uncompromising and deeply religious. On the surface, and presumably far beneath it as well, these were the qualities demanded by the Church of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons) of their showpiece, 35,000-student university near Provo, Utah.

There is no reason to believe that the Mormon elders, many of them in their 80s and 90s, have been less than pleased with what has happened at this 100-year-old institution. It is academically sound, a solid establishment with 13 colleges, a law school on the horizon, and a good to excellent across-the-board rating. The physical plant is handsome and richly endowed. The student elite is drawn from a large corps of believers who, as missionaries, have already spread the Mormon word around the world. If the university does not attract large numbers of minorities, especially Blacks, whose prospects for advancement within the church are explicitly circumscribed, it does display far more openness than it did, and it has long been sympathetic to the plight of the American Indian. And that is a safe cause, one unlikely to create important ripples in higher church councils.

Why COP at Brigham Young? "Why not?" asked the hierarchy of the College of Education. The result: a strong, creative university role in a 120-participant project (80 Indian, two Spanish-speaking, the rest "majority" whites) with unique needs and insistent demands. Impact on the institution:

probably heavy where COP's 120 circulated; insignificant but understandably so elsewhere in one of the country's largest private universities.

A few pieces of factual evidence:

--relaxed admissions criteria for COP trainees and, when occasion demands, presumably for similar others,
--introduction of Indian history and linguistics, both featured in the COP sequence, into regular university curricula,
--credit for off-campus courses,
--an on-site teaching arrangement in which university faculty and five school staff members take COP classes on alternate weeks,
--student teaching credit for regular aide-level classroom work observed by university supervisors for eight weeks, and
--development of an ingenious field-based graduate program, generated by some of COP's first 20 graduates, in guidance and counseling or administration.

The list could continue. What these exhibits show is that COP's universities do not just span the gamut of American higher education; they undertake serious, often new commitments. Brigham Young doubtlessly welcomed COP's federal money even though its 3,000-student College of Education could presumably have lived unto its prosperous Mormon eternity without it. Like so many others on the COP circuit, it saw COP as an opportunity to expand professional horizons, render services, and demonstrate a practical willingness to examine its entrenched ways of doing things.

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Some Urban Selections

At their best, the teacher training institutions in the COP orbit have used the experience to examine whether and how to reorient their own purposes and life-styles. At their worst, they have given COP exactly what it paid for: academic instruction for teacher aides aspiring to become licensed teachers. Those who took the full plunge may never again train teachers as they did in 1969. Others, including some of high repute, found themselves at a kind of ideological intersection, unsure of their direction and unwilling to decide. For most of the great in-between mass, perhaps 200 of COP's 270-plus postsecondary affiliates, the COP years have been, at the least, jarring to the system. And to some, COP is a large and intruding presence that has awakened a dormant institutional conscience. The question then arises as to the extent to which this conscience has been able to influence institutional policies.

It is no mean achievement for COP to ignite a Bishop State, Tennessee Tech, or Southwestern Louisiana. And COP can lay legitimate claim to having put Humboldt University of Arcata, California, into the business of educating Native Americans on a scale never before achieved in California. In their separate ways, Gannon, Shepherd, and Pikeville, too, all honorably exploited COP to build different approaches to training teachers. But these worthy institutions received COP as a relatively new kind of responsibility, one that had begun to assert itself only in the very recent past: that of adjusting their procedures and outlooks to the needs of the kinds of people who would henceforth be joining and perhaps competing with the regular flow of college-age, middle-class teacher trainees. What about the others -- the downtown establishments that had already produced generations of urban school teachers? Do they regard COP as a challenge to the order they had established, as a new force bent on destroying comfortable connections with the city school system they had supplied for so long? Could they countenance the new policy alignments that appeared so compatible to smaller, less complex institutions?

Some could and some could not. Some, like the massive multi-campus City University of New York, had little interest, although one of its institutions trained some COP aides, not because they underestimated the problems but because they were, in many cases, already heavily overcommitted to programs like COP and to clients served by them. Some simply couldn't see getting into still another headache-generating "operation bootstrap" with some of American higher education's "least-likely-to-succeed" candidates. Standards, they sensed, had already dipped below tolerable levels; bringing in such students would be the last straw.

To those that decided to enter the fold, the five-year COP cycle has been neither explosive nor dulling. It has been, rather, a well timed opportunity to broaden institutional viewpoints and, in the process, to set in place and in motion overdue practices that had been overlooked or underdone in the turmoil of the '60s.

Five institutions, all situated in large but not gargantuan cities, mirror the issues with which COP has dealt. They are Miami of Ohio, the universities of Cincinnati and Louisville, and two colleges -- Harris Teachers and Webster -- in St. Louis.

At the 10,000-student University of Louisville, COP's 125 participants forced the adoption of an almost open admissions policy which credits maturity, personal background, and work experience. Even non-high school graduates may be provisionally accepted and given a trial semester in which to achieve unconditional admission. The University of Cincinnati eased many of its COP participants in through the device of its new, two-year University College without having to face the issue of open admissions. Harris Teachers' College in St. Louis, which may be the country's last full-scale teachers' college after D.C.

Teachers combines with Federal City in Washington, gave "life experience" credit for what COP aides did before they became paraprofessionals and proceeded to make this a collegewide policy. Webster had already instituted open admissions.

A one-time Catholic women's college featuring music, fine arts, and drama, the 1,500-student Webster had become one of the country's most stimulating and innovative coeducational urban colleges in the 1960s. When COP arrived, Webster's larger self- and public images had undergone nearly complete transformations. Much still needed to be done in the area of teacher training, though, where music education had been the main feature but which by 1975 attracts one-third of Webster's students. And here the college has had to make draconic adjustments. Starting with 40 returned Vietnam-era veterans who entered COP en masse from a "veterans in education" project already underway at Webster, the college instituted some, but by no means all, of the by-now customary run of COP-inspired practices. It takes particular pride in its ability to provide early classroom experience for participants.

Most of the 300-plus aides involved in St. Louis COP took their academic work at Harris, a smallish (1,500-2,000 student population) inner-city institution that had, for diverse reasons, been only tangentially concerned with the affairs of the ghetto area in which it is situated. Harris' educational conservatism was, in some respects, matched by Webster's. The prod was COP, but each step was hard-fought. On-site instruction was initially unpopular but gradually, although never completely, took hold. It took two years and a rough struggle in both Harris and Webster to relax and finally eliminate the formal student teaching requirement, but it happened. Sheltered courses eventually became part of the curriculum in both colleges. Reluctantly, the two colleges allowed COP classroom teachers to offer these courses. An overall effect was created. The sentiment in St. Louis is that it will be lasting at both institutions.

When COP came to the Cincinnati area in 1970, the 150-year-old city-supported University of Cincinnati, which dominates the city's higher educational scene, chose to sit it out. The project went instead to Miami University, a 18,000-student state university 40 miles away in Oxford. The arrangement made little sense, and in 1972, the new superintendent, Donald Waldrip, and the new University of Cincinnati President, Warren Bennis, agreed that building improved school-university relations was necessary. Reenter the University of Cincinnati. But the bulk of the participants were too deeply into their Miami training to break off without serious dislocation. Miami, with a strong commitment to site-based instruction but a strange insistence that the junior year be spent on campus on a full-time basis, has thus remained an "urban" teacher training institution throughout the COP cycle. For its part, Cincinnati has tried to emulate some of the more successful COP teacher training institutions, but, despite its reputable faculty and 19,000 students (or maybe because of them), the going has been rough. It has designed a two-year program for paraprofessionals which terminates with an associate degree and a certificate attesting that the

successful aide has become an educational technologist. Field-based instruction is almost de rigueur, but the School of Education is less than enchanted with its role in the whole COP affair, and its main emphasis seems to have settled into the more manageable task of training aides to be better aides.

More typical of COP's urban higher education affiliations is the University of Louisville, which will have graduated 90 of the 125-odd COP participants by the end of the project. Neither the university nor the Louisville COP project makes extravagant claims of lasting institutional change achieved as a result of COP. The university had already gained wide experience with federal teacher training programs and had developed its own well tested approaches to speeding the upward professional mobility of aspiring minority and low-income teacher candidates. The extent to which COP really touched the university is debatable. Was it enough that it went to open admissions, developed a few new courses, and accepted early classroom experience for education majors? Could or should more have been expected? Probably not. Making progress slowly is infinitely preferable to making none.

And, as we said at the outset, the colleges and universities were the "sleepers" in COP. Begging off the fine distinctions of causal effect, we can say that at many of the colleges where COP was present, big changes took place. For the most part, these were the colleges most in need of change. In the current jargon of accountability, the colleges provided "value added" for their COP students, and, so, too, the COP students provided "value added" to the colleges.

In addition to the baccalaureate programs for COP participants, a national COP project supports a master's program (see "The Rutgers Graduate COP Program," COP Bulletin 4, Vol. II), and another supported the design of an external degree Ph.D. program; this program, the "Innovation in Elementary and Secondary Education," is being implemented by the Union Graduate School, Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

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